

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF
CORPOREAL FACTORS AND CHOREOGRAPHIC RHYTHMS
IN JAMAICAN POPULAR MUSIC BETWEEN 1957-1981
(SKA, ROCKSTEADY, REGGAE),
WITH AN HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL SURVEY OF ALL
RELEVANT LITERATURE DEALING WITH JAMAICAN FOLK,
RELIGIOUS AND POPULAR MUSICS AND DANCE

LEONARD JOSEPH MCCARTHY

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BY LEONARD JOSEPH MCCARTHY

a dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of York
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ABSTRACT:

Most studies of Jamaican Popular Music (JPM) — Ska, Rocksteady, Reggae — only discuss sonic structures as isolated phenomena, with little consideration of correlations between JPM sonic patterns and those of indigenous Jamaican Folk and Religious Music (JFRM). Most also pay insufficient attention to the role of corporeality in the characteristics, development and performance practices of Jamaican music.

This study is in two parts. 1) An historical and critical survey of all relevant literature dealing with JPM and JFRM which examines the applicability of this work to this study's thesis, with new concepts and theories introduced where appropriate. A compendium structure organizes information by historical influences, genre,

musicological characteristics, movement orientations and theoretical concerns, with comprehensive citations for each subsection. 2) Part Two consists of original musicological and movement analysis of 878 video performances by 299 JPM and JFRM artists. This research identifies particular couplings of sound and movement patterns, which Agawu (2003) calls choreographic rhythms (CRs). From these findings, this study's thesis emerges in four main points:

- 1) JPM and JFRM performers share similar, uniquely Jamaican CRs, which appear to account for the idiosyncratic rhythmic feel of most Jamaican music.
- 2) Jamaican CRs are rooted in neo-African musical traditions, which are themselves rooted in West and Central African musics.
- 3) Jamaican musical traditions are transmitted/acquired primarily via mimesis.
- 4) Enactivist research¹ about music perception/cognition and cultural environments explains how growing up in particular cultures develops CRs which shape the musical understanding and performance practices of people within cultural communities. This research explains why people have difficulty perceiving and executing foreign CRs because they intuitively utilize their own indigenous CRs instead.

By integrating the material surveyed in Part One with the findings in Part Two, it is concluded that proper understanding of Jamaican music requires consideration of corporeal, sonic and other cultural factors as gestalt unities. It follows that this approach could benefit the study of any music. The final chapter features a concordance of topics and themes examined in the entire study which functions as an index.

¹ Enactivism is a branch of cognitive science which has emerged since the early 1990s.

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and encouragement from the people listed here.*

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INTRODUCTION

A. FOCUS

Between the late 1950s and the mid-1970s, three new popular music styles emerged in Jamaica: ska, rocksteady and reggae which combined African, European and African-American musical traditions with indigenous musical and cultural elements. By 1981, mostly due to Bob Marley's worldwide success, as well as similar accomplishments by other Jamaican artists,¹ Jamaican popular music (JPM) had achieved global acceptance. Shortly after Marley's death in 1981, international interest in this first wave of JPM artists waned, and new Jamaican styles emerged, such as dancehall and ragga/ragamuffin. These styles were dominated by DJs, rather than singers and live musicians, and were mostly electronic, featuring computers, synthesizers and drum machines.² Although they often retained Jamaican features (and were very successful in the world marketplace), at times these new styles were less distinctly indigenous and quite similar to African American R&B, soul, rap and/or hip-hop. The

¹ Other notable Jamaican artists with significant hits and record sales in non-Jamaican markets in the 1960s and 1970s include: Bob & Marcia, Millie Small, Prince Buster, Desmond Dekker, Max Romeo, Jimmy Cliff, Toots & the Maytals, Burning Spear, Third World, Soul Syndicate, Inner Circle, Black Uhuru, Gregory Isaacs, Dennis Brown, and Steel Pulse.

² Peter Manuel notes that the rise of JPM in the 1960s and especially in the 1970s "was clearly related to the socio-political optimism and mobilization of proletarian Jamaicans during the 1970s" (Manuel 2005: 5). He observes that its decline during in the 1980s is related to a number of interlinked factors: "the quashing of Jamaica's aspirations to economic autonomy, the triumph of Reaganite policies for the region, a degree of popular disillusionment with the contradictions of Rastafarianism and lastly, the death of Bob Marley in 1981" (ibid.). For detailed studies of JPM post-1981, see Barrow & Dalton (2001), Bradley (2000), Chang & Chen (1998), Salewicz & Boot (2001) and Stolzoff (2000). For a succinct overview of JPM, as well as an outline of its roots in Jamaican folk and religious music, see Bilby (1995) and Chang, Witmer & McCarthy (2005).

focus of this study is upon JPM's first phase, between 1957 to 1981.

B. METHODOLOGY, THEORY & THESIS

This study analyzes JPM mainly in terms of corporeal orientations and sound-movement patterns present in performances of the key Jamaican musicians who created and developed these new styles. Its primary methodology (presented in Chapter Five, with findings in Chapters Five and Six) consists of the analysis of these factors in of 878 filmed performances of 201 Jamaican popular musicians, as well as filmed additional performances of Jamaican folk and religious musicians.

As to the theoretical orientations which have influenced my interpretations of these factors, I have utilized traditional Western musicological analysis where it has been useful and appropriate, as well as ethnomusicological approaches to study the links between musical developments and the Jamaican sociocultural environment.³

This study's overall theoretical orientation and methodology have also been strongly influenced by three other disciplines⁴ that are usually outside the frame of traditional Western musicology:⁵

³ With regard to the sociocultural analysis of Jamaican music and culture I have placed a primary emphasis upon the work of scholars who have grown up in Jamaica prior to the 1960s and lived there 1957-1981; these are examined and presented in Chapter One.

⁴ Citations for these disciplines are in the following chapters.

⁵ Traditional Western musicology has concentrated on sonic pattern analysis, using biography and social history when they further the understanding of sonic structures and relationships. Many contemporary analysts have argued that traditional musicology has been dominated by a positivistic approach that prioritizes sonic patterns at the expense of other factors, such as the role of corporeality (although few examine specific correlations between sound movement patterns and body movement patterns), feminism, conceptions of ethnicity and race, performative analysis and poststructuralist views of language and subjectivity. Dubbed the "New Musicology" movement, prominent analysts who explore music in terms of many non-sonic factors include: Paul Berliner, Georgina Born, Phillip

- 1) **Analysis of the relationship between corporeal factors and musical practices;** primarily conducted by dancers, phenomenologists, and some ethnomusicologists
- 2) **Movement analysis of everyday body movement patterns in terms of their relationship to human development and sociocultural factors;** conducted by biologists, dancers, social anthropologists and a few ethnomusicologists
- 3) **Enactivism, a contemporary branch of cognitive science that examines human experiences in terms of neurobiological and phenomenological evidence.** Enactivists study interrelationships between cultural environments, perception and cognition. Their findings (presented in detail in Chapter Three) paint a very different picture of musical experience than the one articulated by traditional cognitive science (aka cognitivism⁶), traditional Western musicology and Western aesthetics. Two main aspects of enactivist findings about musical experience figure prominently in this study, and have shaped and guided its overall orientation. (These aspects are only summarized here; see Chapter Three for empirical support, citations and discussion.)
 - i) Using brain scanning and imaging technology to examine neurobiological activity, enactivists have discovered that the processing of a musical experience

Brett, Lori Burns, Marcia Citron, Suzanne Cusick, Tia DeNora, Lawrence Kramer, Richard Leppert, Susan McClary, Sanna Pederson, Maynard Solomon, G. Thomas, Gary Tomlinson, Robert Walser and E. Wood. For an overview of the New Musicology, see McCreless (1996).

⁶ Since the late 1950s, the cognitivist perspective has been the dominant model for the structure of mind-brain-body; it is still prevalent today, *especially* in music research. The computer is the dominant cognitivist metaphor. Body and brain are analogous to computer hardware. The body is like computer input systems (keyboard, mouse, scanner, etc.) which transfer sensory information from the outside world to our brain, which is analogous to the processor (where calculation and cognition takes place) and hard drive (where information is stored). The "mind" consists of the computational processes which occur inside the brain, analogous to computer software that resides on the hard drive. The mind/software consists of programs (patterns of instructions which operate according to strict and predictable rules) which manipulate the sensory information delivered to the brain by the body. Cognitivists also claim that brain and mind are modular, highly sequential and hierarchical and that mental information processing consists primarily of syntactical, abstract symbols. See Appendix B for a summary of cognitivist principles and a comparison to enactivist research.

always involves more than the auditory cortex; centers for motor movement and emotional activity are also triggered. This indicates that music is always perceived and cognized as a holistic, multimodal phenomenon. These findings also reveal that the processing of musical experience is not bottom-up, linear or hierarchical⁷ — which has been the traditional cognitivist claim — but rather is interactive and dialogic and characterized by feedback and feedforward loops between different regions of the brain. Mental categorizations, expectations and emotional activity associated with a musical experience are also not always post-perceptual — another cognitivist claim — but influence our perception. Our prior experiences and predispositions⁸ shape what we hear to the degree that it is sometimes impossible to separate our expectations from the stimuli of the sound signal.

ii) The relationship amongst our environment and our perceptual/cognitive apparatus, various centers that control physical movement, our bodies and our environment are as dialogically intertwined as the processes during perception/cognition. Although we are born with certain physical aptitudes and capacities to perceive sound, our perceptual, cognitive and performance skills are highly individualized and shaped by experiences involving our bodies and cultural environments.

From these three disciplines⁹ the following key concepts have figured promi-

⁷ Cognitivism portrays musical processing as follows: Musical experience is usually initiated by a sonic stimulus which is perceived by our ears. Our hearing organs (eardrum, cochlea, etc.) transduce this sensory information into an electrochemical signal that is sent to the auditory cortex for processing by different brain regions dedicated to different aspects of sound (e.g., timbre, volume, pitch, etc.). These early levels of processing are considered to be basic, automatic and non-thinking processes. The final phase involves the interpretation, classification and categorization of the auditory signal on a conscious level by the "upper" regions of the brain where these sonic patterns are compared to previous experiences. It is at this point that judgement, evaluation of worth, quality, beauty or utility take place. This last stage involves our intellect, complex symbol systems and usually language. See Appendix B for citations and authoritative terminology.

⁸ These prior experiences and predispositions involve both sonic and non-sonic factors.

⁹ 1) Analysis of the relationship between corporeal factors and musical practices; 2) movement analysis and 3) enactivism.

nently in this study. Corporeal factors are not merely synchronous or added-on components in musical performances, but are essential aspects of a musical experience. In Jamaican musical traditions, the research in this study indicates that particular gestures by performers and other participants (whose primary purpose is not to generate sound either directly or by manipulating an instrument¹⁰) are usually synchronized to the music's rhythmic groove.¹¹ African musicologist Kofi Agawu, a West African music specialist, calls these types of gestures "unsounded gestures," which, in combination with gestures that *do* generate sound, create "choreographic rhythms" which are shared by everyone present at a musical event. Unsounded gestures include cyclical movements such as foot tapping, swaying, shifting of weight, head, torso, and arm movements. Agawu notes that the "combination of ... sounded and unsounded gestures ... give [African rhythms] and timelines [their] meaning" (Agawu 2003: 77).¹²

¹⁰ That being said, some of these gestures, such as stepping to the beat, sometimes *do* generate sound, although such sounds are often so quiet as to be imperceptible to observers or audiences.

¹¹ Grooves result from the manipulation of rhythms at a micro-level, involving variations of timing, duration and accent, which are the result of miniscule variations in timing, intensity, and durational aspects. They are not perceived or conceptualized analytically or by counting, but instead are perceived as gestalt sensations or a recognition which emerges from the cross-modal intermingling of auditory processing, physical sensations, and visual entrainment to other musicians in culturally specific contexts (Iyer 1998: 66, 68, 20, 25). Groove subtleties are often impossible to accurately describe, notate or quantify with precision (Iyer 2002: 387).

¹² Although this description could easily be taken to apply to all musical performances, Agawu's observation and main point about choreographic rhythms is that some cultures have particular sound-movement patterns that are intimately linked with their musical characteristics/feel and are necessary for both understanding and performing these musics from the same perspective as members within those particular cultures. Similar views by other analysts are examined in Chapter Two.

Based upon the evidence presented in this study, it appears that Agawu's observations also apply to Jamaican Popular Music (JPM) and Jamaican Folk and Religious Music (JFRM).¹³ The integration between these gestures and the sound patterns is so pronounced that omitting or changing the gestures usually results in significant changes to the groove and feel¹⁴ of the music, causing sonic misperceptions and/or performance errors.¹⁵

Musical perception and cognition therefore never consist solely of sonic patterns, but also include emotional reactions, associations, judgments, corporeal activity and other related activities, rituals and elements (such as sartorial and symbolic aspects) which become inseparably intertwined during neurobiological processing. Enactivist findings also reveal that the one constant factor in all musical experiences is not sound but corporeal change.¹⁶ Musical experiences are always linked to corporeal changes (for

¹³ The fact that the majority of slaves shipped to Jamaica were taken from the West African region also accounts for the similarity between Jamaican and West African musical practices in terms of movement orientations and unsounded gestures.

¹⁴ The concept of "feel" is central to this study. "Feel" identifies one's impression of a groove, based upon corporeal sensations and emotional reactions during a musical experience (Iyer 1998: 24, 25).

¹⁵ Presentation and discussion of this can be found in Chapter Seven. Although the evidence presented in this study examines the interrelationship between choreographic rhythms and Jamaican music, enactivist research into the perception, cognition and performance of music strongly suggests that all musical styles — in *all* cultures — involve choreographic rhythms in varying degrees, intensities and types of interrelationships. Thus, many observations and conclusions in this study apply to other musical cultures, especially those which involve the same type of creolization which characterizes Jamaican musical traditions.

¹⁶ Contemporary enactivist evidence reveals that the unity of music and dance that is characteristic of many cultures (such those in Africa and Jamaica) is a biological reality. Musical sound and synchronous corporeal movements or processes (including emotions) are *always* processed holistically.

everyone involved in a musical event, i.e., performers, other participants and onlookers).

These changes are present even if we are unaware of them¹⁷ — and even when sound is imagined and/or not literally heard (e.g., during audiation or in silent sections of a piece of music). The most significant influence upon musical perception and cognition is cultural experience. Our conception of musical patterns and body movement patterns are not innate perceptual or cognitive skills, or physical reactions, but are learned processes and behaviours that are shaped by the cultural traditions to which we're exposed, especially prior to age five. Thus, our conceptions of what constitutes a musical experience are introduced, reinforced and refined by our local cultural traditions as we grow.¹⁸

This study's thesis has emerged from the application of these three theoretical perspectives¹⁹ and key concepts²⁰ to the analysis of filmed performances of Jamaican

¹⁷ Musical experience always generates involuntary corporeal activity. Body movements are the most overt example, but most changes are inner, "invisible" ones: alteration of metabolic rate, heartbeat, pulse, temperature and the triggering of motor neurons without visible motor movements. (Empirical evidence for these claims is presented in Chapter Three.)

¹⁸ Cognitivists claim that: 1) Perceptual and cognitive systems are primarily genetically "preprogrammed." 2) Although the development of our skills and abilities are influenced by our experiences, complex skills (e.g., language and music) are mostly constrained by innate, rule-bound cognitive systems. By labeling other synchronous neurobiological activity as "background noise" or as "responses" to sonic stimuli, cognitivists conclude that musical experience consists primarily (and sometimes solely) of sonic pattern processing. Cognitivism is examined in detail in Appendix B.

¹⁹ 1) Relationship between corporeal factors and musical practices; 2) movement analysis of the relationship between body movement patterns, human development and sociocultural factors; and 3) the enactivist study of human experiences in terms of neurobiological and phenomenological evidence.

²⁰ 1) The unity of sonic and non-sonic components in musical perception/cognition; 2) inter-relationships between choreographic rhythms and musical practices; and 3) musical conceptions and skills are not innate, but always culturally shaped/acquired.

music, in four main points:

- 1) JPM and JFRM performers share similar, uniquely Jamaican choreographic rhythms (CRs), which appear to account for the idiosyncratic rhythmic feel of most Jamaican music.
- 2) Jamaican CRs are rooted in neo-African New World musical traditions, which are themselves rooted in West and Central African musics.
- 3) Jamaican musical traditions (including CRs) are transmitted/acquired primarily via mimesis.
- 4) Enactivist research about music perception/cognition and cultural environments explains how growing up in particular cultures develops CRs which shape their members' musical understanding and performance practices. This research explains why people have difficulty perceiving and executing foreign CRs because they intuitively utilize their own indigenous CRs instead.

C. THE NEED FOR THIS STUDY

In 2000, musicologist Marilyn Rouse observed that, "[Many] sweeping statements have been made about the style of [Jamaican] music ... which have not been founded on detailed analysis" (Rouse 2000: 185). This statement is particularly apt in light of enactivist findings about musical experience.²¹ Unfortunately, far too many analysts of JPM²² simply approach it as a variant of African American music (with which

²¹ Although Rouse presents a detailed analysis of the musicological characteristics of Jamaican music, she devotes little space to sociocultural meaning and contexts of Jamaican music, especially corporeal aspects of musical practice.

²² See Chapter One for specific assessments of particular accounts.

it *does* share many features) without examining its indigenous sources and the complex web of reasons as to *why* Jamaican musicians between 1957-1981 were so highly creative and influential within such a short time-frame. The enactivist methodology of examining human experience from a holistic perspective provides a way to remedy incomplete and distortive accounts of Jamaican music and suggests likely answers to this question.

Pamela O’Gorman, the former director of the Jamaica School of Music, and Olive Lewin, one of the first indigenous folklorists to specialize in Jamaican music,²³ both exemplify a holistic perspective toward the study of Jamaican music in keeping with enactivist findings. Lewin stresses that “[Jamaican] music by its very nature is almost meaningless without its surrounding and supporting lore. ... Thus, to understand Jamaica’s ... music, one must understand the total environment of the people who create, adapt and use it” (Lewin 1983: 32, 33). Especially important is the consideration of the Jamaican people’s perspective.

[It is important for scholars of Jamaican music to dig deeply] into traditional cultures, with emphasis on the value of folk perceptions of the world rather than the grand designs of ethnocentric academic analysis. Examination of the world-view and philosophies of individuals ... can improve and increase [understanding of the music] by understanding the nature of the source. (Lewin 2000: 312)

O’Gorman shares this view, but, like Rouse, cautions about taking a predominantly sociological or ideological approach. She emphasizes the “continuing need for a holistic

²³ In 1966, Lewin was appointed by then Minister of Culture Edward Seaga to study and research JFRM. A few years later she founded the Jamaica Singers who specialized in performing indigenous folk and religious music and reawakening public interest (especially amongst the middle and upper classes) in their roots, as well as spreading Jamaican culture abroad (Lewin 2000).

approach to [Jamaican music] research that includes synchronous musicological, sociological and ethnological investigation” (O’Gorman 1987: 87).

In Jamaica, musical experiences include many components: body movements, language, drama, poetry, rituals (like weddings and funerals), and religious practices. Music is a crucial part of many sociocultural activities: tea meetings,²⁴ work songs, ring play activities and games, dances, storytelling, picnics, festivals, parades, holiday celebrations (Emancipation Day, Independence Day, Christmas, New Year’s, Easter, Christmas market, pantomimes), and most community gatherings.²⁵ Most of the literature on Jamaican music is not holistic, however, although the best studies *do* include both sonic and non-sonic factors, trace the roots of Jamaican aesthetics and performance practice to African, European and North American traditions and consider the uniqueness of the Jamaican perspective. That being said, though, even most holistic studies ignore corporeal aspects of Jamaican traditions. It is common to encounter acknowledgments that formal or spontaneous dancing and/or body movements are usually present in musical experiences (Lewin 1983: 42), but particular corporeal characteristics are rarely identified and never explored in depth or in relationship to sonic patterns.

Only a few scholars (Baxter, Carty, Lewin, Mulvaney, Nettleford, Pinnock, Ryman and G. White)²⁶ make any significant links between music and body movement in

²⁴ Tea meetings are celebratory gatherings involving food, drink, song, dance and games.

²⁵ As per Baxter, Lewin and Murray.

²⁶ All are Jamaican-born artists who have focused extensively upon indigenous dance and movement traditions.

Jamaican musical practices. These analysts identify and consider particular movement patterns in ritual and secular traditions, but all adopt a Western aesthetic perspective (in spite of claiming to embrace an African one) with regard to the relationship between music and dance. Although it's commonly stated that both sound and movement usually occur simultaneously, they are ultimately considered as two separate activities. Body movement is regarded as either a physical response to musical sound or the result of entrainment amongst bodies or between bodies and sounds, but corporeal factors are *never* considered to play a role in the shaping of sonic patterns. This perspective (i.e., the minimization or omission of corporeal factors in the analysis of musical experience) has generated some fundamental misperceptions and misunderstandings of Jamaican music's meaning and cultural significance from the perspective of its practitioners and indigenous audiences.

Lewin does emphasize the importance of body factors for scholars of Jamaican music, even if, like Rouse, she unfortunately doesn't identify any unsounded gestures, nor does she correlate them with the music's content and development.

Conventional transcription is a most unsatisfactory way of documenting [Jamaican] music for general use and moreso, for posterity. It is therefore of paramount importance that high quality sound tapings be supported by visual documentation. (Lewin 1983: 42)

Using filmed performances (especially in DVD format) is a particularly effective methodology to study Jamaicans' phenomenological experiences of music, especially regarding corporeal factors. In live situations, most musicians usually become self-conscious and subsequently alter their movement patterns if they are asked about their own corporeal orientations. It is also extremely difficult to repeat all audio and corpo-

real patterns, especially when participants or audiences are involved. DVD video preserves most of these factors “as is,” allows zooming-in, repetition at different speeds, and perfect freeze-frame. When sped up, small or slow movements are also easier to see, and watching rapid or complex performances slowly or in reverse facilitates determining sequence, frequency and timing. In addition, since this study is primarily historical, i.e., focusing upon early performances of this music, rather than contemporary versions, it is also preferable to use as much archival footage as possible.²⁷

Another curious omission in the literature on Jamaican music is consideration as to why so many non-Jamaicans who have tried to create Jamaican-styled music have had problems executing all of the rhythmic nuances present in indigenous versions. In particular, in the 1970s many rock, pop and jazz artists either recorded cover versions of Jamaican hits, or tried creating their own Jamaican-styled songs. Today, JPM has become as mainstream as other African-rooted styles, such as R&B, soul, funk, blues and hip-hop, but this problem persists — although the overall quality of non-indigenous JPM has improved considerably.²⁸ What is it about the Jamaican rhythmic approach that makes it is so difficult to reproduce by people who have not grown up in a Jamaican

²⁷ As it turns out, the lack of filmed JPM prior to the mid-1970s made strict adherence to archival footage too limiting. More details about the films utilized in this study, plus my precise methodology, are found in Chapter Five.

²⁸ With regard to improved “quality,” two aspects of much contemporary non-Jamaican JPM are generally absent or weak in most non-Jamaican JPM of the seventies: 1) A high degree of control over JPM ingredients and characteristics in live performance, with consistent grooves and smooth transitions. 2) The integration of Jamaican elements and nuances with main musical ideas, rather than as merely a surface gloss applied to music that is primarily in another style. (With regard to #1, I see more non-Jamaicans moving with the same movement orientation as JPM artists than was the case in the seventies. This is discussed further in Chapter Seven.)

cultural environment? The final part of this study examines this issue, through the analysis of filmed performances by non-Jamaican performers of Jamaican-styled music, and comparing their corporeal orientation with those of indigenous ones. Not surprisingly, given that enactivist research reveals music and corporeal factors are always inseparably coupled, those performers who try to perform Jamaican-styled sonic patterns without appropriate Jamaican unsounded gestures almost always do not sound as “authentic” as those who do. In the former scenario, the feel and groove lack appropriate or consistent nuances. The result is similar to what happens when someone speaks a foreign language with proper syntax and grammar, but omits or misplaces accents and inflections. Changes to non-verbal factors can seriously affect overall meaning. Acquiring proficiency in a non-native language is not impossible, but is usually most successful with lots of modeling, mimicking, and most importantly, extensive practice. The same holds true for learning a “non-native” music: proper modeling, mimicking and practice will initially yield improvements, and eventually result in proficiency *if* these new sonic and non-sonic skills are automated through repetition, using the same techniques and performance styles as indigenous experts. In addition to focusing upon technical/ structural components, however, proficiency in a style outside of one’s prior cultural expertise also requires learning *how this music is conceptualized, perceived and executed from the same perspective as indigenous practitioners*. The research in this study strongly suggests that what is missing from most non-Jamaican performances of JPM is the utilization of the same choreographic rhythms as those made by indigenous performers. The alteration or omission of these

choreographic rhythms appears to be consistently related to differences in stylistic nuances, especially rhythmic ones, between non-Jamaican and Jamaican musical performances of JPM.

My own experiences with Jamaican music have also been significant in shaping the perspective in this study. In many ways, my own successes and difficulties with performing JPM have been the same those of non-Jamaican artists in the 1970s.²⁹ Bob Marley discussed non-Jamaicans' difficulties performing Jamaican music very briefly, but succinctly, in a late 1970s interview.

The way I feel about the music [JPM], it *can* be copied, you know? But it's not a *copy* that do it, it's *the feel*, you know? It carry a *feel*, where if you explain it to a musician, them *know* it, but them can't *do* it. (Bob Marley, late 1970s).³⁰

I first became interested in Jamaican music in the late 1960s/early seventies, through the pop chart hits by Jamaican artists Millie Small, Desmond Dekker, Jimmy Cliff, Max Romeo, and the rocksteady and reggae records by American soul singer Johnny Nash.³¹ In the early 1970s, when I entered high school in Scarborough — then a suburb of Toronto, I joined a steel band started by Selwyn Gomes, a Trinidadian teacher who moved to Canada in the early 1960s. Gomes also played in Syncona, a Caribbean band led by Jamaican percussionist and singer-songwriter Dick Smith. In the steel band, I played lead pan, congas, timbales, and tambourine and learned to play many types of

²⁹ See Appendix A for additional biographical details and correlations between my experiences and the findings of this study.

³⁰ Bob Marley interview prior to #4. "Could you be Loved" on *Legend – The Best of Bob Marley and the Wailers* DVD (2003). (See video 5.1 on the accompanying DVD.)

³¹ In the 1980s I learned that Nash's records were made in Jamaica in collaboration with Bob Marley and the Wailers, who at this time were only well known in Jamaican communities.

Caribbean music, but reggae was my favourite. I bought imported reggae records, and discovered The Heptones, Hopeton Lewis, The Skatalites and *African Herbsman*, a British album by Bob Marley & the Wailers. As much as I loved this music, however, at times it was very difficult to play properly. When I was in the steel band, or when Selwyn let me sit in with Syncona on keyboard, things went well. But when I played it by myself, or with friends, it was hard to create and maintain the right groove. In 1975 and 1976, I saw the Wailers perform in Toronto, and was totally mesmerized by what happened. The audience was mostly Jamaican immigrants, who were up dancing the entire time. When I joined in, and moved like they moved — which was the same as the Wailers, I felt that I finally understood how these grooves worked. This eureka moment was short-lived, however. When I attempted to perform JPM afterwards, however, things were basically no different than before. I was once again a foreigner struggling to communicate in a strange land.

With the benefit of hindsight, and especially from an enactivist perspective, I now understand that the key factor in my successes and failures involved appropriate choreographic rhythms, which I unknowingly made whenever things were going well, and omitted or changed whenever they weren't. In the steel band, we were taught entirely by rote; Gomes insisted that we "dance our parts." When I played with Syncona, I was surrounded by Jamaicans and Trinidadians. Finding and maintaining the groove in each case was as much a matter of copying both body patterns and sounds — although I certainly wasn't aware that this was happening at the time. My flash of understanding at the Wailers' concerts was also due being immersed in a cultural

environment in which I acquired (albeit only temporarily) appropriate corporeal orientations by copying the people around me.³²

I believe that the findings of this study show that a complete and holistic study of Jamaican music — i.e., an analysis of how this music works, its historical development, and a true understanding of how to perform it with all of the inflections and nuances of indigenous musicians — must include corporeal factors, not only because it is in keeping with traditional Jamaican aesthetics and performance practices, but because the neurobiological evidence reveals that these corporeal factors are *always* a significant component of musical experience. These factors have played a fundamental role in Jamaican music's history and development, and appear to be central to the Jamaican conception, perception and performance of indigenous musical forms.

D. STRUCTURE OF THIS STUDY

This study is in two parts.

Part One consists of **CHAPTER ONE**, subdivided into four chapter-length divisions. It presents an historical and critical survey of all relevant literature dealing with Jamaican popular music (JPM) and Jamaican Folk and Religious Music (JFRM), as well as literature that examines musical traditions in West and Central Africa, the parts of Africa from which most slaves who were brought to Jamaica originated. The goal of this chapter is to examine the existing literature on Jamaican musics with a view to considering the theories and accounts by other scholars about JPM and its relationship

³² Differences between non-Jamaican and Jamaican corporeal orientations to Jamaican sonic patterns are examined in Chapters Five, Six and Seven.

to JFRM, and the rooting of JFRM in neo-African traditions as well as later influences from European and African American music.³³ In addition to serving the function of a literature review in summing up key ideas and concepts, this chapter interweaves a critical commentary which contributes new concepts, theories and analytical information where appropriate. The last two sections of this chapter outline the sonic, corporeal and non-sonic features of JFRM, proto-ska, ska, rocksteady and reggae in terms of the sociohistorical context in which JPM was born and nurtured.³⁴ A compendium structure organizes this information by historical influences, genre, musicological characteristics, movement orientations and theoretical concerns, with comprehensive citations for each subsection.

Part Two consists of the remaining seven chapters, original musicological and movement analysis of 878 video performances by 210 JPM and JFRM artists. By integrating the material surveyed in Part One with the findings in Part Two, it is concluded that proper understanding of JPM and JFRM requires consideration of corporeal, sonic and other cultural factors as gestalt unities.

CHAPTER TWO examines Agawu's concept of choreographic rhythm as well as similar theories by John Baily, John Blacking, John Chernoff, Vijay Iyer, Charles Keil, Gerhard Kubik, J.A. Progler, David Sudnow and Olly Wilson. These analysts' views and findings are considered in terms of their relationship to Jamaican musical practices.

CHAPTER THREE examines enactivism, with a focus upon its implications for

³³ This information provides a knowledge base from which to analyze Jamaican choreographic rhythms and their roots in Jamaican sociocultural history.

³⁴ Additional Jamaican sociocultural factors are examined in Chapter Four.

music perception and cognition in general, and Jamaican musical practices in particular.

These findings suggest that current Western musicological methodologies³⁵ can only provide, at best, incomplete or potentially distortive accounts of musical experience if they merely prioritize sonic relationships in isolation from other factors such as body movement, social interaction, links to emotional, religious and ritual practices and relationships to overall historical-cultural context. This chapter also examines researchers and musicologists whose study of musical systems includes or prioritizes non-sonic factors using methodological orientations and priorities that are compatible with enactivist findings. Given this common orientation and purpose, it is suggested that these common approaches be dubbed “neurophenomenological musicology.” The chapter ends with seven enactivist findings applicable to music research and a discussion of the value of enactivism for musical analysis in general and Jamaican music in particular.

CHAPTER FOUR examines the sociocultural historical and environmental factors in Jamaica during during the formative years of the significant creators of JPM, who were born sometime between 1920-1960 into similar socioeconomic circumstances in Jamaica. The emphasis is upon identifying significant musical events, institutions and other scenarios that played a significant part in shaping these musicians’ overall aesthetic sensibilities. Other significant sociohistorical and cultural factors before this period (from the late 1800s to 1920) and after (between 1960-1980) that also played important roles in the development and growth of JFRM and JPM are also identified.

³⁵ Most analyses of Jamaican music have utilized traditional Western approaches.

CHAPTER FIVE is in four sections, starting with an account of the methodology and the films utilized in this study. The next three sections present my empirical analysis of filmed performances of JPM (1957-1981), a comparison between performances by Bob Marley & the Wailers and all other Jamaican popular musicians,³⁶ and findings for JFRM.

CHAPTER SIX examines the findings and conclusions of Chapter Five from an enactivist perspective. This chapter also links the enactivist principles outlined in Chapter Three with the sociohistorical factors identified in Chapter Four.

CHAPTER SEVEN examines 177 filmed performances by 65 musicians from non-Jamaican backgrounds playing Jamaican-styled music, with a view to comparing their corporeal orientations and choreographic rhythms with those of Jamaican musicians. These findings reveal that most non-Jamaican musicians adopt either a different corporeal orientation or don't maintain consistent choreographic rhythms in comparison to the Jamaican musicians examined in this study. The change in corporeal orientation creates sonic structures that lack the nuances and rhythmical complexities of Jamaican indigenous versions.

CHAPTER EIGHT provides a summary of the key ideas examined in this study, using a concordance format to organize information according to topics and themes, and

³⁶ As Jamaica's most internationally popular artist, it is not surprising that there have been dozens of films made of the Wailers, so it is apt to compare the findings of the Wailers vs. other Jamaican popular musicians. Approximately one-third of the Wailers footage in my collection consists of unreleased material, much of it filmed in non-public situations, i.e., without an audience present. My analysis of the Wailers' footage also compares public vs. non-public examples, with a view to considering what effect the presence of an audience has upon their choreographic rhythms. (The findings show that the difference is minimal.)

which also functions as an index. In light of the findings of this study, appropriate ways to analyze, learn and perform Jamaican music are identified, with a particular emphasis upon Merlin Donald's research into the role of mimesis in cultural transmission. It is concluded that proper understanding of Jamaican Popular Music and Jamaican Folk and Religious Music requires consideration of corporeal, sonic and other cultural factors as gestalt unities. It follows that this approach should benefit the study of any music.

APPENDIX A is in two parts. Part One provides autobiographical details concerning my experiences with Jamaican music that pertain to the findings of this study. Particular links are made to the findings of Chapters Seven. Part Two consist of excerpts of email correspondence (with commentary) between Jamaican dance scholar Cheryl Ryman and myself. These emails (primarily in 2002 and 2003) were an invaluable means for me to acquire firsthand information from a practicing Jamaican artist/scholar/teacher about how Jamaicans interpret and view the sound/movement gestalt that is at the core of my study. She offered many constructive criticisms and suggestions for the best ways to describe movement patterns and corporeal orientations that corresponded to her phenomenological experiences of JFRM and JPM.

APPENDIX B summarizes cognitivist ideas and compares them to enactivism, with a particular emphasis upon which aspects of the former are challenged by empirical evidence from the latter.

APPENDIX C consists of a list of representative video examples used in this study with written commentary, most of which were the source of the data for the analysis presented in Chapters Five and Seven. Edited versions of these examples are presented

on a supplementary DVD, which is available from Clara Thomas Archives and Special Collections, Room 305, Scott Library, York University, 4700 Keele St., Toronto, Ontario M3J 1P3, (phone 416-736-5150). In the event that a reader is unable to obtain the DVD, most of the examples are commercially available or viewable on www.youtube.com (as of September 2007), and most of the commentary text on the DVD is presented in the written commentary.

The **REFERENCE LIST** presents all of the print, video and audio resources utilized in this study. The print component was finalized in June 2006, although a few extra items were added in the final phases of this research. The video materials section lists all of the films utilized in this study, plus artists and song titles. The cut-off date for inclusion in my video analysis was May 2006, but since that time I have acquired many additional films which were viewed but not included in the data presented in this study, although a few made it onto the DVD if they surfaced recently and provided a good example to support or demonstrate a point in the text. In the interests of completeness (and to assist future researchers who may wish to extend this work), the most significant of these newer acquisitions are also listed.

PART ONE:

1. AN HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL SURVEY OF ALL RELEVANT LITERATURE DEALING WITH JAMAICAN FOLK, RELIGIOUS AND POPULAR MUSICS AND DANCE

1.1 INTRODUCTION:

The literature on Jamaican Popular Music (JPM) ranges from accounts that prioritize its sonic characteristics and its recent post-World War II history to those that take a broader approach and also consider its relationship to indigenous folk and religious musics, sociocultural factors as well as the influence of foreign cultures. Although there have been many different approaches to explain JPM's characteristics and history (e.g., musicological, sociohistorical, ethnographic and folklorist orientations), many accounts suffer because of too narrow foci, and/or because findings are not sufficiently triangulated.¹ As ethnomusicologist Kenneth Bilby (in Manuel 1995) puts it,

When you read books or articles about [JPM] ... most of what you read ... generally ignores the Jamaican experience. With notable exceptions, relatively little attention has been paid to that which makes the music uniquely Jamaican. ... [JPM] is not simply an appendage of American (or American-derived British) popular music. Underneath ... much of the island's ... music ... lie deep and distinctive cultural wellsprings. (144, 145)

Bilby considers JPM from a broad perspective, and always triangulates musical analysis

¹ Triangulation compares data from different theoretical orientations and methodologies to supplement, corroborate and strengthen their credibility and applicability. The concept was developed in the sixteenth century in astronomy, orienteering, mathematics and engineering to determine an object's location, size, or distance from another object using two or more other targets as reference points. (The term "triangulation" is still applied when using more than two references.) See Chatterjee & Gelbman (2004), Kuiper (1999) and Risjord et al (2002).

with sociocultural factors and indigenous folk and religious traditions.

Other JPM analysts concur with Bilby. Musicologist Marilyn Rouse (2000) also believes too many claims about Jamaican music are made without supporting evidence or detailed analysis (185). Jamaican musicologists and folklorists Pamela O’Gorman (1987a: 87) and Olive Lewin (1983: 33, 2000: 312) believe that because Jamaican musical traditions are intertwined with Jamaicans’ identities as experienced in their sociocultural environment, that JPM is best studied with a mix of musicological, sociological and ethnological methodological approaches that take a holistic approach and prioritize practitioners’ experiences. From these JPM scholars, I have extrapolated three major principles which are the bedrock for this study.

- 1) Musical experience in Jamaican culture is a web of sonic and non-sonic factors.** The best JPM studies consider interrelationships between all factors.
- 2) Different methodologies are needed (and must be triangulated with each other) to study Jamaican musical patterns and interrelated non-sonic factors holistically.**
- 3) Corporeal factors have played a pivotal role in shaping the characteristics and development of Jamaican musical structures and processes since the slavery era.**

This chapter is a historical and critical survey of the academic literature on JPM published up to 2006,² with comprehensive citations/ sources. All JPM analysts and theories are considered with a view to their applicability to this study’s thesis. The sonic and corporeal characteristics of Jamaican choreographic rhythms and main traits of the

² This includes major non-academic works that examine JPM in depth as well as the academic literature that examines West and Central African musical traditions, since most African slaves taken to Jamaica came from these regions; details provided in section 1.3.2.

Jamaican sociocultural environment in which those artists who created JPM grew up are identified and presented chronologically according to styles. The relationship between these characteristics and traits are examined with a view to tracing the roots of JPM in Jamaican Folk and Religious Musics (JFRM). This information then serves as the knowledge base from which the rest of the dissertation builds and examines in terms of the thesis stated in the Introduction (on pg. 8). Because of overlapping content, the scholarly works in this chapter are examined primarily in three subject areas — corresponding to sections 1.2, 1.3 and 1.4 (as outlined below)— rather than individually.

1.2 OVERVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON JAMAICAN POPULAR MUSIC

This section reviews major JPM works, subdivided into two parts:

1.2.1 POST-WORLD WAR II SOCIO-HISTORICAL FOCUS

Scholars who examine JPM primarily in terms of post-World War II sociocultural factors (some with limited musicological analysis).

1.2.2 HOLISTIC EMPHASIS UPON THE JAMAICAN WORLDVIEW

Scholars who examine JPM from a broader, more holistic perspective than those in 1.2.1, i.e., in terms of relationships to JFRM, sociocultural factors and foreign cultures.

The next two sections (**1.3 MUSICOLOGICAL ANALYSES OF JAMAICAN MUSIC** and **1.4 JAMAICAN BODY MOVEMENT AND CORPOREAL FACTORS**) utilize a compendium structure to organize information (mostly drawn from the existing literature, with new concepts and theories introduced where appropriate) according to theoretical concerns, historical influences, genre, musicological characteristics and movement orientations/ characteristics.

Although only presented in this chapter in abbreviated form, the concepts and

theoretical orientations derived from Agawu's concept of choreographic rhythms and from the enactivist research and methodologies — examined in Chapters Two and Three, respectively — shape its content and priorities. The details of Jamaican musics' sonic and corporeal characteristics and their development provide evidence to support all four points of this study's thesis. 1) The similarity of JPM and JFRM performers' choreographic rhythms in the styles examined in this chapter (which are also analyzed in the video performances discussed in Chapter Five) indicates that they share the same performance style. 2) Since all of the earliest JFRM forms (e.g., Myal, Maroon, Burru, Jonkonnu, Kumina, Anancy Stories, Work Songs and Singing Games) are rooted in West and Central African music traditions, the consistency of Jamaican choreographic rhythms from the slavery era through the 1970s indicates that all Jamaican choreographic rhythms have been influenced by these roots. 3) The development of JFRM since the slavery era and the birth of JPM shows that these traditions were passed on with mimesis³ as the primary means of transmission/acquisition. 4) The similarity of choreographic rhythms amongst Jamaican musicians provides evidence to support enactivist claims that growing up in particular cultural environments shapes their members' conception of music and performing practices.

After this evaluation of the JPM literature, it is ascertained that four topics are missing, or rarely discussed in depth in most of these accounts.

³ Mimesis is examined in depth in Chapter Three, section 3.3.2.

FOUR OMISSIONS IN THE JPM LITERATURE:

- a) Phenomenological consideration of musical experiences in indigenous contexts by musicians, onlookers or other participants — examined in Chapters One, Two, Three, Four and Six.
- b) Analysis of Jamaican music's performance practices, creation, content, process and its historical development in terms of bodily orientations and movements of everyone involved— examined in Chapters One (section 1.4), Five and Six.
- c) Examination of the reasons why many people who have grown up in non-Jamaican environments have difficulty replicating JPM rhythms with the same nuances as indigenous artists (demonstrated in cover versions of Jamaican songs or original Jamaican-style songs by non-Jamaican artists) — examined in Chapter Seven.
- d) Examination of the reasons why people who have grown up in non-Jamaican environments move differently to Jamaican music compared to those who have grown up in either indigenous or diasporic Jamaican communities — examined in Chapter Seven.

1.2 OVERVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON JAMAICAN POPULAR MUSIC

1.2.1 POST-WORLD WAR II SOCIO-HISTORICAL FOCUS

The works discussed in this section examine JPM primarily in terms of post World War II sociocultural factors; only a few engage in detailed musicological analysis. Bilby's criticisms of the JPM literature apply primarily to the works listed on the following page. Those marked with an asterisk (*) include some pre-World War II information, and sometimes refer to Jamaican traditional folk and religious musics and their roots in West and Central African practices, but most details are *not* correlated to JPM development, or to musical characteristics. When identified, links between JPM and African musical traditions are primarily very general ones.

Bennett – <i>Bob Marley</i> (1997)	<i>and meaning of Bob Marley & the Wailers' album of the century</i> (2006)*
Boot & Salewicz – <i>Bob Marley: Songs of Freedom</i> (1995)*	Lent – <i>Rockschool</i> (1984)
Boot & Thomas – <i>Jamaica: Babylon on a Thin Wire</i> (1977)*	Marley with Jones – <i>No Woman No Cry</i> (2004)
Bordowitz – <i>Every Little Thing Gonna Be Alright: The Bob Marley Reader</i> (2004)	McCann – <i>Bob Marley "Talking"</i> (1993).
Collingwood – <i>Bob Marley: His Musical Legacy</i> (2005)*	McKnight & Tobler – <i>Bob Marley & the Roots of Reggae</i> (1977)*
Dalrymple & Kallyndyr – <i>Reggae: A People's Music</i> (1974)*	Moskowitz – <i>Robert Nesta "Bob" Marley: Music, Text, and Context</i> (2001)
Davis – <i>Bob Marley</i> (1990)*	Salewicz & Boot – <i>Reggae Explosion</i> (2001)
de Koningh & Cane-Honeysett – <i>Young, Gifted and Black: The Story of Trojan Records</i> (2003)	Talamon & Steffens – <i>Bob Marley: Spirit Dancer</i> (1994)
de Koningh & Griffiths – <i>Tighten up! The history of Reggae in the UK</i> (2003)	Thomas – "The Wild Side of Paradise" (1973)
Gillett – Review: <i>Reggae Chartbusters I, II</i> (1971)	Thompson – <i>Reggae & Caribbean Music</i> (2002)*
Gillett – Review: <i>Johnny Nash - I Can See Clearly Now</i> (1972)	Tullock – "Reggae" (1971)*
Goldman – <i>The Book of Exodus: the making</i>	Warner – <i>Jah as genre: The interface of reggae and American popular music</i> (1994)*

The above works discuss JPM primarily in terms of similar musical characteristics shared with African American musics, e.g., rock, R&B, soul, disco and jazz: see list in **FIGURE 1.1**, pg. 28. Some of these works identify unique Jamaican characteristics (such as indigenous percussion, Jamaican Creole⁴ pronunciation & vocabulary, local

⁴ The indigenous Jamaican language blends English vocabulary and grammatical constructions with West and Central African words, expressions, grammatical structures and inflections; it is labeled by five terms: *Jamaican Creole*, "*the Jamaican language*," *Jamaican Dialect*, *Patois* (or *Jamaican Patois*), and *Jamaica Talk*. Because "creolization" is considered by most indigenous Jamaican scholars to be *the* defining Jamaican process, "Jamaican Creole" seems to be the most suitable term. It is also Bryan's (2004), Lewin's (2000: 36-7) and Warner-Lewis' (2002, 2003, 2004) preferred term. Bryan is a linguistic expert at UWI in Jamaica; Warner-Lewis is an expert on Caribbean languages and on links between Jamaica and West/Central Africa. Alleyne (1984, 1988) and Bennett (1988: 131) use "Jamaican Language" or simply "Jamaican," but this term is potentially not specific enough. "Dialect," Barrett's

COMMON PERFORMING FORCE AND USE/ARRANGEMENT OF COMPONENTS:

• **guitars** (electric & acoustic) • **keyboards** (organ, synthesizer, piano, electric piano, clavinet) • **bass** (electric & acoustic) • **drum set** • **horn section** (trumpet, sax, trombone) • **backing vocal group** • **hand percussion** (congas, tambourines, maracas, etc.) Some authors note that hand percussion instruments are sometimes indigenous (e.g., use of Rastafarian drums: repeater, funde, and bass drum)

GENERAL USE OF AFRICAN MUSICAL CHARACTERISTICS: • **call & response** • **emphasis upon rhythm** • **predominance of polyrhythmic textures, circular and/or open-ended structures** with *improvisation* predominating over pre-composed structures

• **audience participation** • **preference for buzzy or "dirty" timbres** • **vocal playfulness** (use of glides, slurs, swoops, ornamentation/melisma, falsetto and an array of non-pitched devices such as growls, sighs, cries, semi-speech or speech) • **repetition of small musical units as ostinati, riffs or unifying/structural devices** (aka cells⁵) • **use of blues notes** (flattened thirds, sevenths, and sometimes fifths) • **limited harmonic vocabulary** (most often using just three to four basic major and minor triads) often in circular, repetitive patterns • **active, usually heavy/predominant bass line**

• **blending of standard Tin Pan Alley melodic-lyrical structures** (such as AABA, Verse-Bridge-Chorus), **European folk forms** (Verse-Chorus, Strophic Verses) and **more complex chord structures** (i.e., extended jazz style harmonies) **with African musical characteristics** (noted above)

FIGURE 1.1: SHARED MUSICAL CHARACTERISTICS BETWEEN JPM & AFRICAN AMERICAN MUSICS ⁶

lyrical themes, religious symbols (especially Rastafarianism), and a rhythmic emphasis upon sounds in-between beats), but their primary orientation is that JPM is a variation of North American popular music blended with neo-African traits, European folk music and hymns.

Most of these works begin with the sound system phenomenon in Jamaica in the

(1976) preferred term, refers to a regional version of a language; experts in Jamaican Creole are adamant that it is a bonafide language, and not merely a "variation" of English. "Patois," Nettleford's and Jamaican dance analyst and folklorist Carty's preference, is often a synonym of "dialect," but is sometimes used with negative or pejorative connotations. "Jamaica Talk" was coined by Cassidy in 1961; it does not appear as often in the literature as the other terms.

⁵ This is Peter Manuel's (1995: 9) terminology. He calls small rhythmic units "cells;" pieces constructed from variation and repetition of cells are "cellular structures."

⁶ This list is based upon Witmer (1981).

late 1940s-early 1950s, when American R&B was popular with the Jamaican underclass (primarily black) audiences.⁷ When American R&B artists released fewer (or different styled) recordings in the late 1950s, JPM is said to have been born when sound system operators used local musicians to create their own versions of the earlier R&B styles, and often added Jamaican rhythmic characteristics. This type of analysis minimizes correlations between the sociohistorical environment of these musicians and the influence of indigenous and non-indigenous musical traditions upon their aesthetic preferences and creative decisions. Other omissions include a multi-faceted consideration of *why* JPM emerged at this time (and not earlier) and why it was embraced by most Jamaicans.⁸ Most accounts only consider the birth of JPM as a response to stylistic changes in American R&B in the late 1950s, and do not explore other factors, especially the influence of indigenous folk and religious musics, and the rise of nationalism and politics going back to the 1920s. Thus, the common explanation that the main reason for the emergence of JPM was Jamaica's independence (in 1962) doesn't satisfactorily account for the earliest Jamaican R&B variants occurring many years early, in 1956-1957.

Although JPM analysis in the above works is limited, many contain historical and biographical details, which can be triangulated⁹ with other studies. The following

⁷ See section 1.3.4.7 for discussion of the Sound System phenomenon.

⁸ Initially each development of JPM was only supported by the lower classes (Johnson & Pines 1982: 55-6, Jones 1988: 21 and White 1982b: 38); e.g., Ska was popular only in the ghettos in the late 1950s, then eventually embraced by the upper classes (Katz 2003: 56 and Roberts 1998: 143). The same thing happened with rocksteady in 1966 and then with reggae in 1968.

⁹ See footnote #1 for explanation of triangulation.

commentary groups these works according to their focus.

Gillett¹⁰ (1971, 1972), Thomas (1973) and Tullock (1971) published the first significant analyses of reggae music in the North America press. Tullock describes JPM as New Orleans R&B with “African drum techniques” (206). Gillett classifies reggae as “just one more aspect of contemporary popular music ... [with] rhythmic innovations” (1971: 213, 211). Thomas suggests that Jamaican musicians didn’t “technically know [any better,] result[ing in a] back to front [rhythmic feel]” (339). All describe JPM as an indigenous variation of American R&B, with few references to local influences.

Dalrymple & Kallyndyr (1974) is the first JPM history, claiming that JPM is “basically African in content” (5) and rooted in folk and religious musical practices, but with no examples. Bordowitz (2004), McCann (1993), McKnight & Tobler (1977) and Bennett (1997) compile biographical details about Bob Marley from magazines and newspapers.

Six monographs on Marley differ greatly in approach and quality. Davis (1990) is well-researched, with many references to indigenous traditions that he rarely correlates to JPM. Boot & Salewicz (1995) and Talamon & Steffens (1994) contain many great photographs of Jamaican sociocultural events. Both focus primarily on Marley’s life with little sociocultural analysis. Collingwood (2005) is an annotated Marley-related discography, with many biographical and historical details. Goldman (2006) analyzes Bob Marley & the Wailers’ *Exodus* album based upon interviews with Marley in the seventies with a few links to sociohistorical details. Rita Marley (2004) looks at husband

¹⁰ Gillett is a British writer who wrote provided JPM record reviews for *Rolling Stone* in the early seventies.

Bob mostly via personal anecdotes.

Boot & Thomas (1977) and Salewicz & Boot (2001) are JPM overviews, dominated by photographs. Salewicz & Boot features interviews with key JPM musicians.

Four reference books are unique. Two are co-authored by de Koningh: with Cane-Honeysett (2003), and with Griffiths (2003). Both examine UK JPM history post-World War II in depth, with some references to Jamaican traditional musics. Thompson (2002) provides highly detailed reviews of 2700 recordings (mostly post-1950). Lent (1984) is a "how to play JPM" with few historical details, many short musical examples in standard notation for bass, guitar and drums, playing techniques and strategies; examined in section 1.3.5.

Two JPM dissertations are problematic. Moskowitz (1991) examines Marley's life and music through lyric and sonic analysis, with few references to Jamaican traditions. He uses Hal Leonard arrangements (with many errors) to analyze the music; his conclusions show a weak understanding of modes and Jamaican rhythms. Warner (1994) compares Jamaican and American musical cultures by focusing upon historical details and with minimal analysis. References to Kumina (21-22) and Revivalism (24-26) are vague and superficial. Warner believes that "few Jamaican musicians possessed the know-how ... to duplicate the sound of black American music" (50).

1.2.2 HOLISTIC EMPHASIS UPON THE JAMAICAN WORLDVIEW:

This section examines the work of authors who analyze Jamaican music holistically, with a primary emphasis upon indigenous practices and links to neo-African or African roots.

1.2.3 ACADEMIC STUDIES OF JAMAICAN MUSIC & CULTURE 1907-1948

Few accounts of Jamaican music were published prior to the mid-1950s.

Although most were by non-Jamaicans, with limited understandings of indigenous customs and traditions, all contain useful sociohistorical details. Some include limited musicological analyses.

Astley Clerk was the first Jamaican to publish an academic analysis of Jamaican music. He was a songwriter, educator and publisher with an interest in Jamaican folk music (Clerk 1975: 59). His lecture on the Arawaks' music was published in 1913.¹¹ He collected over 400 folk songs for a history book which never materialized (ibid., Ryman 1986: 26).¹² Thus, Clerk's scholarly influence was limited.

Clerk, like the other foreign writers discussed below, used pre-twentieth-century references and transcriptions of Jamaican music by European explorers, visitors, missionaries, politicians and historians, which are highly patronizing (Rex Nettleford 1979: 186).¹³ Caribbean historian and poet Edward Kamau Brathwaite (1971) notes that

What [these early] white commentators saw was what they wanted to see (and hear), what they were trained by prejudice and education to see and hear, and above all what they could *afford* to see and hear. As far as most Europeans ... were concerned, slave[s]/Africans had no culture. (12)

In these early accounts, the slave population in the 1800s is often described as being divided into two groups: those who maintained West African roots, and those who

¹¹ Originally from South America, The Arawaks lived in Jamaica prior to 1655.

¹² For particulars, see Clerk (1975: 59) and Ryman (1986: 26).

¹³ Re: summaries and analyses of these early accounts – those in bold are in-depth: **Alleyne** (1988), **Baxter** (1970), Beckwith (1923, 1929), Bilby (1979), **Brathwaite** (1971), **Burton** (1997), Clarke (1980), Dunham (1946), **Epstein** (2003), **Harrison** (1973), Kerr (1990), **Lewin** (2000), **Monteith & Richards** (2002), **Murray** (1971), **Radano** (2003), Robinson (1999), Rouse (2000), **Stolzoff** (2000) and **Warner-Lewis** (2003, 2004).

preferred European ways. Many Jamaican and Caribbean scholars argue that although some slaves *did* prefer European culture, it was common to feign support so that they would be left alone to practice African rituals in private (Barrett 1976, Bennett 1995, Burton 1997: 49, White 1982a: 43).¹⁴ To understand slaves' private and communal experiences from their perspective one must examine memories of older relatives and family stories, and the role of indigenous cultural forms in these experiences and memories¹⁵ (Nettleford 1979: 183). The other accounts of Jamaican music before the fifties are all by foreign analysts. In 1907, British folklorist Walter Jekyll (who was a resident of Jamaica for many years) published a collection of Jamaican songs.¹⁶ In the early twenties, American anthropologist Martha Beckwith and American musicologist Helen Roberts published articles and books on Jamaican culture describing their joint fieldwork there (Beckwith 1922, 1923, with Roberts 1923, 1929). Roberts also visited Jamaica alone. Her 1926 article examines Maroon music. Roberts' and Beckwith's studies describe many cultural practices (some with music), and make many links

¹⁴ See also Alleyne (1984, 1988), Bennett (1995, in Bailey 1992), Brathwaite (1971, 1978), Carty (1988), Monteith & Richards (2002), Nettleford (1968, 1979, 1985, 1989, 1993, with Layacona 1969, and in Edgecomb 1996), Ryman (1979, 1983, 1984a, 1984b), Thomas (2004), Warner-Lewis (2002, 2003, 2004) and White (1982b, 1982c, 1998).

¹⁵ Carty (1988: 13, 72) notes that the apparent lack of Africanisms and dominance of Europeanisms, especially to European observers, was primarily due to African culture losing its visibility to Europeans and middle-class brown Jamaicans in order to survive. The highly Africanized folk and religious expressions of the lower classes were basically "ignored by the rest of Jamaican society" but they were always a strong presence; see also Alleyne (1984, 1988), Burton (1997), Johnson & Pines (1982), Lewin (1983, 2000), O'Gorman (in Chang & Chen 1998: 10), Thomas (2004), Warner Lewis (2002) and White (1982a: 46).

¹⁶ Jekyll misunderstood many Creole words, and his perception of Jamaican beat and rhythm are problematic (see section 1.3), but his work is highly regarded by indigenous Jamaican scholars Baxter, Bennett, Lewin, Reckford, O'Gorman, Nettleford, Sherlock and G. White as the most extensive account of late-nineteenth-century Jamaican traditional music.

1.2.3 AC. STUDIES OF JA'N MUSIC & CULTURE 1907-48 / 1.2.4 MID-1950S AC. STUDIES OF JA'N MUSIC 34

between Jamaican traditions and West and Central African beliefs and practices; see section 1.3.2. Roberts also wrote an article on Revival hymns in 1931 which was published posthumously in 1989; discussed in section 1.3.4. In 1946, dancer and choreographer Katherine Dunham wrote about her experiences in Jamaica studying Maroon traditions, and in 1948, sociologist Earl Leaf also visited Jamaica and wrote about folk, religious and social dancing. Both Dunham and Leaf discuss customs, rituals and entertainment activities (most involving music¹⁷). American Joseph John Williams visited Jamaica in the early twentieth century and published two books about religious traditions (1932, 1934); see section 1.3.4.2.

1.2.4 MID-1950S ACADEMIC STUDIES OF JAMAICAN MUSIC

In the mid-fifties seven academic studies by Joseph Moore, George Simpson and Edward Seaga studied Jamaican traditional musics primarily from sociological and anthropological perspectives (Moore 1954, Simpson (1954, 1955), Moore & Simpson 1956, Edward Seaga 1956, Simpson 1957, Simpson & Moore 1957). Moore & Simpson examine Revivalism, Pukkumina, Kumina, Jonkonnu, Funeral Ceremonies and Rastafarianism. Seaga¹⁸ (1956: 5) also examines Revival, Kumina and Pukkumina,¹⁹ as well as

¹⁷ Dunham and Leaf provide non-technical descriptions of music without transcriptions.

¹⁸ Seaga, a Harvard University graduate with a B.A. in Social Sciences (1942), became Jamaican prime minister between 1980-89. In 1956, he produced a Folkway Records album of Jamaican traditional musics with extensive liner notes. In April 1962, he became the political representative for West Kingston, home of most musicians who developed JPM. After independence in 1962, he became Minister of Culture and promoted traditional Jamaican musics and Ska as Jamaica's national musical style (Stolzoff 2000: 74-5). Seaga wrote an article on Revivalism in 1969 and overviews of Jamaican culture in 2004 and 2005.

¹⁹ Seaga (1956: 2, 1969: 4) notes that the customary spelling is "Pocomania," but he has "altered the spelling [to "Pukkumina"] to suit the phonetics of the word as it is pronounced by cult members and their associates themselves. There appears to be no evidence to

1.2.5 STUDIES OF JA'N MUSIC 1967-PRESENT / 1.2.5.1 JA'N & CARIBBEAN ANALYSTS OF JA'N MUSIC 35

work songs, and ring play songs. Moore & Simpson were the first scholars to examine Rastafarianism (Simpson 1998: 217), during the period when many Jamaican popular musicians were involved with the movement;²⁰ discussed in section 1.3.2.2.

1.2.5 ACADEMIC STUDIES OF JAMAICAN MUSIC 1967-PRESENT

Other than Clerk's and Seaga's work (sections 1.2.3 and 1.2.4), the first studies by Jamaicans of their own music appeared in the sixties (e.g., Baxter, Bennett, Nettleford, O'Gorman, Reckford and G. White). The holistic perspective that characterizes their work provides further evidence of the enactivist view that one's prior experiences (in particular sociocultural environments) affects one's perception and viewpoint and creates a predisposition to notice some things and to ignore others. In this case, most of these analysts identify factors and emphasize relationships between sonic and non-sonic aspects of Jamaican musical practices that most non-Jamaican/ Caribbean analysts neglect, quite possibly because they have not been aware of their existence.

1.2.5.1 JAMAICAN & CARIBBEAN ANALYSTS OF JAMAICAN MUSIC

This section examines contemporary JPM scholarship by Jamaican and Caribbean scholars.²¹ Most have conducted ethnographic and field research; since they grew up in Jamaican or similar cultural environments, most were also fluent in Jamaican Creole and

establish this term as being of Spanish origin as the customary spelling indicates." "Puk-kumina" also provides an etymological link to Kumina (Seaga 1969: 4), and eliminates any pejorative connotations of "Pocomania" (usually translated as "a little madness" or "a little crazy"). Barrett (1976: 27) suggests that Pocomania might have been a European corruption of "poco-Kumina," which is what the Maroons called Kumina services held on the plantations by slaves (vs. those which were conducted in Maroon centers, which they called "the grande Kumina").

²⁰ See interviews in Katz (2003), Johnson & Pines (1982) and *Deep Roots Music* (DVD).

everyday cultural practices.

The first two contemporary Jamaican academic analyses of Jamaican music were by Garth White in 1967 and Olive Lewin in 1968. Both prioritized ethnographic accounts of family / community / religious traditions and rituals and the roots of the Jamaican worldview in West African traditions;²² examined in section 1.3.2.

Many scholars (especially foreign ones) describe Jamaican music as a blend of European, African American and African traditions that is dominated by European and African American culture. Lewin and White challenge this view.²³

There is no denying that Jamaican music has been genuinely influenced by the music and dance of the European society which has been here for hundreds of years, but the acceptance of these influences has been quite out of proportion to their significance. ... In spite of indications to the contrary, these influences have remained superficial.²⁴ (Lewin 1983: 32, 34)

White and Lewin consider the symbolism, emotional and intellectual associations for Jamaicans when analyzing their musical processes and products.

The mass of the population, the blacks, ... combined many elements: (1) African retentions, (2) reinterpretations of African elements to adapt them to an indigenous framework and (3) elements borrowed from the European sector and tailored

²¹ Most of these scholars were born between 1920 and 1955.

²² Portia Maultsby (1985: 26), an African American music specialist, defines "worldview" as encompassing philosophies, values, attitudes, aspirations, feelings, hardships, relationships, work experiences, social status, community life, modes of behaviour and aesthetic priorities. Alleyne (1988: 6) adds: skills, memories, habits, predispositions, cognitive orientations, languages and religious beliefs.

²³ Lewin & White's view is also shared by Barrett (1976, 1977), Baxter (1970), Bennett (1982a, 1982b, 1982c, 1995, in Bailey 1992), Brathwaite (1971, 1978), Carty (1988), Chang & Chen (1998), Clarke (1980), Lewin (1983, 2000), Maultsby (1985), Nettleford (1979), O'Gorman (1987a), Reckford (1977, 1982, 1998) Ryman (1979, 1983, 1984a, 1984b) and Warner-Lewis (2002, 2003, 2004).

²⁴ Barrett (1976) concurs: "European influence played a very insignificant part in the day-to-day life of the [poor Black] community" (25).

to suit their own needs. ... [But,] since the beginning of [the twentieth] century, the island's populace has [also] been increasingly in face to face contact with Latin America, North America and other Caribbean communities. Cultural elements from these areas have thus been integrated in the traditional folk culture. ... These elements were not used indiscriminately but were chosen, in most cases, because they fitted practices to which the slaves were accustomed. At no time [however] did [any of these elements and] influence[s] displace the pure and indigenized African forms. ... In the eyes of other observers Europe may have 'reigned' but Africa [always] 'ruled.' (White 1982a: 41-2, 46, 53)

For White and Lewin, and other Jamaican scholars who share their views, musical analysis always involves more than sonic patterns. As Barrett (1977) puts it,

Although [JPM] is a new beat ... it is only one part of the ... phenomenon. To fully appreciate ... [JPM] one must listen to ... it ... [as] not only an artistic creation in the Jamaican society, but an expression of deep-seated social [experiences]. (197)

One must therefore consider the reasons why Jamaican musicians chose particular sonic elements and patterns (and rejected others), and how their efforts were received.

A significant characteristic of Jamaican music is rooted in the necessity for slaves to hide their feelings which leads to apparent incongruities between musical styles and emotions/ideas in the lyrics. Barrett (1976) links the Jamaican "polished veneer of complacency and mirth ... [to] the African philosophy of 'keeping one's counsel' — i.e., of never revealing all of one's true intentions ... [in order to] preserve [slaves'] system of beliefs [and] customs ... in times of distress" (32). (This attitude is exemplified by Anansi, the hero of Jamaican folklore, discussed in section 1.3.2.8.) In many Jamaican songs, sad or angry lyrics are often set to upbeat music. This is not to say that all Jamaican folk songs were upbeat or that lyrics and musical moods were always oppositional. There were certainly songs that were slow and dignified, although Lewin (2000) points out that sometimes these slower songs were still used to "mask ridicule and

biting satire" (139).²⁵ This allowed the slaves to deceive their masters, and "throw outsiders off the scent" (Lewin 2000: 138, Bennett 1995). This deception also explains comments in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European accounts about the "cheeriness" of slaves' musical expressions.

1.2.5.2 CREOLIZATION

Since many scholars of Jamaican and Caribbean culture (e.g., Alleyne, Baxter, Brathwaite, Carty, Lewin, Nettleford, O'Gorman, Ryman, Stolzoff and G. White) identify "creolization" as Jamaica's most distinctive cultural feature, understanding this process is essential to studying Jamaican music.²⁶ Creolization involves the borrowing and blending together of elements from different sources into new structures and forms (White 1982a: 41). These new creations are always more than simply collages, however (Nettleford 1979: 78, 1985: 181, 1996: 4 and Alleyne 1984, 1988: 4). Artists always add something of their own to satisfy unique needs of the moment (Nettleford 1985: 1).

²⁵ Bennett (1982a, 1982b, 1982c, 1995, in Bailey 1992) and Mulvaney stress that ideas were often deliberately "hidden" in Jamaican Creole. "[T]he [African] Jamaican audience ... possesses a wealth of cultural knowledge with which to interpret the verbal code. ... Without exposure to a large dose of everyday Jamaican talk and [verbal] stylistics, the [European] listener would catch little more of the verbal construction than [literal surface meanings]" (Mulvaney 1985: 134). Bennett (in Johnson & Pines 1982) also notes the significance of the Dinki Mini (aka Dinkie Minie/Minnie) tradition, an African-rooted tradition to cheer up the family of the bereaved after a death. "The whole ritual of the Dinkie-Minnie ... has a strong therapeutic function ... to banish sorrow and to prevent the family from grieving ... There is no inward grieving, you dance it off. ... That is why a lot of our folk songs — even if the theme of the song is sad ... — we never sing it sadly. So we must never turn grief inside and let it hurt us" (42-43).

²⁶ American cultural anthropologist Stolzoff, British media theorist Dick Hebdige and Kenneth Bilby also agree that creolization is predominant in Jamaican culture, although they use other labels. Stolzoff (2000) uses "creolization" and "syncretism" interchangeably. Hebdige (1987) uses "cut 'n' mix," and "versioning" with the same meaning as creolization (12-16). Bilby (in Stolzoff 2000) uses "cultural synthesis and regeneration" (xi).

Alleyne (1988) describes this process²⁷ as always “evolutionary ... a creative response to and structural component of social context” (4-5). Most pre-1950 accounts of Jamaican music ignore creolization in the development of Jamaican cultural values.²⁸ Nettleford, Carty (1988: 15), and Alleyne describe the creolization process in three stages.

THE THREE STAGES OF THE CREOLIZATION PROCESS IN JAMAICA²⁹
(Carty 1988: 16)

- 1) Adoption of outside elements.
- 2) Adaptation of these elements to suit the needs of present contexts.
- 3) Syncretization of these elements into a Jamaican creation that is more than the sum of its parts, i.e., with unique, indigenous variations and creative additions

White (1998) notes that the creolization process has been evident in Jamaican music since the slavery era, and that it is ongoing. Most of Jamaica’s indigenous forms still exist today, but with new modifications, as per the needs of the people who use them.

All that happens is that circumstances change, new elements are added to the music but ... the thread of [African] continu[ities] still veins [Jamaican] music’s evolution. ... [It] has always been eclectic [and] able to assimilate any number of elements, given the sound foundation, the solid traditional bulwark on which musical construction rests. (10-11, 12)

²⁷ Alleyne (1988) argues that that creolization consists of surface and deep structures. “[The] deep structure is African, while surface structure is influenced by other cultures with which Africans have been in contact” (149). Brathwaite and Bilby agree, stressing that “the African influence remained, even if increasingly submerged, as an important element in the process of creolization” (Brathwaite 1971: 26). Bilby (in Roberts 1998) observes that the “deep-level Africanness [of Jamaican cultural forms] reflects a history of inter-African cultural synthesis and regeneration that is shared by black musics across the Western hemisphere” (xi).

²⁸ Stolzoff (2000) notes how most Europeans critiqued creolized forms as “hopeless affectation ... [which] were met ... with mockery, laughter, and condescension. ... [Only] a few of the more astute participant-observers realized, that sometimes these imitations by the blacks were nothing more than thinly disguised commentaries on planter culture and daily life” (33).

²⁹ Lewin (1983: 33) labels these stages: 1) Adaptation, 2) Variation and 3) Improvisation.

1.2.5.3 NON-JAMAICAN & NON-CARIBBEAN ANALYSTS OF JAMAICAN MUSIC

This section examines JPM studies by foreign analysts in four groupings, according to their focus: general histories, reference works, anthologies and monographs.

Most of these researchers incorporate indigenous voices³⁰ to fashion understandings of Jamaican music intertwined with daily life, rituals, Jamaican Creole and the Jamaican worldview. As Stolzoff (2000) puts it,

[Jamaican musical] performances ... do not take place in a vacuum. They are a product of the people who produce them, and in part, it is through their everyday laboring ... that the character of [musicians] are formed. Thus, we need to know about the process of work to understand the constraints that [musicians] face in constructing their [art] and career[s]. (17)

The first group consists of ten general histories of Jamaican music. All examine relationships between JPM and indigenous musics, but only the first seven discuss the lives and musical products of the musicians who created JPM in light of these relationships: Bilby (1995), Davis & Simon (1977), Foehr (2000), Johnson & Pines (1982), Jones (1988), Stolzoff (2000) and Witmer (1987). In the remaining three works by Bradley (2000), Hebdige (1987) and Katz (2003), although indigenous practices are acknowledged as important (and key characteristics are identified), post-World War II factors figure more prominently.

Another shared view amongst these scholars (especially Bilby, Katz, Hebdige and Witmer) is that "Jamaican popular music has evolved in a ... disorderly manner ... [i.e., it] has always been stylistically more heterogeneous and complex than ... [linear]

³⁰ This is done via interviews with musicians, producers, etc., as well as discussion of some of the ideas of the indigenous scholars examined in the previous section.

view[s usually] suggest" (Bilby 1995: 158). "The ... story [of JPM] ... doesn't run in straight lines. ... It circles back upon itself at every opportunity" (Hebdige 1987: 10; also see Bilby 1995: 157). Katz's oral history of JPM — interviews with people involved in its development — is full of contradictory accounts. This is largely due to the absence of significant JPM documentation prior to the mid-sixties (Witmer 1987), and because many developments arose from casual collaborations. As Bilby (1995) puts it,

[M]any of those who made important contributions to Jamaica's emerging popular music did so anonymously, in the course of their daily lives ... at church, in dance halls, at Buru gatherings, in Kumina yards, or in any number of musical contexts ... For them, ... making music was enmeshed in community life. ... [The development of JPM has been primarily the result of] a kind of organic 'osmosis' [rather] than ... [of] conscious intent. (151, 158)

In Witmer's 1987 study of musical life in Kingston, from the early 1900s to the mid-fifties, he notes that the earliest references to JPM were in newspapers and magazines controlled by upper-class Jamaicans who treated all things indigenous with contempt or apathy.³¹ Radio also provided limited coverage of indigenous musics, and was dominated by BBC shows until the sixties, and in 1950 only 1.7% of the population (mostly the rich) had radios.³² (There was no television in Jamaica until 1963, and it was also dominated by BBC programming until the seventies.)

Witmer (1987) also uncovered ample evidence that Jamaican popular musicians were technically, creatively and stylistically accomplished. In the late 1800s, a wind

³¹ Jamaican poet Louise Bennett experienced discrimination in the forties, fifties and sixties for her use of Jamaican Creole. See Collingwood (2005: 82) re: discrimination in newspapers.

³² See section 1.3.5.4 for more information about Jamaican radio.

band tradition began in Kingston, resulting in four wind bands within a few decades.

Many who joined these bands had attended West Kingston's Alpha Boys School,

founded in 1890 for disadvantaged children. These bands developed

a pool of ... experienced instrumentalists for a variety of musical situations and activities over and above the ... functions of the bands themselves. ... [T]he wind bands ... [became the] backbone of ... urban musical culture in ... urban centers. ... [They] provide[d] the instrumental resources prerequisite for the rise of a local performance tradition of Euro-American popular social dance music. (1987: 3)³³

Wind band members were skilled in music reading, ensemble performance, and fluent in classical, folk, popular and military band music, indigenous folk and religious music, Caribbean and Latin music, and North American popular and religious music.

American jazz and big band music was popular between 1930-1950, which required well-developed improvisation and aural skills. Kingston had a thriving nightclub scene,³⁴ and the tourist trade required musicians to play in many non-indigenous styles. Most musicians also performed at community events, where Jamaican folk music was a staple.

Witmer (1987) suggests that Jamaican musicians may have created JPM to express ideological feelings of political and musical nationalism, a view shared by other analysts. Because this explanation omits sociocultural factors, however, he believes there is a more likely reason.

[Although] ideological currents ... surely had a hand in calling [JPM] into being,

³³ Many of the Skatalites (the main sixties Jamaican studio band) were Alpha alumni: Rolando Alphonso, Cedric Brooks, Don Drummond, Rico Rodriguez, Jackie Mittoo, Johnny Moore and Lester Sterling. Other alumni include Bobby Ellis, Vin Gordon, Johnny Osbourne and Leroy Wallace.

³⁴ See also Baxter (1970), Katz (2000) and Leaf (1948).

those currents are not explanation enough; it is doubtful that new musical styles are fabricated solely out of will and desire. The musical life of Kingston in the pre-independence period must have had other dimensions ... Without hypothesizing the existence in Jamaica of a rich and vibrant — but almost entirely undocumented — Afro-Jamaican or traditional music culture running parallel to the mainstream urban popular music culture ... the rise of distinctive indigenous Jamaican popular music in the 1960s remains inexplicable. (18-19)

Witmer (1987) further speculates that

The musicians who created [JPM] must have been ... bimusical ... As well as functioning in ... American-based popular music ... they must have had some familiarity with various vernacular musical styles and practices, [e.g.], Jamaican mento and Afro-Christian cult music, Trinidadian calypso, and various styles and genres of Latin American and Caribbean music. (19)

Considering all of the evidence, Jamaican professional musicians were not only bimusical, but multimusical masters with technical fluency to effortlessly perform and adapt new indigenous styles based upon the needs of the moment.

Jones (1988) examines Jamaican culture in the UK³⁵ introduced by Jamaicans who immigrated there post WWII, with a particular emphasis upon the influence of music at Sound System dances, both in Jamaica and in the UK (which were modeled after the ones in Jamaica.) Since the British market played a significant role in the growth and development of Jamaican music, and its reception there influenced the content and style of many recordings, Jones contributes a perspective that is absent from many other histories of JPM. What is particularly interesting about Jones' analysis is its exploration of creolization in a British context. UK mods, skinheads and punks creolized JPM's meanings and symbols when they took Jamaican recordings (and then later created their own versions) and reinterpreted and adapted meanings, symbols and musical construc-

³⁵ See Bradley (2000), de Koningh & Cane-Honeysett (2003), de Koningh & Griffiths (2003) and Jones (1988) for other in-depth sociohistorical analyses of JPM in the U.K.

tions to suit their own needs.

The second group of non-Jamaican and non-Caribbean analysts of Jamaican music consists of five reference works on Jamaican music, by Barrow & Dalton (2004), Chang, Witmer & McCarthy (2005), Robinson (1999), Manuel (2005) and Roberts (1998). The first two are overviews of Jamaican folk, religious and popular music. Barrow & Dalton present an annotated discography with essays on artists and styles. Their analysis of thousands of recordings provides ample evidence that Jamaican popular musicians were multimusical (30). They also link many sociocultural and musical details, but provide few citations and too many general musical descriptions to fully support these claims. Chang, Witmer & McCarthy's (2005) encyclopedia article on Jamaican music is an overview of JPM history from its slave roots to 2004, with many citations and particular musical examples. Robinson's (1999) article on Jamaica is an overview of historical, political and economic events and factors with surprisingly little information about Jamaican music.

Manuel (1995) and Roberts (1998) provide overviews of Caribbean music, and African, Caribbean, Latin and African-American traditions, respectively. Both compare the development of JPM with other African Diasporic musics. Manuel notes that creolization is a common Caribbean process (14-6) that always involves "more than ... the mixing of ... [elements,] since people are active, creative agents ... and the new human product[s] ... take on li[ves]of [their] own" (14).

The third group of non-Jamaican and non-Caribbean analysts of Jamaican music consists of three anthologies, edited by Davis & Simon (1982), Potash (1997), and

Murrell, Spencer & McFarlane (1998). Davis & Simon (1982) collect essays by Garth White who links Jamaican musical characteristics to sociocultural factors, a musicological analysis of reggae by Ehrlich and a sociocultural analysis of reggae by Grass, interviews with significant cultural figures, and a chapter on reggae music made by non-Jamaicans. Potash (1997) collects academic articles, book excerpts, newspaper, magazine and Internet articles, with significant analytical articles by Bilby, Hebdige, O’Gorman and Reckford (all on music), Winders (on Rastafarianism), Pulis (on Jamaican Creole) and Chude-Sokei (on Africanisms,³⁶ Reggae and dancehall). Murrell (1998) is an impressive collection of academic essays on Rastafarianism by specialists Simpson, Barrett, Nettleford, Lewis and Chevannes, and on Jamaican culture by Chisholm, Hutton, Reckford, Rowe, Steffens, Edmonds, Hepner, Dutch anthropologist Van Dijk, and Tafariama, a Rastafarian “sistren” and media journalist.

The fourth group of non-Jamaican and non-Caribbean analysts of Jamaican music consists of twelve monographs. The first three are biographies of Bob Marley (White 1983 and Whitney & Hussey 1984) and of Lee Perry (Katz 2000). The final nine are two books by Barrett (on Jamaican folklore (1976) and a study of Rastafarianism (1977)); two studies on the Maroons, Bilby’s PhD dissertation (1979); Djedje’s (1998) essay; a 1986 article by Bilby & Leib on Nyabinghi music; and a musicological analysis of

³⁶ “Africanisms” refers to “features of [a community’s] culture and cultural orientation that were derived and evolved from an African ancestry” (Ryman 1983: 6). It was first suggested by anthropologist Melville Herskovits, and “subsequently refined by a series of supportive Herskovitsian concepts, namely: syncretism, cultural focus, cultural tenacity, and reinterpretations. ... Herskovits’s ... [views] entered the musicological tradition primarily through the work of ... Alan Merriam and Richard Waterman, ... prominent ethnomusicologists and scholars of black music” (Witmer 1981: 105).

JPM by Witmer (1981).

Katz (2000) and White (1983) are well-annotated biographical/sociohistorical studies of Lee Perry and Bob Marley, respectively, with many links to indigenous traditions. Whitney & Hussey (1984) examine Marley with reference to many cultural and historical details, with many interviews with his associates and family.

Barrett's studies are academic studies combined with his reflections growing up in Jamaica (1976) and fieldwork studies of Rastafarianism in the sixties and seventies (1977). Barrett emphasizes that "African retentions in [Jamaican] communit[ies] were ... a way of life handed down from generations of pure Africans" (1976: 15). Barrett acknowledges the importance of European traditions (and those from other countries such as India), but he argues that Jamaica's emotional core has *always* been dominated by West African beliefs and traditions.

Bilby's (1979) dissertation and Djedje's (1998) essay on the Jamaican Maroons examine Maroon culture, with many links between Maroon practices and beliefs and West and Central African traditions, especially religious practices. Bilby identifies similarities between corporeal orientations of ritual practices and dance movements (Bilby 1979: 135-140, 166); see section 1.4. Djedje focuses primarily on the January sixth celebrations, which non-Maroons are invited to attend, unlike most rituals and ceremonies which are restricted to other Maroons.

Kenneth Bilby and Elliott Leib (1986) examined recordings of Kumina musicians in 1953 in Kingston, and discovered interesting links between Kumina and Rastafarian music; see section 1.3.4.6.

Witmer's 1981 study examines JPM's development and musicological characteristics. Like Bilby, he criticizes JPM scholars whose claims are not linked to sociocultural factors. Although many analysts claim that Africanisms in JPM are *directly* linked to sub-Saharan African musics, most provide no evidence.

[Although JPM] can be perceived in light of ... musical Africanisms, with the result that many ... features are identifiable in the music ... when matters of cultural context are given due consideration issues arise which question the faith that attributions of Africanisms in Jamaican popular music denote direct historical continuities with an African cultural heritage. (Witmer 1981: 106)

It is not that continuities don't exist, but that *unsubstantiated* claims can overstate or distort their character and significance.

Witmer investigates these claims by analyzing musical influences that shaped JPM recordings, presented in section 1.3. African American music and culture exerted a strong influence upon Jamaican society since the mid-1800s. This influence was particularly strong in the post-World War II years, as many American tourists and musicians visited Jamaica, and American radio, TV, films and recordings became increasingly accessible and available. Given the common origins of Jamaican and African American musics in sub-Saharan musical traditions, Witmer argues that ascribing precise African origins to Jamaican musical practices is difficult and often impossible. There are many obvious African Americanisms in JPM and Jamaican culture introduced during the early twentieth century, especially in the 1940s and 1950s, just preceding and concurrent with the genesis of JPM.

[S]ome of the alleged Africanisms and 'indigenisms' in ... Jamaican popular music can be shown to be the probable result of stimulus diffusion³⁷ from music of

³⁷ "Stimulus diffusion is defined [by] Hunter & Whitten (1976) ... as ... 'the intercultural

the U.S.A. The foregoing statement is not meant to dispute the fact that Jamaican popular music also has an internal dynamic which may bring into play the Afro-Jamaican — and hence, hypothetically at least, the West African folk music heritage. (Witmer 1981: 110)

This claim will be examined in depth in section 1.3.2.1.

1.3 MUSICOLOGICAL ANALYSES OF JAMAICAN MUSIC

This section examines the work of scholars who consider Jamaican musics from a musicological perspective. Since enactivist research shows that one's perception, cognition and ways of interpreting the world are shaped by environmental factors, notably sociocultural ones, the strong, ongoing links between the Jamaican black majority's neo-African roots and West/Central African traditions are more than indications of historical origins. They also explain why Jamaicans gravitated towards African-style expressive forms even when presented with European alternatives and why they consistently altered European culture when they were forced to adopt it under threat of punishment. Unfortunately, the literature on Jamaican music and culture about West and Central African traditions omits many details. Thus, the first part of this section is dominated by evidence drawn from scholars who have focused primarily upon West and Central African musics.

1.3.1 THREE ISSUES RAISED BY KOFI AGAWU

West African musicologist Kofi Agawu raises three issues concerning musicological studies of African and African Diasporic musics which apply to most JPM studies.

1) Some musicologists focus upon ethnic origin, which can suggest essentialist links

transfer of a basic idea which is then reinterpreted by the receiving culture' ” (Witmer 1981: 110). Based upon this definition, stimulus diffusion is similar to creolization, discussed in section 1.2.5.2.

between cultural practices and genetics or race (Agawu 2003: 55-70). Contemporary neurobiological research shows that differences in cultural practices are primarily shaped by environmental factors.³⁸

2) Most musicologists and theorists focus primarily upon sound patterns, using recordings or transcriptions (Agawu 2003: xiv), and they

don't consider the choreographic element sedimented in the sounding parts. ... [W]ithout some sense of how individual African communities domesticate ... [sound] pattern[s] in dance, it is not possible to arrive at a correct, culturally sanctioned understanding. ... [A]nalysts [need] to draw insight from ... [relationships between] sound [and] movement. (Agawu 2006: 18)

Although relationships between body movements and sound patterns "is not a uniquely African problematic" (ibid.), there *are* particular African movement and sound couplings, and Jamaican culture is heavily influenced by West African movement patterns.

3) Most historical accounts claim that "first contact" between Europeans and Africans occurred in the New World between 1500-1860, but this ignores earlier encounters in Africa. Between 300-100 B.C.E., Romans and Spanish occupied the North African city of Carthage (Van Doren 1999: 387-8). In 332 B.C.E. Alexander the Great made Egypt part of the Greek empire (Schmitz 1999: 661). By 300 C.E., most Egyptians and Ethiopians had become Christians (ibid., Grierson & Munro-Hay 1999: 693). In the 1400s, the Portuguese established Ethiopian and West African outposts (Agawu 2003: 1).

The European intrusion in Africa ... had a profound effect on practically every aspect of African life: economic, political, social and religious. ... [A] rethink[ing is in order with regard to] the extent to which European influence has come to determine our construction of the 'purest' of African musics. (Agawu 2003: 3, 2, xix)

³⁸ This research is discussed in Chapters Three and Six.

1.3.1 THREE ISSUES BY KOFI AGAWU / 1.3.2 WEST AND CENTRAL AFRICAN ROOTS & INFLUENCES 50

As another example of pre-“first contact” European influence in Africa, after the Portuguese introduced Catholicism in the Koongo in the late 1400s, the Koongo³⁹ started to include Christian concepts and symbols in their religious rituals, which influenced later syncretizations of African and Christian religious practices in the New World (Warner-Lewis 2004: 26, 2003: 180-2).

Agawu’s views have four significant implications which have influenced this study). **1) Avoidance of essentializing cultural characteristics with their makers.** Rather, one should prioritize the influence of environmental factors and sociohistorical traditions upon cultural practices. Both sameness *and* differences should be considered to avoid essentialist conclusions (Agawu 2003: 151-71). **2) African Diasporic musics can be considered as a continuum of European and African influences, with the “pure” forms at either end and creolized forms in the middle.** **3) Musicological findings need triangulation with the findings of other methodologies;** e.g., ethnography, corporeal factors, and phenomenological analysis. **4) Since no specifics about African music exist prior to the fifteenth century (Agawu 2003: 22), the most significant (and authentic) sources for the history of African Diasporic cultures are indigenous traditions, rituals and practices.**

1.3.2 WEST AND CENTRAL AFRICAN ROOTS AND INFLUENCES

Like Agawu, West African musicologist J.H. Nketia (1981) argues that studies of African and Diasporic musics should include

performer-audience interaction, movement expression and a variety of contextual considerations which affect music and which are similar to those which operate in Africa. ...The field of inquiry ...[should] not [be] limited to the constituents of

³⁹ Warner-Lewis (2004) notes that the more common “Congo” is a misspelling in nineteenth-century European documents.

[sonic] structure but extended to modes of expression and presentation as well as the values that govern the selection and use of musical materials, and music making. ... [One's] frame of reference ... [should] be the musical culture as a whole. (87)

Nketia identifies two types of African styles: "i) traditional African [music] ... and its varieties; ii) the Afro-American alternative and its different varieties in North and South America and the Caribbean as well as new varieties ... in Africa itself" (ibid.: 88). John Storm Roberts makes the same distinction with regard to diasporic musics, and provides additional nuances.⁴⁰ He labels the first type " 'neo-African' music; [its] elements are still totally or very largely African. The origins of this music ... [can be] established by comparison with present-day Africa, or ... because its practitioners themselves still remember where it came from" (Roberts 1998: 1). "The second sort ... consists of various blends of European and African ingredients, all of which have been molded into a new and original music" (Roberts 1998: 1). Roberts doesn't label this second type; I suggest "African-European creole forms." Like Witmer, Roberts (1998) notes that "the African origins of [African-European creole forms] are ... difficult to pinpoint, because even when we can still isolate African strands they are so changed as to have become broadly 'African' rather than narrowly Yoruba, Ashanti, Congo-Angolan, or whatever" (1).

Nketia (1977) explains how social factors have influenced musical content and practices in both African and Jamaican environments.

[S]ocial values ... inspire music making and determine certain details of what is selected and presented. They influence or guide the content of the music and the use of music in relation to events in the life of the individual or his [sic] group.

⁴⁰ Storm doesn't cite Nketia, so the similarity appears to be coincidental.

They ensure that formal distinctions of some sort are maintained between categories of music identified with social groups or social occasions ... Sometimes they ... determine not only the source of communication, but also the medium, and define who the message is intended for. (5)

Since JPM was initially produced and consumed by the black majority, their culture has been a significant factor in shaping Jamaican aesthetics, cultural processes and products.⁴¹ Most Jamaican slaves were from West and Central Africa (part of sub-Saharan Africa — see **MAP 1.1**, pg. 53). The majority were from the Gold Coast (today: Ghana), home of the Akan (an umbrella term for the Brong, Ashanti, Fanti, Koromanti and Akwapim peoples,⁴² and the Ga-Andangme peoples) (Warner-Lewis 2002: 89-90); the second largest group were from the West-Central African region (today: Gabon, São Tomé, Congo-Brazzaville, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Angola) (Warner-Lewis 2004: 24).⁴³ Those taken from Central Africa were frequently called “Congo”

⁴¹ The percentage of Jamaicans of pure African descent has always been high: 86% in 1791; 75.6% in 1943; 76% in 1989; 85% in 2002 (Rouse 2000: 39, Warner-Lewis 2002: 109).

⁴² **Other tribes mentioned in the literature who lived in Jamaica:** From West Africa: the Andagme, Dahomias (Barnett 1978: 221); the Widah (Beckwith 1929: 4), the Mandingoes, Eboes, Why-dahs / Papawa, Nagoes, Samboes (Dunham 1946: 9); Hausa, Moko, Nago, Sobo (Niger) (Jekyll 1907: x); Ewe (Ghana), Ibo (Nigeria), Bantu (Central Africa) (Rouse 2000: 291); Bambara (Mali), Dogun, Kru (Liberia) and Sara (Central Africa) (Ryman 1984a: 15, 1984b: 53-4). **Other originating African countries for Jamaicans** include Sierra Leone (Barnett); Guinea (Baxter 1970: 42); Niger, Nigeria, Liberia, Dahomey (today: Benin), Gambia (Lewin 2000: 37); Senegal (Murray 1971: 8); Cameroon, Guinea-Bissau, Ivory Coast (Cote-d’Ivoire), Mali and Upper Volta (today: Burkina Faso) (Ryman 1984b: 53, 56).

⁴³ African history was primarily oral, so most existing accounts are by European explorers (Warner-Lewis 2003: xx). The following authors analyze African history as it pertains to early Jamaican history; bold ones are the most detailed. Studies marked (*) have authoritative immigration and population statistics. **Alleyne** (1984, 1988*), **Appiah & Gates** (1999), **Barnett** (1978), **Barrett** (1976), **Baxter** (1970), **Bilby** (1979, 1995), **Brathwaite** (1971, 1978), **Burton** (1997*), **Chang, Witmer & McCarthy** (2005*), **Clarke** (1980), **Crowell** (2002), **Davis & Simon** (1982), **Gottschild** (2002), **Johnson & Pines** (1982), **Lewin** (2000*), **Manuel** (1995), **Monteith & Richards** (2002*), **Mulvaney** (1985), **Murray** (1971), **Myers** (in Jekyll 1907: 278-84), **Rath** (1993), **Roberts** (1998), **Robinson** (1999), **Rouse** (2000*), **Ryman** (1984a, 1984b), **Sloat**

tribes (Alleyne 1988: 37). Some researchers have confirmed ancestral identities from interviews with older Jamaicans and details in stories, songs, dance, rituals and paintings.⁴⁵

Based upon the earliest accounts about Jamaican music, written in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,⁴⁶ which identify many West/Central African characteristics, and from in-depth analyses of cultural practices since that time, these researchers conclude that Jamaican blacks' social values and worldview have always been "thoroughly wedded to... African origins. [In most of their cultural practices] there was an African core. ... [Jamaican] culture [has] remained essentially African in character" (Burton 1997: 19). Many other Jamaican scholars share Burton's perspective.⁴⁷ As Lewin puts it (2000), Jamaican "tradition[al practices] and expressive forms ... embodie[d] the ideas and beliefs of [the black majority] and/or relate[d] to their point of view about their daily activities recounted faithfully from their points of view" (xii). Most upper- and middle-class Jamaicans considered anything African as "primitive," a bias which shaped legislation and educational policies until the late sixties. When former slave children

⁴⁵ e.g., Alleyne, Baxter, Beckwith, Bennett, Bilby, Brathwaite, Burton, Carty, Davis & Simon, Dunham, Foehr, Foster, Hopkin, Jekyll, Katz, Leaf, Lewin, Nettleford, O'Gorman, Reckford, Roberts, Rouse, Ryman, D. Thomas, Warner-Lewis and G. White. See Bibliography for citations.

⁴⁶ For analysis of these early accounts, see Baxter (1970: 20-81, 119-23, 128-73, 195-207, 219-31), Brathwaite (1971), Burton (1997: 13-115), Epstein (2003: 10-12, 40-2, 58-9, 85-8, 188-9), Maultsby (1985: 29-27), Monteith & Richards (2002: 3-178, 225-323), Murray (1971: 1-31, 94), Myers (in Jekyll 1907: 278-84), Nettleford (1979: 59-60), Radano (2003: 159, 204, 308-9), Rath (1993), Rouse (2000: 1-18), Ryman (1984a, 1984b), Thomas (2004: 31-45), Tracey (1980: 29-31) and Wynter (1970).

⁴⁷ Alleyne (1988), Brathwaite (1971), Carty (1988: 14, 93), Nettleford (1979: 202), Reckford (1982: 72; 1998: 231), Warner-Lewis (2002: 109) and White (1982a: 45-6).

went to school after emancipation in 1838, they were taught only European history and values.⁴⁸ Displaying anything African or speaking in creole were punishable offences (Barrett 1977: 5-6). As a result, many neo-African traditions were practiced primarily at home and in black communities, giving them a subversive quality.⁴⁹ (Alleyne 1988, Barrett 1976, 1977, Baxter 1970; Brathwaite 1971 and Lewin 2000). Until independence in 1962, most middle- and upper-class Jamaicans ignored the lower classes' traditions, which allowed them to develop unhindered (Lewin 2000: xii 36). Alleyne (1988), a specialist in Jamaican folklore, stresses that worldviews are "[mostly] beneath the surface of consciousness [and are] persistent even in the worst conditions" (6). Because worldviews are encoded in cultural forms and expressions, they function subliminally and automatically, but they can be inferred from cultural practices (ibid.: 151-8). The Jamaican worldview is rooted in an African one.

Simha Arom (1991), an ethnomusicologist who specializes in Central African music, observes that

⁴⁸ Many analysts overstate the influence of European traditions in Jamaican society. Burton notes that it was the minority "coloured" group of Jamaicans (i.e., mixed race, aka as brown or creole Jamaicans (Nettleford 1969: 26)) which "were most inclined to venerate the European, and specifically the English ... In dress, manner, and sometimes speech, they set out to assimilate Englishness and so situate[d] themselves in opposition ... to the black masses" (Burton 1997: 35-6). See Thomas (1997) for another in-depth analysis of Jamaican sociocultural history.

⁴⁹ As Ryman (1984) puts it, "In the absence of open rebellion or perceived mobility, working out these alternatives has involved going back to 'roots' — to the source of cultural strength and identification" (51). Barrett (1976) notes that many folk expressions were "coded communication [which the slaves] used ... as weapons against [their] opponents. ... [F]olklore ... demonstrate[s] the Black assertion in everyday life" (38-9, 51). Clarke (1980) concurs: "Many songs satirized their masters by means of a specially constructed language which the masters could not understand" (22). See Barrett (1977: 26-67) re: history of black Jamaican rebellion.

the notion of art, and that of musical art in particular, in sub-Saharan Africa ...[is based upon] a *unitary* vision of the world ... [that] links ... philosophy, religion, society and art. ... [T]raditional musics ... are woven into the cycle of individual, familial and collective existence to such an extent that they are an inseparable and indispensable part of the social and religious life of the community. ... [Music] is invariably a part of a more inclusive activity, a whole of which it is merely a part. (6-8, italics in original)⁵⁰

For Jamaica's black majority, "The act of making music [has always been] enmeshed in community life" (Bilby 1995: 151-2). "Music and dance [have been] tightly integrated with other aspects of ... folk culture and with [the] social life [of the poor]" (White 1982a: 43). These scholars identify many particular African cultural practices which exist in Jamaica basically unchanged, many of which involve music.⁵¹ They create an African emotional core in daily life that is an integral component of the Jamaican identity.

A *partial* list⁵² of the neo-African forms, customs and traditional expressions still

⁵⁰ See also Agawu (2003: xi-xiv, 205-10), Chernoff (1979: 33), Ekwueme (1974: 137-8), Maultsby (1985: 45-47), Roberts (1998: xxvi), Tracey (1980: 32, 1994: 272-3) and Wilson (1985: 10).

⁵¹ E.g., Alleyne (1984: 4-8, 1988: 62, 149-157), Baxter (1970), Brathwaite (1970), Hopkin (1978: 34), Lewin (1983: 34-5), O'Gorman (1987a: 87), Rath (1993: 705-6), Roberts (1998: xxiii), Ryman (1984: 53) and Warner-Lewis (2002, 2003: 114-37).

⁵² This list is compiled from analyses of African folklore, traditions and cultural retentions in sub-Saharan Africa or Jamaica by the following scholars; most Jamaican scholars give examples of cultural retentions, citing particular sub-Saharan traditions still existing in Jamaica. Items without page references present examples throughout their study. From studies of African traditions: Agawu (2003: 205-10), Arom (1991: 6-15, 15), Chernoff (1991: 1094), Ekwueme (1974), Nketia (1973, 1974, 1977, 1978, 1981), Tracey (1980: 32; 1994: 272-7), Warner-Lewis (2002, 2003, 2004) and Wilson (1981: 99, 1985: 10). From studies of Jamaican traditions: Alleyne (1984: 3-8; 1988: 1-8, 149-66), Barrett (1976: 29-32), Baxter (1970: 128-231), Beckwith (1929), Bilby (1979: 38-40, 131-5, 151-67, 1995), Brathwaite (1971), Burton (1997), Carty (1988), Gottschild (2002), Hopkin (1978, 1984), Jekyll (1907), Lewin (1983; 2000: 19, 23-9, 147-9, 310), Maultsby (1985: 25-37, 41-51), Murray (1971: 76-131), Nettleford (1966; 1969: 32; 1979: 183-5, 202-26), O'Gorman (1987a: 87), Rath (1993: 715), Roberts (1998: xxiii-xxxi, 4-71), Ryman (1983: appendix 57-60, 1984), Simpson & Moore (1957: 198-9), Stowell (2000), Stolzoff (2000: xix, 14-19, 45), Thomas (2004), White (1982a: 45-58; 1982c: 26-9) and Wynter (1970: 36-42, 44, 46-7).

present in Jamaica (which were particularly prominent in the first half of the twentieth century, and thus were influential upon the creators of JPM) includes the following:

- **aesthetic preferences** (predilection toward circular vs. linear structures, e.g., in dance, games, music and storytelling)
- **agricultural practices, carnivals and festivals**
- **ancestor worship**
- **belief systems** (unity of God, nature and all living things; Earth as holy mother; multiple spirits constituting one's soul)
- **building construction**
- **collectivist and communal orientations** (in artistic dialogic forms, e.g., music, drama and stories)
- **love of complexity** (emphasis upon improvisation, interaction, open-ended forms and spontaneity)
- **corporeal emphasis** (in religion and music)
- **dances** (unified with music)
- **diet**
- **domestic routines** (cleaning, cooking implements/procedures and food preparation)
- **dream interpretation**
- **dress**
- **drums and percussion** (construction and symbolism: three-drum grouping, thumb piano, hand drum, abeng (cow horn) and body percussion (handclapping, stamping, etc.))
- **etiquette**
- **family practices and relationships** (childrearing practices, matriarchal dominance, naming practices and multiple partners)
- **fishing and hunting practices**
- **games** (played by both children and adults, mostly cooperatively and in circles)
- **hairstyles**
- **herbal medicine** (practiced in balmyards)
- **icons**
- **language forms** (aphorisms, blessings, curses, folk sayings, folk tales, graces, invocations and "nommo" — belief in magical powers of words, prayers, proverbs, riddles, rituals, story themes and characters (e.g., Anansi))
- **legends**
- **use of masks**
- **motor patterns** (gestures, posture, walking, etc.; patterns in domestic

and field work) • **myths** • **omens** • **philosophy** • **emphasis upon process** • **religious practices** (animal sacrifices, anointing of earth, birth, celebrations, dancing in counter-clockwise circles, fertility rites, funerals, marriage and possession, all incorporating songs as a predominant part of ritual practices) • **social institutions** (e.g., secret societies); • **songs** • **magical use of stones** • **storytelling style** (mixing audience participation, dance, drama and mimicry) • **superstitions** • **views about time** (intertwined with natural events and circularity vs. clock-time; linked to beliefs of spirits and ancestors existing in the present) • **water** (symbol of life used in healing). Alleyne and Warner-Lewis have also identified many parallels between West/Central African and Jamaican mental dispositions as reflected in cognitive orientations and grammatical/syntactical constructions (Warner-Lewis 2003: 288). Lewin (2000) explains the role of music in educating children.⁵³

[The teaching of African values] started at birth, and continued through infancy, ... childhood to puberty. Lullabies, stories with songs, ring games, and the song plays were used [to teach] ... loyalty, obedience, truthfulness, ... concentration, cooperation, self-discipline and respect for elders. (63)

⁵³ One of the most powerful aspects of Jamaican traditional musics is their deeply significant, symbolic association with old ways and their role in preserving African traditions and passing them on to the young (Lewin 2000: 41-3). In African traditions, music is considered as much a vehicle of learning and education as it is a source of entertainment (Jones 1988: 27).

1.3.2.1 WEST AND CENTRAL AFRICAN MUSICAL CHARACTERISTICS: FROM THE AFRICAN MUSIC LITERATURE

Even though most JPM musicologists⁵⁴ and sociocultural scholars⁵⁵ claim that Jamaican music is rooted in West and Central African traditions, only a few substantiate these claims with analysis, examples and references to particular African musics. This section examines findings and characteristics about West and Central African music primarily from the African music literature, with a view to identifying those characteristics which are also frequently present in Jamaican music.

Richard Waterman's (1952: 212) list of five sub-Saharan African musical characteristics is frequently cited in both the African⁵⁶ music- and JPM-literature. In the latter group, JPM scholars note that these traits also appear in Jamaican music:⁵⁷ 1. METRONOME SENSE, 2. DOMINANCE OF PERCUSSION, 3. POLYMER, 4. OFFBEAT PHRASING OF MELODIC ACCENTS, and 5. OVERLAPPING CALL-AND-RESPONSE; (Waterman's definitions of each are presented and discussed below). Basing claims of Jamaican music's African heritage solely upon this list is problematic for at least two reasons: 1) Because these

⁵⁴ Bilby, Ehrlich, Hopkin, Lewin, Murray, O'Gorman, Reckford, Roberts, Rouse, Simpson & Moore, Stolzoff, G. White, Whylie and Witmer.

⁵⁵ (Authors marked * consider African movement patterns in detail, presented in section 1.4.) Alleyne, Barnett, Barrett, Barrow & Dalton, Baxter, Burton, Beckwith, Brathwaite, *Carty, Chang & Chen, Clarke, Foehr, *Gottschild, Johnson & Pines, Jones, Monteith & Richards, *Nettleford, *Ryman, Simon & Davis, Thomas, Warner-Lewis and Wynter.

⁵⁶ The items in Waterman's list appear on similar lists or in discussions of West and/or Central African musical characteristics by Agawu (2003: 72-151, 195-6, 2006: 12-42), Arom (1991: 17-44), Chernoff (1991), Kubik (1986, 1993, 1994, 1998), Locke (1982), Nketia (1963, 1973, 1975, 1977, 1978, 1981), Tracey (1994), and Wilson (1981, 1985).

⁵⁷ There is one exception; trait #3 Polymer, is *not* regularly cited in either the African music- or JPM-literature; see discussion below.

characteristics are also present in other African diasporic musics, they are not unique to Jamaican music. Witmer (1981: 110) argues (section 1.2.5.3), that it is likely that Jamaican musicians could have experienced and acquired “Waterman’s traits” from other African-European Creole musics (especially African American ones) and not from African or even neo-African Jamaican ones. (This argument will be analyzed below.) 2) Waterman omits *many* other African features that have been influential upon Jamaican music.

Here are Waterman’s original five traits; comments in the boxes summarize his definitions. Other African and JPM analysts provide additional perspectives about Waterman’s five traits; their analyses follow Waterman’s definitions.

1. METRONOME SENSE: Musical patterns are organized by regularly spaced pulses which are linked to corresponding body movements; most African music is for dancing.

a) Corporeal Movements and Background/Regulative Pulse

Nketia (1963) points out that the steady background/regulative pulse/beat⁵⁸ in African music is often silent (87).⁵⁹ Performers and participants usually move downward to articulate and feel each pulse corporeally,⁶⁰ whether sounded or not, so beats are always first and foremost physical events (Agawu 2003: 130, Nketia 1963: 87, 1974: 125, Tracey 1994: 277-8). Ryman⁶¹ stresses that bodily articulation of the beat always consists of an increased internal sensation of weight or tension which is not always visible to an

⁵⁸ Nketia’s “regulative beat” means exactly the same as “metronome sense” (Nketia 1963: 87).

⁵⁹ Agawu (2003: 130, 2006: 19) calls silent beats: “unsounded,” “assumed,” “externalized,” “emergent” beats and “motor feelings,” and stresses that they are always internalized.

⁶⁰ “[These] movement[s] ... [include] lurching of the shoulders, wagging of the toes, shaking of the head [and] stamping of the foot” (Nketia in Agawu 2006: 20).

⁶¹ In personal communications with author 2002-05; see Appendix A, Part Two.

observer. When combined with consistent offbeat⁶² accents, “the sounded [offbeat] notes lift the dancers up while the unsounded notes are accented by downward or emphatic movement⁶³” (Chernoff 1991: 1099). Experienced over a lifetime, these sound-movement couplings become automatic/involuntary (Agawu 2003: 94, Arom 1991: 10, 181-20, Chernoff 1991: 1098, Kubik 1979: 227-8, 231, Locke 1982: 244, Tracey 1980: 33, 43).

b) Role and Perception of Silence (Suppressed and Unplayed/Hidden Beats)

Interrelated to a) is the use of silence, which reflects African music’s participatory aesthetic (see trait #6c on pg. 68). “[S]ilences are an important part of [sonic patterns] ... [and are] not an absence of sound but [often] an intentional placement of silence as a substitute for sound” (Agawu 2003: 77). When a musician repeats a pattern and leaves out a sound on a beat, this silence is perceived and felt as a “suppress[ed] ... beat ... [which is] part of an aesthetic of play found in numerous African communities;” listeners/dancers enjoy making body movements on suppressed beats (Agawu 2003: 77). Empty spaces also allow other musicians “to punctuate or anchor [these] phrases” (Chernoff 1991: 1098; see also 1991: 1095, 1979: 60 and Tracey 1980: 35).

⁶² Definition of offbeat from Arom (1991: 207) and Locke (1982: 227): any sound that is not articulated on the beat, i.e., which occurs *anywhere* in-between beats.

⁶³ Hornbostel’s (1928) analysis of body movement patterns in African music concludes the opposite: that, when moving to African music, bodies move down on the strong sounds (offbeats) and up on weak ones (beats). His methodology consisted of analyzing African music audio recordings and studying Americans’ movements to jazz. What he witnessed confirms Nketia’s and Arom’s observations that people without appropriate cultural knowledge do not interpret African rhythms in the same way that African musicians do. John Blacking (1955), in his analysis of Hornbostel’s study, mostly concurs with his findings. Chernoff (1979: 200) and Ekwueme (1974: 138) challenge Hornbostel’s and Blacking’s interpretation of African performance practices, especially with regard to Hornbostel’s interpretations of body movement patterns necessary to play a drum.

1.3.2.1 WEST\CENTRAL AF'N MUSICAL CHARACTERISTICS: 2. DOMINANCE OF PERCUSSION 3. POLYMER 62

2. DOMINANCE OF PERCUSSION: Even melodic instruments are played percussively, often with short, repeated patterns.

Nketia (1981) notes that the primary framework of African music is a rhythmic one (86), and as noted above, the perception of African rhythms is strongly linked to particular corporeal responses. Considered phenomenologically, then, "the percussive texture [of African music]... often can be felt as well as heard" (Chernoff 1991: 1099).

3. POLYMER: Musical patterns are often organized in different meters as the primary means to generate complex rhythmic effects.

Agawu (2003: 72-93) and Arom (1991: 20, 162, 201, 206-7, 659) argue that "polyrhythm," rather than "polymer" more accurately describes African rhythmic organization from the perspective of African performers and participants.⁶⁴ They perceive irregular, asymmetrical patterns/phrases as rhythmic variations or counterpoint in an unchanging meter (usually in two- or four-beat cycles, with beats articulated by body movements). Polyrythms are usually correlated by aural, visual and corporeal cues. (Visual cues usually involve the synchronization of body movement patterns.) African musicians also use qualitative thinking, gestures and language to describe rhythmic patterns, not counting with numbers (Agawu 2006: 11-3, 18-9 Arom 1991: 180).

The "polymer" label comes from Western musicologists' analysis of polyrhythms without body movements to interpret the sound patterns from participants' perspectives. These musicologists also often misperceive accented offbeats as beats.

⁶⁴ "Polyrhythm" aka as composite rhythms, rhythmic counterpoint and cross rhythms. See Agawu (2003: 79-85, 92-6) and Arom (1991: 20-23, 39-44, 145-211) for discussion of "polymer," "cross rhythm" and "polyrhythm." See Arom (1991: 215-7) for a discussion of different polyrhythmic techniques in African music.

1.3.2.1 WEST\CENTRAL AFRICAN MUSICAL CHARACTERISTICS: 4. OFFBEAT PHRASING OF MEL. ACCENTS 63

4. OFFBEAT PHRASING OF MELODIC ACCENTS: Melodies frequently accent notes in-between beats, either delaying or advancing the beat. Some accompaniment patterns consist entirely of notes played in-between beats.

The African aesthetic preference for offbeat accents involves two interrelated aspects: 1) placement of offbeat accents in phrases and 2) accompaniment patterns. In West African music, “There is a marked preference for phrases which begin before and after the main beats” (Nketia 1963: 88, Agawu 2003: 93), a rhythmic feel which comes from the accents of African language prosody. “Duplicati[on of] the rhythm of the spoken word in the melodic line of a song ... is a ... predominant characteristic of Western African ... song” (Rouse 2000: 285); many phrases end with a strong offbeat accent (Arom 1991: 10-1). Chernoff (1979) also notes that “the main ... [accent] of ... phrase[s] often come at the end of ... phrase[s] and not at the beginning” (56). The accents in the music of the Anlo-Ewe⁶⁵ of the Guinean Coast of West Africa can be both asymmetrically placed and equidistantly/regularly placed (Locke 1982: 227), which “tease the listener, ... arouse expectations for a sound and then ... deny fulfillment” (Agawu 2006: 27).

Body percussion is the most-used accompaniment;⁶⁶ handclapping is the “most important form of musical accompaniment ... [in] the [African] continent as a whole” (Roberts 1998: xxiii). Many accompaniment patterns prioritize regular offbeat accents, which Locke (1982) calls “ ‘consistent offbeat accent.’ ... This emphasis “pull[s] against the

⁶⁵ “Anlo” refers to the southern Ewe people (Locke 1982: 245)

⁶⁶ Chernoff (1991: 1093), Maultsby (1985: 32-3, 46), Ryman (1983 Appendix: 57) and Wilson (1974: 15).

⁶⁹ Chernoff (1991), Kubik (1999), Nketia (1963), Stone (1994), Waterman (1952) and Wilson (1974) all use “offbeat” with the same definition as Arom (1991: 207) and Locke (1982: 227).

1.3.2.1 WEST\CENTRAL AFRICAN MUSICAL CHARACTERISTICS: 4. OFFBEAT PHRASING OF MEL. ACCENTS 65

than the first or downbeat,"⁷⁰ which suggests that offbeats can occur on a beat. Thus, according to this definition, the underlined notes in $\frac{4}{4}$ | ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ | are all "offbeats."

The other meaning is common in popular music analysis and used by many musicians:

"offbeat" as a synonym for "**backbeat**,"⁷¹ which *Grove* defines as "the second and fourth

beats of a $\frac{4}{4}$ or a $\frac{12}{8}$ bar," which are usually accented, i.e., | $\frac{4}{4}$ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ | or

| $\frac{12}{8}$ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ | .

A less frequent, but highly problematic label for offbeats in the African music literature, but common elsewhere, especially in the JPM literature, is 'upbeat.' *Grove*⁷² provides three definitions; only the first is used in African and JPM literature; each of these definitions is represented by the notation in **FIGURE 1.3** on next page; i.e., all notes marked with an asterisk are upbeats according to the *Grove* definition.

- 1) A sound midway between beats; see pattern i).
- 2) A note "that immediately precedes, and hence anticipates, the downbeat"; this note may fall on or in-between beats; see patterns ii) to vii). (This meaning is synonymous with "anacrusis.")
- 3) "An initiation on a non-accent, and as such it is rhythmically unstable: its most fundamental characteristic is the forward impulse it generates toward the accent." This impulse is different than that created by African offbeats that precede sonically unaccented or silent beats.⁷³ (In African practices, beats usually receive a strong

⁷⁰ Definitions are from the online version entry on "offbeat."

⁷¹ In most popular music (especially African-European Creole forms), the snare drum articulates backbeats. The bass drum usually plays on beat one, and frequently on beat three.

⁷² Quotations in this paragraph and music examples from "Upbeat" in *Grove Music Online*.

⁷³ Silent beats, of course, receive a strong corporeal accent.

⁷⁴ Agawu (2006) calls this perspective “cultural analysis” (6-7, 26).

He calls delayed offbeats “**afterbeats**” (27), which accurately identifies their character as the echo of the beat just heard. (Afterbeat is also a common word used by Jamaican musicians and musicologists used to refer to delayed beats.⁷⁵) Agawu, Stolzoff (2000:60) and *Grove* all suggest that “backbeat” is synonymous with “afterbeat.” Given backbeat’s most common meaning (as accented second and fourth beats), this synonym is problematic.⁷⁶ With regard to anticipated offbeats, Agawu doesn’t provide any label; he simply calls them “offbeats” (27-8). It appears that an additional term is needed to identify offbeats which anticipate the following downbeat. I propose “**prebeat**.”

5. OVERLAPPING CALL-AND-RESPONSE: Antiphonal responses, usually rhythmical and repetitive, are the mainstay of most songs/pieces and provide a solid rhythmical foundation. The call, or lead part, is usually quite free in comparison to the response, and may weave in and out of the response, or stop altogether while the response continues alone.

“Antiphonal and responsorial structures are the dominant characteristic of traditional Central [and West] African music” (Arom 1991: 18). (See also #6a, pg. 68, and #6c, pg. 69.)

In addition to Waterman’s five traits, at least another six are identified in the African music literature. Traits # 6, 7, 9 and 10 are only considered by a few JPM scholars, whereas #8 and #11 receive little or no mention.

6. A) PRINCIPLE OF REPETITION / VARIATION / EMBELLISHMENT: Most African music scholars identify repetition as African music’s “modus operandi,” i.e., its most characteristic feature (Agawu 2003: 81, Arom 1991: 17-8).

⁷⁵ The first appearance of “afterbeat” in the JPM literature is in an interview with Jamaican singer, producer, deejay and songwriter Prince Buster (Cecil Campbell) (in Simon & Davis 1977: 103).

⁷⁶ The predominance of “afterbeat” in the JPM literature is a strong argument for its use nonetheless.

1.3.2.1 WEST AND CENTRAL AFRICAN MUSICAL CHARACTERISTICS: 6) PRINCIPLE OF REPETITION... 68

Alleyne (1988) notes that repetition is linked to overall African aesthetic principles of variation and embellishment in all forms of expression.

In language, the African aims at circumlocution. The direct statement is considered crude and unimaginative, the veiling of all contents in ever-changing paraphrase is considered the criterion of intelligence and personality.⁷⁷ In music the same tendency towards obliquity and ellipsis is noticeable: no note is attacked straight, the voice or instrument always approaches it from above or below. (160)

Agawu (2003: 78) roots this trait in Africans' preference for rhythmic difference, i.e., polyrhythms. African repetition is rarely literal; it usually involves embellishments and variations, which generate numerous versions of any musical idea or piece. To facilitate variations, musical ideas are accompanied by short ostinati patterns, with narrow pitch ranges combined with complex foreground patterns, which often contain repeated/ varied motifs (Agawu 2003: 78-85, Arom 1991: 17-8, 40). Recurring patterns create a feeling of circularity, i.e., of going over the same ground (Arom 1991: 207, Tracey 1994: 284).

6B) REPETITION AS A LINK TO AFRICAN RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND WORLDVIEWS:

Repetition/variation/embellishment are intimately linked with the African worldview of the unity of living things with the spirit world (Arom 1991: 6).

Repetition ... bring[s] a sense of depth, perfection, clarification to the rhythm, and the relationships involved in producing it. [It] also helps [achieve] ... perfect ... integration of ...one's mind, the various moving parts of one's body, the movement patterns, the other performers ... [T]he depth of relationships ... experienced during a [musical] performance can be felt as spiritual, even if the occasion is not formally 'religious.' ... This idea of 'depth' is extended to include the whole ... community, not only the present performers [and other participants] but also ... all one's relatives, present and past. (Tracey 1980: 32, 1994: 285-6)

From an enactivist perspective, the power of religious belief and its associated symbols have a profound effect upon the perception of those whose religious beliefs

⁷⁷ Roberts (1998: xxiv) makes this same point.

1.3.2.1 WEST/CENTRAL AFRICAN MUSICAL CHARACTERISTICS: 6) PRINCIPLE OF REPETITION... 7)METER 69

prioritize particular choreographic rhythms. In the case of African traditions, the lack of separation between religion and secular life was maintained in Jamaica. This led to a unity between religious and secular Jamaican forms whereby similar choreographic rhythms were shared between ritual practices and secular dancing. (Discussed in sections 1.3.2.7, 1.3.4.2, 1.4.1.4, 1.4.1.7 and 1.4.2.2 that examine the relationships between Kumina, Revivalism and ska dancing.)

6C) PRINCIPLES OF COMMUNAL CREATIVITY & PARTICIPATION AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO STRUCTURE/DEVELOPMENT: "Music making is generally organized as a social event" (Nketia 1974: 21). Structures prioritize participation, cooperation, mutual support and the sharing of energy (Arom 1991: 7, 212, Chernoff 1991: 1094, Tracey 1994: 273, 275-6).

Rhythmic structures reflect these values; meaning occurs only in the combination of interactive parts (Tracey 1994: 279). The "best" rhythms are playful, dialogic, cooperative and communal — i.e., "celebratory of individuals within a communal framework" (Agawu in Arom 1991: 206). The support of existing parts also reflects these ideals. Reinforcing a part involves "play[ing] something different against [it], ... something that fills in ... empty pulses, ... [but] stays out of [its] space, [contributing something] complement[ary]" (Tracey 1994: 281). Open-ended forms are not random events with no direction. Interactions between participants generate "micro-activity in different dimensions [which] often produces climactic moments" (Agawu 2006: 40).

7. PRINCIPLES OF METER: There are two views of "meter" in African music. Arom (1991) finds Western applications of "meter" problematic (201), whereas Agawu and Kubik find it suitable if based upon the corporeal pattern cycles that underpin a composition.

Arom objects to Western implications of groupings of consistently strong and weak beats as found in European practices, which he feels are inapplicable to African music. Although he states repeatedly that body movement plays a significant, central

1.3.2.1 WEST AND CENTRAL AFRICAN MUSICAL CHARACTERISTICS: 7. METER, 8. RESULTANT RHYTHMS 70

role in African musical practices, his analyses don't include the corporeal component as either a generative or as a governing principle, so opposition to the use of "meter" seems to be the result of only considering sound patterns. Agawu (2006: 19, 23-4) and Kubik (1985: 38, 35) argue that most problems in the application of "meter" to African music are due to the omission of participants' body movements which guide both the performance of, and response to, sonic patterns. Musicians and audiences assign metrical meaning to sound patterns based upon their prior phenomenological experiences. "[They] bring a metric attitude — perhaps even a metric prejudice — to the performance" (Agawu 2006: 23; see also Chernoff 1991: 1096-9, Tracey 1980: 35, 1987: 43). Most West/Central African music is in 2 or 4 beat groupings (Agawu 2003, Arom 1991, Chernoff 1991 and Nketia 1974, 1977, 1978). Beats are usually subdivided into three, and occasionally, two parts. Nketia (in Locke 1982: 245) notes that the first beat of a cycle (i.e., the downbeat⁷⁸) is often left unsounded.

8. RESULTANT RHYTHMS (sometimes called "Inherent Rhythms"): Resultant rhythms emerge out of an ensemble texture; i.e., they are rhythms "which are not [actually] being played as such [by any one person/part]" (Kubik 1962: 33).

Resultant rhythms⁷⁹ are the result of polyrhythms, hocketing and/or masking. **Hocketing** is "the predominant instrumental technique [of all sub-Saharan African music. It involves] the breaking up of a musical idea into short fragments amongst no less than two voices" (Arom 1991: 43). **FIGURE 1.4** presents an example, by Agawu

⁷⁸ Agawu (2003: 77) refers to the first beat of African timeline cycles as "the downbeat."

⁷⁹ Anku (1997) uses both "resultant rhythm" and "monolithic rhythm" to refer to the same thing: the combined/composite rhythm that emerges out of a polyrhythmic texture.

1.3.2.1 WEST AND CENTRAL AFRICAN MUSICAL CHARACTERISTICS: 8. RESULTANT RHYTHMS (MASKING) 71

(2003), of a resultant rhythm emerging from a pattern split-up into two parts (i.e., Lines 1 & 2). In this example both parts are played by one person.

[These] two differentiated rhythmic patterns unfold within the same time span but articulate that space differently ... According to the standard [Western] explanation, the African musician beats two equal beats in one hand (line 1) and three equal beats in the other (line 2), ...[which] impl[ies] a low-level bimetric organization: right hand in $\frac{6}{8}$ and left hand in $\frac{3}{4}$. (Agawu 2003: 91-2)

African musicians (listeners and dancers) conceptualize, perceive, perform and move to this rhythm as shown in Line 3: in a $\frac{6}{8}$ grouping (i.e., with two $\downarrow$ pulses subdivided into three parts per beat). This perception is reflected in their body movements, which

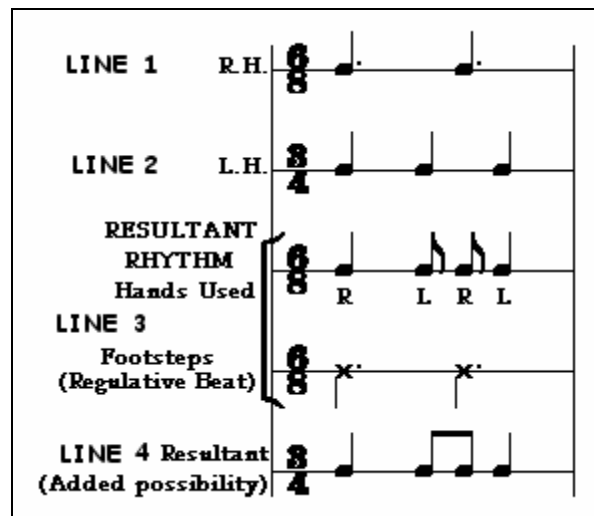


FIGURE 1.4: STANDARD TWO + THREE AFRICAN POLYRHYTHM (Agawu 2003: 91)

consist of stepping or moving downward on the $\downarrow$ pulses. To someone familiar with African musical patterns, the two “parts” (Lines 1 & 2) are not perceived individually. “[T]here is no independence [of two separate rhythms] here, because [what each hand plays] belong[s] to a single gestalt” (Agawu 2003: 92). Line 3 shows the resultant rhythm: how this rhythm is conceptualized and perceived from an African perspective,

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i.e., as *one* rhythm split up between two hands (with footsteps indicated).⁸⁰

Although it is theoretically possible to make one part or the other the dominant one, this is not what Africans do, although they might temporarily shift their focus to attend to one part or the other. Line 4 shows an alternative resultant rhythm indicating the misperception of the regulative pulse as ♩ in a $\frac{3}{4}$ | ♩ ♩ ♩ | pattern. (*See DVD video 1.3 for four examples of hocketing by Bob Marley & the Wailers.*)

Masking occurs when a sound that is soft, weak, muted, short, with an indistinct timbre, or emanating from a location far away from our ears is played at the same time as one that is louder, more intense, brighter, more resonant or closer, and the weaker sound is obscured by, or blended with the stronger sound (Anku 1997: 227, Jairazbhoy 1977: 271). As an example of how masking can create a resultant rhythm, in **FIGURE 1.5** (next page), Anku shows two instrumental parts from a Ghanaian drum ensemble. The bell plays a timeline pattern, and the atumpan (the low talking drum) plays a repeated pattern that is softly muted, then played loudly with full resonance. Anku uses small notes to indicate which segments of each instrument's part are masked by the other. In the first measure the muted atumpan is masked by the bell, and in the second measure the opposite happens. The resultant rhythm, b), shows the parts which are heard. Anku (1997) explains that

[Although masked parts are sometimes] not altogether inaudible, they [can] create an added dimension that may surface between more audible sound structures and also with the focus, proximity, depth, and intensity of the listener's perception. ... [C]ertain soft rhythmic nuances that are played but that are otherwise not heard in

⁸⁰ Agawu (2006: 29) notes that "The [African] processes of dividing things up or conflating previously separate elements ... lie at the heart of African modes of rhythmic expression."

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performance [might also be] meant for the drummers' personal edification, enjoyment, or as timing devices and may not be intended for the listener. (229, 227)

a. Possible combination of masked patterns

b. Pattern perceived through masking

FIGURE 1.5: EXAMPLE OF MASKING IN A COMBINATION OF TWO RHYTHMS (Anku 1997: 228)

The last point is a crucial one. Oftentimes performers deliberately play certain sections quietly or unobtrusively *to allow them to be masked; these masked sections are necessary to keep the player in synchronization with the rest of the ensemble*. Thus, as Jairazbhoy (1977) explains, “The performing musician hears [and most importantly *feels*] his own music in ... a ... way which is very different from the way a member of the audience hears it” (264). Although this difference applies to situations in which audiences have little or no prior personal experience with the types of masking techniques described above, there are other scenarios in which audiences’ and performers’ experiences *can* be similar. For those audience members who have performed these types of masked parts, their perception of these parts might be basically the same as that of the musicians, i.e., they might remember their corporeal sensations as well as the

1.3.2.1 WEST AND CENTRAL AFRICAN MUSICAL CHARACTERISTICS: 8. RESULTANT RHYTHMS (MASKING) 74

sonic features of masked parts. Audiences can also have similar experiences to those of musicians if they watch the musicians play and respond to their physical gestures, rather than just to the sonic result. The main point behind Jairazbhoy's analysis is that prior active experience with African-style hocketed or masked patterns (as performers, audience members or as dancers) is what trains African musicians, participants and listeners to expect and perceive such patterns (Chernoff 1994: 279-81, Jairazbhoy 1977: 264-71, Kubik 1962: 33). The reverse also applies: the absence of such experiences can hamper or prevent the conception, perception and execution of the resultant sound patterns in the same manner as African musicians, for as Bergeijk puts it, we truly do hear what we expect to hear (Bergeijk in Jairazbhoy 1977: 266). The skill to perceive resultant rhythms is therefore related to our ability to selectively focus upon certain sounds and simply to ignore others based upon what we consider to be important and relevant (Jairazbhoy 1977: 266-8).

The perception of the beat in rhythmic textures with no strongly defined beat can pose significant perceptual and performance problems for someone unfamiliar with hocketing or masking principles. These problems can become even more acute when offbeats are consistently accented⁸¹ and the beat emerges from the interaction of the ensemble primarily as something that is corporeally felt rather than from the sound patterns alone (Agawu 2006: 19, Anku 1991: 213, Chernoff 1991: 1097). The perception of such emergent beats is therefore a culturally acquired skill (Arom 1991: 162, Chernoff

⁸¹ Weakly stated / silent beats with accented offbeats are common in JPM, which are related to non-Jamaicans' difficulties with its rhythmic principles; discussed in Chapter Seven.

1991: 1097, Nketia 1963: 887, 1974: 131). In such situations, “cultural outsiders” can find it quite difficult to locate the beat and instead perceive offbeat accents as onbeat notes.

9. PREFERENCE FOR COMPLEX TIMBRES: Distinctive, unique timbral qualities celebrate individuality in a community setting. Instrument design, performance and vocal production favour complex, buzzy timbres to add something unique to the overall sound, and highlight differences in parts (Tracey 1994: 282).

The African timbral aesthetic is related to the aesthetic of complementarity manifest in communal views of structure, as discussed above in section 6c). Vocal production is predominantly full-voiced and throaty, using many embellishments and non-pitched techniques (Arom 1991: 28).⁸²

10. LOW-PITCHED INSTRUMENTAL “LEAD PARTS” ACCOMPANIED BY HIGH-PITCHED OSTINATI: In the music of West and Central Africa, the most common arrangement of instrumental parts is to have high-pitched instruments playing repetitive ostinati, and freer, lead parts in lower instruments.

In the music of the Ashanti and Ewe, the highest pitched instruments (e.g., bells (dawuro – single bell, gankogui – double bell) and rattles (torowa, axatse)) play repetitive ostinati, called timeline patterns, which act as “pacemakers” (Anku 1997: 218) and coordinate the entries and rhythms of the other parts. These ostinati prioritize offbeats, so the regulative beat is often unsounded, but it is articulated by downward body movements, usually by stepping on the pulse (Agawu 2003: 77). The lowest-pitched instruments, the atumpan drums, play freer, lead parts (Anku 1997).

⁸² Vocal techniques (which are often applied to instrumental performance) include slides, bends, slurs, growls, wails, sighs, moans, grunts, half-spoken delivery, vibrato, falsetto and alternation between full, throaty delivery, with hoarse, raspy timbres and wispy, airy tones (Arom 1991: 28, Ekwueme 1974: 133, Maultsby 1985: 38-9, 49, Roberts 1998: xxxii, Tracey 1994: 282, White 1982c:26). White (1982c) notes that “some songs ... are actually shouted rather than sung” (26). The preference is for blurred, buzzy timbres (Arom 1991: 34).

11. HOLISTIC PERFORMANCE PRACTICE AND CORPOREALLY DOMINATED TEACHING/LEARNING/PERFORMANCE STYLE: Performance is a holistic practice. Most musical procedures and principles are therefore taught mimetically, and absorbed implicitly through participation.

For the Ewe (from the Ghana region),

Rhythm is not a single, unified or coherent field but rather one that is widely and asymmetrically distributed [and] permanently entangled ... with other dimensional processes, a joining rather than a separating, an across-the-dimensions rather than within-the-dimensions phenomenon. (Agawu 2003: 63)

This trait is a significant one from an enactivist perspective, since it address the fact that, in African cultures (and by extension, Jamaican neo-African traditions) music is a holistic practice, involving many different non-sonic aspects. The corporeal/mimetic component that characterizes Jamaican children's games (discussed in section 1.3.3.8) is rooted in African traditions. An African child's first lessons in rhythm and regulative pulse are usually transmitted directly from a mother's body when carried on her back while she is engaged in musical events (Arom 1991: 14). Young children are usually brought to most social events, and parents also pick up children and dance with them (ibid.). When children participate in games and social activities that integrate sound and body movement they acquire many musical principles intuitively and informally (Tracey 1994: 274, Arom 1991: 14-5). (This description is also totally applicable to Jamaican social events involving music and children.) Many musical rules and procedures are not usually conscious to performers even though "they make systematic use of them in practice" (Arom 1991: 139, see also Nketia 1977: 5). The most important skill is the perception, creation and constant maintenance of "the regulative beat [with one's body], no matter what [is] perform[ed]" (Nketia 1963: 87). This skill is learned through entraining one's body movements with those of others, i.e., simply mirroring the

1.3.2.1 WEST/CENTRAL AFRICAN MUSICAL CHARACTERISTICS: 11. HOLISTIC PERFORMANCE PRACTICE 77

movements of the rest of the community. Over time, these sound and movement couplings become automatic and intuitive. Once the skill of keeping the regulative beat is mastered, musicians learn pieces of music “holistically rather than atomistically ... privilege[ing] gestalten and larger rhythmic units over pulses” (Agawu 2006: 12). “[T]hey rely on the ... interaction of patterns and the feeling of each pattern against the beats” (Locke 1982: 221). Thus, African musicians also do not “start with small units which are combined into larger groups” Arom (1991: 24). For parts that emphasize offbeats, play counter-rhythms or join with other parts in hocketted patterns, learning and practicing them simultaneously with other parts is essential to grasping their interrelationships and keeping different components in proper balance.⁸³

This is not to say, however, that African musicians have no conception or consideration of smaller sonic units or isolated components within a phrase or a part. The skill of perceiving and subdividing beats differently from other performers in the ensemble is also important in order to fit one’s part into the group’s composite/monolithic rhythms.⁸⁴ Mantle Hood (1971) uses the term “density referent” to label the fastest rhythmic subdivisions in a piece. Musicians need to perceive and feel the overall density referent even if it is faster than their part. As wa Mukuna (1997) puts it, “[the same] density referent is always present [for everyone within the ensemble], felt but not necessarily played, providing the basic pulse of the composition or governing the

⁸³ This type of practicing of parts describes the Wailers’ rehearsals in my video collection, in which band members work their parts out with others playing, rather than alone.

⁸⁴ These terms are used to identify a hocketted rhythm or phrase which emerges out of any ensemble performance.

1.3.2.1 WEST/CENTRAL AFRICAN MUSICAL CHARACTERISTICS: 11. HOLISTIC PERFORMANCE PRACTICE 78

internal relationships between timeline patterns in an ensemble thematic cycle” (242).

Thus, the spaces or holes within patterns that are parts of hocketed patterns are not empty spaces, but “ ‘receptacles’ for other patterns” (242) that must be filled with a corporeal articulation that leaves the right amount of space to insert one’s part at the correct moment. Musicians learn beat subdivision skills the same way they learn the regulative beat: by entraining their body movements with those of the ensemble, and feeling differences in timing with their bodies — not by using a counting system.

Appropriate body movements maintain accurate beat subdivisions and the placement of patterns that begin or end at different points within larger cycles⁸⁵ (Chernoff 1994: 279-82). As Tracey (1994) puts it,

Learning African music is not just learning to make sound; the body movement must also be correct. It is usually true ... that the sound cannot be correct if the movement is wrong. ... i.e., it has to be there in order to sound, look and feel right to an African observer. ... Thus patterns *apparently* created from sound are ... housed in a larger matrix of movement; ‘composition’ may [therefore] proceed as much from movement as from sound.⁸⁶ (277, italics added)

Tracey (1994: 278-9) identifies another subtle, yet important aspect of corporeality in African performance practice: the principle of alternation. African instrumentalists (especially percussionists) usually alternate limbs while executing a pattern. They move first one hand, foot, shoulder, etc., regardless of the sonic grouping (which, in patterns that subdivide the beat, results in a different limb coming down on each beat). This creates a conflict between sonic and corporeal patterns that is a part of the “African feel”

⁸⁵ See Agawu (2006: 20), Arom (1991: 155), A.M. Jones (in Arom 1991: 155, 207), Kubik 1979: 222-31), Maultsby (1985: 46) and Nketia (in Akrofi 2002: 186-7) re: the role of corporeality in learning composite rhythms, and the gestalt character of performing practice.

⁸⁶ Arom (1991: 14) makes this same point.

of performing African rhythms.⁸⁷

1.3.2.2 NEO-AFRICAN JAMAICAN MUSICAL TRADITIONS

This section examines scholars who have analyzed neo-African Jamaica traditions, although poor historical records in Jamaica makes it difficult to identify their particular African origins. As Warner-Lewis⁸⁸ (2002) puts it,

While it is possible ... to associate some of Jamaica's cultural features with a particular ethnic group, the diversity of African peoples who settled the island makes particularization in certain cases difficult and even questionable. ... [S]ome features shared by different African ethnicities may at best be considered to have reinforced each other. ... [T]hese groups came into close contact ... during months of ocean voyages, and ... on this side of the Atlantic. (90)

Of the neo-African traditions retained in Jamaica, "the most important factor ... was the maintenance of African-derived religious patterns [Myalism, Kumina, Revivalism (Zion and Pukkumina), Maroon Kromanti Play and Rastafarianism]. These patterns ...[formed] the bedrock on which ... traditional forms were ... built" (White 1982a: 46). Scholars who have compared African and Jamaican religions note that Jamaican worship and rituals are dominated by African theological beliefs and features (rituals, icons, symbols and prayers⁸⁹ and sartorial style), and unity of music, dance and worship.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ Tracey (1994) notes that "Among conga drummers in modern popular music this way of playing is sometimes called 'African style,' as against 'Latin style' where the hands do not alternate so much" (278).

⁸⁸ Warner-Lewis has conducted significant, in-depth historical research in the entire Caribbean region and Africa for several decades.

⁸⁹ Warner-Lewis (2002, 2003, 2004) identifies many Central African Koongo or Bantu words and phrases in Myal, Maroon Kromanti Play and Kumina.

⁹⁰ The unity of music and dance and its centrality in religious belief and ritual worship is reiterated throughout the African and Jamaican music literature. African studies: Arom

Walter Pitts (1988, 1989) notes that Jamaican religions use the same two-segment worship structure as those of West African ritual practices,⁹¹ in which “speech, song and gesture ... are felt by ritual participants to have the same affective quality” (Pitts 1988: 80, see also Floyd 1999: 3-6). “Many African ceremonies simply ... [can] not take place at all without the appropriate music” (Roberts 1998: xxiv), which establishes the mood and emotional state of each segment’s goal. The first segment is a solemn, devotional initiation rite, so music is slow and often a cappella to “hypnotize” and disorient initiates in preparation for the jubilant, stimulating second part in which they enter trance states and are possessed by a spirit (1989: 285, 289-90). Second-segment music is rhythmic, percussion-driven and repetitive. Poet Edward Brathwaite’s (1978) description of Jamaican religious rituals also describes African practices:

‘Worship’ ... involves the possession of the living by the dead, ... ancestors [and] ... god; [i.e.,] the ... incarnation of the spirit: god into the community of the living; and the ... intimacy between these interpenetrating worlds. In this achievement, music and dance: locomotive energy: plays an essential role. The priest ... has a ... gift of perception/possession; because in his or her company, the community can be led most easily into a wholesome relationship with the ancient future and the approaching past. ... [T]he [priest] ... is usually also healer, see-er [sic], misfortune-shielder and advisor, all in one. ... [Jamaican religions are] surrealistic, ... impresssionistic, ... [non-]linear ... [a unity of] healing, ... advice, ... sound and music, dance, ... [and] prayer. (46-7)

(1991: 7), Floyd (1991), John and Alan Lomax (in Wilson 1981: 102), who describe African worship as “basically a dancing singing phenomenon,” Roberts (1998: xxiv-xxvi, 17, 22) and Wilson (1981: 99-102, 1985: 12-3); Jamaican studies: Alleyne (1988: 65, 78, 107), Barnett (1976: 72-109), Beckwith (1929: 78-149), Bilby (1979: 168), Brathwaite (1971: 8-14, 1978: 46), Carty (1988: 67), Ekwueme (1974: 130), Hopkin (1978: 24-5), Lewin (2000: 147), Ryman (1983: 145, Appendix: 59-60, 1984: 19, 57), Warner-Lewis (2002: 105-6, 2003: 139-42, 2004: 26-8), White (1982a: 51-5) and Wynter (1970: 36).

⁹¹ This is true of the Yoruba, Koongo, Vodun and Fon traditions and West African secret societies (Pitts 1988: 84, 86, 1989: 285).

In her description of music/dance in Jamaican religious rituals, Caribbean dance specialist Brenda Gottschild (2002) shares similar observations.

[T]hey are interactive and processual. ... [C]ontinuties between body / mind / spirit are so palpable in Africanist performance practices as to be almost tangible ... [W]hen a practitioner says s/he 'feels the spirit,' this is no mere metaphor.⁹² (4, 8)

Body movements from religious ceremonies also appear in secular contexts. "Body movements, steps, postures, and motifs are the same in social and secular forms of African dance" (Gotschild 2002: 4). Gottschild (2002) problematizes the term "possession," however, because it doesn't reflect practitioners' experiences. " 'Possession' [is] a term imposed by outsider perspectives [and implies] lack of control. ... [For believers, trance states are when] deities ... are dancing spirits that come to life through the dancing bodies of the faithful" (4). As dance anthropologist Yvonne Daniel puts it (in Gottschild 2002):

[Africans practice] danced religions [which] exhibit the principle of 'embodied wisdom.' ... [P]ractitioners who manifest the deity through dance [are] 'embodying' the spirit, ... a form of cultural wisdom, knowledge, and education. (ibid.)

African types of religious practice are "tactile, [offering] more total method[s] of emotional release than can be found in the average [Christian] church" (Carty 1988: 73).

"Embodying the spirit" reflects African theology: a unity of spirit, body, community, ancestors and God, in the past, present and future.

Two factors facilitated retention of African religious beliefs in Jamaica.

Similarities with West/Central African climate and geography made it easy "to feel the presence of [African] gods and spirits, re-establish vital links with them and ... experi-

⁹² Other Jamaican dance analysts (Baxter, Carty, Nettleford and Ryman) agree.

ence ... cultural continuity" (Lewin 2000: 23-4). The other was the structure of African religions.

African (religious) culture was ... *immanent*: carried within the individual/ community not ... in buildings, monuments, books ... [This] made its ... transfer from Africa to the New World ... possible. (Brathwaite 1971: 13, italics in original)

Alleyne (1988) notes that although slaves initially practiced many African traditions "as is," two related factors lead to change. 1) "There were far fewer social gatherings ... in Jamaica. ... Music and social life are closely associated, so social changes inevitably lead to changes in music or the performance of music" (107). Traditions were adapted to meet the needs of their new environment. 2) Because African culture is strongly linked to language, language changes inevitably changed many cultural specifics.⁹³ West and Central African languages are tonal, where "each syllable has a definite pitch that must be observed and reproduced as an integral part of the word; failure to reproduce the pitch of a syllable would result in a change of meaning" (Alleyne 1988: 113; see also Arom 1991: 11, Ekwueme 1974: 133, wa Mukana 1997).

[Although] at first most slaves were Akan [from the Ghana region, and] the number of languages [were] relatively few and most [were] closely related, [as slaves arrived from other African regions], the multiplicity of languages [grew] and became more complex. (Alleyne 1988: 120)

English became the slaves' common language — with many retained African words, phrases, pronunciation and syntax (Alleyne 1988, Warner-Lewis 2003). "[Jamaican] folk culture development ... [was significantly affected by] the speech improvisation which took place to make one and only one dialect in a situation where each tribe had a separ-

⁹³ Agawu (2003: 38-41), Arom (1991: 10-1), Kubik (1994: 9), Nketia (in Roberts 1998: xxiv-xxvi) and Meki Nzewi (in Agawu 2003: 31).

ate language" (Baxter 1970: 133). This affected

African melodies ... [which] rise and fall together with the pitch of the syllables.⁹⁴
In the course of language [changes and creolization] in Jamaica, words [in songs often] lost distinctive pitch [and rhythm] patterns and the structure of song melodies thereby changed. (Alleyne 1988: 113)

Even though Jamaican Creole altered particular melodic and rhythmic elements, indigenous songs still had a predominantly African melodic orientation, rhythmic feel and phrasing. Gottschild (2002) argues that African-based Jamaican cultural forms didn't lose their root integrity and adherence to an Africanist perspective (10).

1.3.2.3 MYAL

Ryman (1983) calls Myal "the religious core of Afro-Jamaican culture" (143). First noted by European observers in the 1760s (Warner-Lewis 2004: 26), it is believed to have always been a part of slave culture; it was very strong in Maroon communities⁹⁵ (Alleyne 1988: 85, Beckwith 1929: 142). Warner-Lewis (2002: 106, 2004: 26) believes that "Myal"⁹⁶ is derived from the Koongo word "mayaala," which has multiple meanings: a Koongo religious ritual,⁹⁷ a person or force exercising control, or a human or mystic representation of power. Myal beliefs and practices⁹⁸ are similar to those of secret cult societies in West Africa, Nigeria and Zaire,⁹⁹ and "reminiscent of Akan religious practice from the

⁹⁴ See Arom (1991: 11) re: relationships between the phonemic structure of African language and the melodic-rhythmic structure of Central African music.

⁹⁵ Many Myal and Maroon ritual objects have Central African names (Warner-Lewis 2004: 26)

⁹⁶ Warner-Lewis (2003: 190-7) prefers the spelling "Mayaal," to link it to its origins. Since it was a creolized practice, I follow other researchers' usage, however, and use "Myal."

⁹⁷ See Warner-Lewis (2003: 15-7, 185-7) for discussion of Koongo practices in Central Africa.

⁹⁸ See Murray (1971: 121-125) for detailed description of Myal ceremonies.

⁹⁹ Ryman (1983: 143, 1984a: 13, 1984b: 58), Alleyne (1988: 85), Warner-Lewis (2002: 106).

Gold and Ivory Coasts ... [with] a Central African slant" (Warner-Lewis 2003: 193, 2004: 26).

Myal's primary function is to communicate with God and one's ancestor-spirits (Warner-Lewis 2003: 190-2). These spirits (called *duppies*¹⁰⁰) contact the living in dreams or during religious trance states. Herbs are used for spiritual and physical healing (Farley 2006: 29, Murray 1971: 121-5, Ryman 1984a: 19). Because Myal was prominent during slave uprisings, Europeans considered it dangerous. In 1774, a law was passed "prescribing ... death ... for anyone attending a Myal ceremony. ... This drove Myalism underground" (Wynter 1970: 41). In order to disguise Africanisms, in the early 1800s European and Christian sonic, sartorial and symbolic elements were incorporated.¹⁰¹ After emancipation (1838), following an influx of Central African indentured labourers, Myal returned to its African roots, and was strongly influenced by the labourers' African religion and called *Kumina* (Ryman 1984a: 13, Warner-Lewis 2003: 190-5). Today, Myalism "is still practiced by a few devotees [in the country]" (Rouse 2000: 188; see also Lewin 2000: 177-8).

Myal music displays many West African traits: repetitive chanting/dancing accompanied by drums and body percussion performed in circular formations (Murray

¹⁰⁰ "Duppy" is from the Twi word "dopi," meaning "spirit of the dead" (Warner-Lewis 2003: 145).

¹⁰¹ In the New World, African religions "merged or camouflaged ... [their] 'focal' cultural values and practices with their Euro-American counterparts in order to preserve an African identity. ... By disguising one symbol with its likeness to another, ... old symbols can travel over time and space to resurface without threat of suppression in new surroundings" (Pitts 1989: 289-90). Thus, things are not always what they might appear to be on the surface, especially to analysts who might be unfamiliar with such symbols.

1971: 125, White 1982a: 48). Two drums are used: a big one called bon or panya, played with sticks, and a small one called a gombay (sic) played with the fingers, as well as gourd rattles called "shakeys" (Murray 1971: 123-5). Melodic rhythms stick closely to speech rhythms, creating complex patterns that are often difficult to notate (Rouse 2000: 196).¹⁰² Two offbeat patterns are common: 61.5% of the songs in Rouse's study of Myal

¹⁰² Rouse's (2000) study is a major resource for the analysis of Jamaican music, in spite of some flaws. Her aim was to "examine the structure of Jamaican folk music as regard [to] its rhythm, melody and form in order to ascertain the extent to which its characteristics have been taken from the folk musics of various cultures which have been brought together on the island" (1). 481 songs and pieces were examined from the following sources (x-xv, 1-2): 9 songs pre-1907 from early historical accounts of Jamaica, 202 songs from Jekyll (1907), 38 songs transcribed by Rouse (15 from her own field recordings; 23 from commercial and field recordings by J.S. Roberts, Bilby, Music & Youth and from the Jamaica School of Music), 46 songs from Beckwith collections transcribed by Helen Roberts (1923, 1929, 1969), 25 songs from Lewin (mostly unpublished archival collections from 1967, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1977) and 21 songs from miscellaneous sources (Bennett: 1, Bowdich: 1, Burnett: 3, Crawhall: 1, Gomme: 1, Hall: 1, King: 2 and Murray: 3). (The years cited for these sources are Rouse's, i.e., they are not cited in the bibliography of my study.) She provides transcriptions of all of these songs transposed to the key of D for easier comparison, with no indication of their original key. The sources of the remaining 148 songs are not specified, but they appear to be from the sources noted above. Songs and pieces are categorized and analyzed according to use, based upon Lewin's (1970) "Folk Music of Jamaica – an outline for Classification," an outline which I have adopted in this study. Rouse identifies and quantifies rhythmic/ melodic characteristics, melodic form and structure (4-5), which are presented as percentages according to Lewin's stylistic categories, followed by conclusions and observations linking these features to European and African traditions.

The weaknesses of Rouse's study are in her methodology, her project's design and some of her conclusions and comparisons. With regard to design, although Rouse notes that many of the oldest transcriptions are not totally accurate, she still includes them in her statistical analysis with no adjustment for these inaccuracies. The sum totals of some percentage groupings do not always total 100%, but she usually provides the raw figures from which percentages have been calculated, which facilitates the recalculation of percentages from the raw data. (Some of these errors are unresolvable, however, which I have addressed wherever such statistics are cited in section 1.3.3.) The calculation of percentages to a tenth of a percent is also often problematic, since this tends to imply or impute greater precision to the data than is probably warranted because of Rouse's sample size and transcription inaccuracies.

With regard to the overall accuracy of the transcriptions in her study, although Rouse acknowledges that songs are usually transformed and varied in performance, only 38 out of 481 songs are transcriptions of recordings that she has heard herself. Most of her

music use:  or , and 69.2% use  or  (201); Rouse identifies the latter as a common Central African rhythm. Not surprisingly, since West and Central Africa was also the source for American slaves, both are also common throughout the Diaspora.

With regard to scale use, 7.7% of Myal songs¹⁰³ are pentatonic (with the occa-

analysis is based upon print versions that have been transcribed primarily by Beckwith & Roberts and Jekyll that do not indicate rhythms or pitches as actually performed, and also contain syntactical errors stemming from the transcribers' primarily Eurocentric backgrounds and training. As noted in Hopkin's study of the Jamaicanization of European hymns in Pentecostal and Revival churches (1978) and of British children's songs (1984), and in Lewin's (2000) and White's (1982a) studies of JFRM, most Jamaican music undergoes significant changes in performance. When triangulated to these studies, it appears that most of Rouse's statistics and observations (especially with regard to the use of "syncopation," offbeat accents, rhythmic variation, pitch manipulation and use of non-European scale forms) are understated, and that the true figures are actually higher than what Rouse reports. This makes her figures more like slightly fuzzy snapshots rather than crisp, precise representations of Jamaican musical characteristics which her figures alone might suggest.

The weakest and most contentious aspect of Rouse's work is her comparison between JFRM and West and Central African music practices. She provides little information about her analysis of the African examples, listing only a few songs from African sources (i.e., in works by the authors listed in the miscellaneous grouping above), and providing few figures or specifics to support her observations and claims of the frequency of particular African characteristics. She also doesn't present, let alone examine, any sources for her information about various West African styles. The only specifics provided are 11 works about African music in her bibliography (which I've included in my reference list): by Abimbola (1975), Akpabot (no date given, 1975), Bowdich (1966), Crahan & Knight (1976), Ellis (1887), King (1961, 1973) and Nketia (1963a, 1963b, 1975). Because of this sketchy accreditation and analysis, Rouse's claims about relationships between Jamaican and African music have only been cited when they seem most likely, based upon my encountering similar information from other, more qualified sources.

In conclusion, whenever Rouse's statistical figures are presented in sections 1.3.2.3 to 1.3.4.6, two points are always implied, but not always stated, to avoid unnecessary repetition: 1) Rouse's findings refer only to the 481 songs in her study, and not to all Jamaican music, thus the degree to which her sample findings are representative of the whole remains an open question; and 2) their applicability and usefulness should be considered in light of their strengths and limitations as noted above.

¹⁰³ All statistics in this paragraph are from Rouse (2000: 206-13). See footnote #102, pg. 85, for clarification of Rouse's study.

sional leading note, which Rouse believes is a Western influence), 7.7% are in Aeolian mode, 15.4% are Dorian and Phrygian mode hybrids and only 15.4% use a major scale, but “with [occasional altered notes]. ... [T]hese songs ... appear to contain characteristics peculiar to both [West African and European] styles” (212). As to scale type, 23.1% are in Mixolydian mode, and 30.7% are basically in Phrygian mode (i.e., with both perfect and sharpened fourth degrees). The Phrygian mode is rarely used in English and West African songs, but is “found in the music of the Ibos from Nigeria, ... one of the tribes from which the slaves were taken” (Rouse 2000: 209). The “use of both the perfect and raised fourth in the same song is [also] found in the music of the Ga and Ewe tribes¹⁰⁴ in Ghana” (211). Another African trait is the frequency of particular melodic intervals. 30.8% of the songs are dominated by movement in fourths, a common feature of Akan (Ghanaian) music (213).

Call and response techniques are dominant, with call sections varying in length, which Rouse (2000) attributes to a Nigerian influence (214). Most use short repetitive melodic-rhythmic units “very common in West African music” (216) — what Manuel (1995: 9) calls cellular units and Roberts (1998: xxviii) calls melorhythmic patterns.

1.3.2.4 FUNERAL CEREMONIES¹⁰⁵

Although Myal ceremonies were banned, Myal views, ritual practices and musical traits characterize funeral ceremonies, which overseers considered a constructive way

¹⁰⁴ “The Ewe use heptatonic, hexatonic, and pentatonic scales” (Rouse 2000: 212).

¹⁰⁵ For discussion of funeral rituals and links to particular African practices, see Alleyne (1984: 18-21, 58-9, 1988: 80-6, 152 to Akan), Beckwith (1929: 78-102 to Kromanti traditions), Carty (1988: 32-4), Ekwueme (1974: 131), Jekyll (1907: xxxv to Sierra-Leone), Murray (1971: 114-7), Warner-Lewis (2003: 123-37) and Wynter (1970: 41, 47).

for slaves to release their emotions. From the slaves' perspective, however, funerals were the only events where they could associate with any degree of privacy. Funeral rites, already central to the African worldview, therefore gained added significance, since Africans believed that in death one joined one's ancestors. It became even more crucial that the dead be properly sent to join their ancestors to regain peace. Funerals became occasions for cementing loyalties and plotting revolts. They created a communal focus and a vision of freedom before and beyond slavery (from information in White 1982b: 28, Carty 1988: 32 and Burton 1997: 45).

Funeral rituals were complex, usually lasting nine days and nights,¹⁰⁶ with African prayers, singing, dancing, games and stories. Funeral and Myal songs share many traits: use of speech rhythms, melodic emphasis upon offbeats and call and response. The same offbeat rhythm is also predominant:  or  and  or  appearing in 57.1% and 42.9% of the songs, respectively (Rouse 2000: 241¹⁰⁷). A striking difference, however, is the predominance of the major scale, used in 57.1% of funeral songs. Two types of major appear: 28.6% use hexatonic major (without the leading tone), and 14.3% use an anhemitonic pentatonic scale.¹⁰⁸ The predominance of major scale forms is likely a Western Christian influence. With regard to melodic shape, 85.7% of the songs also share a melodic similarity to Revival songs (242), probably the main influence. Other songs, games, stories and dances used during Nine

¹⁰⁶ Wake services are called "Nine Nights" (Murray 1971: 116, Carty 1988: 32-3).

¹⁰⁷ All statistics cited in this section from Rouse 2000. See footnote #102, pg. 85, for clarification of Rouse's study.

¹⁰⁸ A major pentatonic scale without any half-steps, i.e., without third and seventh degrees.

Nights services are examined in sections 1.3.2.4, 1.3.2.8, 1.3.3 and 1.4.1.3. The Dinki Mini (discussed in sections 1.3.2.4 and 1.4.1.3) is one of the main JFRM song and dance forms at funerals. (*See DVD video 3.1 for an example of the Dinki Mini.*)

1.3.2.5 MAROON TRADITIONS¹⁰⁹

Maroons were slaves who were set free and fled to the mountains when Britain overcame the Spanish in 1655 (Lewin 2000: 153-5, 216-20). Their numbers increased as runaway slaves joined them. Most are of Ashanti (West African) ancestry; Barnett (1978: 31) notes that they are mainly comprised of Akan and Fanti groups.¹¹⁰ Because of their isolation from European influences, Maroons fully integrated African Kromanti¹¹¹ beliefs into their culture.¹¹² Elements of Myal practices appear in Maroon music, dances and religion — called Kromanti Play.¹¹³ Kromanti Play and African religions share ancestor worship, specific ritual language and healing practices, ritual sacrifice and dance move-

¹⁰⁹ For additional discussion of Maroon traditions, see Bilby (1979), Djedje (1998) Lewin (2000: 153-70, 216-20), Witmer (1995: 25-6) and Wynter (1970: 41).

¹¹⁰ “Ashanti,” “Akan” and “Fanti” are often used interchangeably. “Akan” is most often used as an umbrella term for the Ashanti and Fanti peoples (Warner-Lewis 2002: 89-90).

¹¹¹ “‘Kromanti’ is a loose term that came to refer to the Ashanti, Akan, Twi, and Fanti peoples, all of whom had been brought to an area known as Koromantee in Ghana before being shipped off as slaves to the New World. The Koromantees, once they reached the New World, developed a reputation for bravery, resourcefulness and rebelliousness. They led many of the rebellions that took place in Jamaica between 1655 and the 1830s, which eventually helped force the English to free their slaves” (Farley 2006: 27). The Akan exerted the strongest influence (Ryman 1983: 141).

¹¹² Barnett (1978: 31), Beckwith (1929: 191), Burton (1997: 99-101), Ryman (1980: 13, 1983: 143) and Stolzoff (2000: xix).

¹¹³ Warner-Lewis (2002: 105) points out that “‘play’ [is] a reference to a danced religion [which is] typical of all African ... religions” and that the Maroons’ religious practices share much in common with Kumina. (See Baxter 1970: 137, 148, Bilby 1979: 37-40, 135-69 and Lewin 2000: 153-5).

ments (Bilby 1979: 151-68). Ryman (1983: 141, 1980: 5) notes that Maroon traditions have strongly influenced Jamaican heritage by “preserving the religious core of African culture. ... Maroon culture has served as either or both source and inspiration for the wide spread healing and ‘balm yard’ practices throughout Jamaica” and influenced many Jamaican dances.” Maroons have traditionally had minimal contact with outsiders (Bilby 1995: 262),¹¹⁴ but non-Maroons can attend Cudjoe’s Day, every January 6th, and popular musicians have attended recreational sessions (White 1982a: 31).

Maroon music¹¹⁵ is primarily vocal with handclapping, drums, shakers and gourd rattles. Drums are the central element, and “were vital in relaying messages [during the slavery era] and inducing trances during which ... [people enter] a state of Myal” (Lewin 2000: 159; see also Bilby 1979: 168-9). The abeng, made from a cow horn,¹¹⁶ was an instrument and signaling device used in times of war (Lewin 2000: 158-60). Maroon and West African drumming traditions are similar (Baxter 1970: 147-51, White 1982a: 48-9), and there are melodic similarities between Maroon songs and Ashanti and Akan music from Ghana (Lewin 1970: 71, Rouse 2000: 250). Drums are arranged into two groups. The deeper ones (called “rolling”) play ostinati patterns, and a single, higher lead drum (called “cutting”) plays freer patterns (White 1982b: 30). (*See DVD video 3.2 for examples of Maroon music, including the abeng.*) Some melodies are also sung in a

¹¹⁴ Bilby (1979) also notes that “since the peace treaties in 1739 and 1740 ... there has been constant contact between Maroons and outsiders, both within the communities and in outside areas. ... [T]here are many Maroons today who have been living in outside areas for long periods of time, and many ... possess a very strong sense of Maroon identity” (205).

¹¹⁵ See Bilby (1979: 169-201) for detailed analysis of different Maroon drumming styles.

¹¹⁶ The abeng is modeled after the Akan abertia (White 1982c: 30).

free, improvisatory style similar to that of the Akan (Rouse 2000¹¹⁷: 249), resulting in lesser use of the two common rhythms found in other neo-African styles: 11.4% for  or , and 17.1% for  or  (264). Maroon music is poly-rhythmic with consistent offbeat accents and predominance of speech rhythms (248). Songs use African, Jamaican Creole and English words (Lewin 1970: 71).¹¹⁸ Some Maroon songs use both compound meters, $\frac{12}{8}$ or $\frac{6}{8}$, and duple meters, $\frac{4}{4}$ or $\frac{2}{4}$, which “suggests a syncretization of both West African styles with ... European folk music style[s]” (Rouse 2000: 247).

Most scales are similar to those in Nigerian, Akan and Ibo music. 7.7% use equally tempered pitches; 11.5% are modal (3.8% Mixolydian, found in Ibo music, 3.8% Dorian, found in Akan music, and 3.9% Aeolian). 15.4% use pentatonic scales “widely used in Nigeria, ... among the peoples of the Anlo-Ewe, Dagomba, ... Frafra ... and ... Akan” (Rouse 2000: 250). Only 19.2% utilize a major scale; 15.4% use no leading tone. The remaining 30.8% use “a narrow range, or very few ... pitches, making it impossible to [identify their] scale” (250). 45.7% of the songs have a range of less than an octave, a trait of Ghanaian folk songs and West African Anansi story songs — see section 1.3.2.8. “45.7% of the songs contain no ascending phrases,” and “68.6% [of the songs] are performed in call and response style” (252). Call phrases are usually altered on repeats. Maroon music appears to be “a synthesis of all the West African tribes which were

¹¹⁷ All statistics cited in this section from Rouse 2000: 250-3. See footnote #102, pg. 85, for clarification of Rouse’s study.

¹¹⁸ “The Maroon language is ... based ... on Twi-Asante. ... The vast majority of words of African origin in [Jamaican Creole] come from Twi-Asante” (Alleyne 1988: 122).

transported to Jamaica, not solely of ... Akan [music] as is suggested by [some scholars]" (253).

1.3.2.6 BURRU

The origins of Burru (aka "Buru") are obscure. According to Salewicz & Boot (2001: 21), it is most likely a creolized form of African (probably Ashanti) religious music that became secularized in Jamaica. In the West African language of Yoruba, "Burru" means "wicked." "Burru songs closely parallel the praise songs of the original African tradition[s of the Gold Coast tribes which] ... exposed the good or evil aspects of a person or of a village" (Reckford (1977: 6). "Burru" also refers to a fertility masquerade dance (during the slavery era¹¹⁹) (White 1982a: 57, Whylie in Logan 1982: 86), musicians who played percussion and sang with slaves working in the field to increase their productivity (Reckford 1977: 6), a specific dance-drumming tradition in St. Catherine and Clarendon, "secularized Kumina dances held for mere entertainment rather than to invoke the ancestors" and the 'bailo' segment of Kumina religious ceremonies (Bilby & Leib 1986: 23). It "is [also] a generic term for Gold Coast West African slaves, particularly the Ashanti" (Foehr 2001: 43; see also Katz 2000: 9).

Considering the oldest of these meanings, musicians who performed in the fields, White (in Johnson & Pines 1982) notes that Burru was "one of the few African forms of music that was allowed by the slave master. ... [Burru musicians even] provid[ed] entertainment for the white master in the Great House" (32). After emancipation, many Burru musicians "migrated to the towns ... and continued their

¹¹⁹ Whylie (in Logan 1982) notes that Burru was still being practiced in the 1970s in the parish of Clarendon (86).

performances. ... [Many were] employed as musicians for community dances" (White 1982a: 57). They often welcomed released prisoners back into the community and played during Christmas celebrations (Johnson & Pines 1982: 33, Reckford 1998: 233).

Burru music shares similar drum patterns with Kumina and Rastafarian music (Nyabingi). Lewin has commented that "If you slow down Burru, you can sometimes hear Rasta music" (in Johnson & Pines 1982: 34-5). She also considers it a variation of Jonkonnu music (Lewin 2000: 128). (*See DVD video 3.3 for two examples of Burru drumming and one song.*) Most Burru songs consist of voice accompanied with three drums and percussion. The drums are the repeater (high-pitched, plays free, lead patterns), the fundeh (mid-pitched, plays simple ostinati figures) and the bass drum (low-pitched, also plays very simple ostinati patterns). Burru drums appear to be derived from Ashanti talking drums: atumpan (high lead), apentemma (alto), and petia (bass) (White 1982c: 27, Foehr 2001: 44). Percussion instruments include a shakka (bamboo scraper), rhumba box¹²⁰ and saxa (a kazoo-like instrument) (Reckford 1998: 236). Burru musicians made up topical songs about daily events that were full of social criticism (White 1982a: 57). There are few detailed analyses of Burru music in the literature.¹²¹ Reckford noted first in (1977: 6), and then later in (1998: 234) that she was unaware of any written accounts of Burru. She provides notation of a few rhythmic figures (1977: 8):

¹²⁰ This instrument is an indigenous version of a bass mbira, the African thumb piano (originally from Zimbabwe). For more details, see section 1.3.3.7.

¹²¹ For discussion of Burru traditions, see Bilby & Leib (1986) and Reckford (1977, 1998).



1.3.2.7 KUMINA¹²²

Kumina (aka Cumina) is the name for an African religion that emerged in Jamaica in the post-emancipation period.¹²³ It was brought to Jamaica between 1841-1865 by West and Central Africans labourers mostly from the Congo-Angola (aka “Koongo”) and Guinea Coast regions, and was initially embraced by poor blacks in Eastern Jamaica (Alleyne 1988: 92, Bilby 1995: 162, Carty 1988: 20-21, Johnson & Pines 1982: 12-23, Simpson & Moore 1957: 191). “ ‘Kumina’ comes from two Twi words: *Akom* — ‘to be possessed,’ and *Ana* — ‘by an ancestor’ ” (Barrett 1977: 17; see also Foehr 2001: 75-8). Barrett believes that

[Kumina is simply the Jamaican version of] ‘Akum-ana,’ an ancestor possession cult of the Ashanti people. ... Possession ... in Kumina is known as *myal*, that stage of *Kumina* when the spirit of an ancestor actually takes control of the dancer’s body, at which time the dancer loses control of speech and faculties and is actually the ancestor. (Barrett 1976: 25, italics in original)

Simpson & Moore (1957: 174) and Moore (1979: 293) note that most Jamaicans call Kumina dancing “African dance.” Music and dance are central to worship, and the primary means to induce embodiment of the spirit; other African elements include healing, use of herbs, libations and animal sacrifice (Lewin 1983: 140, Carty 1988: 20).

¹²² For discussion of Kumina, see Bilby (1979: 173-201, 1995), Brathwaite (1978), Simpson & Moore (1957), Rouse (2000) and Simpson (1957).

¹²³ Brathwaite (1978) describes Kumina as “the living fragment of ... [the] Kongo religion in ... Jamaica” (46). Warner-Lewis (2002: 105, 2003: 288-9) concurs, but spells it “Koongo.” Alleyne (1988: 79), on the other hand, identifies the root African influence of Kumina as Bantu. Roberts (1998) says that Kumina’s “connection with the Congo is considerable and beyond dispute” (34).

According to Lewin (1976: 40), Kumina music “resembles [the music] of the Bakuso in the Congo.¹²⁴ [Many songs have] Congolese words.” (*See DVD video 3.4 for examples of Kumina music, dance and rituals.*) Many phrases and expressions are from the Kilongo language (Brathwaite (1978: 56); Whylie (in Logan 1982: 86)).¹²⁵ Most songs are antiphonal, and sung in unison, with two types of melodies: 1) *bailo* songs, which are similar to Jamaican work songs and mento, and 2) “country” songs, which use modal melodies (Wylie in (Logan 1982: 89), Lewin (1970: 68)).¹²⁶ Patterson (in Rouse 2000: 217), Rouse (2000: 216), Simpson & Moore (1957: 199) and Whylie (in Logan 1982: 86) find similarities between Kumina and Dahomian traditions. “Songs” (mostly short phrases and refrains) are repeated until trance states occur. Parts of some Protestant hymns are used and chanted for ten minutes or more (Simpson & Moore 1957: 177). Rituals utilize the West African binary structure (Pitts 1988, 1989).

[The] first [segment] consists of solemnly lined prayers and *bilah* songs sung in Jamaican English. The trance songs and invocations that follow in the second [segment] are rendered in *myal*, a mixed-speech of Jamaican Creole and sacred Kikongo¹²⁷ [sic] clichés. ... The dances and songs in this [segment] are ... accompanie[d by] ... the *kbandu* drum. (Pitts 1989: 288).

Part one consists of solemn prayers and slower songs, followed by drum-driven music

¹²⁴ In 1976, when Bilby (1995) first heard Kumina, it reminded him of a popular Ghanaian style called *kpanlogo*, “with a deeper, more resonant bass pattern, a rhythm like the beating of an excited heart, which [he] was told was the spiritual root of *Kumina*, the ‘heart-string’ connecting the living and the dead” (147). Ryman (1983: 139) identifies *kpanlogo* as a Ghanaian dance form.

¹²⁵ Whylie (in Logan 1982: 86) and Warner-Lewis (2003: 303, 2004: 25) also note that some songs are in the Koongo language, and some are in *bailo*, a Jamaican Creole language.

¹²⁶ Kumina *bailo* songs are for religious ceremonies, and “country” ones are for entertainment.

¹²⁷ See Tanna (1983) for evidence of Kikongo songs in Jamaica.

designed to induce trance states (Pitts 1988: 85, 1989: 288), which appears to be “related to the Ngbaka drumming tradition in the Central African Republic” (Ryman 1983: 140). The drums control the mood of part two, and prepare/induce devotees to embody the spirit (White 1982b: 29-30). “Kumina rhythms are [also] similar to a drumming style found throughout the Koongo region [called] Kumunu” (Bilby and Bunseki in Warner-Lewis 2003: 248). Two drums, Kbandu (low) and Playing Cast (high),¹²⁸ are played West African style —straddled by players, using the heel of the foot to alter the drum’s pitch on alternate beats (Lewin 1976: 40). “Catta sticks” play rhythms on the side of the drums (Ryman 1983: 140). The Kbandu ostinato pattern accents offbeats:

$\frac{4}{4}$ | $\underline{\text{♩}}$ $\underline{\text{♩}}$ $\underline{\text{♩}}$ $\underline{\text{♩}}$ | or $\frac{4}{4}$ $\underline{\text{♩}}$ $\underline{\text{♩}}$ $\underline{\text{♩}}$ | $\underline{\text{♩}}$ $\underline{\text{♩}}$ $\underline{\text{♩}}$ $\underline{\text{♩}}$ |. “The [higher] Playing
($\circ$ = open, + = muted)

Cast drummer plays complex irregular patterns which are “almost impossible to notate” (Reckford 1977: 8). The Playing Cast directs dancers’ movements (Carty (1988: 20); it is also called the “female” drum; its leader role is “reflective of the African tradition which is both Matriarchal and Matrilineal”¹²⁹ (Carty 1988: 21). Kumina drumming is played on Emancipation Day (in August), for the sick, at recreational events, and like Burru, used to welcome prisoners home (Simpson & Moore 1957: 189).

[Kumina songs and style were mostly] derived from Protestant hymnody, but the performance style was wholly unlike the hymn singing found in most European or North American churches. People sang at the tops of their voices, swayed their bodies to the mellifluous rhythm, gesticulated, leaned on one another’s shoulders. (Bilby 1995: 149)

¹²⁸ Both Maroon and Kumina drumming use a two-drum pair (Bilby 1979: 173-201).

¹²⁹ Baxter (1970) notes that traditional Jamaica has been primarily matriarchal (350).

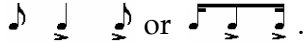
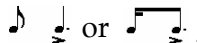
Kumina songs possess many African traits. “All songs recreate the rhythm of the words when spoken in their rhythmic contour, ... result[ing] in great rhythmic complexity” (Rouse 2000: 219-69)¹³⁰ that is difficult to notate. The common rhythm found in other Jamaican neo-African styles appears in 58.3% of the songs: . Only 25% of songs use a major scale. 50% use a hexatonic scale, and some of these have pentatonic tendencies. 16.7% are pentatonic, and 8.3% use non-standard patterns (267). The high percentage of non-major scales “suggests that [the] melodic style of Kumina is derived from West African music” (267). 50% of phrases conclude on a lower pitch than they started on, another West African trait. Seven ostinati accompaniment percussion patterns¹³¹ are common (see **FIGURE 1.6**). “Reminiscent of the Akan” (267), these patterns accent offbeats similarly to the Ghanaian patterns in **FIGURE 1.2** (pg. 64: patterns #vi and #vii). They are variations of ,¹³² which appears in 20% of Ghanaian and



FIGURE 1.6: COMMON KUMINA PERCUSSION ACCOMPANIMENT PATTERNS (Rouse 2000: 220-1)

¹³⁰ All citations in this paragraph are from Rouse (2000). See footnote #102, pg. 85, for clarification of Rouse’s study.

¹³¹ Percussion accompaniments are “very similar to ... Jonkonnu drumming, especially in their extemporisatory style, with the rhythm patterns constantly changing” (Rouse 2000: 222).

¹³² It is fascinating, however, that *none* of the songs in Rouse’s collection utilize this rhythm melodically, even though it is the most predominant accompaniment rhythm (2000: 264).

8% of Nigerian songs: 83.3% of the songs use call and response form. 83.3% contain short, repetitive melodic-rhythmic bits.¹³³ Rouse (2000) observes only a few European influences in Kumina: even phrasing, “a trait found more in Western European folk musics than West African” (227), and the use of English (Jamaican Creole), which would alter pitch and rhythmic contours of any original African melodies.

1.3.2.8 ANANSI¹³⁴ STORIES

The influence of Anansi stories in shaping Jamaican musical aesthetics and conceptions of self-identity is rarely addressed in the JPM literature, even though these stories are probably the most commonly experienced folk form.¹³⁵ (*See DVD video 3.5 for an example of a Jamaican Anansi story.*) They were brought by slaves as part of their West African folklore. Many new ones were created in Jamaica to reflect their new environment (Warner-Lewis 2002: 94). Appealing to both adults and children, they are “polysemic, with one meaning ... for children, another for adults ‘in the know,’ and another still for outsiders” (Burton 1997: 61). Most feature the exploits of Anansi, an Ashanti folklore character,¹³⁶ a spider¹³⁷ with the ability to become a man who triumphs over adversity in his adventures with animals, humans and gods/spirits. He is often the underdog who feigns stupidity but uses wisdom, trickery and perseverance to outwit his enemies and the powerful. Most stories have “a moral” in the form of an aphorism

¹³³ Manuel (1995: 9) uses “cellular units,” Roberts (1998: xxviii) uses “melorhythmic patterns.”

¹³⁴ Variant spellings: Annancy, Anancy, Ananse.

¹³⁵ For discussion of Anansi stories and symbolism, see Burton 1997: 60-5, McFarlane (1998).

¹³⁶ “In Ashanti theology [Anansi] is actually one of the expressions of Deity. Through his ruses he sometimes even outsmarts the Supreme Being” (Barrett 1976: 33).

¹³⁷ “Anansi” is the Twi word for “spider” (Barrett 1976: 34).

or proverb¹³⁸ set to music or chanted.

So intricately woven is Anansi in Jamaican life that his cunning has become part of the Jamaican personality stereotype. ... [As] scholar Rex Nettleford [puts it, 'Anansi] expresses much of the Jamaican spirit in his ostentatious professions of love, in his wrong and strong, brave but cowardly postures of bluff, in his love for leisure and corresponding dislike for work, and in his lovable rascality.' (Barrett 1976: 33, 32, 34)

Anansi's appeal to the underclass was enormous.¹³⁹ "It is as though every slave strove to be Anansi.¹⁴⁰ [He showed that] in order to cope with an unstraight and crooked world one needs unstraight and crooked paths" (Nettleford 1966: xiii).

In traditional West African fashion, Anansi stories integrate oral storytelling, dramatic delivery, mime, music, sound effects, animal cries, dance, actions and audience participation (Barrett 1976: 31, Baxter 1970: 254). In the eighteenth century, Anansi stories featured West African songs, refrains and phrases.¹⁴¹ Most songs were performed

¹³⁸ "There are hundred [of Ashanti proverbs] that have turned up in Jamaica in their original forms and many more that have been modified to fit New World conditions" (Barrett 1976: 35). Anansi stories were told in three Twi dialects: Ashanti, Fanati, and Akwapim (Foehr 2001: 196).

¹³⁹ Anansi's main appeal is his fallibility, for although he is a hero, he is often a scapegoat. "[Anancy] does not always succeed. ... [M]any stories end with him trapped in and by his own trickery and being punished accordingly. ... [He often] use[s] one ... of the weak to outwit one of the strong and ... to ensure that it is some creature dumber than himself ... who takes the punishment that ... is his. ... It is not so much Massa who suffers from Anancy's guile as slaves dumber and weaker than himself. ... Anancy ... [is] a figure ... of opposition, ... a scrambler of systems, manipulator of masks, and transgressor of boundaries. ... But he is not a figure of resistance or a leader of revolts" (Burton 1997: 62, 64). Anancy has been a positive role model for oppressed Jamaicans because he "contradicts the popular depiction of the slave as the good-for-nothing 'Sambo.' ... Ananse counteracts the stereotype of blacks as lazy, docile and irresponsible characters given to lying and stealing" (Seaga 2005: 86).

¹⁴⁰ Seaga (2005: 86) makes the same point.

¹⁴¹ This is based upon descriptions and commentary of Anansi music in early historical accounts, which emphasize its "African" stylistic features and traits, but provide few specifics. See Alleyne (1988), Baxter (1970: 20-81, 119-23, 128-73, 195-207, 219-31), Beckwith

a cappella, but by the 1920s guitar and tambourine were common accompaniments (Beckwith 1929: 210). Murray (1971) describes storytellers' delivery as "so rhythmic and musical that the tale drifts naturally from [spoken] words to chant and from chant to song unconsciously" (117). The oldest (and largest) collection of Anansi music is in Jekyll (1907), but his transcriptions are often problematic. As Roberts (1998) puts it, Jekyll was "an amateur ... with no knowledge of the background out of which Jamaican music sprang, ... [so he] ... reinterpret[ed] elements he did not understand in the direction of European models" (142, 134). Jekyll (1907) demonstrates this misunderstanding in his description of his informants' performances.

[Jamaican songs] gain a[n] ... almost indescribable lilt from a peculiarity in the time-organisation of the Negro. If you ask him to beat the time with the foot, he does it perfectly regularly, but just where the white man does not do it. We beat *with* the time; he beats *against* it. To make my meaning plain, take common measure. His first beat in the bar will be exactly midway between our first and second beats. The effect of this peculiarity in their singing is, that there is commonly a feeling of syncopation¹⁴² about it. (6)

In **FIGURE 1.7** (next page), I've "translated" Jekyll's description into notation. The first line indicates Jekyll's perception of a four note phrase and where his slaves tapped their foot. Based upon his prior Western experience, he would have presumed that a song's

(1923, 1929), Bilby (1979), Brathwaite (1971), Burton (1997: 13-115), Clarke (1980), Dunham (1946), Kerr (1990), Lewin (2000), Maultsby (1985: 29-27), Monteith & Richards (2002: 3-178, 225-323), Murray (1971: 1-31, 94), Myers (in Jekyll 1907: 278-84), Nettleford (1979: 59-60), Rath (1993), Robinson (1999), Rouse (2000: 1-18), Ryman (1984a, 1984b), Thomas (2004: 31-45), Tracey (1980:29-31), Warner-Lewis (2003, 2004) and Wynter (1970).

¹⁴² "Syncopation," with its European meaning of a disrupted beat, doesn't describe in-between-beat accents from the perspective of Jamaican practitioners (O'Gorman 1988: 49); i.e., it is an inappropriate term to describe rhythmical patterns in which offbeats or beats which are considered weak in European meters are consistently accented. In this scenario, these types of accents are the norm, not disruptions.

beats would be marked by sounds, and concluded that their foot tapping was “in-between beats” if it occurred on a silent regulative beat. As noted by *all* African

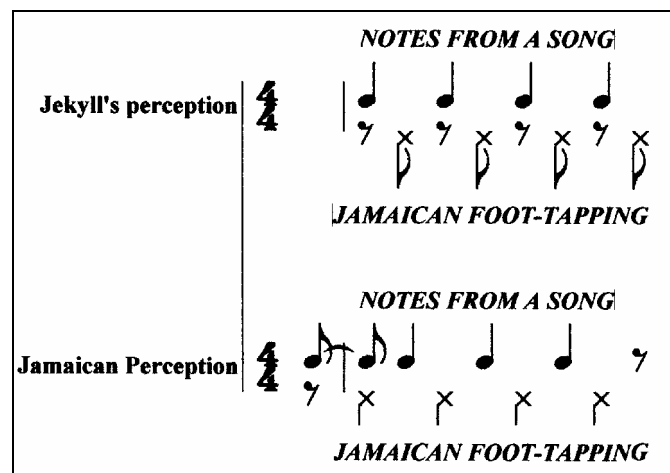


FIGURE 1.7: JEKYLL'S MISPERCEPTION OF THE BEAT IN JAMAICAN MUSIC
(based upon Jekyll 1907: 6)

scholars in section 1.3.2.1, West Africans always tap on the main beat (never on offbeats), so Jekyll's description suggests that the true notation of the foot-tapping relative to the songs' melodies is indicated in Line 2, i.e., with the initial sound occurring on the prebeat before beat one. This calls into question the accuracy of his transcriptions; his perception of beats and offbeats may very well be the reverse of how Jamaicans' felt and performed them.¹⁴³

As an example of the implications of this error, consider the first Anansi song

¹⁴³ Some of Jekyll's transcriptions can be verified using recordings or live performances. There is the possibility, however, that contemporary performances have been shaped by Jekyll's notation. I have compared two songs from Jekyll's collection with recorded versions from the 1950s by Edric Connor and Louise Bennett (two Jamaican singers who specialized in Jamaican folk music). They are nearly identical with their recorded versions, e.g., (from Jekyll 1907) #89. "Little Sally Walker" (190) and #109. "There's a Black Boy in the Ring" (207) — aka "Brown Girl in the Ring." Roberts (1998: 142), on the other hand, has also compared some of Jekyll's examples with archival tapes, and notes that many African rhythmic subtleties are missing or incorrect. He unfortunately doesn't go into specifics.

from Jekyll's collection, "Annancy & Brother Tiger" (FIGURE 1.8). It is simple and short: the same refrain is sung four times. The first and third phrases are identical; the second and fourth are in a question and answer relationship to each other. The top staves show Jekyll's original transcription. The other staves show two possible alternative versions. The first alternate shifts the first sound from beat one to its prebeat. There is also the

"Annancy & Brother Tiger"¹⁴⁴

Allegretto

The figure displays a musical score for the song "Annancy & Brother Tiger". It consists of four systems of staves. Each system includes three staves: "Jekyll's Version", "Ahead by 1/2 beat", and "Delayed by 1/2 beat". The music is written in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (Bb) and a common time signature (C). The tempo is marked "Allegretto". The lyrics are: "Yesh - ter - day this time me a nyam Ti - ger fat, Yesh - ter - day this time me a nyam Ti - ger fat, Yesh - ter - day this time me a nyam Ti - ger fat, Yesh - ter - day this time me a nyam Ti - ger fat." The first and third phrases are identical, while the second and fourth are in a question and answer relationship.

FIGURE 1.8: ANANSI STORY-SONG FROM JEKYLL (1907: 7)

¹⁴⁴ In the lyrics, "nyam" is derived from a Twi word meaning "to eat" (Bryan 2004: 644).

possibility that he could have misperceived / misnotated songs beginning on an after-beat, so the second alternate shifts the first sound to the afterbeat of beat one. The difference between the feel of Jekyll's version and either alternate is enormous. Jekyll's is very "square," landing regularly on beats, without any "lilting" qualities. Both alternates, on the other hand, sound more "Jamaican," with consistent offbeat accents. Given the African aesthetic preference for variation, there is also the likelihood that each of the versions are slightly different from the other. The decision to notate them the same might also be a misperception based upon his experience with European folk songs, in which singers often repeat phrases unchanged. In the event that Jekyll's version is correct, it is likely that added percussion (with instruments or on the body) would emphasize offbeat accents in this melody (see Hopkin 1984: 10-15).

Anansi songs possess both African and European characteristics. Most include short percussive refrains, which Jekyll calls bobbins (Jekyll 1907: 5, 158). Call and response is the predominant form (Roberts (1998: 135). Roberts (136) and Jekyll (157-8) note similarities between some Anansi songs and digging songs, especially in their use of bobbins. 18.7% of the songs use compound meter and the same percentage also use triple meters, which "suggests that the influence of African music with its strong bias towards triple rhythms ... has remained ... intact in this category" (Rouse 2000: 127). Other African traits include consistently accented offbeats and a weakly sounded first beat. 71.4% of phrases don't begin on the first beat, 83.5% of phrases end on beats other than the first beat, and 42.9% end on offbeats, which Rouse identifies as a "feminine

rhythm” in European theory¹⁴⁵ (Rouse 2000: 62, 285). There is a notable difference between European “feminine” and Jamaican “feminine” rhythms, however. European tendency to articulate beats with strong sounds usually results in the following emphasis in this feminine rhythm: , whereas the same rhythm in Anansi (and other Jamaican music) receives a stronger accent on the afterbeat () or prebeat () (263).

There are two types of Anansi songs (Rouse 2000: 140): 1) chants, with only a few pitches that repeat over and over (African style) and 2) songs with a variety of scales patterns, only some of which are European in style. Given their dramatic function, all songs follow speech rhythms closely, with many offbeat accents (130). Rouse considers most of the chant-style songs as “rhythmic recitatives.” Thus, the use of the two common rhythms in other neo-African songs, 18.7% for  or , and 13.9% for  or .

A large percentage of Anansi melodies use non-Western European scales (Rouse 2000: 139). 1.1% use only one note, 2.2% of the songs are chromatic, 2.2% of the songs are in Aeolian mode, 1.1% use a minor scale, 6.6% use so few pitches that they cannot be categorized,¹⁴⁶ 14% don’t fall under any category, 16.5% are pentatonic, 22.2% use a hexatonic scale, and only 34.1% use a complete major scale.¹⁴⁷ Phrasing also shows

¹⁴⁵ A “feminine” rhythm is an accent on an offbeat or weak beat.

¹⁴⁶ “In ... songs with a restricted melodic line, the rhythmic [and timbral] element[s] are the most important. ... [Some songs] imitate[e] a sound from nature [or] animal sounds” (Rouse 2000: 138).

¹⁴⁷ Figures are from Rouse (2000: 267). Those presented on pages 136-140 don’t add up to 100%; the figure for “other scales” appears to be wrong. See footnote #102, pg. 85, for

African influence; 50.6% of the songs conclude on a lower note than their opening pitch, and 48.6% consist entirely of descending phrases (145).

1.3.2.9 JONKONNU¹⁴⁸

Jonkonnu is the oldest indigenous Jamaican Creole form, first mentioned in print in 1707 (Burton 1997: 19). Rouse (2000) believes that "Jonkonnu music ... holds the key to the understanding of the evolution of the use of rhythm in Jamaican folk music" (259), and by extension its influence upon JPM,¹⁴⁹ yet it receives little analysis in the JPM literature.¹⁵⁰ Jonkonnu has been (and continues to be) a major social activity performed mostly outdoors between December 24th into early January (Murray 1971: 106) — anybody living in Jamaica, especially prior to the sixties, would have experienced dozens of performances. Since some influential JPM percussionists have played in Jonkonnu bands, a study of the relationship between Jonkonnu and JPM is long overdue.¹⁵¹ (*See DVD video 3.6 for examples of Jonkonnu.*)

Jonkonnu began as a Jamaican version of Ashanti fertility and harvest rituals¹⁵² "[which] developed without significant ... European influence [until the late 1700s]"

clarification of Rouse's study.

¹⁴⁸ Variants: Junkunnu, Junkannoo, Johnkannu, Junkanoo, and John Canoe.

¹⁴⁹ Ryman (1984b) considers "Jonkonnu ... [as] the repository for almost every dance/music form in Jamaica" (57).

¹⁵⁰ For detailed analyses of Jonkonnu, see: Barnett (1978), Bettelheim (1976), Burton (1997: 65-82), Ryman (1984a, 1984b), Warner-Lewis (2003: 223-4), Witmer (1995: 26-7) and Wynter (1970).

¹⁵¹ e.g., Lloyd Knibb and Leroy "Horsemouth" Wallace.

¹⁵² Wynter (1970: 37) cites the yam festival activities of the Mno secret societies of the Ibo peoples and the Homowa harvest festival of the Ga peoples. See Bettelheim (1976) for a comparison between Jamaican and West African sartorial and symbolic aspects of Jonkonnu.

(Burton 1997: 65). In Africa, it was originally held in September/October to celebrate the earth and its fertility,¹⁵³ and in late December to hasten the end of the drought season (Barnett 1978: 24-5, Brathwaite 1970: 15). Most participants wore flamboyant costumes and masks representing historical characters, animals, plants, gods and spirits. The aim was to make ancestral spirits connected with agricultural activity visible in order to command their power. Most Jonkonnu rituals were similar to those of West African secret societies¹⁵⁴ in which music, dance and drama were tightly integrated (Ryman 1984b: 57).

Jonkonnu's occurrence during the Christmas season was significant. It was "one of the few occasions on which the slaves from different estates were permitted to meet and mingle without ... penalties for being caught outside of their respective plantation boundaries" (Ryman 1984b: 54). Because some Jonkonnu activities were similar to European masquerade traditions, most Europeans assumed that slaves were just imitating their traditions.¹⁵⁵ When laws banned Myal in the late 1700s, the most obvious African aspects were "submerged"¹⁵⁶ as a strategy of survival, and certain European

¹⁵³ Harvest festivals were "of great significance to the Ashanti people" (Barnett 1978: 25).

¹⁵⁴ See Barnett (1978: 25-6), Ryman (1984a: 13, 15, 1984b: 53-4, 57) and Wynter (1970: 37-8) for similarities between Jonkonnu and the activities of over a dozen secret societies. The most influential were the Egungun of the Yorubas and the Poro (of many regions, including Angola, Central Africa, parts of Ghana, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Southern Nigeria).

¹⁵⁵ See Wynter (1970) regarding Jonkonnu and the European masquerade tradition, and Burton (1997: 80-82) regarding its multiple meanings.

¹⁵⁶ Barnett, Bettelheim, Brathwaite, Burton, Ryman and Wynter argue that Jonkonnu's African core was always present, and more central than noted in most European accounts.

elements were added.¹⁵⁷ This gave Jonkonnu a subversive edge (from the slaves' perspective). As Brathwaite puts it, Jonkonnu "remained intransigently opposed to the planters' oppressive culture"¹⁵⁸ while appearing to be a light-hearted, harmless imitation of that same culture (Brathwaite 1970: 15). (Most Jonkonnu specialists consider European influences "incidental" (Burton 1997: 71).) With the arrival of Central African indentured labourers in the mid-nineteenth century, Jonkonnu was reinvigorated with Africanisms in the same way that Myal was transformed into Kumina (Ryman 1984a: 14).¹⁵⁹ Since the twentieth century, however, Jonkonnu's religious aspects have become mostly symbolic (Ryman 1983: 138, 31, Wynter 1970: 37-39).

In the 1600s, Jonkonnu music was predominantly neo-African, featuring percussion, chanting and dancing. Scholars such as Bilby (in Rouse 2000: 252) note similarities between Maroon and Jonkonnu drumming, and Beckwith (1929: 151, 155) describes its instruments (drums, flute, other percussion) as "identical" to those used at Myal rituals,¹⁶⁰ and that "the songs also were equivalent, either in rhythm or in the very words themselves." The basic Jonkonnu line-up consists of drums and flute/fife-like wind instruments reminiscent of European and American fife and drum bands (of the eighteenth and nineteenth century). Since its roots precede fife and drum traditions, i.e., starting sometime in the seventeenth century, and there is also similar Ashanti fife and

¹⁵⁷ English Morris and French set dancing and mummary (Lewin 1983: 38, Wynter 1970: 38).

¹⁵⁸ Burton (1997: 66) also emphasizes Jonkonnu's oppositional stance.

¹⁵⁹ Most labourers were the Kikongo and Yoruban people, along with free Africans from North America, the Bahamas, St. Helena, and the Kru and Bantu from Liberia and the southwest Ivory Coast (Ryman 1984a: 14, 1984b: 50).

¹⁶⁰ Ryman (1984a: 13) also discusses links between Jonkonnu and Myalism.

drum music in Ghana (Lewin 1970: 71), most scholars believe that its primary roots are African.¹⁶¹ Two main drums are used: bass and rattling, and a bamboo fife. Larger bands use two fifes, cowhorns, various scrapers (aka graters) and shakers (rookaw, jawbone) and different types of calabash rattles (gourds scraped with a stick) as well as other miscellaneous sized and shaped drums (White 1982a: 56). Other instruments include the Gumbay drum, wooden knockers, stamping bamboo, fork, bottle, calabash and the wheelbase of a car¹⁶² (Ryman 1984b: 58). White (1982a: 56) notes that although the drummers used European-styled drum-sticks (vs. the hand drumming style of West Africa) and a similar $\frac{2}{4}$ or $\frac{4}{4}$ meter, Jonkonnu musicians “had an undeniably African sound. ... [They] used cross- and counter-rhythms that exhibited the deep polyrhythmic African influence.”¹⁶³ African melodies were mixed with variations of British hymns and sailors’ songs, and later popular song and dance¹⁶⁴ (White 1982a: 56). A number of analysts also note that, after 1845, an influx of East Indian workers created a Jamaican version of the Indian Hussay festival which influenced Jonkonnu in many ways, especially with regard to melodic and rhythmic style; see section 1.3.4.4 for details.

Instrumental parts follow African models (Ryman 1984b: 58). The bass drum

¹⁶¹ There is the possibility that African fife and drum music might have been influenced from pre-slave trade encounters with Europeans, or that these earliest encounters might have resulted in European emulation of African forms and structures.

¹⁶² This is possibly a brake drum or a wheel rim.

¹⁶³ Ryman (1984b: 53) also notes that Jonkonnu rhythms were highly complex.

¹⁶⁴ Jonkonnu bands also played for other social occasions and included in their repertoire variations of European dance music, including the Quadrille, but always maintained a predominantly African rhythmic feel and style in performance (Barrow & Dalton 2001: 6, Katz (2003: 2).

plays a basic $\frac{4}{4}$ pattern, the rattling drum plays more complicated rhythms, and the grater most commonly plays this ostinato pattern: $\frac{4}{4} | \text{♩} \text{♩} \text{♩} \text{♩} |$. “The fife man is considered to be [the] key musical figure by both musicians and dancers. It is he who literally ‘calls the tune,’ ... dictates the pace and change of rhythms appropriate to the occasion and character, at any given time” (Ryman 1984b: 58).

According to Rouse¹⁶⁵ (2000) 56.5% of the songs “change meter,” but most of these songs come from old collections (e.g., Beckwith 1929); the rest are more recent (mostly from the 1970s). Since these “changing meters” are only in older transcriptions, it seems likely that this might be due to European transcribers’ misperceptions/misnotations of complex polyrhythms, rather than indications of actual metric changes from the performers’ perspectives.¹⁶⁶ Many characteristics are neo-African. Uneven phrase lengths occur in 62.7% of the songs (Rouse 2000: 94), and 47.8% of phrases do not begin on the first beat of the bar (96). 69.6% of phrases end on the last beat of the bar. Most Jonkonnu texts “do not have an even poetic meter, indicating very little influence from Western European folk song” (97). The pattern $\text{♩} \text{♩} \text{♩}$ or $\text{♩} \text{♩} \text{♩}$ occurs in 41.7% of the songs (100), and $\text{♩} \text{♩}$ or $\text{♩} \text{♩}$ occurs in 39.1% of the songs (264), lower percentages than other neo-African forms examined above (except for Maroon music); Rouse attributes this lower figure to recitative-like rhythms in some songs or sections of songs

¹⁶⁵ All statistics cited in this section from Rouse 2000: 85-122. See footnote #102, pg. 85, for clarification of Rouse’s study.

¹⁶⁶ Rouse (2000) does note that the oldest examples in her collection are all the ones that indicate metric changes (94), but she suggests that more recent examples (with a constant meter) might reflect “the Western European preference for a constant meter” (ibid.).

which accompany Jonkonnu's dramatic aspects. 12.5% of the songs feature short, repeated motives, and 47.8% contain a phrase which is repeated at regular intervals through the song (112). As is the case with African call and response variations, "The repeats of [these] phrase[s] are not, however, exactly the same" (112). The seven ostinati

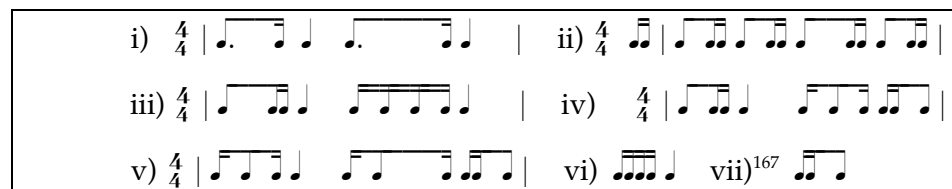


FIGURE 1.9: COMMON JONKONNU OSTINATI PERCUSSION PATTERNS¹⁶⁸ (ROUSE 2000: 113)

patterns (in **FIGURE 1.9**) are played by drums or scraper. Given Jonkonnu's African roots, these patterns are similar to Kumina ostinati (see **FIGURE 1.6**, pg. 98). African traits also characterize Jonkonnu scale use.¹⁶⁹ 13.1% are hexatonic, while 13.1% use non-identifiable scale patterns; Rouse believes Jonkonnu scales represent a transition between modal or anhemitonic pentatonic scales and more modern songs which favour a major scale tonality.¹⁷⁰ 30.4%¹⁷¹ use major scales, and 43.5% use modes¹⁷² found in some Ghanaian folk music (117). 70% of songs finish at a lower pitch than the starting note, and 41.7% contain no ascending phrases. She also notes similar interval patterns to those found in Nigerian and Yoruban music (117).

¹⁶⁷ Patterns vi) and vii) are presented as notated by Rouse, i.e., without time signatures.

¹⁶⁸ Rouse (2000) doesn't indicate a time signature on this page (113), but describes Jonkonnu patterns as predominantly in $\frac{4}{4}$ elsewhere (85-121).

¹⁶⁹ See Rouse's figures for Jonkonnu scale percentages (2000: 102-8).

¹⁷⁰ This might also be due to the influence of Indian music; see section 1.3.4.4.

¹⁷¹ Rouse's calculation of percentage is in error here (2000: 102). This figure is corrected.

¹⁷² Of the modal songs, 20% are Lydian, 20% are Phrygian and 60% are Aeolian.

The neo-African forms in this section share many of the features and embody the African worldviews examined in sections 1.3.2 and 1.3.2.1. Because these forms were pervasive in poor black Jamaican society, most were experienced by future JPM artists as participants or observers, and by some as creators and performers. These experiences were significant in the development of neo-African aesthetic preferences and orientations (especially with regard to performance style) that would surface when they became professional musicians between the late forties and mid-seventies. Re: particular direct and indirect influences upon JPM, see sections 1.3.5.1 to 1.3.5.6 and section 1.4.3.

1.3.3 EUROPEAN ROOTS & INFLUENCES

This section prioritizes the work of JPM scholars whose claims about links between Jamaican and European traditions are substantiated. Most underclass Jamaicans regarded European culture with indifference, fear or hostility. From an enactivist perspective, the association of strong negative emotions with an event would result in these feelings becoming intertwined with the memory of the event, which would be consistently recalled upon subsequent exposures. When combined with the positive feelings that slaves and their ancestors would have experienced with regard to neo-African traditions, this mixture might be a factor in accounting for the high degree of African traits in indigenous Jamaican music and/or the tendency for many Jamaican scholars to express the balance as being weighted primarily to the African side in creolized blends. Exposure to European culture prior to emancipation came from sailors' songs, music from the Great House (spiritual, recreational and children's songs) and holiday celebrations (Christmas, New Year, Easter, concerts by military bands,

choirs, etc.). Most of this music was European in classical and folk styles (English, Scottish and Irish traditions) (Barrow & Dalton 2001: 31). For slaves who were servants or house musicians, this exposure was greater, but for the ones on plantations, especially where Absenteeism¹⁷³ was practiced, these influences were much less. After emancipation, some former slaves rose to middle- or upper-class positions of power, where all things European symbolized status and betterment, and African culture was “viewed negatively and pejoratively as ... sign[s] of ‘backwardness’ ” (Alleyne 1984: 6, see also Thomas 2004: 4).¹⁷⁴

Most creators of JPM were from the lower classes, so one must consider European influences from this perspective. An important survival skill was learning “Quashie” behaviour and attitudes.¹⁷⁵ “Quashie” is the Jamaican label for “personality deception” (Barnett 1978: 24). Burton (1997) cites Orlando Patterson’s definition: a person who “voluntarily bec[ame] the smiling, fawning dullard that Massa ... believed him to be, [so that s/he] could ... turn the stereotype against them, preserving an inner freedom beneath the mask of compliance” (49). Being happy-go-lucky, stupid and frivolous was a way “to retaliate through incompetency” (Barnett 1978: 24).¹⁷⁶ Becoming Quashie was like becoming Anancy, using one’s mind to construct appropriate falsehoods (Barnett 1978: 24). With this mindset, European behaviours and musical styles

¹⁷³ Details on absenteeism are given later in this section.

¹⁷⁴ See O’Gorman (1986b, 1986c, 1987b, 1988a, 1988b, 1998) re: European-style Jamaican music.

¹⁷⁵ See Barnett (1978), Burton (1997: 49-59) and McFarlane (1998).

¹⁷⁶ Quashie might appear similar to African Americans’ “Uncle Tom,” but the former was sly and usually in control, whereas the latter was acquiescent and truly submissive.

became ways to suggest outward compliance to disguise one's true intentions and allegiances.

[Most Europeans] remained ignorant of many slave [cultural] expressions which, because of their own attitudes, were hidden and kept in the bush tradition. ... The Blacks ... with their defensive Quashie trait, would play safe and sure in the arms of pretence in order to receive the patronage of the masters and to make the most of an opportunity for ridicule. (Barnett 1978: 30)

The "Quashie" aspect of Jamaican culture poses challenges regarding European elements and traits in the cultural expressions of the lower classes, since things were not always what they appeared to be. Brathwaite (1971) notes that, in the nineteenth century,

public entertainments ... became increasingly orientated (externally, at least) towards European forms ... But the African influence remained, even if ... submerged, as an important element in the process of creolization. European adaptations or imitations [were] never wholehearted or complete. *There might be apparent European forms, but the content would be different.* (24, 26, italics added)

African and neo-African worldviews were often expressed in other ways:

- *performance style* (especially body movement)
- *collective ensemble interaction* (shaping content)
- *neo-African timbres*
- *circular, open-ended structures* (use of improvisation, call and response, bobbins)
- *maintainance of neo-African sociocultural contexts* (linking European elements to neo-African traditions, rituals and everyday routines)

In the early 1700s, European and American Christian missionaries arrived in Jamaica,¹⁷⁷ but their influence was restricted because of three factors:

- 1) "[Most English Planters] made no attempt to introduce the slaves to European culture or values, and converting 'heathens' to Christianity was out of the question" (Johnson &

¹⁷⁷ See section 1.3.4.1 and 1.3.4.2 for discussion of Christian influences in Jamaica.

Pines 1982: 12). “[Christianity] was considered too sophisticated for [Jamaicans] of ‘lesser breed’ and, further, the masters feared that the preachers ... would stretch the equality of humanity before God a little too far” (Barrett 1977: 17). Until 1815, it was illegal for slaves to attend Christian services or hear the Gospel¹⁷⁸ (Barrett 1976: 70).

2) In the late 1600s, legislation banned large assemblies of slaves, even on Sundays and holidays. Also forbidden were African religious practices. “Drumming was especially feared because it might communicate secret messages (see also White 1982a: 43, Brathwaite 1971: 23). The laws of 1774¹⁷⁹ prescribed the death sentence for anyone attending ... Myal ceremonies” (Wynter 1970: 41). These laws merely reduced or altered public displays and drove neo-Africanisms underground (Barnett 1978: 22, 32, Barrett 1977: 17, Brathwaite 1971: 14, 1978: 46, White 1982a: 43, Wynter 1970: 41). The result was the linking of “religion, [artistic expression] and rebellion ... in [a] symbiotic relationship” (Alleyne 1988: 83) characterized by “non-violent, inward, cultural resistance ... [whereby] slaves could both enact and conceal their nonacceptance of the [European] system, covertly defy those who operated it, or by manipulation, deceit and maneuver concretely improve their position within it” (Burton 1997: 48).¹⁸⁰ Restrictions of African religious and cultural practices made them binding forces of unity and primary symbols of cultural identity amongst the underclass (Barnett 1978: 31, Ryman 1984b: 51).

3) The practice of Absenteeism, in which landowners didn’t live on the plantation, and

¹⁷⁸ Before 1815, “some ... religious instruction [was] allowed ... [but] it was not the rule” (Barrett 1976: 70).

¹⁷⁹ These laws were only repealed in the 1800s (Alleyne 1988: 82).

¹⁸⁰ See Barrett (1977:29-67) re: rebellion and resistance in Jamaica between 1600-1900.

hired local people to oversee fieldwork, who left slaves alone when they weren't working (Carty 1988: 14, Burton 1997: 20, 38-40, Alleyne 1988: 70).¹⁸¹ Most overseers ignored slaves' cultural expressions if productivity was high (Barnett 1978: 32, Carty 1988: 14, Johnson & Pines 1982: 12). When slaves were alone, "they were left ... to develop their own cultural expressions" (Johnson & Pines 1982: 12-13; see also Barnett 1978: 31).

1.3.3.1 EUROPEAN WORLDVIEW

The European worldview and aesthetic sensibilities were often rejected or modified by Jamaicans. (As noted on pg. 111, from an enactivist perspective, the consistent link between all things European and negative feelings is substantial when it comes to aesthetic reactions. Given the resentment that would be a major factor in the lives of any enslaved people, the Jamaican preference for African aesthetics would surely have been frequently a rejection of European aesthetics "on principle" based upon this intrinsic response.) Ben Sidrak (in Alleyne 1988) notes that "while [the overall aesthetic of] European tradition[s] strive for regularity – of pitch, time, timbre — the African tradition strives for the negation of these elements" (160). The preferred African "format of interaction is the circle, not the [European preference for] the line" (Alleyne 1988: 160). The goal-driven linear approach of European musical structure was too rigid; circular forms were more interesting and reflective of African social values: prioritizing mutual support, celebrating individuality, and preference for community-based decision-making.¹⁸² The European preference for equal, clock-based mathematical division of time

¹⁸¹ Overseers were more distant socially, which also reduced European influences.

¹⁸² Circular formations are the preferred African way to assemble in groups. They encourage participation, blur distinctions between leaders and followers, make it easier to see every-

clashed with the African view of time unfolding naturally as relationships in the present rather than focusing upon those in the future. "The most important thing [was] the individual participation in the event taking place" (Alleyne 1988: 156). The European emphasis upon predetermined structures, i.e., the replication of someone else's pre-conceived ideas¹⁸³ was inferior to creating things with others in the present and exploring or altering them according to the needs of the moment. The European conception of performance was also strongly shaped by views of organization modeled on industrialized, mechanized models of labour and production, with clearly defined roles controlled and directed by a leader/conductor (Small 1987: 1-80), whereas African ensembles made little distinction between performers and audience, and preferred shared/shifting leadership, and a primary emphasis upon individual contributions (Alleyne 1988: 163).

In terms of performance style, European performances were also mostly sedentary, with both performers and audiences sitting still. Even in folk performances, where audience and performers did interact, and body movements were freer, the primary emphasis was upon mostly still, erect bodies in contrast to the African performing style which prioritizes dance-like movements from everybody. (*See DVD video 1.1 for comparisons between European and African corporeal orientations and movement styles.*)

Differences in spiritual beliefs were at the heart of Jamaicans' rejection of many

body involved, and facilitate shifting focus from one person or group to another. For discussion and analysis of the African conception of circles and circular formations in singing games and everyday activities, see Alleyne (1988: 115-6) and Gottschild (2002: 9-10).

¹⁸³ This is most prevalent with classical-style music, and less so with folk forms.

aspects of European culture (Alleyne 1984: 7-8). The African concept of God/nature/humanity interacting together in the world is quite different compared to the Euro-Christian view of God looking down "from heaven above." The Christian belief in rewards after death and the sinfulness of sensuality/corporeality is the source of the European view that delayed gratification, in music and life, is a sign of "being civilized, good and pure," and a sign of maturity, strength, control and respect.¹⁸⁴ Africans believe that emotional catharsis, ecstasy and corporeal manifestations of spirituality are the primary means to unite God, ancestors and their community with themselves.

1.3.3.2 GENERAL EUROPEAN MUSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

In spite of the black majority's rejection of many European values, and although Quashie attitudes may have led slaves to make use of European musical devices with the intention of ridicule or satire, by the mid-1800s, many European characteristics started to appear in indigenous Jamaican music, mostly because of Christian missionaries' introduction of European hymns, anthems, folk songs, and classical music (White 1982c: 27-8).¹⁸⁵ These include major and relative minor scales (frequently shifting between the two); simple, three-chord harmonies¹⁸⁶ (mostly I-IV-V); triadic vocal

¹⁸⁴ Thomas (2004) equates Jamaican conceptions of modernity with Christian ideals and behaviours absorbed through European and American culture. (Stolzoff (2000) and Warner-Lewis (2002) come to the same conclusions.) Thomas argues that today Jamaica is "in bondage" (164, 268) to American consumerism and multinational companies' economic policies.

¹⁸⁵ For accounts of particular Christian influences in Jamaica (notably Puritanism, Pentecostalism, Methodism and the Baptist Church), see Alleyne (1988: 96), Barrett (1977: 17-26), Carty (1988: 58), Hopkin (1978), O'Gorman (1975), Smith (1978) and Warner-Lewis (2002: 106).

¹⁸⁶ Agawu (2003) points out that the European influence in Africa, especially from the fifteenth century onward, strongly influenced harmonic practice; this influence was

harmony; regular phrasing with a binary rhythmic emphasis (in two-, four- and eight-measure groupings¹⁸⁷); strophic song forms; verse-chorus structures; AABA forms (usually 32 measures long); responsorial psalms; homogenous, blending timbres; organization of ideas based upon harmonic progressions; and particular dance-forms (French quadrille, waltz, polka, mazurka, Schottisches, marches).¹⁸⁸ Northern European rhythm (especially in English music) favoured

relative simplification. Much of its folk music has gravitated toward common meters such as $\frac{4}{4}$, $\frac{2}{4}$, $\frac{6}{8}$, and $\frac{3}{4}$ [E]xcept for old 'free-meter' ballads, most northern European folk music tends to have a basic beat and to stick to it; any syncopation takes a simple form, in which the melody places a weak beat against a strong beat of the underlying rhythm ... This is usually a passing effect, [however], and it does not affect the underlying pulse [which is almost always stated strongly, in standard metric groupings.] (Roberts 1998: xxxv-vi)

The steady pulse in both European folk and African music was a significant commonality, but the European preference for strongly articulated pulses and the conception of

"pervasive [and] far-reaching" (8). It is likely that the music slaves brought with them to Jamaica had already been influenced by European harmonies for a couple of centuries prior to the Middle Passage, making it difficult to draw rigid boundaries between European and African conceptions of harmony.

¹⁸⁷ Roberts (1998) points out that European melodic and rhythmic patterns and larger divisions into verse sections are a reflection of the "typical tendency of European poetry to be divided into regular groups of lines, most often two, four, or eight. The musical form tended to follow the poetic divisions, so that most songs — unlike songs built on a call and response pattern — were series of neat packages of four, six, eight or twelve lines, separated by pauses or joined by a bit of instrumental filling-in. This important link between European verse and music was maintained down to quite small details like connections between musical and verbal stress, and between length of syllable and length of musical note" (xxx). The result is a close correspondence between the meaning of words and their musical settings, versus African aesthetics where it is common to have "gloomy themes sung to the jauntiest of melodies" (xxxi). Like Alleyne (1988: 160), Roberts (1998) also links the different approach to lyrical treatment to Africans' tendency to prefer oblique and obscure meanings and expressions in song lyrics (xxiv).

¹⁸⁸ This list is derived from information in Barrow & Dalton (2001: 31), Beckwith (1929: 205), Manuel (1995), Nketia (1977: 8), Rouse (2000) and White (1982c: 27-8).

offbeat accents as disruptions to the beat and meter made it difficult for most Europeans to understand African rhythmic organization and sound and corporeal couplings. Thus, the influence of European traits was only partial; see section 1.3.5.1.

European and African music also have many common scales (major, minor, pentatonic, modes), although Europeans favour major tonalities and chromaticism (Roberts 1998: xxxvi-vii). African "blue notes," i.e., flattened third and seventh notes of a major scale also appear in European folk music, which provided another common characteristic that facilitated creolizations from both perspectives.

European instruments (i.e., strings, brass, winds, keyboards, guitar) were available in the post-emancipation period. They added new timbres to the Jamaican palette which were incorporated in the creolization process. Rather than playing these instruments in a traditional European manner, however, Jamaican musicians often used neo-African performance techniques which favoured irregularity, roughness, distortion and buzzy sounds. Attacks and releases were often exaggerated to emphasize rhythmic and percussive characteristics.

As children heard European songs at school, many were adapted and creolized on the playground (Barnett 1976, Lewin 1998: 49). The selection of European elements was both a conscious and unconscious process. People would deliberately choose, adapt or reject particular European elements (White 1982a: 46), but they also couldn't "close their ears" nor could they control which experiences were stored in their memories.

Spanish music served as a bridge between African and European forms, with many rhythmic affinities with the former (polyrhythms and offbeat accents) and

melodic/harmonic similarities with the latter. Beckwith (1929: 205), Burnette (1977: 17), Roberts (1998: xxxvi, 124, 142) and Whitney & Hussey (1984: 9) note Spanish influences (particularly rumba and beguine rhythms) in mento.

The music examined in this section has neo-African and European characteristics. Many commentators¹⁸⁹ are of the opinion that European traits are primarily surface elements (scale, harmony, and certain structural characteristics (phrase groupings, sectional organization)), and the deep structures (emotional and corporeal feel, rhythmic and timbral approach, micro-organization (short/ repetitive/ cyclic ideas)) are neo-African,¹⁹⁰ with emphasis upon variation/embellishment/improvisation).¹⁹¹ In none of these styles are European characteristics presented unchanged,¹⁹² however; i.e., they are all “Jamaicanized” (C.S. Myers and L.E. Broadwood in Jekyll (1907: 284, 285); Jamaicanization is

¹⁸⁹ E.g., Alleyne, Barrett, Carty, Hopkin, Lewin, Mulvaney, Nettleford, Reckford, Ryman and White. I also include myself in this group.

¹⁹⁰ Based upon Alleyne (1988): “European music provides the surface structure in the form of a basic melody while the deep structure derives from the Afro-Jamaican tradition” (117).

¹⁹¹ Of course, one could flip this around, and argue that the sonic structures and structural characteristics are “deep” and the emotional/corporeal/timbral/rhythmic/micro-organizational, etc. factors are surface elements. This “flipped” view seems to reflect Western biases in its insistence that structural characteristics are more logically “deeper” factors (and by implication, more significant ones) than the rest, which are primarily corporeal in nature — perhaps a thinly veiled mind vs. body hierarchical assessment of factors. On the other hand, enactivists like Damasio (1995, 1996, 2003), Johnson (1987), Sheets-Johnstone (1990, 1999a) and Varela et al (1991) argue (on the basis of extensive empirical evidence) that corporeal experiences are the deep, foundational factors that precede and shape all thought, concepts and abstractions, which lends credence to those commentators who categorize African corporeal experience as most influential in Jamaican culture. See Chapter Three for many other enactivist researchers who concur with this assessment.

¹⁹² Broadwood (in Jekyll (1907), after analyzing Jekyll’s (1907) collection, only finds two songs that are identical to European sources. Of the remainder she stresses “I have not found one Jamaican tune which is *entirely* like any one English or European tune that I happen to know” (285, *italic in original*).

examined in sections 1.3.5.1 and 1.4.3.

1.3.3.3 EUROPEAN-INFLUENCED JAMAICAN CREOLE MUSICS

This section examines the work of scholars who have analyzed European-influenced Jamaican Creole musics. Although these musics are often described as dominated by European traditions, they possess many neo-African features, especially when considered phenomenologically, i.e., as experienced by participants in performance.

1.3.3.4 WORK SONGS¹⁹³

Rouse (2000) notes that Jamaican work songs are strongly rooted in West African practices and dominated by African traits, with no significant precedent in European models (even though most songs display some European traits) (153). Slaves were forbidden to talk while working in the fields, but singing was allowed, since it increased productivity. In the earliest years, many West African work songs were used, but overseers forbade African languages (for fear of secret communication), which led to the adoption of English in the form of Jamaican Creole. Although some work songs started as West African ones, most had to be adapted, and many other songs were also used (*if* their characteristics were suitable – more on this below), so some work songs are from the indigenous dance and recreational repertoire (i.e., mento and singing game songs), some are European songs, and there are also original compositions (Jekyll 1907: 157, Roberts 1998: 138). Even though the distinction between all of these song types is not rigid, Rouse (2000) has analyzed work songs as a distinct category, and Jekyll (1907) has

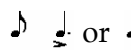
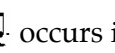
¹⁹³ Also called “digging songs,” but since many of these types of songs are used for other labour and for domestic tasks, “work songs” is a better, more inclusive term.

also separated them in his collection. The discussion which follows therefore considers work songs separately (in spite of the overlap with other styles). (*See DVD video 3.7 for examples of Jamaican Work Songs.*)

All work songs have a simple melody, strong rhythm and simple lyrics, since the main criterion for suitability is the potential for improvisation, since words, tune, rhythm responses and structure need to be adapted to the tempo and characteristics of the task at hand (Jekyll 1907: 6, Rouse 2000: 162). “[Work] songs [are] sometimes accompanied by instruments, including fiddlers” who often play a melody against an open droned string, creating a bagpipe effect¹⁹⁴ (Roberts 1998: 138), but no transcriptions exist of these accompaniment parts, which are always improvised. Given their purpose to unite and coordinate different people, another main feature is the use of antiphonal responses, either within the song itself, or with the type of melody that makes it easy to add them. One man usually starts the song or “raises the tune,” as Jamaicans call it, and others join in with the “bobbin,” a “short refrain of one or two words which does duty for [a] chorus”¹⁹⁵ (Rouse 2000: 158). The lead voice improvises lyrics and melody of his calls in a variety of ways (called “turnings” (159)), and uses falsetto, glides, vocables and many humorous asides to keep spirits up. (Song leaders were chosen as much for their wit as for their singing abilities.) The lead part also tends to feature longer notes and more elaborate patterns, in contrast to short and percussive responses/bobbins, which can be only one or two syllables (perhaps vocables), sometimes on just one or two notes

¹⁹⁴ Roberts’ comments refer to work songs for agricultural fieldwork.

¹⁹⁵ Bobbins are often the main devices to bind together what are otherwise “not very coherent parts” (Beckwith 1929: 206-7).

with few melodic or harmonic implications. Roberts (1998: 135) describes bobbins as “semi-chants.” Because their function is to inspire people, most songs are cheerful.¹⁹⁶ For Jamaicans, “communal work is a good opportunity for gaiety as well as mutualhelp” (137). Work songs possess many African characteristics.¹⁹⁷ 21.7% use compound meter (Rouse 2000: 158), the highest percentage of any Jamaican songs.¹⁹⁸ 76.9% of these are compound duple meters, which “suggest[s] ... influence from West African music with its bias towards these meters” (159). The use of speech rhythms is surprisingly low.  or  occurs in only 33.3% of the work songs in Rouse’s study, and  or  occurs in just 11.7% of this sample (264).¹⁹⁹ For those songs using the first rhythm, “they follow speech rhythms so closely that they could be termed rhythmic recitatives” (165). Phrasing reflects the function of work songs and their African antiphonal structure and rhythmic orientation. 64.1% are in call and response form (181). 46.9% use two-bar phrases throughout, 65% do not begin on the first beat of the bar, and 26.7% of phrases end on the last beat of a bar (160, 165). The last two figures indicate the African preference for accenting the end, rather than the beginning of a phrase, which is also reflected in the rhythmic emphasis within phrases. 35% of phrases end with a strong offbeat accent.

¹⁹⁶ Roberts notes that this is in distinct contrast to African American work songs (such as those sung by prison work gangs), which are often mournful and sad-sounding.

¹⁹⁷ Work Songs statistics are from Rouse (2000: 153-83). See footnote #102, pg. 85, for clarification of Rouse’s study.

¹⁹⁸ Other significant figures for compound meter: 19.7% for dance songs, 18.7% for Anansi songs, 8.4% for singing games (Rouse 2000: 255).

¹⁹⁹ There is an error in Rouse’s percentages on pg. 168. The figures which I’ve cited are from the final chapter in which she compares all song types, which appear to be correct.

The strongest European characteristic is scale type;²⁰⁰ 60.0 % of songs use a major scale, a higher percentage than any of the neo-African forms. Of the remaining songs, 8.6% are pentatonic, 8.6% are modal, 8.6% include chromatic notes and 14.3% use a hexatonic major scale. Pitch direction of phrases is dominated by African aesthetic preferences; 56.3% of songs conclude at a lower pitch than the opening note.

1.3.3.5 DANCE MUSIC

Because dancing was integrated in Jamaican life, in religious practices, work activities, games and most social events, it is not as distinctive a category as it is in some cultures. It is also "usually accompanied by singing" (Rouse 2000: 55). Of the thirty-nine traditional dance forms in Jamaica (Ryman 1984), two have exerted a strong influence upon JPM: the quadrille and mento.

1.3.3.6 THE QUADRILLE

The quadrille was the main social dance in Jamaica up until the twentieth century. It was a country folk adaptation of European ballroom dance music brought to England from France in the early 1800s, and then introduced into the Caribbean shortly thereafter (Chang, Witmer & McCarthy 2005: 63). Stolzoff (2000) suggests²⁰¹ that slave musicians first performed European instruments and styles to please their masters during planters' balls, and that

because these forms were associated with economic and social power, ... slaves had a strong desire to control and participate in these European forms. Hence, slave musicians began to recreate what they heard and saw, ... [but also] started

²⁰⁰ There are errors in Rouse's total figures (2000: 267); percentages don't add up to 100%. Percentages were recalculated using the number of songs discussed.

²⁰¹ There are no historical accounts of this process, but Stolzoff's suggestions seem reasonable, given the information that is available.

to perform creolized versions of these ballroom musics for their fellow slaves. Playing for the slaves gave these musicians an opportunity to perform in a less coercive context, which permitted a greater sense of freedom. (25)

It is likely that creolized versions of European ballroom music may have had a parodistic component, but whether or not the intention was to mock or to genuinely adapt European elements, the effect would be the same over time for both musicians and their audiences: extended and repeated exposure to any musical patterns leads to the mastery and retention of such patterns for later use. And, given African links between sonic and corporeal patterns, the quadrille movement patterns were also influenced when Jamaicans danced them. As Lewin (2000) describes the relationship between quadrille music and the dance, "The music and movements ... interacted, the one influencing and motivating the other" (132). (*See DVD video 3.8 for examples of Quadrille dance and music.*)

According to Carty (1988), when slaves saw the quadrille, they wanted to copy it, perhaps "an escape from the harshness of everyday life" (47), but they also wanted to mimic and mock their masters; in doing so, they "Africanized" the movement patterns.²⁰² Although most slaves initially copied the stiff and very formal European movement style, they added many accents and rhythmic complexities not present in the original, and an overall feeling of relaxation, gaiety and improvisation. Movements were freer and beats were deeply stressed with an overall up and down bounciness which was always present, even when standing on the spot.²⁰³

²⁰² The description which follows is from Carty (1988: 48-9). She provides extensive detailed descriptions of both European and Jamaican versions of quadrille steps (46-54).

²⁰³ This bounciness corresponds to Chernoff's description earlier of moving deeply down-

The African movement style was the impetus for creating a suitable musical style
(*See DVD videos 1.1, and 2.1 to 2.5 for examples of the African movement style.*)

European tempos were sped up, and rests in the melody were “filled-in.” Common accompaniment instruments were the merry-wang,²⁰⁴ guitar, fiddle, and rhumba box²⁰⁵ (a bass version of the African thumb piano). The fiddle was the main melodic instrument, but other instruments were also used: instruments made from kitchen implements (graters, forks, spoons, triangles, etc.) (Carty 1988: 49-50), piccolo, fife, saxophone (both factory-made and homemade “bamboo” ones) and trombone. Other rhythm instruments included the banjo, marimba, double bass, and by the 1920s, drums. To correspond with the bouncy African movement style, offbeats were accented more strongly, polyrhythms were introduced, and vocal styles were Africanized with chant-like delivery and open, buzzy timbres (Stolzoff 2000: 26).

Rouse’s (2000) analysis of dance songs, of which 69.6% are quadrilles, identify and quantify most (but not all) European and African characteristics.²⁰⁶ Given that the models for these songs include Schottische, polka, waltz and mazurka, a variety of meters are used: 2% are in compound quadruple, 7.8% are in simple triple, 9.8% in simple quadruple and 18.6% are in compound duple. The majority (62.7%) use simple duple meter (56-7). Phrasing is predominantly European: 90.5% of the songs consist of

ward on beats and springing upward on offbeats.

²⁰⁴ An ancestor of the banjo that is common in the Caribbean.

²⁰⁵ For more information on the Jamaican rhumba box, see section 1.3.3.7.

²⁰⁶ Statistics on Quadrille from Rouse (2000); see footnote #102, pg. 85, for clarification of Rouse’s study.

two- or four-bar phrases which are maintained throughout (58). The European emphasis on the first beat is reflected by phrase beginnings and endings. 58.8% of songs begin on the first beat of the bar (58), and 53.9% end on the first beat of the bar. 31.4% of phrases end with accented offbeats. In quadrille, the two most common Jamaican off-beat melodic rhythms have the lowest percentage in dance music of all of the styles looked at thus far: only 13.7% for  or , and 7.4% for  or . "Many dance songs follow the rhythm of the text ... which results in much syn- copation [within the phrase]" (64). Most songs are in Jamaican Creole, which accounts for a regular offbeat emphasis in delivery (which isn't obvious from the written notation).²⁰⁷

European characteristics also dominate pitch organization: 71.6% of the songs use the major scale. The remainder utilize hexatonic (25.5%) or pentatonic (2.9%), with no modes or unusual scales. As to direction of phrases, only 9.8% have descending phrases. The degree of repetition within these songs is lower than neo-African songs: only 26.4% have either repeated motifs or phrases. Only 7.8% have bobbin-like repetitions. European structures are favoured, although, in performance, all are subject to improvisation and greater flexibility than the statistics suggest. 7.8% use AABB form, 8.8% use AABC form, 16.7% use ABCD form, 23.5% use an extended ABCD arrangement of phrases (from English and French folk songs (80)), and the remaining 9% are variations of one of the other forms. Another thing these statistics don't reveal is the

²⁰⁷ See Rouse (2000: 64) for a discussion of Jamaican Creole's offbeat emphasis and its influence upon melodic rhythms.

West African rhythmic feel (i.e., offbeat emphasis and polyrhythmic accompaniment patterns, which are usually improvised), and corporeal orientation. (Rouse's analysis only examines melo-rhythmic characteristics and omits accompaniments.) Most dance songs have obvious European melodies, rhythms and phrase structures, but vocal and instrumental timbres and pitch inflections are predominantly West African.²⁰⁸

1.3.3.7 MENTO²⁰⁹

Mento is a style involving song, instrumental pieces and dance movements which evolved out of the quadrille, which was divided into sections, called figures (varying in number from four to six). Soon after the introduction of the quadrille in Jamaica, one of its sections acquired an indigenous rhythmic style which was called mento; it became popular in both rural and urban contexts. By the 1940s and early 1950s, it was Jamaica's most significant indigenous style (Lewin 1998: 50).

Mento bands ... [performed] at village dances, fairs and concerts and ... at ... 'tea-meetings'²¹⁰ put on by community organizations. At ... amusement parks, they provided background music and accompaniment for maypole and quadrille dancing. In the urban areas, mento musicians [played] in nightclubs ... at bars, town fairs, ... house-parties and community gatherings. (White 1982c: 32)

There are no definitive accounts of mento's birth and development, but many

²⁰⁸ Lewin played West African musicologist Nketia recordings of Jamaican singers; based upon intonation and timbre, Nketia concluded that they were West African (Lewin 2000: 84).

²⁰⁹ For analyses of Mento, see: Baxter (1970: 170-194), Burnette (1977), Chang, Witmer & McCarthy 2005: 64-5), Lewin (1998), Murray (1971: 70-105), O'Gorman (1972), Reckford (1982), White (1982a, 1982c) and Witmer (1995: 29-31).

²¹⁰ " 'Tea' is the generic name for a hot drink" (Baxter 1970: 218) Tea-meetings were parties in the thirties and forties during the Christmas or the mid-summer holiday season. They included speeches, hymns, set dances, selection of a "king" and "queen," food (featuring fancy cakes), riddles, games, stories, and dancing to guitar, accordion, violin or flute (Baxter 1970: 209-12, Murray 1971: 105).

theories. It “was born of a creolizing process that blended elements of ... European social-dance musics with African-derived stylistic features” (Bilby 1995: 153). Jamaican entertainer/folklorist Ranny Williams²¹¹ believes that “the blacks in Jamaica added ... mento to the ... quadrille ... to ‘liven [it] up’ ... [and] to insert their own identity” (Williams in Reckford 1982: 79). A Spanish dance also called mento (aka bamboola or chica) may have been an influence. It “consists of slow movements of the body” (Beckwith 1929: 214), and is similar to another neo-African Jamaican dance called the shay-shay,²¹² which involves the “shak[ing] of hips ... [and] feet beating time remarkably quick.”²¹³ White (1982c: 32) and Katz (2000: 15) argue that Jonkonnu influenced mento rhythms. Many mento songs were adaptations of sailors’ songs with Jamaican Creole words (Jekyll 1907: 216). Reckford (1982) believes that mento lyrics, which “carried news, gossip [and] social commentary” (72), were a substantial factor in its success.²¹⁴ Baxter (1970) thinks “mento” is from “an old Spanish verb ‘mentar,’ meaning to ‘call out’ or ‘to name’ ” (176). Bennett (in Murray 1971) used it for a “Coda [section] sung to

²¹¹ Williams (1912-1980), a contemporary of Louise Bennett, started performing in 1929, reciting poems, stories and doing comedy in Jamaican Creole. In 1930, he became the entertainment director at Marcus Garvey’s Edelweiss Park. Starting in 1942, he and Bennett starred in many pantomimes; in 1959 they had their own radio show on Jamaican culture. <www.ltimpantomime.com/pages/rannywilliamsbio.html> accessed 12 Mar 07.

²¹² “Shay-shay is a generic term for any lively or vigorous dance ... considered to be of African origin” (Ryman 1984: 13: description of movements). Whylie (1998: 66) provides a transcription of a shay-shay drum pattern: $\frac{4}{4}$ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ | ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ |.

²¹³ Beckwith (1929) wrote, “The better-bred Negroes do not dance the shay-shay, but imitate the English in waltz, two-step, and quadrille. Some stately old English steps like the polka are known by the older women” (214).

²¹⁴ Lewin (1998) notes that “the voice is [very] important in mento music. ... Even when not sung, mento music is always associated with words. In many cases a tune may have two or more sets of words for different narrative[s]” (51).

finish [a] song” (72).

Mento’s melodies, harmonies, rhythms and structures are similar to those of dance/work/Anansi songs and Singing Games (Murray 1971: 70-106). (*See DVD video 3.9 for examples of mento.*) “[Much of its] repertoire consist[s] of local tunes modeled on ... [European] dance tunes of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries” (Witmer 1995: 31). “[T]unes are [mostly] in major keys with regular, neatly balanced phrases which lend themselves to harmonization by the primary chords [i.e., I, IV, V]. Other chords and modulations are rarely heard” (Lewin 1998: 50). Many African characteristics emerge in performance (Reckford 1982: 73, White 1982a: 60). “The third and seventh intervals [in major scales are] usually flattened creating harmonic progressions similar to those on the African scale” (White 1982a: 59-60). “Melodies ... frequently begin and end on [offbeats] with reoccurring answering phrases, ... improvisations and ... adaptations of melody, lyrics and song structure to suit the needs of the occasion” (Chang, Witmer & McCarthy 2005: 64). Structures are often open-ended, lasting up to twenty minutes (Lewin 1998: 51). Verses are usually two repeated statements with added responses, refrains and bobbins, sung with open, throaty timbres, melisma, slurs and slides. Part-singing uses African parallel harmony techniques²¹⁵ favouring individualized phrasing

²¹⁵ wa Makuna (1997: 240-1) explains that parallel harmony in African music occurred “to maintain[s] the meaning of each word. ... African languages are predominantly tonal; that is, the meaning of each word is determined by the pattern of its tonal inflections. ... [It is] the direction, but not the specific size, of [pitch inflection which determines meaning]. ... In considering ... melodic construction, ... the linguistic association that dictates the direction of the intervals in one melodic phrase ... govern[s] the other vocal lines that are sung simultaneously ... start[ing] on different pitch levels. That is, voices singing the same words at different intervals ... [must move] in parallel harmony [to maintain the linguistic sense].”

and timbral shading of melodic lines, rather than the European style which favours a more homogenous, even blend. Tempos range from slow to very fast (Murray 1971: 70-2, Baxter 1970: 174).

Instrumentation is flexible and varied. From Europe: penny whistle, fiddle, accordion, tambourine, and guitars. From Africa: hand drums, fifes, shakers, scrapers and animal jawbones. Neo-African instruments: bamboo saxophone, rhumba box²¹⁶ and banjo. Indigenous percussion: hollow branch of trumpet tree,²¹⁷ kitchen utensils, riding stirrup irons, sticks and wheel rims. From Trinidad: steel drum (Salewicz & Boot 2001: 22). Since the late 1800s, flute, saxophone, clarinet, trumpet, trombone and Cuban percussion (claves, conga drums, bongos, timbales, and maracas (aka goody²¹⁸) have been introduced. In the twentieth century, bass (acoustic and electric), keyboards (piano/organ) and drum kit (i.e., trap set) are sometimes used. Jamaicans consider the rhumba box “indispensable to the [sound of mento]” (Murray 1971: 141). Consisting of metal spring leafs bolted to a box which are plucked with the fingers, it “produc[es] an effect ... like the bass fiddle” (ibid.) Rhumba boxes play rhythmic, repetitive bass patterns (Ehrlich 1982: 53, Witmer 1981: 112). In other neo-African Jamaican musics

²¹⁶ The rhumba box’s ancestor is the African thumb piano, (aka marimbula, mbira, mbila sansa, timbrh, zanza, kalimba, kilembe, kilimba, likembe, chisanji, lamellaphone) originally from Zimbabwe. It is likely that the Jamaican version is derived from the Cuban marimbula. Cuban music (i.e., “rumba”) is generally called “rhumba” in Jamaica, which is probably why Jamaicans call the marimbula a rhumba box (Bilby 1995: 154).

²¹⁷ “Used as a crude trumpet to produce tuba-like bass patterns of mainly rhythmic value with a loose melody, mostly out-of-key, but *in rhythm* with the rest of the song” (Ehrlich 1982: 53, italics in original).

²¹⁸ The goody is a Jamaican version of maracas, “a calabash gourd [filled with] beads” (Murray 1971: 141).

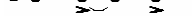
(Myal, Maroon, Kumina, Burru and Nyabingi) deep bass drums play similar patterns (O’Gorman 1987a: 86). Bradley (2000) uses the term “Bass Culture” to label this aesthetic; when a bass part is supplied by a pitched instrument (or vocal part), it is often not in tune with the rest of the ensemble (Ehrlich 1982: 53).

[These indefinitely pitched bass parts are] extremely supportive and enhancing rhythmically. These examples of folk bass culture point to a bass aesthetic in which rhythmic statement and strength take priority over melodic/harmonic considerations. It means that, in [these]cases, ... the bass is a drum that plays a definite rhythm, but may or may not play a distinct melody line; in fact, reggae bass lines are called *riddims* in Jamaica. A Jamaican riddim is an underlying statement of its own. It is equally supportive of itself and, at the same time, of all the other elements in the music. (53)

The Jamaican bass aesthetic was a significant feature of the Sound System era (late forties) onwards, and central to the development of JPM.

The rhythm patterns in **FIGURE 1.10** are common mento accompaniments. O’Gorman (1972: 50) identifies “three important rhythmical components.” These patterns create an offbeat emphasis for melodies in which offbeats are not otherwise accented.

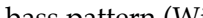
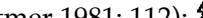
D.B. Courtenay analyzed Jamaican folk music in 1954; he identifies offbeats as

1) Banjo ostinato:  | 2) Guitar accompaniment²¹⁹:  |

3) Bass rhythm:  |  |. Other common patterns include:

Rhumba box bass pattern (Witmer 1981: 112):  |.

Conga drum patterns (Whyllie, in O’Gorman 1991: 35):

(i)  | (ii)  | (iii)  | (iv)  |

Hand drum pattern (Burnette 1977: 20):  |

FIGURE 1.10: COMMON MENTO ACCOMPANIMENT PATTERNS

²¹⁹ The bass often plays this rhythm (which is common in Cuban rumba). Ekwueme (1974) also notes that this is a common African pattern (135).

mento's key feature,²²⁰ which he attributes to West African influences. Similarities between mento and Ghanaian clapping rhythms (FIGURE 1.2, pg. 64) supports this claim.

The really interesting characteristic of [mento] ... [is one of] two distinct types [of offbeat accents]: ... an anticipated syncopation and a belated syncopation. The [former] is achieved by forcing the beat forward, [i.e.,] by pushing forward [a] note ...[by] a half beat. ... The [latter] is ... the opposite. The accentuation comes in late by allowing the beat to come [late] half way during one particular note. This produces a feeling of disappointed expectancy. (Courtenay in Murray 1971: 72)

"Anticipated syncopation" corresponds to "prebeat," and "belated syncopation" to "afterbeat" (see section 1.3.2.1).

Mento's offbeat accents and prominent, repetitive bass parts identify its origins as a dance form rooted in West African aesthetics. Body movements (see section 1.4) are the opposite of those in the European Quadrille: swaying hips, bent torso and knees, and emphasis upon improvisation. There is also a pronounced accent on the fourth beat which Lewin (1998) attributes to the use of mento as work songs.

I have observed gangs of men swinging pickaxes during field labour. [There is a] link between their movements and the accented fourth beat in mento. In order to effect a strong downward movement on the first beat of each bar in songs used to accompany this most common type of agricultural labour, there is an almost equally strong upward movement on the previous beat. (50)

This accent is so conditioned amongst Jamaicans that "the movements of older persons, [i.e.,] over fifty, to even diluted mento music, maintain the accentuation" (ibid.).

Mento continued its development in the twentieth century. In the early 1900s, many Jamaicans went to work in Cuba, Latin America and the United States. When they returned, musicians incorporated music they experienced into the mento style:

²²⁰ White (1982a: 61) makes the same claim. (Note: Courtenay uses the word "syncopations," not "offbeats," but his meaning is the same.)

arpeggiated bass patterns from Cuba²²¹ and Latin America, and Trinidadian calypso²²² (Reckford 1982: 73, White 1982a: 59-65, O’Gorman 1972: 50).

1.3.3.8 SINGING GAMES²²³

In Jamaica, there is no sharp distinction between recreational songs for children and adults. Both sing many of the same songs and participate in games at social events, especially at Nine Night gatherings. These songs are called many things: “Play Songs,” “Ring Games,” “Ring Tunes” or “Ring Plays,” but since not all are performed in circles, and some don’t involve singing or rhythmic activity, Louise Bennett uses “Singing Games” to refer to all song-related activities which prioritize play, participation and creative interaction (e.g., stone-passing and finger games, handclapping and body percussion, rope-skipping, chase games and dance songs (Hopkin 1984: 2, 13).²²⁴ John

²²¹ Bilby (1995) notes that “in some rural parts of ... [Jamaica] the words ‘mento’ and ‘rhumba’ are used interchangeably to refer to the same musical style” (153).

²²² Calypso and mento are often considered similar (re: lyrical, melodic and harmonic approach), but there are differences (White 1982a): mento’s accented fourth beat and banjo/guitar rhythmic accompaniments create a “rhythmic structure ... [which] tend[s] to be choppy and less flowing than that of calypso” (64). Mento is usually slower, “encouraging more sinuous, horizontal, pelvic movement in the dance.” Lyrical content and approach differ. “While ... both deal with topical events, ma[ke] social commentary, and engage in satirical and critical analysis of individuals and occurrences, ... calypso [lyrics] tend to be more overly political and directly critical of the system of colonial relations than those of mento. [M]ento [usually] clothe[s] its social commentary in a relatively inoffensive cloak of good humour.” “[M]ento’s Latin flavour was more that of the Cuban rhumba, while calypso reflected its practitioners’ exposure to the Venezuelan *paseo* and Brazilian *samba*” (White 1982c: 32). See Floyd (1999: 21-5) for additional information about calypso history.

²²³ Collections of singing games: Jekyll (1907), Roberts (1925), Beckwith (1929), Hopkin (1984), Rouse (2000) and Lewin (2000).

²²⁴ There are many variables with regard to sounds in singing games, especially involving the body. Handclapping patterns can involve other people, and some involve silent gestures; foot-stamping can also involve silent foot and leg movements. Ground surface and footwear also affect sonic characteristics and can introduce rhythmic variations.

Hopkin, an ethnomusicologist who has studied over 200 Singing Games in performance contexts, has observed that “children ... absorb the grammar and lexicon of the music they hear around them in the same manner that they learn to talk” (1984: 1). Singing Games were a significant recreational activity in the decades before radio and television, so they were formative influences upon the musical sensibilities and aesthetics of future JPM musicians.²²⁵ Because many of their stylistic features also appear in JPM, Singing Games clearly deserve consideration in JPM development, yet their influence on JPM is rarely examined in the JPM literature. (*See DVD video 3.10 for examples of Singing Games.*)

Many Singing Games have specific actions, steps, or improvised movements.²²⁶ Jekyll (1907) describes Singing Games as an “informal kind of dancing” (190). Roberts (1998) notes that “[the Jamaican tendency is for all] games to turn into dances, [which] is a probable African trait” (139).²²⁷ Most analysts note that the Singing Games repertoire “comes for the most part from old English [folksongs] rather than from African sources” (Murray 1971: 82). This observation is usually supported by sound pattern analysis, with five features cited as evidence, but Lewin (1983) points out that many aspects of Singing Games reside beneath surface European features. A closer look reveals fallacies in this evidence as well as many overlooked neo-African characteristics.

²²⁵ Most of these people grew up in the country, where singing games were very popular.

²²⁶ See discussions in Baxter (1970: 175, 191-2), Beckwith (1929: 198-201), Hopkin (1984: 15), Jekyll (1907: 190-215), Murray (1971: 82-87) and Wynter (1970: 47).

²²⁷ This conjecture is well-supported by evidence of particular West African traditions and aesthetic orientations in Jamaica (discussed in sections 1.3.2 (pg. 50), 1.3.2.1 (pg. 58) and 1.3.2.2 (pg. 79)).

Words and tune[s of Singing Games] may bear close resemblance [to their European sources], but [are usually] used in totally different styles. Thus, one can carefully transcribe the[ir] melody, words and rhythm, ... and yet learn little of the traditional music of Jamaica, [for] it is the intangible qualities so difficult to express in words [and notation] that ... truly convey the essence of this music. ...[Most of their] rhythms ... can at best only be approximated on paper [and] ... Jamaican traditional music rarely exists without a movement and mime dimension. Because of these characteristics, conventional transcription is a most unsatisfactory way of documenting this music for general use and, moreso, for posterity. It is therefore of paramount importance that high quality sound tapings be supported by visual documentation. (34, 42)

FIVE COMMONLY CITED SONIC FEATURES OF SINGING GAMES IN THE JPM LITERATURE

1) Predominance of major tonality / scales. 99% of Singing Game songs are in a major tonality (60.1% use a major scale, 19.4% use hexatonic and 19.5% use pentatonic; the latter two omit sixth, seventh and / or fourth degrees, a trait of English, French and German folk songs). Only 1% are modal (Aeolian).²²⁸ This leads many analysts to conclude that Singing Games are simply adapted European songs, but many neo-African characteristics emerge in performance. Hopkin (1984: 1) notes that some songs are delivered “in a half-sung, half-declamatory vocal style with a natural, unadorned vocal tone” (15). Most melodies have been modified from original versions and end at a lower pitch than the starting note (Rouse 2000: 41-2). 37.3% of songs have melodies that move by intervals of a fourth or less, a characteristic of Ghanaian music and the Akan Nnwonkoro songs (44).

2) Symmetrical phrasing. Most Singing Game songs have “balanced phrases with a regularity in the number of stresses, ... a characteristic of British, French and German

²²⁸ Statistics are from Rouse (2000: 36-7). Percentages have been recalculated using song totals since Rouse’s percentages don’t add up to 100%. See footnote #102, pg. 85, for clarification of Rouse’s study.

songs²²⁹” (Rouse 2000: 36). Hopkin (1984) also notes that although “regular two-bar phrases are common, and these usually appear in groups of four” (5-6),²³⁰ in performance, this usually changes (3, 15). “Game songs in which the phrase structure or length become subject to the events of the game often have irregular phrasing” (Hopkin 1985: 6); phrases are sometimes stretched or compacted to accommodate body movements or needs of the game. Because Singing Games prioritize improvisation,²³¹ participation and collective creativity, most European characteristics (rhythms, pitches, vocabulary, pronunciation, accents, timbre, style, and structure) get altered “according to [their] function and the particular occasion” (Lewin 1983: 34), thus each performance is unique. Hopkin (1984) notes that variations are ongoing.

Most [singing game] songs ... are still undergoing changes and have coexisting variants. The process in which new songs are generated and older songs are fragmented and conjoined in new ways continues to take place. Individual creativity — sometimes deliberate but more often unconscious or accidental — continues to affect the songs ... today. (15)

3. Lyrical content. Rouse notes a typical claim about Jamaican Singing Games. “[Based upon lyrics] many of these songs can be seen to be derived from English children’s games by an examination of their texts” (Rouse 2000: 45). This claim omits two significant factors. i) In performance most lyrics are altered— sometimes permanently, sometimes with improvised asides — often with Jamaican Creole words (Jekyll 1907: 216). ii) Jamaican pronunciation prioritizes offbeat accents, so Standard English words

²²⁹ Although it seems valid, Rouse provides no statistical evidence to support this claim.

²³⁰ Hopkin provides no statistics to support this claim.

²³¹ This improvisation occurs in many domains: linguistic, melodic, rhythmic and corporeal due to the high degree of social interaction in these activities.

acquire indigenous timbres, rhythms and accents (Rouse 2000: 64, Roberts 1989: 412).

4. Harmonic Implications. Singing Game melodies (usually performed a cappella) imply similar harmonic progressions to European folksongs. 99.1% of the songs do not modulate, and imply I-IV-V harmonization (Rouse 2000: 37). Many indigenous West African songs also have this same harmonic framework, however, which *might* be because of pre-sixteenth century European influence (in Africa) (Agawu 2003: 8), but since there are no written examples of African music prior to 1819 (Rouse 2000: 287), any conclusions about this similarity are inconclusive.

5. Melodic Rhythm. European folk songs prioritize the beat and subdivide it in an even, predictable manner. Hopkin (1984) notes that

a primary characteristic of [singing game] songs is rhythmic regularity. ...Some songs or sections of songs seem close to English prototypes, manifesting the pulse clearly and without syncopation. They generally subdivide the pulse when the syllable count calls for it in the simplest way. (7-8)

Looking at these songs *in performance* reveals that regular rhythms are changed once improvisation occurs. Melodic rhythms primarily mirror Jamaican pronunciation and Creole lyrics. Rouse (2000) notes that "Of [all] the ... [singing game] songs ... [that she has] analysed, none exhibited a rhythmic setting of text that went contrary to the rhythm of the words when spoken. Several of the songs follow the speech rhythms so closely that they are more like a rhythmic recitative in style" (30-1). Melodic rhythms are also changed to West African rhythmic patterns, although to a lesser degree than most other songs examined above. Of the two most common melodic rhythms,   or  appears in 25.5% of the songs and   or  appears in 15.7% of the songs

(30, 33). Phrase endings also display neo-African traits: emphasis upon what Europeans consider “weak” beats. 56.8% of Singing Game songs have phrases which end on the last beat of the bar, and only 11.8% finish on the first beat (35).

The most significant omission in most analyses of Singing Games is the corporeal component (Hopkin 1984: 10), especially articulated silent regulative beats. “Performers feel rhythms manifest in dance movements [in Jamaican Singing Games] even when they make no sound” (Hopkin 1984: 10). Singing Game accompaniment patterns (mainly handclapping and body percussion) accent offbeats and create polyrhythms which can change melodies’ rhythmic feel, style and emphasis. *These corporeal factors, plus the inclusion of dramatic elements (play-acting, gestures, facial expressions and eye contact) and silent movement patterns (which are usually spontaneous and interactive) create an experience that is much more African than indicated by the song alone* (Murray 1970: 94, Hopkin 1984: 15). Hopkin (1984) argues that “An appreciation of what is going on in [Singing Games] always [necessitates] an appreciation of the rhythmic motivation *as the* [performer] *feels it*” (11, italics added). Jamaicans perceive these components as a gestalt (Hopkin 1984: 10-11, 14-15).

Hopkin (1984) appears to be the only analyst in the JPM literature who has examined Singing Game accompaniment patterns in detail; his transcriptions include clapping, body percussion parts, and some dance steps. “In most cases the handclap serves primarily to give the music a strong backbeat” (10). He clarifies “backbeat” to mean the second and fourth beats, but then in all of his transcribed examples (18-36), patterns labeled as “backbeat” clapping patterns actually accent offbeats, e.g., 7 .

Given the meticulousness in transcription details, it appears that Hopkin's intended meaning of offbeat is "sounds in-between beats" and not "second and fourth beats."

FIGURE 1.11 presents

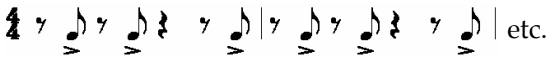
i) Handclapping (15):		etc.
ii) Handclapping (15):		etc.
iii) Handclapping (34):		etc.
iv) Skipping:	low note = jump landing, high note = rope hitting the ground (29):	
		etc.

FIGURE 1.11: COMMON SINGING GAME ACCOMPANIMENT PATTERNS

four common accompaniment patterns. The first three are handclapping patterns which Hopkin classifies as "standard" (18, 34); the similarity of the first two to the Ghanaian clapping patterns (FIGURE 1.2, pg. 64) is striking. The fourth pattern is common in skip rope songs. Hopkin (1984) notes that "rather than repeating a set pattern, ... the clapping [is] sometimes [varied] ... to bring out the phrase structure of the song" (10).

To illustrate these variations in context, **FIGURE 1.12** (next page) shows how a British folk song like "Little Sally Water" (Jekyll 1907: 190) might be performed. This song involves actions. Children stand in a circle around one in the middle, who crouches down. At the words, "Rise, Sally, Rise," the child rises, wipes away imaginary tears, and chooses a partner from the circle. Those in the ring join hands and run around the two in the center, singing at a faster tempo. Based upon performances of Singing Games that I have seen on film and Hopkin's transcriptions, I've created an arrangement of this song with possible accompaniments that are normally improvised anew with every performance. The second line is a standing-on-the-spot stamping/clapping

Little Sally Water

The musical score for "Little Sally Water" is presented in two systems. The first system covers the first four measures of the song, and the second system covers the next four measures. The vocal melody is written in treble clef with a key signature of two flats (B-flat and E-flat) and a 2/4 time signature. The lyrics are written below the melody. The instrumental parts are arranged in five staves: Standing, Running, Banjo, Guitar, and Congas. The Standing part includes a "Clap" section and a "Stepping on Spot" section. The Running part includes a "Stepping on Spot" section. The Banjo, Guitar, and Congas parts are written in 2/4 time and include a "Stepping on Spot" section.

System 1:

Vocal Melody:

Lit - tle Sal - ly Wa - ter sprink - le in the sau - cer:

Standing:

Clap

Stepping on Spot

Running:

Banjo:

Guitar:

Congas:

System 2:

Vocal Melody:

Rise, Sal - ly, rise an' wipe your weep - ing eyes.

Standing:

Clap

Stepping on Spot

Running:

Banjo:

Guitar:

Congas:

FIGURE 1.12: BRITISH SINGING GAME SONG WITH ACCOMPANIMENT PATTERNS

pattern for the first section, and the third line is a running-in-a-circle stepping pattern for the second section, with downward dipping on beats and bouncing up on offbeats.

Although songs like this are usually a cappella, I've also included mento-styled banjo, guitar and conga drum parts that *might* be added by adults. Participating in this song would include the corporeal component (of one's own body and others), social interaction, plus at least four other sonic parts in addition to the melody, which would be delivered with Jamaican pronunciation (and asides) (Rouse 2000: 64). Even with just these basic parts, the phenomenological experience of this performance would be a highly complex African sound-and-movement gestalt. If one also adds the individual sonic and corporeal variations, (and the expressions and feelings of emotions: laughing, smiling, shouting, etc.), experiencing this song with twenty other children would create a musical experience that would be impossible to notate with any degree of accuracy or completeness. This complexity would increase significantly with songs with more complex melodies and rhythms, e.g., with offbeat accents and/or overlapping call and response patterns, and/or with more involved movement and accompaniment patterns.

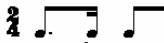
As to general sonic characteristics and overall structural organization, phrasing and melodic form is highly flexible, open-ended and dominated by African aesthetic sensibilities. 31.4% have a short repeated motif which occurs throughout the song, like bobbins in Anansi and Work Songs, and 17.6% "contain one phrase which alternates with contrasting phrases" (Rouse 2000: 44; see also Hopkin 1984: 3). Adding these two categories together means that 49% of Singing Game songs contain repetitive ideas, which are usually performed call and response style, i.e., with variations (Rouse 2000: 45). Another African link is the use of a free or slow introduction, found in 10.3% of the songs (ibid.), which gives games a "formal beginning in order to launch them" (Hopkin

1984: 4). Hopkin describes an additional song form not identified by Rouse: those comprised of distinct fragments, basically a collage/medley grouping.²³² The most consistent European characteristic is structural: 40.2% are in strophic form, a common feature of European folk songs (Rouse 2000: 44-5).

Hopkin (1984) has observed three distinct rhythmic styles “that correspond roughly to the main cultural influences the songs reflect” (8).

a) English prototypes, mostly in $\frac{4}{4}$ (43%) or $\frac{2}{4}$ (36.5%), some in $\frac{6}{8}$ (in two; Rouse²³³ combines statistics for $\frac{6}{8}$ and $\frac{12}{8}$ songs at 8.4%.): “[These songs] manifest the pulse clearly and without syncopation. ... All of the $\frac{6}{8}$ songs fit this description” (8).

b) $\frac{12}{8}$ songs. Most “possess a swing and tendency to certain kinds of syncopation that point to an Afro-American origin” (8). Many songs use prebeat accents (8).

c) $\frac{4}{4}$ songs with a Jamaican rhythmic phrasing and syncopation. Original songs written entirely in Jamaican Creole, with European melodic and African rhythmic characteristics, such as many prebeat and afterbeat accents, with the latter being the most common (9). Hopkin identifies the following African rhythm (Ekwueme 1974: 135) as a common one:  or . It also appears in this variation:

 or .²³⁴

²³² Hopkin does note that these fragments are repetitious within themselves, so they might be included in Rouse’s category of songs with a short repeated motif.

²³³ The statistics used here are from Rouse (2000: 20-1), but there are errors in her percentages; I have calculated percentages anew using the total number of songs discussed.

²³⁴ *Grove* (under “Danzon” entry) notes that the first rhythm is called *tresillo* and the second is called *cinquillo*. Both figured prominently in Cuban music in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century, notably in the danzon, a “formal ballroom couple-dance in rondo form.” In the early twentieth century, both rhythms also appeared in New Orleans jazz, in music by Jelly Roll Morton and W.C. Handy. Given the proximity to Cuba and the signifi-

Because the sound and movement experiences in Singing Games were reinforced throughout a Jamaican person's lifetime, the type of automatic sound-and-movement response that Lewin describes for mento would apply to Singing Games: hearing Singing Game sound patterns would automatically trigger their corporeal movements.

1.3.4 INFLUENCES FROM NON-EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

This section looks at the work of authors who have studied the influence of non-European cultures upon Jamaica, i.e., from Cuba, India, Latin America and the United States.²³⁵ The American influence occurred in two overlapping stages, first in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, then in the twentieth century. Influences from other countries were post-emancipation, when immigrants came to Jamaica with their traditions, and when Jamaicans traveled abroad. This exchange introduced new musics which were incorporated in new indigenous creolizations, but as White (1982c) puts it, “[Jamaican] musicians ... selectively [chose the most] useful elements of the new and blend[ed] [them] with the traditional” (32).

cant amount of inter-island traveling at this time (and later to the United States) — see section 1.3.4 and Chapter Four for details — there is a strong likelihood that the appearance of these rhythms in Jamaica was due to Cuban and/or American influences. Floyd (1999) argues that these rhythmic figures are more than just “basic rhythms. They stand as central symbols of African-diasporal musical unity, transcending the boundaries of geocultural units and linking these units to each other and also to West Africa, the land from which [these rhythms were] derived” (20). He concludes that “the cinquillo-tresillo matrix ... is the Ur-trope of [all] African American music” (31). (He clarifies that by “African American music” he is referring to “the African-derived and African influenced music of all of the Americas [North, Central and South]” (ibid.).

²³⁵ All of these other cultures have also been influenced by European colonialism, so one could argue that their traditions are either creolized or less than “pure.”

1.3.4.1 AMERICAN INFLUENCES — STAGE ONE: EIGHTEENTH & NINETEENTH CENTURIES

In the eighteenth century, American Christian missionaries arrived in Jamaica. The Moravians were first in 1734, followed by the Methodists in 1736 and Baptists²³⁶ in 1783 (Barrett 1977: 17, Johnson & Pines 1982: 37). They focused primarily upon the slave population, since “the Church of England [had] paid no attention to the African population” (Barrett 1977: 20). Because it was technically illegal until 1815 for blacks to be taught Christianity (Barrett 1976: 70), however, these early endeavours were low-key, with only scattered influences, in comparison to what would unfold in the mid-1800s.

1.3.4.2 REVIVALISM (ZION & PUKKUMINA)²³⁷

After emancipation, Christianity “gave [the slave community] a new and powerful framework in which to develop and lent it the added support of a supernatural sanction” (Burton 1997: 46). Most missionaries were blacks and former slaves, with an informal approach which “fit beautifully [with] the exuberant [neo-African] religion of the slaves” (Barrett 1977: 20). There were also many similarities between Christian and neo-African religious beliefs and practices, see **FIGURE 1.13** (next page).

²³⁶ These missionaries were Afro-Baptists, “not seminary-trained but called by visionary experience to teach” (Pitts 1988: 78). The Baptists had the greatest number of converts (Hopkin 1978: 24); in 1784, George Liele, an ex-slave preacher, established the Ethiopian Baptist Church in Jamaica. Ethiopianism was an ideological movement based upon biblical portrayals of Egypt and Ethiopia as the source of human civilization. It was to figure prominently in Marcus Garvey’s ideas and later in Rastafarianism. See Barrett (1977: 68-102), Bradley (2000: 65-9) and Clarke (1980: 36-56) for the history of Jamaican Ethiopianism. See Thomas (2004: 39-42) for the socio-political influence of the Baptist church in Jamaica.

²³⁷ For analyses of Revivalism: Alleyne (1988: 88-101), Barrett (1976: 57-101, 1977: 20-30), Beckwith (1929: 158-174), Brathwaite (1971, 1978), Burton (1997: 37-46, 91-124), Carty (1988: 66-80), Hopkin (1978), Johnson & Pines (1982: 37-43), Lewin (2000: 147-152, 189-96), Moore (1979), Roberts (1925, 1926, 1989), Rouse (2000: 227-33), Seaga (1969), Simpson (1954), Simpson & Moore (1957), White (1982a: 50-5, 1982c: 29-30) and Wynter (1970: 45-7).

- symbolism of water and oils (Baptism) and African ritual baths for healing
- Christian use of incense and Myal use of herbs for rituals and healing
- the significance of dreams and visions: for Christians, related to conversion and for Africans, the means that ancestors communicated with the living
- two-segment worship ritual structure: 1) devotional and solemn, 2) jubilant and ecstatic, leading to embodiment of the spirit (see Pitts 1988, 1989)
- highly emotional praise and worship style dominated by music and movement

FIGURE 1.13:
SIMILARITIES BETWEEN CHRISTIAN & JAMAICAN RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES ²³⁸

[T]he Black Baptists, ... [gave] a Christian form to long-established Myalist practices, emphasized music and dancing, 'spirit possession,' prophecy, and speaking in tongues, ... [and] intensified and accelerated ... existing tendencies toward the creolization of slave culture. (Burton 1997: 37, 14)

Jamaicans' response to Christianity was shaped by three synchronous scenarios:

- 1) In 1857, a wave of fundamental Christianity swept America; in 1860 it spread to Jamaica (Carty 1988: 67).
- 2) Between 1840-64, thousands of Central African labourers²³⁹ came to Jamaica with their religious beliefs, which were transformed into "Kumina" (Bilby 1995: 162, Carty 1988:20-21).²⁴⁰
- 3) The resurgence of Myalism: Myalist preachers "took advantage of emancipation ... to openly proclaim and practice Myalism" (Alleyne 1988: 98).²⁴¹ Barrett (1976) describes this as "a cultural resistance to missionary Christianity" (27).

By 1861, two new Creole religious forms had emerged: Zion (aka Zion Revival-

²³⁸ List from Barnett (1978: 31), Barrett (1976: 57-71), Beckwith (1929: 158-182), Carty (1988: 66-73), Pitts (1988, 1989), Seaga (1969), Simpson & Moore (1957) and Wynter (1970: 45-7).

²³⁹ About 8,000 Africans from the Congo region came to Jamaica during this period. "The majority were 'Congo,' 'Igbo' and 'Nago' or southwestern Yoruba" (Warner-Lewis 2002: 90).

²⁴⁰ See discussion on Kumina in section 1.3.2.7.

²⁴¹ There were "outbreaks" of Myalism in 1842, 1846, 1848, 1852, 1857 and 1860 (Alleyne 1988: 98).

ism) and Pukkumina (aka Puk-kumina, Pukumina, Pocomania, Poco). Although there are differences between Zion and Pukkumina ritual practices and belief systems, i.e., Zion was more Christian, while Pukkumina was more African (Carty 1988: 66),²⁴² since the early 1950s they have been basically indistinguishable from each other (Simpson & Moore 1957: 190, Carty 1988: 66). Their musical practices are quite similar²⁴³ (Rouse 2000: 227, Seaga 1969). This section focuses upon these similarities, using “Revival” or “Revivalism” to refer to both practices.

As noted by Alleyne (1984: 80), Ryman (1984b: 51) and Wynter (1970: 45-6), many analysts describe Revivalism as a creolized belief system that was influenced by both Christian and African traditions and was not purely one or the other, but most Jamaican religious specialists argue that as soon as Revivalism emerged, Myalist ideas and elements *always* overshadowed Christian ones. As Ryman (1984b) puts it,

The Revival movement ... at first took on a Euro-Christian mask, which was ripped away within months. Revival unmasked the very African (i.e., neo-African) Myal, which claimed an increasing number of followers. The substantive split in the Revival movement has persisted even today in the forms of the visually Euro-oriented Zion ... and the more obviously African Pukkumina. (51)

Ryman (1984b) also considers the rise of Myalism and Revivalism as a defensive response to Christian missionaries and an assertion of African roots at a time of great economic and social difficulties (51).²⁴⁴ Alleyne and many other scholars agree with this

²⁴² See Carty (1988), Lewin (2000: 192-3), Moore (1954, 1979), Seaga (1956, 1969), Simpson (1954, 1980) and Simpson & Moore (1957) for comparisons of Zion and Pukkumina.

²⁴³ Lewin (in Johnson & Pines 1982) does note, however, that up until the late sixties, “Pukkumina did not use drums, in contrast to Zion Revivalists, for whom drumming has always been an important element” (41).

²⁴⁴ In 1865, Paul Bogle led thousands of blacks in Morant Bay (St. Thomas parish) to protest

emphasis:²⁴⁵ “Myalism ... largely controlled the ‘great’ religious revival of 1861 and laid the foundations for Jamaica’s religion as it is today” (Alleyne 1988: 100). (*See DVD video 3.11 for films of Revival music and rituals.*)

Revival ceremonies were often outside gatherings open to the public (Lewin 2000: 196, Seaga 1969: 6). Williams’ (1932) account of a 1916 Kingston ceremony describes a scene that was common well into the sixties.²⁴⁶

Revivalism is ... nothing but Mialism [sic] ... under a new name. ... [T]heir service is pagan. ... [Fr. Emerick, a priest experienced with Myalist and Revivalist ceremonies, has observed] ‘The original mial dance is ... an old West African priest dance. ... The Mialists robed themselves in white and affected the power of divination. The Revivalists do all this.’ ... Here then clearly, was the survival of an African custom masquerading as a native Christian revivalist demonstration. (164, 166)

Looking at 1950s Revival ceremonies in Kingston, Simpson & Moore (1957) note that “the beliefs and acts of [Revivalism and Myal] overlap almost constantly” (189). Other scholars who grew up in Jamaica between 1920-1960 (e.g., Barrett, Baxter, Bennett,

financial and social inequities. Authorities killed almost 1000 people and punished hundreds of others. Disagreeing with this response, in 1866 English parliament abolished the planter-dominated assembly and turned Jamaica into a Crown Colony (Burton 1997: 108-114).

²⁴⁵ “[Christian religion] played a very insignificant part in the [community’s] day-to-day life” (Barrett 1976: 25). In neo-African religious practices and rituals in Kingston during the 1950s, the “European influence was almost absent” (Bilby’s 1995: 152). Christian symbols and practices were “reinterpretations of ... powerful African [religious] survivals” (Wynter 1970: 45). “[Most African religious] rites ... [were no] more than superficially transformed by [Christian] missionaries’ teaching and example” (Burton 1997: 43). Christianity ... allowed “Jamaica[ns] ... to celebrate their [African] religion under the guise of Christianity” (Alleyne 1988: 82). Also see Brathwaite (1971: 24), Carty (1988: 13-4, 20, 66-7), Hopkin (1978: 24), Simpson & Moore (1957: 198), Warner-Lewis (2002: 106) and Wynter (1970: 45-7).

²⁴⁶ See Beckwith (1929: 158-74) and Dunham (1946: 74-5) for other similar descriptions of Revival ceremonies in the late 1800s, 1920s and 1940s.

Carty, Lewin, Mulvaney, Murray, Nettleford, O’Gorman,²⁴⁷ Reckford, Ryman and G.

White) concur that African rituals and practices dominated rural Jamaicans’ everyday life. Lewin (2000) notes that Revivalists still gathered on street corners in the nineties (189).

The two-segment structure of Revival services significantly affected the music.²⁴⁸ Most songs are from Baptist, Methodist and Anglican hymnals published in the late 1800s by Americans Sankey and Moody and British composer Watts (Miller 1989: 406).²⁴⁹ In the twenties, Roberts (1989) also heard many European-styled Revival hymns composed by indigenous musicians. In segment one, songs are performed slowly, solemnly, without percussion and primarily in unison, “follow[ing] the ... notations in the hymnals” (Pitts 1989: 288). The result is basically a traditional European style, with some variations, since most songs are learned by rote or from lyric books, and performed by memory (Hopkin 1978: 29). In segment two, “the singers give the same hymns the ‘hot’ treatment by markedly syncopating their rhythms and adding ... handclapping, foot-stomping [and] tambourines” (Pitts 1989: 288).²⁵⁰ Lyrics are often

²⁴⁷ O’Gorman was born in Australia and moved to Jamaica as a young woman in the mid-fifties.

²⁴⁸ Descriptions of Revival ceremonies by Beckwith (1929), Dunham (1946), Hopkin (1978), Lewin (2000), Roberts (1989), Seaga (1956, 1969), Simpson & Moore (1957), and White (1982a) correspond to Pitts’ (1988, 1989) descriptions of the two-segment form.

²⁴⁹ The most popular hymnals were two by Sankey & Moody, *Sacred Songs and Solos* (1873), a series called *Gospel Hymns* (1875-1891), and the Anglican *Hymns Ancient and Modern*. The Anglican hymnal was published in many different editions in the late 1800s and early 1900s.

²⁵⁰ Floyd (1999: 3-4) notes that the emphasis upon European and African musical approaches (in parts one and two respectively) is common in diasporic religious forms throughout the Caribbean and in the U.S.

replaced with vocables, to facilitate greater emotional expression and improvisation (which are considered essential) (Lewin 2000: 193). Two drums, the *tumba* (bass), and the *rakkeling* or “rattling” drum are also often added (Miller 1989: 407). In the early 1900s, guitar, bass, organ, piano and drum set were introduced. The performances of Segment Two also include lots of body movement; described in section 1.4. All beats receive strong downward gestures, and offbeats (usually accented, especially in accompaniment parts) receive strong upward movements and often a loud grunt.²⁵¹ Offbeats are perceived, created and felt as loudly and heavily as beats, and sometimes louder and heavier²⁵² (Nettleford 1969: 23). The phenomenological experience of these songs and movement patterns is similar to Singing Games (with their offbeat accompaniment patterns, improvisations and gestures) as well as the fourth beat sound/ movement accent in mento.

Most Revival hymns are tuneful, predictable, diatonic songs with a Germanic character. Edwin Pierce (1940), in his analysis of Sankey & Moody hymns, writes,

[Sankey hymns] ha[ve] a strongly defined rhythm and no syncopation; the melody [is] complete in itself and fitted to the simplest and most obvious homophonic harmony. Modulation, ... if present, involve[s] only the nearest related keys ... [Most] use ... the first person singular. ... [T]heir appeal [is] always to the individual to look out for his own ... soul. ... [Most are like] folksongs [with] simple and attractive melod[ies], of moderate compass. (356, 358, 363)

Hopkin (1978²⁵³) notes that “there is essentially one theme to these songs: ... rejoicing in

²⁵¹ This is part of a sound-movement pattern called trumping, discussed in section 1.4.1.7.

²⁵² It is common to have body-percussion (especially footsteps) and some percussion articulating onbeats, although the sounds accorded to the beats are usually softer and lighter than offbeat sounds.

²⁵³ Hopkin analyzes Pentecostal influences in Revival, post-1918 (when the first Pentecostal missionaries arrived in Jamaica). Their emphasis upon baptism, speaking in tongues, and

salvation" (36). Singers (and instrumentalists) often flatten the third, fifth, and seventh degrees, improvise harmony parts, and add vocables and interjections to fill-in gaps (White 1982c: 29-30). Jamaican pronunciation alters Standard English accents and word groupings (Roberts 1989: 412). Rhythms that emphasize the beat or even beat subdivision are usually altered to accent offbeats. ♩ ♩ usually becomes ♩. ♩; ♩ ♩ and ♩ ♩ become ♩. ♩, ♩. ♩ or ♩. ♩; ♩ ♩ ♩ becomes ♩. ♩. ♩ (Hopkin 1978). *The notation of these alterations is only approximate*; rhythms are often performed as triplet-eighths or triplet-sixteenths. Revivalists subdivide beats in many ways: duple, triple, quadruple and more complex rhythms. The different types of subdivision often occur simultaneously in the ensemble. Performers frequently shift between subdivisions, sometimes mid-phrase.²⁵⁴

Rhythmic alterations to melodies (i.e., in segment two sections) are most often made at beginnings of phrases, creating quicker notes at the start, and slower notes maintained or placed at phrase ends. This "throws apparent weight and stress at the end of a measure, rather than the beginning. This type of rhythmic movement is exceedingly common in Jamaican hymns and in much of the secular music as well"

their emotional and corporeally dominated worship style was similar to that of Afro-Baptists, and resonated strongly with Myal/Kumina styles and beliefs (Hopkin 1978: 24). His account of a typical service (1978: 27-8) corresponds to Pitts' (1988, 1989) description of two segment African rituals.

²⁵⁴ This is the same African beat-subdivision skill discussed in section 1.3.2.1, trait #11, pg. 76. Charles Keil uses the term "participatory discrepancies" to describe differences in perception and execution which is typified by the simultaneous/synchronous differences in Jamaican Revivalist music. (Keil makes no specific reference to Jamaican music, however.) (Keil 1995, Keil & Feld 1994: 96-108).

(Roberts 1989: 442). Another common alteration involves the shortening of downbeat notes (either by ending them early or speeding them up) and subsequent notes are stressed/ accented, lengthened slightly, or sounded a bit early, which emphasizes the second beat or its prebeat (414). **FIGURE 1.14** is an example of these alterations in a Revival hymn. The original hymnal version appears first. The second is Hopkin's transcription of a second-segment performance, recorded in 1973 at the Pentecostal Gospel Temple, in Kingston, JA.. The third is the original version transposed to the same key as the second one, for purposes of comparison. The Revival arrangement maintains the phrase structure and basic melodic shape, but simplifies harmonies and creates many prebeat accents. Hopkin's transcription leaves out many neo-African elements, most of which are difficult/impossible to notate, such as timbral manipulation, pitch alterations (flattening of the third, fifth, seventh degrees, glides, slurs, etc.), individual melodic/ rhythmic variations, asides, variant beat subdivisions, body and instrumental percussion, instrumental accompaniment, and the preacher's interjections/ vocables (Hopkin 1978: 33). Although they are usually described in the JPM literature as predominantly European, in performance Revival hymns acquire many neo-African and African-American characteristics, due to the combined influence of indigenous neo-African musics with nineteenth century Afro-Baptist and early twentieth century Pentecostal missionaries. Most songs are in $\frac{4}{4}$ or $\frac{6}{8}$; $\frac{3}{4}$ is rarely used (Hopkin 1978: 36). Phrase lengths, endings and structures show a strong European influence. 82.4% of phrases are equal in length (17.7% utilize four-bar phrases, while

ORIGINAL VSN

He brought me out of the mi-ry day. He set my feet on the Rock to stay; ___

He puts a song in my soul to-day, A song of praise. Hal-le-lu-jah!

REVIVAL VSN Note: These rhythms are often swung, i.e., performed with a triplet grid.

He brought me out ___ of the mi-ry day. ___ He set my feet on the Rock ___ to stay; ___

He puts a song ___ in my soul ___ to-day, ___ A song of praise. Hal-le-lu-jah!

ORIGINAL VERSION TRANSPOSED TO SAME KEY AS REVIVAL VERSION

He brought me out of the mi-ry day. He set my feet on the Rock to stay; ___

He puts a song in my soul to-day, A song of praise. Hal-le-lu-jah!

Oh, yes! ___

FIGURE 1.14: "HE BROUGHT ME OUT" (FROM *THE PENTECOSTAL HYMNAL*) (Hopkin 1978: 37-8)

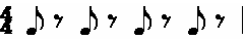
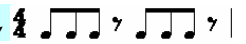
64.7% are set in two-bar phrases).²⁵⁵ 82.4% of phrases end with a long note (at the beginning of a bar) or followed by a rest — a place where improvisation often occurs, usually antiphonal responses or asides (Rouse 2000: 230). Most songs have four melodic lines per section (Hopkin 1978: 36), in traditional hymn structures: strophic or verse-chorus. Many phrases (64.7%) are repeated in their entirety and are often melodic sequences, with few bobbin-like repetitions. Call and response is seldom part of songs' original structures (appearing in only 11.8% of the total), but in performance, many antiphonal phrases are added. Another African influence is the mirroring of speech rhythms (70.6%).  or  appears in 23.5% of the songs and  or  appears 47.1% of the time. Use of melisma (29.4%) is relatively high — it doesn't appear in any other Jamaican styles to any significant degree — which Rouse attributes to the influence of American gospel singing.²⁵⁶ Some Revival songs (percentage unspecified) consist of only short fragments or single phrases, and sometimes just choruses which are repeated with extensive variations and complex improvised accompaniments.

The Jamaican/West African preference for offbeat and “weak-beat” accents is evident in handclapping patterns, which are the most common accompaniment, and are

²⁵⁵ Statistics are from Rouse (2000: 229-34), unless cited otherwise. See footnote #102, pg. 85, for clarification of Rouse's study. Her analysis considers original hymn settings, transcriptions by others and some live analyses.

²⁵⁶ This influence began in the early-1800s with the influence of American Methodist and Baptist missionaries, and grew in strength during the fundamentalist revival of the mid-1800s. In the early 1900s, American Pentecostal missionaries also introduced African American Gospel traditions to Revival churches (Hopkin 1978).

often louder than the singing (Hopkin 1978: 29). (Note: Hopkin uses both “upbeat” and “offbeat” to refer to .)

The most fundamental rhythmic pattern [in Pentecostal Revival Churches] is the accent on ... upbeat eighth-notes: . This pattern has an ... inevitability about it as it comes with great volume from every part of the church on every offbeat. It is always the first rhythm that people clap, and it is the only one that can stand alone. The rhythms which take care of [the beat]:  | and  | usually accompany the upbeat pattern, but with less volume. Other ... patterns, like,  | and  | also occasionally occur. (Hopkin 1978: 30)

Pentecostal Revival churches are known as “clap-hand churches” because of consistently accented offbeat handclapping patterns,²⁵⁷ which are often reinforced by tambourines (White 1982a: 53). Congregations create many variations of these patterns, usually by subdividing rhythms into smaller parts (or changing the feel from straight to swung eighth or sixteenth notes).

Clappers ... divide [the beat] as they choose. ... [N]either [duple nor compound] meter gains a clear predominance; *often within a single song the duple meter ... [predominates], the triplets dominate at others, and ... at others the two co-exist.* ... The drummer ... makes one or the other meter clearly manifest for all to hear. Yet the ... co-existence of different pulses still occurs. *This leads to the conclusion that the Jamaican churchgoers feel ... [little] conflict between the duple and triple divisions.* As they perform the songs, the eighth-note functions as the counting unit, and the sub-division of it in the rhythmic accompaniment is variable. *This is not to say, however, that the smaller units are trivial, or merely ... embellishment. The feeling is not that the sixteenth-notes are added between the eighth- or dotted eighth-notes, but that they are always there, not always sounded, but sounded often enough so that the pulse on that level is never absent.* (Hopkin (1978: 30), italics added)

The italicized statements identify skills that Revivalists develop over time. The last sentence in Hopkin’s description identifies one of the most significant, yet often-

²⁵⁷ Hopkin’s (1978) transcriptions of these patterns have few backbeat-only patterns. The majority of choir members emphasize offbeats or create patterns that ornament the backbeat.

overlooked aspect of the Jamaican rhythmic sense: that one's perception of density referent may be based upon beat subdivisions more complex than those occurring in the melody, i.e., with a higher density referent than the melody.²⁵⁸ This type of rhythmic complexity appears in most neo-African Jamaican forms, especially in accompaniment patterns, and is rooted in similar African practices involving hocketing and different density referents in separate parts (see FIGURE 1.2, pg. 64 and 1.3.2.1, trait #11, pg. 76).

FIGURE 1.15 provides examples of six common Revival clapping patterns (with three alternate notations²⁵⁹) which display the same consistent offbeat accents as the Ghanaian clapping patterns in FIGURE 1.2. All usually accompany songs in which eighth notes are

1) $\frac{2}{4}$ ♯♭♯♭ | 2) $\frac{12}{8}$ ♮ ♯ ♯ ♯ ♯ ♯ | 3) $\frac{2}{4}$ ♯ ♭♭ ♯ ♭♭ | 4) $\frac{12}{8}$ ♮ . ♯ ♯ ♮ . ♯ ♯ |
 5) $\frac{2}{4}$ ♯♭♯♭ ♯ ♭ | 6) $\frac{12}{8}$ ♮ ♯ ♯ ♯ ♮ . ♯ ♯ | 7) (original version of 2) ($\frac{12}{16}$) ♯ ♭ ♯ ♭ ♯ ♭ ♯ |
 8) (original version of 4) ($\frac{12}{16}$) ♯ ♯ ♭♭ ♯ ♯ ♭♭ | 9) (original version of 6) ($\frac{12}{16}$) ♯ ♭ ♯ ♯ ♯ ♯ ♯

FIGURE 1.15: COMMON 16TH-NOTE AND TRIPLET HANDCLAPPING REVIVAL ACCOMPANIMENTS

the density referent, and can be combined with other patterns here or ones noted two pages back. In his discussion of **FIGURE 1.15**, Hopkin (1978) identifies factors affecting

²⁵⁸ Hopkin and Witmer (1981: 109) appear to be the only JPM scholars who have discussed this skill. Witmer notes that reggae musicians (especially drummers) are able to perceive and create parts with different density referents, basically the same as Revivalist congregation members. Given the predominance of Revival music in Jamaican society in the fifties and sixties (and the fact that most JPM scholars identify Revival as a major influence upon ska, see section 1.3.5.4), it is a likely influence upon the acquisition of this skill for JPM professionals.

²⁵⁹ Hopkin presents these patterns without time signatures. Patterns 2), 4) & 6) are originally written as sixteenth notes, in what appears to be $\frac{12}{16}$, which doesn't correspond to the discussion before and after these examples nor does it correspond to European hymn meters (i.e., it might be a printing error). I've rewritten these as $\frac{12}{8}$, since the beat groupings in his original notation suggest a four-beat pulse. In case I've simply misunderstood something, patterns 7), 8) and 9) are Hopkin's original versions.

their perception: relative volume, intensity and directionality.²⁶⁰ The main consistent offbeat pattern $\frac{4}{4}$ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ is *always* the loudest/strongest. Other sounds (on downbeats and other offbeat subdivisions) are the “quietest and also come from various ... areas in the congregation. But because the ear segregates them spatially, the sixteenth notes are heard quite separately from the eight note claps” (30). All of these patterns are perceived together as a gestalt unit, although many of these individualized patterns would either become masked or work together hocket-style to create resultant rhythms.²⁶¹ As Hopkin puts it, “It is in the sense of their rhythmic interaction that [accompaniment] patterns take on their effectiveness” (30).

FIGURE 1.16 shows accompaniment patterns during a Revival hymn. Like FIGURE 1.14 (pg. 153), this score is only an approximation, since most of the clapping parts

The musical score is written in 4/4 time. It consists of five staves. The first four staves are for accompaniment: H-Clap 1, H-Clap 2, H-Clap 3, and Tamb. (Tambourine). The fifth staff is the melody. The lyrics are: "It is a joy un-speak-a-ble and full of glo-ry,— full of glo-ry,— full of glo-ry,—".

FIGURE 1.16: TYPICAL REVIVAL HYMN WITH ACCOMPANIMENT PATTERNS (Hopkin 1978: 32)

would be varied, although some would remain constant. There are also descant parts, asides, responses, harmonies, and other drum parts which are missing, as well as guitar,

²⁶⁰ Timbre is also a significant factor. More individualized timbres cut through the texture; less distinctive ones are masked; see discussion on masking in section 1.3.2.1, pg.72.

²⁶¹ Masking and resultant rhythms in African music are discussed in section 1.3.2.1 , pg. 70+.

bass and keyboard parts,²⁶² silent and sounded corporeal gestures, such as foot-tapping, swaying, head-nodding, etc., which keep all of the parts coordinated (Beckwith 1929: 162, Roberts 1989: 411). Although Revival hymns are primarily European, like Singing Games, in performance their sonic-corporeal characteristics are dominated by African aesthetics, since segment two sections prioritize neo-African pitch, timbre and rhythm variations, polyrhythms, consistent offbeat accents, antiphonal exchanges, and especially sound-and-movement pattern couplings which emphasize silent regulative beats in accompaniment patterns.

1.3.4.3 INFLUENCES FROM INDIA, CUBA AND LATIN AMERICA

In addition to the influx of Central African workers in the mid-1800s, between 1845-1916 two other large groups of immigrants came to Jamaica: 37,000 people came from India, and 1,200 came from China (Murray 1971: 15-6). Of the two, only the Indian workers left a mark upon Jamaica's indigenous musical culture, mostly likely because their numbers were large enough to create subcultures with aspects of their native culture which were creolized in certain contexts. Chinese music, on the other hand, never influenced Jamaican musics²⁶³ (Bilby 1975: 1, Rouse 2000: 283).

²⁶² These instruments usually improvise mento-style patterns, "furnish[ing] a basic rhythmic drive, ... based on the chord changes. ... This function is extremely important, and not merely ... a backdrop" (Hopkin 1978: 39). The drummer plays "patterns derived from ... [or] closely related to ... the congregation's clapping" (ibid.), and usually determines a song's overall groove.

²⁶³ There have been a number of highly influential record producers and musicians of Chinese descent in JPM in the 1960s and 1970s: e.g., producers Bunny Lee and Leslie Kong (d. 1971), and musicians Clive Chin, Tony Chin, Geoffrey "Mao" Chung, Mikey Chung, Byron Lee and Herman Chin Loy.

1.3.4.4 INDIAN INFLUENCES

Indian music has not been a direct influence upon JPM, so it is rarely examined in the literature. After 1845, the Indian Hussay festival influenced Jonkonnu in a variety of ways (Bilby 1975: 1, Murray 1971: 109, 134-9, Ryman 1984b: 51, Wynter (1970: 45).²⁶⁴

They share many features:

- processions with elaborate costumes and masks,
- portrayal of contemporary and mythical characters,
- lively music,
- vigorous dancing and
- stick and sword fighting.²⁶⁵

Ryman (1980) observes that there are Indian influences in Revival and various Jamaican folk dances (8-9), although she provides few details. Lewin (in Johnson & Pines 1982) notes that Indian drums (mancura and tabla) were sometimes used in Pukkumina music (41-2). Both Hussay and Jonkonnu music feature polyrhythmic percussion with a strong, steady pulse. Two drums are used in Hussay, one low, the other high,²⁶⁶ as well as small cymbals which play ostinati patterns.

Hussay appears to have influenced Jonkonnu music, but detailed analysis is minimal in the literature. Both Beckwith (1929: 205) and Bilby (1975: 1) claim that there has been Indian melodic influence upon Jamaican folk melodies (although neither provides specifics). Murray (1971: 190-1) presents six Hussay songs from a 1924 paper

²⁶⁴ Hussay is an Indian celebration of the martyrdom of two sons of Ali by Indian labourers who were of the Shiite sect of the Mohammedan/Muslim religion (Ryman 1984b: 51, Wynter 1970: 45).

²⁶⁵ Stick fights are also a common feature of African masquerades Ryman (1984b: 51).

²⁶⁶ See Murray (1971: 139) for details.

by Beckwith²⁶⁷. Comparing these songs with Jonkonnu melodies reveals a number of similarities.²⁶⁸ All of melodies consist of extended eighth note phrases with sixteenth note flourishes, ornaments, irregular accents and rhythmic groupings similar to those in Jonkonnu fife melodies. Four songs appear to use major scales (although three of these use only 3-5 consecutive notes). Two songs use unusual note patterns which might correspond to the 13.1% of Jonkonnu melodies which Rouse (2000) classifies as “non-identifiable scale patterns” (102).

1.3.4.5 INFLUENCES FROM CUBA AND LATIN AMERICA

In the early 1900s, many Jamaicans went to Cuba, Panama and Costa Rica to do temporary agricultural work and experienced Latin music. Some brought back congas, bongos, claves, timbales, and maracas, which started appearing in village bands and in mento groups (White 1982c: 31-2). Cuban brass arrangements and dance forms²⁶⁹ from other islands were also embraced by these bands.

The two World Wars had a similar effect; many Jamaicans went abroad and came back with new sounds and styles. Foreign military personnel stationed in Jamaica also brought their musics, instruments, sheet music and recordings. A tourist industry started to develop in the 1920s, creating a demand for local musicians in hotels, resorts, bars, nightclubs, town fairs and dances (and the need to master foreign styles). These

²⁶⁷ “The Hussay Festival in Jamaica.”

²⁶⁸ This analysis is mine; Murray presents these songs without commentary.

²⁶⁹ White (1982c: 31-2) notes that the following styles became popular in the twentieth century as a result of emigration and immigration: Cuban rumba, mambo and habanera, Argentinian tango, Dominican meringue, Trinidadian calypso and kalinda, Venezuelan paseo and Brazilian samba.

1.3.4.5 INFLUENCES FROM CUBA AND LATIN AMERICA / 1.3.4.6 NYABINGHI (RASTAFARIAN MUSIC) 161

venues also featured foreign musicians who performed with their own bands and sometimes with local musicians (White 1982c, Witmer 1981).

Two post-WWII events resulted in “a mass infiltration of folk culture ... from the other [Caribbean] islands” (Murray 1971: 147): the founding of the University College of the West Indies (UCWI) (in 1946) and the formation of the Federation of the British West Indies (in 1958). UCWI attracted students and their folk traditions from all over the Caribbean. Trinidadian students helped to popularize the Trinidadian Carnival, steel bands and calypso. “The student body of the UCWI was alive and vibrant with its folk sessions in song and dance, and of course, dancing to the steel bands became ‘the thing’” (148). The Federation was “an attempt [by Great Britain] to stabilize the economy of all the British West Indian Islands before granting them independence” (Murray 1971: 147). It also generated more inter-island tourism and cultural exchanges than ever before. An example of the latter is the introduction to Jamaica of the Limbo dance and the fire-eating dance (both from St. Lucia). “Much of the music in and from Jamaica [in the forties and fifties] was West Indian rather than strictly Jamaican” (149).

1.3.4.6 NYABINGHI²⁷⁰ (RASTAFARIAN MUSIC)

Rastafarianism is “a belief system and social movement that originated among the African Jamaican underclass in the 1930s” (Witmer 1995: 28). Its beliefs are rooted in Ethiopianism and the Africanist ideas and philosophy of Marcus Garvey (Barrett 1977: 76-80). As was the case with Revival, many Christian elements have been reinterpreted in terms of African traditions, but Rastas do not believe in spirit possession (Alleyne

²⁷⁰ Variant spellings: Nyahbinghi, Niyahbinghi, Niyabingi, Nyabingi and Nyabyngi.

1988: 103), because Rastas believe that good or evil spirits could invade and temporarily take control of a human body (Chevannes 1994: 119-44). Their principle tenet is that Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie was God incarnate.²⁷¹

When Rastafarianism began, it had no music of its own (Reckford 1977: 7). At the earliest gatherings (called grounations/groundations), Rastas sang Revival hymns accompanied by handclapping, shakers, rattles and rhumba boxes (Simpson 1957: 221). Because of their identification with Africa, they objected to these hymns' European style (Reckford 1977: 7), however, so in the 1940s, Rasta musicians, led by drummer Oswald "Count Ossie" Williams, who had studied Burru drumming, attempted to develop a unique neo-African style. Ossie combined Burru with Kumina music and elements from jazz, mento and Jonkonnu (Bilby & Leib 1986, White 1984: 63-4). By the early 1950s, a new style emerged (eventually called Nyabinghi) "that was recognizable as neither pure Kumina nor Burru" (Bilby 1995: 162-3). The three Burru drums were retained (with minor cosmetic changes); other instruments included sax, trumpet, trombone, guitars, harmonica, graters and other percussion (Reckford 1977: 3). Rhythmic patterns and performance styles were highly symbolic. According to Count Ossie in 1976 (as paraphrased by Reckford 1998):

The pulsing thump of the bass [drum] dominates ... [and] symbolizes the beating down of oppression, a principal objective of Rastafari. The method of playing the drum suggests ... reflects the love-hate attitude of the Rastas to the rest of society. ... The heavily padded drumstick effects a caress on the first beat of the bar. ... The third beat is an accented stab with the point of the stick. ... The fundeh could be

²⁷¹ For analyses of Rastafarianism/Nyabinghi: Barrett (1976, 1977), Bilby & Leib (1986), Chevannes (1994), Hebdige (1990: 51-61), King (1998), Lewin (2000: 197-201), Nagashima (1984), Reckford (1977, 1982, 1998) and Savishinsky (1998).

regarded as the 'peace and love' drum. With its balanced, regular ... pattern, it is the rational 'head' that keeps the peace and holds the 'life-line' (the meter). ... The repeater drum protests. It continually defies the rigid bass and fundeh patterns. This defiance could be regarded as symbolic of the hope to move out of and above oppression through creative application. ... Rasta music is at once a music of peace and love, protest, and hope, as well as a music of attack, ... beating down Babylon²⁷² with militant chants, dancing and drumming. (244-5, 249)

Performance is also considered prayer and a source of spiritual and physical healing.

According to Reckford (1998), the origin of "Nyabinghi" is uncertain (251). It is said to have originally meant "Death to the white oppressors and their black allies," but today the meaning has been directed against *any* oppressors or wicked systems/institutions: "death to oppression of any sort"²⁷³ (242). Savishinsky (1998) suggests that

Niyabinghi derives from a fiercely anticolonial religious movement that flourished in East and Central Africa around the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century. It was first adopted by Jamaican Rastafarians in the mid-1930s, just prior to the Italian invasion of Ethiopia. (141, n. 5)

Savishinsky's claim is challenged by other research, although Hebdige (1990) also argues that "Nyabinghi" was first used in the 1930s. Simpson studied the Rastafarian communities in Kingston in the early 1950s. In 1998, commenting on this research, he wrote that, although he heard the phrase "Death to the white man, and to the black traitors!," he "[doesn't] recollect ever hearing the term 'Nyabinghi' [at that time]" (1998: 220). "Nyabinghi" first appeared in the JPM literature in Barrett (1977: 92) and in Reckford (1977: 10), although both defined it as a synonym for "grounation," and

²⁷² " 'Babylon' ... symbolizes ... oppression to Rastas ... and to black people ... [It] is associated with ancient Babylon, where the Israelites ... suffered ... great oppression; Rastafarians regard themselves as descendants of ancient Israelites" (Reckford 1998: 251)

²⁷³ Clayton (1999) defines Nyabinghi as "death to evil forces" (1450).

referred to the music simply as “Rasta music.”²⁷⁴ Both also described grounation as a ritual dominated by chanting, drumming and dancing. Today, “Nyabinghi” usually refers to music/ dance alone, but it is also as a synonym for grounation (Clayton 1999: 1450, Savishinsky 1998: 141).

Nyabinghi incorporates almost every indigenous Jamaican music, as well as European and American music (Bilby 1995: 149). Rastas emphasize drumming and singing, and continue to use Revival hymns, but they generally make more pronounced alterations than Revivalists. They change melodies, add new words, a neo-African rhythmic approach, an antiphonal melodic style and open-ended, interactive structures. Some write original songs, but in the spirit of Rasta communal philosophy, many of these creations “become the property of the general public” (Reckford 1998: 245), rather than being ascribed to particular individuals. “As [Rastas] see it, the new product is no longer the product of the original writer in form or function” (Reckford 1977: 11).²⁷⁵

With regard to rhythmic features,²⁷⁶ the fundeh drum plays a steady heartbeat/ lifeline pattern²⁷⁷ for religious chants/services (“churchical music”): $\frac{4}{4}$  | , and for secular songs (“heartical music”), the pattern is reversed: $\frac{4}{4}$  |.²⁷⁸

²⁷⁴ In Reckford (1977), Count Ossie also used “Rasta Music” and not “Nyabinghi.”

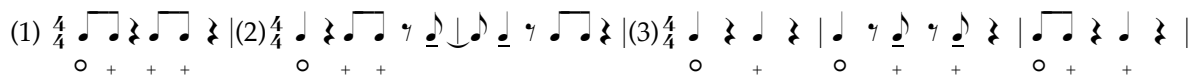
²⁷⁵ This doesn’t mean that there are no commercial Nyabinghi artists. Count Ossie & the Mystical Revelation of Rastafari and Ras Michael & the Sons of Negus have released many recordings with some songs credited to particular individuals.

²⁷⁶ Nyabinghi rhythms were developed in “reasoning” sessions based on the premise that “drum[s are] a reminder of ... [Rastafarian] doctrinal values” (Count Ossie in Reckford 1977: 8-10).

²⁷⁷ All patterns from Reckford (1977: 6). A common resultant rhythm is: $\frac{4}{4}$  |.

The bass drum plays fundeh patterns with rhythmic/timbral variations;

e.g., ($\circ$ = open, $+$ = muted):



(See DVD video 3.12 for examples of Nyabingihi music and dance.) In instrumental pieces,

the repeater adopts a lead role with total rhythmic freedom (like the atumpan, the lead talking drum in Ashanti music). When accompanying songs, it plays highly complex counter-rhythms with many timbral variations (Reckford 1977: 8). Accompaniment patterns emphasize offbeats. The corporeal orientation is African: strong downward movements articulating every beat. With the churchical pattern, however, the downbeat is usually sounded; more movement details are provided in section 1.4. Other African features include the predominance of speech rhythms (62.5% of total) and the two offbeat patterns prevalent in other Jamaican musics:  or  appears in 50% of the songs and  or  appears in 25% of the songs.²⁷⁹

Most original Nyabinghi songs use a major hexatonic scale²⁸⁰ (75%). 12.5% use pentatonic scales, and 12.5% use a major scale. Although hexatonic and pentatonic scales are common in both African songs and English folksongs, Rouse (2000) argues that since 50% of Kumina song scales are hexatonic, and Kumina has been a central component of Nyabinghi, that the primary influence is probably a Central African one

²⁷⁸ “Churchical” and “heartical” are terms that Rastas themselves use to label these patterns.

²⁷⁹ Statistics are from Rouse (2000: 234-8); she only examines non-Revival, i.e., original Nyabingi songs. See footnote #102, pg. 85, for clarification of Rouse's study.

²⁸⁰ The leading note is omitted in 66% of the hexatonic songs.

(238).²⁸¹ Song structures are often open-ended and innovative²⁸² (Grass 1982: 46).

In the 1950s, Count Ossie performed at grounations, communal gatherings, camps and public venues, especially in the Trenchtown area of West Kingston. Many prominent Jamaican jazz musicians (including many future members of the Skatalites, the 1960s studio band who played on most of the early Ska and Rocksteady records) participated, and cite these experiences as a major influence upon JPM development. These jam sessions were also very popular with the black underclass (Reckford 1977: 12).

O’Gorman argues that claims of Nyabinghi influence upon JPM are not only overstated but, in some instances, inaccurate (1986a: 160-1, 1987a). (This is a reversal of her 1972 position in which she emphasizes Nyabinghi’s contribution to JPM; this contradiction is examined below.) She notes that “There is a fundamental difference [between Nyabinghi] rhythm [which] emphasizes the first and third beats of the bar, [and JPM, which] emphasizes the second and fourth” (1987a: 87). This argument ignores the two and four emphasis in the heartical pattern,²⁸³ and also omits Nyabinghi’s neo-African features: consistently accented offbeats, silent regulative beats, open-endedness, communal creation, and African sound-movement couplings. O’Gorman concludes that “[JPM] owes less to Rasta than to rhythm-and-blues, overlaid with

²⁸¹ In 1986, Bilby and Leib discovered that Kumina ceremonial music recorded in 1953 by Simpson was “essentially indistinguishable from present-day variants of the Nyabinghi style” (24). They argue that this suggests that the Nyabinghi style had been established by 1953.

²⁸² O’Gorman (1972) makes the same observation (51).

²⁸³ Hebdige (1990: 58) notes how JPM has been influenced primarily by heartical, rather than churchical Nyabinghi rhythms.

indigenous elements such as mento and Pocomania and to the genius of certain individuals, particularly drummers and bass guitarists who set down patterns that others imitated ” (1987a: 85).

There is no doubt that the R&B influence upon JPM has been enormous, and that drummers’ and bass players’ roles were central in defining JPM development. The problem with describing JPM as basically R&B music with an “indigenous overlay” is that it minimizes indigenous elements of JPM as *primary* components and it ignores the claims of the earliest JPM innovators who insist that Nyabinghi was central to JPM.²⁸⁴

Another weakness of O’Gorman’s argument is that she doesn’t differentiate between African-American and JPM backbeats. Both often feature a loud snare drum²⁸⁵ reinforced with guitar, keyboard, horn and/or percussion accents, but in context, their characteristics, function and feel are significantly different.

Backbeats in Post-World War II R&B. In addition to prominent backbeats, first and third beats are also strongly stated, usually by the bass drum; i.e., bass drum and snare rarely play the backbeat together. Offbeats are also usually not consistently accented. In songs where offbeats *are* consistently accented, the primary emphasis usually remains upon the main beats, which are also articulated with body movements. The bass often plays the same rhythmic figures as the bass drum. The harmonic rhythm of the bass and

²⁸⁴ Other JPM scholars who prioritize the Nyabinghi influence upon JPM include: Barrow & Dalton (2001: 35-47), Bradley (2000: 61-4), Clarke (1980: 36, 52-70), Foehr (2000: 88-96), Hebdige 1990: 51-61), Reckford (1977: 9-13), White (1984: 64-5) and Katz (2003). These claims are examined in greater depth in sections 1.3.5.2 to 1.3.5.6.

²⁸⁵ Backbeats are sometimes played on the snare rim or as a rimshot (rim and snare together).

instruments which supply chordal accompaniment (e.g., guitar, keyboards) is often the same, with most chord changes occurring on beats one or three, with the greatest harmonic weight usually occurring on the first beat.

Backbeats in JPM. Beats are weakly stated (sometimes silent) with consistent offbeat accents. The bass drum usually accents backbeats (and sometimes offbeats), which gives backbeats extra weight and a deeper sound.²⁸⁶ Beats are usually articulated with strong body movements (even when silent), and accented offbeats usually receive upward gestures.²⁸⁷ The bass usually has rhythmic phrasing that is different from that of the bass drum, and frequently omits downbeats or plays them weakly, and can begin anywhere, with accents on both offbeats and beats. Although most JPM melodies imply harmonic change on the downbeat,²⁸⁸ sonic articulation of this harmonic change by accompaniment instruments rarely occurs at the same time. The most prominent accents in a measure are often the backbeats (with chordal instruments' accents occurring in a variety of places). In those situations where the bass, bass drum and the snare accent the backbeats together, backbeats have the same harmonic weight and sonic emphasis as R&B downbeats.

In the late 1950s a number of indigenous recordings used the heartical groove and featured African and Nyabinghi percussion (Barrow & Dalton 2001: 24, Hebdige

²⁸⁶ Some reggae musicians call the placement of the bass drum on a backbeat a "drop." Ryman notes that in JFRM, "drop" is used to refer to the regulative pulse (2003, correspondence with author; see Appendix A, Part Two).

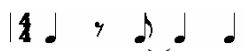
²⁸⁷ Chapter Five presents statistics to support these observations.

²⁸⁸ This is due to European influences.

1990: 58-61, Katz 2003: 34, White 1984: 64-5). The biggest hit in this style, the Folkes Brothers' "Oh Carolina," recorded in 1960 and released in 1961, features Count Ossie, four Nyabinghi drummers, a rattle/maracas, handclapping, three vocalists, piano and guitar. The piano, guitar and handclapping²⁸⁹ consistently accent offbeats, and the bass drum plays only on backbeats, with the fourth beat the loudest, in this pattern:

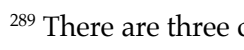
 |. First and third beats in accompaniment parts are either silent or

soft,²⁹⁰ and the percussion often drowns out the vocals.²⁹¹ The result is a mid-tempo three-chord song with a strong Nyabinghi heartical rhythm, as well as other Jamaican elements: a mento-style bass part (piano left hand outlining major triads:

 |, strong fourth beat drum accent), Gospel (vocal timbre and

inflections, overall ambiguous beat subdivision), Revival (consistent offbeat handclapping, guitar and rattle accents) and New Orleans-style doo-wop (vocal backgrounds and piano style).²⁹² This song was extremely popular, first at Sound System dances, then on the radio (Bradley 2000: 60-2, Chang & Chen 1998: 87). "After this success, music proclaiming an African identity became somewhat less taboo" (Katz 2003: 34; see also Bradley 2000: 61-3).

The enthusiastic response to Nyabinghi (first to Count Ossie's live performances,

²⁸⁹ There are three clapping patterns: (1)  |, (2)  | and (3)  |.

²⁹⁰ The one exception is the repeater drum, which is loud throughout. It plays a freely improvised part, which sometimes leaves beats empty, and prioritizes or emphasizes offbeats.

²⁹¹ Percussion is usually louder than voices in Revival services (Hopkin 1978).

²⁹² Ossie explains how the Folkes Brothers asked for his help "in the arranging and performance of the song" (In Reckford 1977: 12).

then to "Oh Carolina"), to other Rasta artists²⁹³ and to Jamaican records that incorporated indigenous elements led to the creation of proto-Ska, then Ska (see sections 1.3.5.3 and 1.3.5.4). These two new styles were popular primarily because of their indigenous elements. Reckford (1977) concludes that, without Count Ossie, there would be no Nyabinghi, and no JPM. What is ironic, in light of O'Gorman's (1986/7a) arguments, however, is that Reckford cites O'Gorman (1972) to support her position. This earlier article was one of the first in-depth analyses of JPM.

[JPM is an] art form [with] its roots deeply entrenched in rural folk music. ... It mirrors the Jamaican condition with the kind of psychological clarity of which only music is capable. ... [It features a] heavy, corporeal rhythm ... amplified to the point where the effect is a physical blow [which] not only provides a numbing of pain but induces a rhythmic ecstasy, a blessed obliviousness of time and place. ... [Its] main rhythmic impetus [comes] from the amplified bass. ... [The primary aesthetic of JPM] is essentially non-European. (O'Gorman 1972: 53, 50-1)

To support this argument, O'Gorman analyzes JPM by the most significant musicians over the previous ten years (52), and notes that most of the musicians doing the best work are either Rastafarians or strong supporters of Count Ossie's work. She concludes her article with an examination of the Rastafarian influence upon JPM.

The Rastafarian influence has been present from the earliest days when Count Ossie was heard in "Carolina" [sic]. All through the history of Ska, Rocksteady and Reggae, the Rastafarian voice runs like a thread, weaving in and out, introducing a new vocabulary in the lyrics, a strong liturgical strain in the melodies, ... occasionally superimposing the Rasta beat over the pop beat. (53)²⁹⁴

O'Gorman (1972), like Reckford (1977, 1982, 1998), considers Nyabinghi as JPM's central creative force, and not cosmetic ornamentation or embellishment to R&B music (which

²⁹³ See Reckford (1977, 1982, 1998) and Clarke (1980: 36-97) for lists of Rastafarian musicians and/or sympathizers.

²⁹⁴ Reckford (1977) cites this to support her claims of Nyabinghi's centrality in JPM (12-13).

is her 1986/7a position). O’Gorman (1972) ends up her analysis with a profile of Count Ossie’s Mystic Revelations of Ras Tafari [sic]. She praises their work because

It is possible that the Rastafarian is the only member of grass roots Jamaican society who ... believes in a new horizon, a better world. His imagination reaches beyond Jamaica to Africa, to ... free him from the hopelessness ... of Jamaican ghetto life. And his music, ... rooted ... in the ... rhythm of the Rasta drum beat, ... reflects ... a freedom of imagination that ... bypassed all the laws of Western tonality and ... [embraces] unmetrical rhythms of ... non-Western musical cultures. It provides a release that, like the beat of the Reggae bass, can induce a blessed obliviousness of the present, ... deadens pain, ... rises above it, appealing to the senses, ... spirit, ... mind and ... imagination all at once. (53-4)

1.3.4.7 AMERICAN INFLUENCES — STAGE TWO: TWENTIETH CENTURY

The second stage of American influences overlaps with the first. In the late 1800s, as noted in section 1.2.5.2, the American wind band tradition was started in Jamaica. These bands performed a variety of European and American music: classical, folk, marches, waltzes, polkas, and American popular music (dominated by new African American Creole forms: blues, ragtime, Dixieland and jazz). Many Jamaicans’ first exposure to these new forms was at wind band concerts (as performers or as listeners); for others it was through sheet music, live variety shows (featuring local and foreign artists), recordings, radio and film. Soon Jamaican musicians (especially in urban centers like Kingston) started performing these styles (Witmer 1987: 2). Some (like Slim and Sam in the twenties and thirties) wrote their own African-American styled songs (ibid.: 5-7).

The early twentieth century saw massive rural to urban migration (especially to Kingston),²⁹⁵ which changed people’s sociomusical needs. Traditional musics were

²⁹⁵ Between “1921-1943 ... the population of Kingston increased from 63,700 to 110,100, and

comforting, but they were also associated with hard times (White 1984: 48). To young people, old songs were “backward” and not “fashionable” (Stolzoff 2000: 36). “From as early as 1924, ... observers had noted that the ... ‘folk’ forms were losing their grip on the ... masses” (White 1984: 48), but other observers saw things differently. As Stolzoff puts it, “Even though American music was central [in the twentieth century, especially in the fifties], it never totally eclipsed local creolized African-Jamaican music such as mento” (Stolzoff 2000: 50). Bilby notes that “[Jamaican] folk forms continued to exist alongside the popular bands [even] in downtown neighbourhoods, where the streets were alive with the sounds of both sacred and secular performers” (in Stolzoff 2000: 36).

By the 1940s, a new musical ensemble emerged: “the urban popular band,” influenced by African American popular music (White 1984: 48). There were two types: “road bands and society bands²⁹⁶” (White 1984: 48; see also Witmer 1987: 4-5). Road bands performed at urban and rural functions, playing quadrilles, waltzes, polkas and mento, Caribbean music (calypso, merengues, tangos, etc.), popular songs, blues, ragtime, jazz/swing and show tunes. Their instrumentation reflected this mix: hand drums, guitar, bass, rhumba box, banjo, fiddle, accordion, fife and percussion combined with sax, trumpet, clarinet, trombone, keyboard (piano/ organ) and drum kit. Society bands catered more to the upper class and tourist market, so they avoided rural repertoire, “wanting to appear more sophisticated and accomplished, ... [although they] still played the occasional calypso or mento ... for ... tourists” (White 1984: 48-9). Their

the greater metropolitan area of St. Andrew grew from 54,600 to 128,200 ” (Stolzoff 2000: 34).

²⁹⁶ See Stolzoff (2000: 35) and White (1984: 48) for lists of particular bands by name.

instrumentation was the same as big bands, but usually with indigenous percussion.

In the thirties and forties, swing music appealed to most Jamaicans (White 1984: 48-9, Witmer 1987: 7-8, 10-1), and affected “instrumentation, repertory, playing style ... [as] players learned idioms, tunes and ... particular parts ... [mostly] from American records” (Witmer 1987: 13). By the end of the forties, however, three factors shifted public taste to R&B (aka jump blues in its early years). 1) R&B addressed the rural to urban shift and shared traits with indigenous Jamaican musics which made it easy to understand and perform; 2) big bands were very expensive; and 3) the rise of the Sound System.

R&B lyrics expressed experiences of American blacks who had also moved to the cities, and since some of its features were similar to indigenous Jamaican musics, R&B sounded both familiar and modern. **FIGURE 1.1** (pg. 28) lists these characteristics in detail. Main features include common instrumentation and neo-African musical techniques (e.g., strong beat, call and response, blues notes, polyrhythms, buzzy timbres, vocal playfulness, improvisation, repetition of small cells, preference for circular, open-ended structures, the use of primary chords (I, IV & V) and active bass lines). The biggest differences were structural ones. R&B songs used both Jamaican-styled forms (strophic, and verse-chorus) and Tin Pan Alley structures (AABA, Verse-Bridge-Chorus), which also often used more extended harmonies, chromaticism and modulations.

White and Hebdige identify two other common features that were to figure prominently in JPM: 1) The clap-hand rhythm of Revival music (with its regular offbeat

and backbeat accents), which “was often close to that of the blues [and R&B]” (White 1984: 58). 2) The most popular R&B songs were those in a “relaxed, loping style ... [which] cater[ed] to the ... [Jamaican] taste for unhurried rhythms” (Hebdige 1990: 62). Especially popular were R&B songs with a rumba bass, or a shuffle groove, reminiscent of Revival and/or mento music (Barrow & Dalton 1999: 17).²⁹⁷

In the late forties, advancements in PA technology allowed disk jockeys (who were much more affordable than any band) to entertain any size of audience with high-quality American R&B, pop hits, swing, Latin music and mento recordings.²⁹⁸ Deejay dances became very popular with both rural and urban audiences (Johnson & Pines 1982: 66, White 1984: 49). Called Sound Systems,²⁹⁹ they would become “the most significant outlet for [JPM] in Jamaica ...and [would] ... deeply influence the music” (Davis 1982: 33, also Stolzoff 2000: 4-5).

The Jamaican penchant for creolization transformed Sound System dances into something much more than deejays spinning records, however.³⁰⁰ The new technology

²⁹⁷ Hebdige (1990: 62), Bradley (2000: 15, 53) and Katz (2003: 09) cite Fats Domino, Amos Milburn, Louis Jordan, Roy Brown, Professor Longhair, Wynonie Harris, Jimmy Reed, Bill “Mr. Honky Tonk” Doggett, Lloyd Price, Rosco Gordon, Smiley Lewis, James Wayne, and the Griffen Brothers as examples.

²⁹⁸ Mento started to be recorded locally in the early fifties. See: Barrow & Dalton (1999: 17-20), Bradley (2000: 22-6), Chang, Witmer & McCarthy (2005: 64), Katz (2003: 16-7) and www.mentomusic.com.

²⁹⁹ For analyses of the Sound System phenomenon in Jamaica, see: Barrow & Dalton (2001: 11-23, 31-4), Bradley (2000: 3-48), Chang & Chen 1998: 19-24), Davis (1982), Davis & Simon (1982: 111-124), de Koningh & Cane-Honeysett (2003: 16-26), Johnson & Pines (1982: 65-76), Jones (1988: 3-32 (re: JA), 87-118 (re: UK)), Katz (2003: 4-29), Salewicz & Boot (2001: 14-6, 26-39), Stolzoff (2000: 41-114), White (1984: 49-52, 54-60) and Witmer (1987: 15-6).

³⁰⁰ Stolzoff (2000) argues that Sound System events have always encompassed more than sound, such as fashion, speech, body movements, haircuts, jewelry, etc. (2). “Dancehall

allowed the deejays to alter the sound and content of records in three ways.

1) Amplifiers had tone controls that separated the signal into treble, mid-range and bass frequencies (Bradley 2000: 36-7, Stolzoff 2000: 44). Bass frequencies were increased, which boosted the bass and bass drum, imitating the bass drums and rhumba boxes of indigenous neo-African Jamaican forms. As O’Gorman (1972) describes it,

The bass was turned up to the point where ... the whole atmosphere vibrated to the thunderous roll of ... bass motifs. There is a whole generation in Jamaica today to whom music without a booming bass is wrongly balanced, and music that remains too far below the threshold of pain is inaudible. (51)

Bass frequencies could also be “removed,” then “reinserted” to create tension while deejays “toasted” over top (see #3 below). Reverb and tape-delay echoed and repeated the treble range, which created polyrhythms. They were also used to create effects like explosions (Davis 1982: 33-4).

2) Deejays edited, extended or re-sequenced songs by lifting the needle and skipping over sections, playing parts of the song again or playing sections in a different order. To fill-in gaps while the needle was being moved,³⁰¹ deejays would toast or get the audience to sing, chant or clap (Bradley 2000: 10-1, de Koningh et al 2003: 17, Pinnock 2002: 103, Stolzoff 2000: 54-5).

3) The final alteration is probably the most significant one. Deejays “toasted” (i.e., talked, chanted, sang, made sound effects with vocables) during the recordings, turning them into a hybrid of live and recorded music. (Toasting was often processed with

plays a deep role in shaping notions about personhood — i.e., [one’s] motivations, values and worldviews” (ibid.).

³⁰¹ In the fifties and early sixties, deejays only used one turntable (Pinnock 2002: 103).

reverb and delay.) Deejays usually toasted during instrumental introductions, breaks and solos, but often echoed vocal and instrumental phrases, added bobbins-type refrains, responses or counter-melodies, and percussive noises (usually on the offbeat). They quoted rhymes and phrases from nursery rhymes, proverbs and sayings that invited audience responses (Stolzoff 2000: 54-6). Communication with the audience occurred on three levels: 1) verbal, 2) non-linguistic sound, involving melodies and non-pitched rhythms, vocables, timbral manipulation and changes of intensity and 3) corporeal (facial/bodily gestures and dance steps).

Jones (1988) explains toasting's relationship to West African traditions³⁰²:

"[Jamaican toasting] is ... rooted in those African oral traditions in which musical expression and speech forms are intimately related" (29).

In the relationship between language and music, ... the African heritage retains ... its ... legac[y] in ... [Jamaican] folk-culture. ... The same rhythmic sensibility ... [of] Jamaican creole speech-patterns is ... found [in indigenous]... music. ... These linguistic features of Jamaican music grow out of ... West African ... practices. (11)

Jones' claim is supported by Rouse's (2000) and Hopkin's (1984) findings about the significant use of speech rhythms in Jamaican musics. Jones cites Nketia, who recounts that

in much African music the verbal meanings imparted in songs are complemented and enhanced by those which lie within the structure of the music itself. While the song texts provide the significant changes in thought, mood or feeling, it may be the music that defines or expresses the general character of the occasion or the spirit of the performance. ... We must thus recognize that ... the apprehension of an African song's meaning may be linguistic, musical or both. (in Jones 1988: 11)

Nketia's observations are reflected in the predominance of complex timbres and vocal

³⁰² Also see Floyd (1991: 272, 275) for analysis of toasting and its relationship to African traditions.

playfulness (i.e., use of glides, slurs, swoops, ornamentation/melisma, falsetto, growls, sighs, cries, etc.) in African and neo-African music, “where instrumental music, [via timbral manipulation and vocal playfulness] often overshadow ‘lyrical’ expressions in semantic importance” (Jones 1988: 11). Toasting is arguably a contemporary manifestation of the African emphasis upon non-linguistic communication. It also “grows out of the rich oral tradition of Jamaican popular culture, drawing on its wealth of proverbs, nursery rhymes, ring songs, word games, [Anansi stories] and work songs³⁰³” (29).

The [toasting] genre is steeped in the gossiping, mocking and social commentary forms of ...burru and mento, similarly functioning as a key channel through which news and information of a topical nature is communicated. Equally, the forms of joking, boasting and trading of ritual insults characteristic of DJ-ing are features whose origins are all deeply rooted in the African tradition of storyteller. (29)

Davis (1982) has analyzed the musical characteristics of toasting patterns:

[Deejays] generally enter on anticipatory beats and key [their] phrases to rhythms and syncopations based on sixteenth notes. [They] rhyme as much as possible, and often repeat a phrase twice before rhyming it, a device which may derive from blues phrasing. (33)

Bradley, Stolzoff and Jones have also analyzed toasting meanings from a Jamaican perspective. Bradley (2000) notes that

There was ... more of a connection between a Jamaican deejay and his crowd than the idea of a disco or nightclub might imply. A good dance would be a group experience; a mutual-appreciation society between deejay and disciples. (10)

Stolzoff (2000) has analyzed how interactions between deejays and audiences were central to the experience of music at Sound System events. Manipulations of recordings and audience participation were acts of

cultural production, a means by which ... [Jamaicans] articulate[d] and project[ed]

³⁰³ The Anansi storytelling tradition, with its many short phrases and refrains is another obvious neo-African link. (*See DVD video 3.5 for an example of an Anansi story.*)

... distinct identit[ies]. ... For [these] reason[s], sound systems [were] a unique medium for communication, social interaction, education, moral leadership, political action, and economic activity, especially for blacks from poor backgrounds, who — as a social bloc — [have] tend[ed] to be systematically excluded from positions of power. (1, 4)

At Sound System dances, audiences were not passive consumers. In addition to dancing, singing along, and providing responses, deejays usually invited audience members to come up and also try their hand at toasting. Toasting competitions were common.

Because of deejays' manipulations of recordings, and their interactions with the audiences, the experience of these recordings at a Sound System event was totally different from hearing them at home or on the radio. "The sounds were tightly bound to the community which they served and which, in turn, sustained them. ... [Sound system performances are characterized by a] close cultural dialectic between the sound system and its audience" (Jones 1988: 19). Like the European songs and elements in Singing Games or Revival songs, R&B recordings were merely raw materials for creolizations by deejays and audience members to meet their needs during Sound System "performances." The desire for an even greater degree of indigenous content would give spawn to proto-ska, the first phase of JPM, in which local musicians would use some of the same techniques of transforming R&B records to create their own creolized recordings.

1.3.5 INDIGENOUS JAMAICAN MUSIC CHARACTERISTICS

C.S. Myers (in Jekyll 1907) made an observation that still applies today.

“[Jamaicans have] modified [the songs they sing] to suit the current canons of taste. ... A detailed study of these modifications would throw light on the characteristics of modern Jamaican music” (284). Baxter (1970: 214), Carty (1988: 15), Lewin (2000: 65), Ryman (1984: 14) and Witmer (1980: 681) use “Jamaicanization”³⁰⁴ to refer to the specific *Jamaican* modifications to non-African musics that became raw materials for indigenous musics prior to JPM. Enactivist research findings would suggest that the Jamaican preference for altering non-African music to sound and especially to feel more African was as much an unconscious as a conscious decision. The automatic Jamaican positive response to neo-African traditions and negative response to European ones (as discussed on pgs. 111 and 115) would, over time, alter perceptual tendencies to “be on the lookout” for any traits that could easily be shifted into neo-African ones. This would be rooted in a strong emotional and corporeal bias towards musics which allowed for neo-African-style performance patterns and expressions (which, of course, would favour

³⁰⁴ Carty doesn’t actually use “Jamaicanization.” She uses the term “Jamaican dimension,” with the same meaning as Baxter, Lewin and Ryman. Other scholars (Alleyne, Baxter, Brathwaite, Carty, Hopkin, Lewin, Myers & Broadwood (in Jekyll 1907), Nettleford, O’Gorman, Stolzoff and G. White) describe this process using the terms “creolization” or syncretism; see section 1.2.5.1. “Creolization” does not specify *Jamaican* processes, however. “Jamaicanization” reflects artists’ environments, so its characteristics and techniques change with sociocultural conditions and technological innovations. Up to the fifties, Jamaicanization consisted primarily of aural/oral procedures. In the fifties, the electronic technology of the Sound Systems and the analogue recording studio were added, leading to JPM. Since the eighties, digital technology (e.g., recording, processing, and computer-related software and hardware: synthesizers, drum machines, digital recorders, sequencers) has led to dancehall, ragga and other contemporary forms. (For post-1980 Jamaican music, see Barrow & Dalton 2004, Chang & Chen 1998, Chang, Witmer & McCarthy 2005, Foehr 2000, Foster 1999, Salewicz & Boot 2001, Stolzoff 2000 and Thomas 2004.)

African-style movement preferences — examined in detail in section 1.4).

1.3.5.1 JAMAICANIZATION, PART 1

Jamaicanization is examined in two parts. 1) in terms of indigenous music prior to JPM, focusing primarily upon sonic aspects, 2) (section 1.4.3) in terms of JPM with corporeal factors.

Jamaican music is often described as a combination of European melody/harmony with African rhythm. Many analysts also cite Waterman's list of sub-Saharan musical characteristics (see section 1.3.2.1) to identify the neo-African traits of Jamaican music. Both this description and list don't specify what is *uniquely Jamaican* about its music, however. As Carty (1988) has put it,

The true Jamaican culture ... refer[s] to that which evolved in Jamaica, under Jamaican influences. ... [I]t is the adaptations that evolved in Jamaica that [constitute its indigenous culture]. The Jamaican dimension is in fact a 'creolization' of influences and forms — the blending together of alien customs, beliefs and practices to arrive at a version unique to its creators. ... The [Jamaican] national motto 'Out of Many One People' is pertinent to ... [its] customs and practices: ... 'Out of Many: One Culture.' (15-6)

Using both the Jamaican and African music literatures, this section examines Jamaicanization techniques which musicians have used to modify "alien customs, beliefs and practices," in five areas: 1. BODY MOVEMENT, 2. RHYTHM, 3. MELODY, 4. HARMONY and 5. ARRANGEMENTS & STRUCTURE.

1. BODY MOVEMENT:

Jamaican music's main feature is its "mimetic quality" (Lewin 2000: 65, 81, Nettelford 1968: 131). Sound-movement unity are characteristics of two groups of forms:

I) neo-African forms (section 1.3.2) and **II) musics influenced by European and American traditions** (section 1.3.3). As Lewin puts it, "Ask an old Jamaican to teach you a tradi-

tional [Jamaican song or game], and the most likely response will be 'Watch me' " (81).

When a song is Jamaicanized, performers usually innately and automatically couple neo-African movements to the sound patterns. "Body movement with song is ... inherent in the Jamaican" (Murray 1970: 156; see also Lewin 1983: 34, 42, Hopkin 1984: 15).

These movements range from mime and formal greetings/gestures to outright dancing (Lewin 2000: 65). Roberts (1998) observes that Jamaicans basically turn all music and music-related games into dance (139). This is evident with children's activities. "In their music, Jamaican children interact in song and body movements, play-acting, facial expressions and eye-contact, all occurring within the rhythmic framework of the piece. The whole which results is ... natural and unselfconscious" (Hopkin 1984: 15).

Most JPM analysts treat body movements as only accompaniments or synchronous activity, without analyzing how corporeal traits alter and direct the content/style of the sounds. As noted by Kerr, Nettleford, Ryman and Alleyne (in section 1.3.2.1), many African movement patterns have been retained in Jamaica, and are usually automatically coupled with Group I neo-African sonic patterns. For Group II forms, African movements are usually coupled with polyrhythmic accompaniments, responses and added parts. This coupling generates multi-dimensional performances in which sounds are merely one ingredient and neo-African corporeal factors predominate.

Neo-African body movements always articulate the regulative pulse, which, for musicians whose parts consistently emphasize offbeats or suppress beats, helps maintain part accuracy and ensemble synchronization, and contributes significantly to the rhythmic nuances and overall groove.

2. RHYTHM:

Jamaicanization of rhythm begins with a steady pulse (which, if silent, is articulated corporeally) and percussive, improvised delivery of melodies and accompaniments. The most common meters are duple: $\frac{2}{4}$ or $\frac{4}{4}$. Downbeats are often weak or silent, with consistent offbeat and backbeat accents. Accompaniment figures often utilize beat subdivisions with a higher (or different) rate than melodies. Most accompaniments are similar to Ghanaian clapping patterns (FIGURE 1.2, pg. 64): short, repetitive ostinati with consistent offbeat accents that create complex polyrhythmic textures and are frequently hocketed amongst the ensemble (Lewin 2000: 193, Roberts 1998: xxviii, 71, Rouse 2000: 264, Tracey 1994: 281). Many rhythm patterns (as well as the basic pulse) emerge out of hocketed patterns (Rouse 2000: 266, 280). Different beat subdivisions (e.g., duple and triple) often occur simultaneously in the ensemble; performers commonly shift between subdivisions, sometimes mid-phrase (Hopkins 1978). “[Some] percussion players ... become quite mobile, at times executing intricate dance steps” (Lewin 2000: 204). These unsounded gestures create phenomenologically felt, but silent counter-rhythms.

3. MELODY:

Jamaican pronunciation gives melodic rhythms an accented offbeat feel (Roberts 1989: 412, Rouse 2000: 30), which is reinforced by the body movements and accompaniment patterns noted above. Rouse (2000) believes speech rhythm mirroring to be Jamaican music’s most striking feature³⁰⁵ (262-3). This mirroring “illustrates a fundamental

³⁰⁵ See examples in section 1.3.4.2 of Jamaicanizations of quarter- and eighth-note rhythms.

difference between the style of British and Jamaican folk song with the melodic line having precedence over text in the former, and the text being more important than the melodic line in the latter" (263). Accents upon offbeats and backbeats occur in European music, but the emphasis remains upon the beat. Consider the following phrase:³⁰⁶

STANDARD ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION:  Once I was a trav'l-ler.	IN JAMAICAN CREOLE: quite a different feel.  Once I was a trav'l-ler.

Melodies are often shifted ahead or behind of their original placement; e.g., a phrase from "Johnny Miller," a singing game song (Jekyll 1907: 212).

ORIGINAL VERSION:



One on the right and the oth-er on the left.

JAMAICANIZED VERSION #1:



One ___ on the right ___ and the oth-er on the left. ___

JAMAICANIZED VERSION #2:



One on the right and the oth-er on the left.

Another common alteration makes the first note of a phrase shorter/quicker, which shifts subsequent notes ahead:

JAMAICANIZED VERSION #3:



One on ___ the right and the oth - er on the left. ___

³⁰⁶ Based upon Rouse's description (2000: 263). See footnote #102, pg. 85, for clarification of Rouse's study.

It is common for performers to create simultaneous variations.

Phrase endings are often given extra weight, by emphasizing or accenting final phrase notes, or by rhythmic alterations. In section 1.2.4.2, Roberts (1989: 442) describes how Revival singers make notes at the beginning of phrases quicker/shorter and maintain or place longer notes at the end. Another variation (which usually happens when singers become emotional, especially in religious rituals) replaces lyrics with short/ repetitive/ rhythmic/ percussive vocables (Lewin 2000: 193).

FIGURE 1.17 shows the two most common melodic rhythms, which are also widespread in West/Central African musics³⁰⁷ (Rouse 2000: 264). Their higher percentage in Group I musics is evidence of these roots. Their presence in Group II musics is the result of Jamaicanization, since these rhythms are less common in European songs.

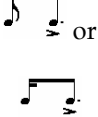
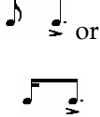
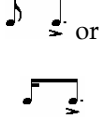
GROUP I NEO- AFRICAN	 or 	Group II: European & American Influences	 or 	 or 
Myal	61.5%	69.2%		
Funeral Songs	57.1%	42.9%	Work Songs	33.3% 11.7%
Maroon Music	11.4%	17.1%	Dance Music	13.7% 7.4%
Kumina	58.3%	(only in accompa- niment patterns)	Singing Games	25.5% 15.7%
Anansi	18.7%	13.9%	Revival	23.5% 47.1%
Jonkonnu	41.7%	39.1%		

FIGURE 1.17: TWO MOST COMMON MELODIC RHYTHMS IN INDIGENOUS JAMAICAN MUSIC
(compiled from Rouse 2000)

³⁰⁷ Both rhythms appear in Bantu music (in Zaire, Central Africa). The second one  or  appears occasionally in folk songs from Ghana (20%) and Nigeria (8%) (Rouse 2000: 264-5). See footnote #102, pg. 85, for clarification of Rouse's study.

With regard to the Jamaicanization of pitch, **FIGURE 1.18** presents scale usage in indigenous musics. These statistics indicate these songs' roots. Most Group I songs use non-major scales³⁰⁸ common in West and Central African music (see Rouse 2000: 255-92 for statistics). The predominance of major scales and the low percentage of minor,

GROUP I: NEO-AFRICAN	MAJOR	HEXATONIC	PENTATONIC	MODAL/ MINOR	OTHER
Myal	15.4%		7.9%	76.9%	
Funeral Songs	57.1%	28.6%	14.3%		
Maroon Music	19.2%	15.4%	15.4%	11.5%	38.5%
Kumina	25%	50%	16.7%		8.3%
Anansi	34.1%	22.2%	16.5%	3.3%	23.9%
Jonkonnu	30.4%	13.2%		43.5%	13.2%
GROUP II: EUROPEAN & AMERICAN INFLUENCES					
Work Songs	60%	14.3%	8.6%	8.6%	8.6%
Dance Music	71.6%	25.5%	2.9%		
Singing Games	62.1%	19.4%	17.5%	1%	
Revival	58.8%	29.4%	5.9%		5.9%

FIGURE 1.18: SCALE USAGE IN JAMAICAN INDIGENOUS MUSIC³⁰⁹ (compiled from Rouse 2000)

modal and other scales in Group II are related to origins in European songs (267). White (1982a) points out that the cultural significance of major scale use in Jamaican indigenous musics is often overstated, however, since thirds, sevenths (and sometimes fifths) are usually flattened in performance (59-60), reflecting African aesthetic preferences.

Jamaicanization often alters pitch. **FIGURE 1.19** (next page) indicates melodies which contain all or mostly descending phrases, a West/Central African trait. "The category which has received the most recent [Central] African input, Kumina, [has] the

³⁰⁸ Rouse attributes Funeral Songs' higher percentage of major scales to Christian influences; see section 1.3.2.4. There is no analysis of scale usage in Burru songs in the literature.

³⁰⁹ Since Rouse's sample of Nyabingi songs is very small, she presents no statistics.

largest proportion of examples which consist of all descending phrases" (Rouse 2000: 279). Variable antiphonal responses are often added in performance consisting of phrases repeated from the melody or new material. These responses, called bobbins, are short, percussive and have a narrow range to facilitate improvisation (Jekyll 1907: 5, 158, Rouse 2000: 280).

GROUP I: NEO-AFRICAN		GROUP II: EUROPEAN & AMERICAN INFLUENCES	
Myal	15.4%		
Funeral Songs	(No figures given)	Work Songs	55.7%
Maroon Music	57.1%	Dance Music	28.4%
Kumina	58.3%	Singing Games	38.8%
Anansi	41.1%	Revival	17.7%
Jonkonnu	43.4%		

FIGURE 1.19: PERCENTAGE OF DESCENDING (OR MOSTLY DESCENDING) PHRASES
(compiled from Rouse 2000: 277-8)

FIGURE 1.20 summarizes the frequency of call and response phrases in indigenous songs. The higher percentage of antiphonal phrases in Group I reflects their African origins.

GROUP I: NEO-AFRICAN		GROUP II: EUROPEAN & AMERICAN INFLUENCES	
Myal	84.5%		
Funeral Songs	0.0%	Work Songs	64.1%
Maroon Music	67.4%	Dance Music	26.4%
Kumina	83.3%	Singing Games	49%
Anansi	16.9%	Revival	5.9%
Jonkonnu	60.3%		

FIGURE 1.20: PERCENTAGE OF CALL & RESPONSE PHRASES (compiled from Rouse 2000)

4. HARMONY:

Most transcriptions of indigenous Jamaican music only include melody and lyrics³¹⁰ (Rouse 2000: 5), so harmonic analysis can only be inferred from the melody and

³¹⁰ Early accounts (Jekyll 1907, H. Roberts 1925, 1989, Beckwith 1929) have little to say about harmony. Jekyll (216) and Beckwith (210, 212) note that some songs are accompanied by accordion, banjo or guitar.

contemporary analyses which have examined this music in performance; e.g., Bilby (1995), Lewin (2000), Miller (1989), Murray (1971), Hopkins (1978), H. Roberts (1926, 1989) and J.S. Roberts (1998). Most songs are accompanied only by percussion, but singers often create multi-part harmony, but rarely in European SATB style. The most common technique is creating antiphonal responses or bobbins (Hopkin 1984: 4, Roberts 1926: 345, 1989: 410-411).³¹¹ Bilby (1995: 153), Lewin (1998: 50, 2000: 129), Murray (1971: 72) and White (1982a: 60-1) note that the Jamaicanization of the quadrille in the early 1800s established the model for changes to foreign styles. Most indigenous music imitated the harmonic practice of European folk and religious music³¹² (mostly primary chords I, IV, V) with few other chords and modulations (Hopkin 1978: 29, 36, Lewin 1998: 50, Rouse 2000: 269, White 1982a: 60, 1982c: 27). Hopkin (1978) notes that Revival harmony singing is also plain and simple, usually using just two or three parts (melody, harmony — usually a parallel line — and a bass part). G. White notes that Revivalists use two approaches to part singing, one primarily African and the other European. The African style uses parallel harmonies (i.e., doubling a melody at a major third, perfect fourth, fifth or octave), with chords arising out of melodic movement rather than the European style, in which chords are built on triads and their inversions are governed by

³¹¹ J.S. Roberts (1998) notes that work songs were sometimes accompanied by fiddles (138).

³¹² White (1982a) cites polka, quadrille, military music, religious music like evangelical hymns or light classical music as examples (60).

an overall harmonic scheme³¹³ (White 1982a: 60; see also 1982c: 27, Hopkin 1978: 29).

The most significant European influence has been upon instrumental harmonic practices (i.e., accompanying harmonies), whereas vocal part-singing is dominated by African traits, techniques and aesthetics of parallel harmonies (Agawu 2003: 8-10, Arom 1991: 18-9, 35-8, Ekwueme 1974: 133-4, Nketia 1977: 9, Roberts 1998: xxxii and wa Makuna 1997: 240-1). This is evident in the Revival harmonic treatment of the Pentecostal hymn "He Brought Me Out" (FIGURE 1.14, pg. 153).

Because Jamaicans are fond of active, repetitive bass parts synchronized with body movements (Barrow & Dalton 2001: 31, Bradley 2000, Ehrlich 1982: 53, Jones 1988: 31, O'Gorman 1972: 51, 1987a: 86 and Witmer 1981: 112), one of the most important Jamaicanization techniques is the creation of a dance-oriented bass part, although Jamaican bass parts often have indefinite pitch (Ehrlich 1982: 53). As Hebdige (1974) puts it, "a strong repetitive bassline ... communicates directly to the body" (126). Parts are usually melodically simple, emphasizing the root and fifth or triadic patterns (Hopkin 1978: 39). Although harmonic accompaniments are usually improvised, and "very similar for [most Jamaican] songs, since they rarely do more than reinforce the basic chords and rhythm" (38), they are an integral part of the music (Hopkin 1978: 40).

5. ARRANGEMENTS & STRUCTURE:

Jamaicanized arrangements and structures are based upon the African principle of communal creativity (see section 1.3.2.1 #6c, pg. 69). Because participation and having fun are the key ingredients, virtually every aspect of performances is arranged to

³¹³ See footnote #215 (pg. 130) for wa Makuna's explanation about the link between African parallel harmony and linguistic characteristics and considerations.

promote these aims (Lewin 2000: 65, Roberts 1998: 65). Rhythms are hocketed amongst the ensemble, and elements like beats, rhythm patterns, melodies and harmonies usually emerge from the ensemble. The emphasis is upon improvisation, variation and embellishment, rather than literal repetitions (Rouse 2000: 289-90). Call and response exemplifies this process; 66% of all indigenous Jamaican songs/pieces use this technique (Rouse 2000: 279-80; see **FIGURE 1.20**, pg. 186). These ongoing variations generate multiple versions of any song (Rouse 2000: 280; see also Roberts 1925, a study of variants in Jamaican song). Pieces/songs are typically open-ended.

The strongest European influence is a preference for regular binary phrasing, in two-, four- and eight-measure phrases, with four melodic lines per section, and a partiality for strophic and verse-chorus forms in most pre-JPM musics.

Individual and group singing and instrumental performance reflect many neo-African principles. Ensemble performance celebrates diversity and individualization of timbre, nuances/ornamentation and individual creative contributions using many of the same techniques found from West and Central Africa³¹⁴ (Hopkins 1978, Lewin 2000: 84, White 1982c: 26-7). Group singing usually features a leader with responsorial chorus, but these roles are flexible, since chorus members also contribute lead lines and asides.

High-pitched ostinati figures and masking alter the feel of non-neo-African music. The first often consists of handclapping ostinati as well as patterns played by rattles, gourds, banjos, or guitars (along with bass parts that mix patterns and make freer statements). Masking occurs when different parts are obscured or blended together

³¹⁴ See section 1.3.2.1 #9 for a list of particular vocal and instrumental techniques.

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because of similar timbres or differences in volume, intensity and directionality.

Jamaican songs usually contrast musical mood with emotions and lyrical content, to disguise one's true intent (for protection and in order to hide ridicule and satire), and to conceal pain and thoughts that are "too deep for tears" Lewin (2000: 139).

1.3.5.2 JPM CHARACTERISTICS

This section examines the work of scholars who have identified characteristics of the three main JPM forms: ska, rocksteady and reggae, starting with their precursor, proto-ska. (*See DVD video 4.1 for a medley of significant JPM recordings.*)

1.3.5.3 PROTO-SKA

The first indigenous recordings in Jamaica were released in the early fifties and featured local mento artists.³¹⁵ In addition to obtaining airplay, they were also well-received at Sound System dances, nicknamed "blues dances" (White 1984: 48) by audiences "largely made up of the working class and the poor" (White 1998: 14).³¹⁶ American R&B records were very popular at these dances, but the

[deejays] also aired many mento pieces. Some commentators of [this] period make it look as if no 'local' music was used, but this was not the case. ... Folk forms still had a strong hold, even ... [if] its influence was subliminal, ... it was decidedly there. The 'people' still had their traditional forms back in the rural areas; mento was still being played [everywhere]. (White 1998: 14, 13, see also 1982a: 66; Stolzoff 2000: 50 also makes the same observations.)

In 1956, rock & roll music began its domination of the American charts. Many R&B artists moved away from the frantic jump boogie style of the late 1940s/early 1950s

³¹⁵ The main mento producers were Stanley Motta, Ken Khouri and Stanley Chin (de Koningh et al 2003: 21-3 White 1982c: 37).

³¹⁶ Information re: Sound System era summarized from Barrow & Dalton (2001: 3-29), Bradley (2000: 3-62), Chang & Chen (1998: 19-29), de Koningh et al (2003: 16-26), Katz (2003: 1-29), Reckford (1982: 73-8), Stolzoff (2000: 50-64) and White (1982b, 1982c, 1984, 1998).

to a smoother, more lush approach.³¹⁷ As a result, there were fewer of the old style R&B records available in Jamaica, but audience demand for the more uptempo style was still strong. To meet this need, Jamaican entrepreneurs hired local musicians to make records in the older R&B style (Katz 2003: 14, White 1998: 16). These records were only pressed as acetates for use at Sound System dances.³¹⁸ Most were similar to their American counterparts, in terms of instrumentation, vocal style and compositional content (see FIGURE 1.1 list, pg. 64), but many were Jamaicanized. Storm, Bilby and Chang & Chen believe that most of these modifications were due to innate cultural preferences, rather than deliberate changes.

Because people unconsciously tend to follow traditions they know, ... the older rhythms of Jamaica crept back in [to musicians' interpretations of R&B]. (Storm 1998: 143).

[S]tudio musicians ... recognize[d indigenous] feature[s in R&B and] modif[ied] their playing in the direction of one or another of these [indigenous] styles or ... introduce[d] other traditional features that they felt to be compatible with what they were hearing. (Bilby 1995: 158)

Jamaican folk traditions were so strongly imbedded that they unconsciously influenced local musicians even when they were playing something [not directly] ... related. ... [They] recreat[ed] the sound they liked. (Chang & Chen 1998: 25)

These recordings had a variety of names: "Jamaican Blues," "half-blues," "Blue-beat," "Jamaican Boogie" or "Jamaican R&B," labels which emphasize their links to American R&B records with only a hint of their indigenous features. (These labels also imply that the aim of the artists was only one of replication, which wasn't always the

³¹⁷ Artists exemplifying the smoother, more lush style: Jackie Wilson, the Drifters and Sam Cooke.

³¹⁸ See Katz (2003: 14, 21-2) re: first Jamaican R&B recordings and producers.

case; see Katz (2003).) White (1982b: 38) suggests a more appropriate name: proto-ska, which acknowledges the indigenous component, and identifies these records as the first steps along the path leading to JPM. (*See DVD video 4.2 for examples of proto-ska.*)

Indigenous influences in proto-ska include Revival (offbeat handclapping patterns, gospel vocal style, percussive approach, hymn-structures), the melodic, harmonic, rhythmic style of quadrille, mento, Revival hymns, work songs, singing game songs, Jonkonnu, Nyabinghi, and instrumental techniques/styles/patterns from mento (manifested in bass parts and guitar strumming derived from banjo patterns), Burru, Nyabinghi and Jonkonnu drumming (accents and polyrhythmic orientation), Africanist- and Rasta-oriented lyrics, as well as Latin and Caribbean influences (e.g., bolero, rumba, merengue and calypso rhythms) (Bilby 1995, Barrow & Dalton 2001: 6-29, Berman et al 1985: 22-3, Chang & Chen 1998: 22-9 and White 1984: 62-4, 1998: 18).

The most common modification was the addition of, or emphasis upon, offbeat accents, played louder/longer on piano and guitar (often using mento banjo strumming techniques). A significant reason for this emphasis is that these recordings were for dancing. Jamaicans considered more pronounced neo-African grooves (i.e., a Jamaicanized feel, vs. the original R&B grooves) better to dance to. Sound system owner Buddy Goodison remembers that, during the Sound System era, "dance was the god. The sound was important, but *what was even more important was the movement to the sound*" (in Stolzoff 2000: 56-7, italics added). Proto-ska records always filled the dance floor. Jamaicans felt "a certain sense of pride and achievement that this is our stuff we listening and dancing to" (ibid.: 59). Between 1957-9, many rose to the top of local radio

charts (Katz 2003: 17-23). As Bradley (2000) has observed, “shifting the accent in this manner [i.e., from the R&B groove to one that emphasized offbeats] was enough to make the music stand out in a way that nearly all Jamaicans could identify as theirs” (52).

Coxsone Dodd, another Sound System operator, also emphasizes the significance of dancing. “After the first three or four [releases]... the feedback was really good because the people started dancing. Basically *we found a sound that was popular with the dance crowd* in Jamaica and worked from there. *The songs were really based on dancing*” (in Chang & Chen 1998: 21, italics added).

The emphasis in Goodison’s and Coxson’s memories of Jamaicans’ positive reactions to proto-ska as being primarily an intuitive corporeal response to sounds, and that people identified with these records as “their stuff” appears to be indicative of enactive findings that our brains process musical experiences multimodally and under the influence of prior cultural experiences. Although some members of the audience may have understood the changes in proto-ska from a technical perspective, it is likely that many people would have simply felt these changes as “more Jamaican” in the same way that one would recognize somebody else with the same accent in the midst of a crowd of foreigners — not being able to describe the sonic traits of the accent, but being able to accurately identify it nevertheless. Enactive research notes that this type of gestalt recognition of phenomena is linked to emotional associations that allow us to “trust our gut” when confronted with something new or when making snap judgements. Goodison’s and Coxon’s emphasis upon dancing indicates that people simply liked this music because it simply “felt better to dance to,” most likely because they were making

corporeal movements from folk traditions which they had been making since they were children. (When ska emerges, this link to folk traditions becomes overt; see section 1.4.2.2.)

Because of proto-ska's R&B features, many foreign analysts describe the style as "just an imitation" of U.S. styles or categorize it as an example of "regional differences within a broad common style [i.e., U.S. R&B]" (Witmer 1981: 106, also O'Gorman 1987a: 85-6). Some analysts, such as Ed Ward (1980), have implied that these "regional differences" were due to poor musicianship,³¹⁹ rather than a Jamaican aesthetic preference.

The first [Jamaican] recordings [in the mid- to late-fifties] were bad copies of New Orleans music. ... Jamaican musicians couldn't get the ... rhythm 'right.' And since the only other form of popular music on the island was a jazz-style instrumental music called 'mento,' there was no alternative but to keep ... trying to duplicate the subtle swing of the [New Orleans] jump bands. (Ward 1980: 446)

White (1998) may have had Ward in mind when he wrote the following:

Most foreign writers just state that we were imitating R&B. No one can deny that the U.S. was key to the growth of [Jamaican] popular music, that it was there that the mass production of records and the performance of pop artistes on stage was most developed. ... It was to be expected that the budding singers and musicians in the experimental stage would take cues from their peers in the mainland. ... [But Jamaican musicians] were not merely inept imitators; the Jamaican musical climate in all its complexity was reflected in their work. (17).

Witmer (1987: 11-12, 19) and Bilby (1995) present substantial evidence that Jamaican studio musicians were well trained and highly skilled. Bilby notes their "wealth of varied musical experience" and "superb musician[ship]" and how they were "well versed in U.S. rhythm and blues" (158). In live situations, they played in many R&B

³¹⁹ Jamaican analysts Chang & Chen (1998) concur with Ward that "most early Jamaican records sound exactly like second-rate imitations" (25).

styles and foreign genres. Some late fifties recordings featured other genres, including calypso, mento, gospel, Latin, jazz, jump-boogie, doo-wop, torch ballads and waltzes (Barrow & Dalton 2001: 1-60). Jamaican musicians clearly had the abilities needed to replicate R&B recordings *if* that was their intent (Barrow & Dalton 2001: 17-29, White 1982b, 1984, 1998).

Chang & Chen (1998) provide a technical reason why proto-ska records sometimes sound different from American ones: "Because of limited resources and outdated equipment, Jamaican producers were never able to precisely duplicate the foreign sound" (25). Technical limitations may certainly have been a factor in proto-ska recordings sounding different from a timbral point of view, but Chang & Chen's observation doesn't consider recording producers' and engineers' aesthetic preferences (and those of their audiences) in using the available equipment to fashion sounds that they preferred. Outdated equipment also has nothing to do with Jamaicans' different approaches to groove.

FIGURE 1.21 (next page) compares basic R&B and proto-ska shuffle grooves. The basic emphasis in the R&B rhythm section is always on the pulse, which is usually stated strongly by the bass drum, bass and left hand of the piano part. In proto-ska, the pulse is articulated, but often played lighter than R&B. The basic drumming pattern is the same, although the bass drum weight is usually much lighter. The snare drum accents backbeats using one of two patterns (#2 most common), but when pattern #1 is used, the offbeat is usually louder in proto-ska than in R&B. Both R&B guitar and piano often articulate beats and offbeats with a staccato block chord, a pattern that is also sometimes

FIGURE 1.21: COMPARISON OF BASIC R&B AND PROTO-SKA GROOVES

played on the hi-hat (patterns #2 & 3); in proto-ska, the guitar just plays the offbeats.

Proto-ska guitar and piano offbeats are louder and longer than their R&B counterparts; they are also afterbeats, echoing the harmony of the beat before, not anticipating the following beat (which is sometimes the case in R&B). The left hand piano part usually copies the walking bass pattern in both styles, but in proto-ska a mento-style pattern

(#2) sometimes appears.

White sums up the proto-ska era as follows:

Local singers and musicians ... combin[ed] the various influences to which they [had been] exposed ... [to] create new amalgams, ... [in this case] elements of rhythm and blues and jazz with mento and other traditional [Jamaican] forms. ... [These amalgams] reflect, in varying degrees, the influence of both the traditional and the new musics. It was not so much that local performers could not get the sound and rhythm of R&B 'right' as one author puts it, but rather that local contributions to the developing blends [were] so strong as to result in the creation of a new form. The creative process was a dynamic one and the musicians and singers ... drew selectively from outside sources to enrich popular local music. The succession of styles following the birth of ska, gives evidence of this ability. (White1982a: 66-67)

1.3.5.4 SKA

Prior to considering the work of scholars who have analyzed ska's musicological characteristics, this section begins with a discussion of the sociocultural environment of the musicians and producers³²⁰ who were involved in the early ska years (i.e., late fifties) and the sonic and non-sonic factors which inspired these artists to change proto-ska into ska. (*See DVD video 4.3 for examples of ska.*)

By the late fifties, it was clear that "the records that got the best reception [in the dancehall] were the ones ... [that] sounded Jamaican, as opposed to the wannabe-Yank-

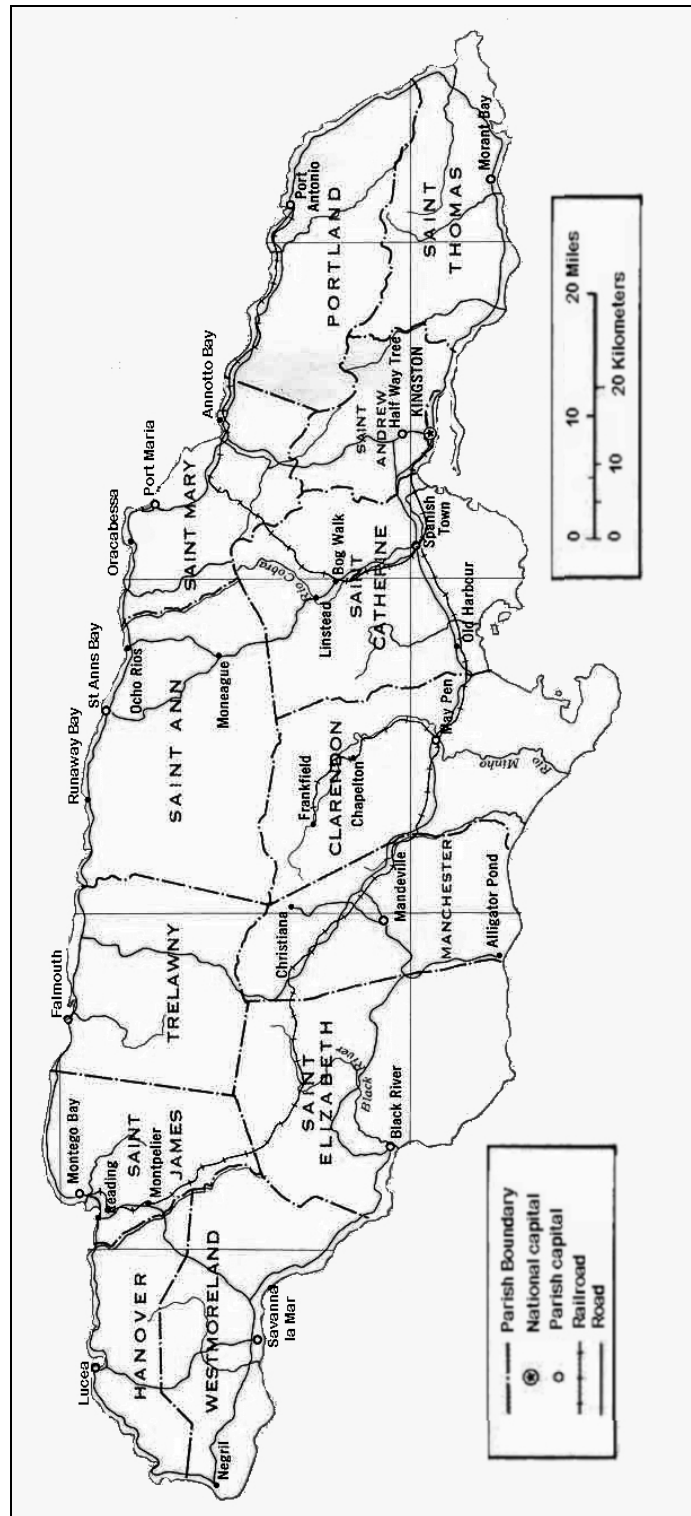
³²⁰ E.g., (* producers), Roland Alphonso (sax), Gladstone Anderson (piano), Laurel Aitken (vocal), Theophilus Beckford (piano/ vocal), Headley Bennett (sax), Lloyd Brevett (bass), Baba Brooks (trumpet), Cedric Brooks (sax), Enid Cumberland (vocal), George Dillon (trumpet), Coxson Dodd*, Don Drummond (trombone), Clancy Eccles (vocal), Alton Ellis (vocal), Neville Esson (vocal), Vin Gordon (trombone), Jah Jerry Haines (guitar), Viv Hall (trumpet), Cluet Johnson (bass), Leslie Kong*, Lloyd Knibb (drums), Bunny Lee*, Tommy McCook (sax), Harold McNair (sax), Johnny "Dizzy" Moore (trumpet), Derrick Morgan (vocal), Monty Morris (vocal/ piano), Arkland 'Drumbago' Parks (drums), Ian Pearson (drums), Eddie Perkins (vocal), Prince Buster* (vocal), Lee Perry* (vocal), Ernest Ranglin (guitar), Alphonso "Dizzy" Reece (trumpet), Ken Richards (guitar), Rico Rodriguez (trombone), Skully (Noel "Zoot" Sims) (perc), Lester Sterling (trumpet/sax), Keith Stewart (vocal), Lynn Taitt (guitar) and Oswald (Count Ossie) Williams (percussion) (Katz 2003, Reckford 1982: 76 and White 1984: 62). See Barrow & Dalton (2001) for discographies.

ees" (Bradley 2000: 52). Prince Buster (Cecil Bustamente Campbell), the producer of "Oh Carolina" (see section 1.3.5.1) promoted local talent with his own deejay company (formed in 1958), and produced and released both his own original songs and those by other artists on his own record label³²¹ (formed in 1960). He was interested in music that didn't imitate American records. "[He] injected the various local root forms, like mento, burru, [Nyabinghi] and Revival, with jazz horn parts and R&B shuffle rhythms to create a highly original new sound ... [He] inspired a generation to return to the roots of Jamaican music" (Stolzoff 2000: 60).

Buster, like many other younger musicians,³²² was inspired by Rastafarianism. As Ryman (1983) puts it, "The Rastafarian influence [upon musicians] ... cannot be overstated" (149). In the forties and early fifties, most Rastafarians lived in the country; their main camp, called Pinnacle, was in the hills of St. Catherine Parish about 20 minutes from Spanish Town (see **MAP** #2, next page). When the police destroyed Pinnacle in 1954, most Rastas moved to the Kingston area. Count Ossie and his drummers frequently performed Nyabinghi music at Sound System dances in the Kingston area after midnight along with many of the jazz musicians who performed on proto-ska recordings (and would become the mainstay of the studio scene in the sixties) (White 1982b: 39). By 1958, when approximately five thousand people attended the first open grounation gathering in Kingston, "Rastafari [had] become ... a hugely influential

³²¹ Buster's sound system company and record label were both named *Voice of the People*.

³²² E.g., Alphonso, Aitken, Bennett, Brevett, B. Brooks, C. Brooks, Drummon, Eccles, Ellis, Gordon, Haines, Johnson, Knibb, McCook, Moore, Morgan, Morris, Parks, Perry, Ranglin, Reece, Rodriguez, Simms and Sterling.



MAP 2: JAMAICA (1968) (www.worldmap.org, Accessed 25 Jan 07)

spiritual, sociopolitical and cultural force [and] an integral part of the development and popularization of Jamaican music" (Bradley 2000: 634). Its emphasis upon African roots and traditions fit into the spirit of the times (Stolzoff 2000: 60). Approximately 100,000 Jamaicans were Rastafarian at this time, "with many more openly sympathetic" (Bradley 2000: 63); about 80% were between 17 and 35 (Barrett 1977: 2). Most politicians distanced themselves from the movement, however, because they had "no desire ... for the African roots to be kept in the forefront. ... [T]hey were uneasy with ... some [Rasta-inspired proto-ska] tunes which were increasingly airing social and economic 'grievances' " (White 1984: 61).

In 1958-9, two events furthered these musical experiments. In 1958 the Federation of the British West Indies was formed to prepare the Caribbean colonies for independence (see section 1.3.4.5).

Both the ruling People's National Party [PNP] and the opposition Jamaican Labour Party [JLP] had [independence from colonial rule] at the core of their manifestos. Each sought to bang their nationalistic drum with greater gusto, and a state-owned radio station [JBC] championing the nation's cultural identity made an ideal stick for the PNP. (Bradley 2000: 91)

Jamaican radio had begun in 1939 with a shortwave station (ZQI).³²³ By 1947, it was only broadcasting four hours per day, mostly news, information and BBC relays. In 1950, it was sold to Radio Jamaica Rediffusion (RJR) a British-owned company; most programming was British and American, with a bit of live and recorded mento, traditional indigenous music and local popular musicians featured on "Talent Parade" (a weekly show, 1951-4), but the audience size and demographic were limited since only 50% of the

³²³ Information about Jamaican radio compiled from Bradley (2000: 88-92, 210, 291, 298, 475-8), Stolzoff (2000: 59, 68-9), White (1984: 53-4) and Witmer (1981: 8-10).

population had radios by the mid-fifties. A disproportionate percentage of this group were middle- or upper-class. RJR only played official releases, however, not acetates, which disallowed the first proto-ska recordings. In 1959, the government started a radio station, JBC (Jamaican Broadcasting Company), with a mandate to promote indigenous culture. Because many proto-ska records were now for sale, they received airplay, primarily on two programmes by bandleader Sonny Bradshaw: "Teenage Dance Party" and "Jamaican Hit Parade." The first was live from a different location each week and featured local talent and new, mostly local records rated by the audience (Bradley 2000: 89). The second played the local Top 30, with the Top 10 records played live by the original artists or by local talent. "Within two months the Top 30 ... [was] strictly Jamaican" (ibid.), which boosted record sales. By 1961, with the advent of cheap transistor radios, 90% of households in urban centers and 66% of those in rural areas had radios (Bradley 2000: 92).

This emphasis upon local music "paralleled Jamaica's move toward national independence. A feeling of self-reliance in the cultural sphere was a boost to the nationalist feeling among the black masses" (Stolzoff 2000: 60). This was a period of "a growing recognition of the importance of African roots and folkways" (Lewin 2000: 50). These feelings were similar to African Americans' desire for respect and equality in the United States, where the civil rights movement was gaining momentum (Stolzoff 2000: 76 and Witmer 1981: 112). "[Many] new bands started to form in the Kingston area, re-invigorating the music scene that had broken up immediately after the war" (Stolzoff 2000: 42-3). As Witmer (1981) describes it,

Jamaican society [was experiencing] a kind of overarching ‘nationalistic negritude’ — a general exploration and assertion by Jamaicans in a number of ways of who they were and where they came from. ... The Jamaican musician of the [late-fifties/early sixties] found himself in a climate of social change committed to the goals of modernization and Westernization, but also to an inward-turning celebration of indigenous culture and ‘blackness’ (including the ‘ideological racism’ of Rastafarianism). In musical terms this translates as the problem of creating a ‘modern’ sound on traditional roots, ... an expressive embodiment of the major recent Jamaican societal shift towards an overall ‘revitalization’ in which ‘Africanization’ ... [was] a strong ideological component. (113)

As they had been doing for the previous three centuries, Jamaican musicians met the challenge of “creating a modern sound on traditional roots” through the Jamaicanization of musical elements in their environment.

The only agreement about the origins of ska³²⁴ “is that the word initially appeared in the Kingston recording studios, possibly as early as 1959, and was used between the musicians and producers to describe [a new] rhythmic groove” (Chang, Witmer & McCarthy 2005: 66). Since there is little documentation of this period (Witmer 1987), most historical information comes from participants’ memories which are often contradictory (see Katz 2003: 1-59). Most of the musicians and producers involved in these late fifties experiments were under 30 (mostly 20-25) and from the Kingston area underclass (Katz 2003). Many had recently graduated from the Alpha Boys School and/or were earning a living as musicians in swing orchestras, mento bands, in clubs and/or hotel/resort bands. Quite a few were involved with Revivalist churches or Rastafarian

³²⁴ Information in this section summarized from Barrow & Dalton (2001: 3, 31-50), Bilby (1995: 156-63), Bradley (2000: 63-4, 86-106), Chang, Witmer & McCarthy (2005: 66-7), Johnson & Pines (1980: 48-55), Jones (1988: 19-22), Katz (2003: 31-64), O’Gorman (1972, 1987a), Reckford (1977, 1982, 1998), Stolzoff (2000: 59-60, 256), White (1982b, 1984) and Witmer (1981).

groups, both significant sociocultural forces in Kingston at this time.³²⁵

At Count Ossie's jam sessions, musicians experimented with blending neo-African and popular musics. In the late fifties, many musicians started transferring ideas from these sessions to the studio. White (1984) describes these musical experiments as "the merger of the traditional and the popular ... [an] interplay between external and local" (47). Drummer Lloyd Knibb tells how he and bassist Lloyd Brevett (both with the Skatalites) experimented with different rhythms and grooves at these sessions, and that the ska feel was derived primarily, if not exclusively, from Count Ossie's "Burru beat."³²⁶ He also claims that it was he and Brevett who "changed the beat to ska," upon producer Coxsone Dodd's request for a new groove that would appeal to the dancehall crowd (in Foehr 2000: 88-90). (For ska characteristics, see **FIGURE 1.22**, next page.) Producer Bunny Lee and saxophonist Tommy McCook claim that ska was created by bassist Cluet Johnson³²⁷ (Katz 2003: 31-2), but guitarist Ernest Ranglin (who used Johnson as his bassist) claims that it was he (Ranglin) who developed the groove with Johnson, also at Dodd's behest (Bradley 54-5, Barrow & Dalton 2001: 26, Salewicz & Boot 2001: 39-41). Since all of these musicians performed regularly with Count Ossie,

³²⁵ See Alleyne (1988: 118), Barrow & Dalton (2001: 24-31), Bilby (1995: 156-9), Chang & Chen (1998: 27-9), Johnson & Pines (1982: 48-56), Jones (1988: 17-21), Lewin (2000: 201), Moore & Simpson (1956), O'Gorman (1972, 1987), Reckford (1982), Simpson (1955, 1957), Stolzoff (2000: 60), White (1984: 57-8, 62-7, 71), Whyllie (in Logan 1982: 92) and Witmer (1981: 112).

³²⁶ It is likely that Knibb's use of "Burru" means "Nyabingi." "[In the] 1950s, rhythmic playing, singing or dancing of any kind was referred to as 'Burru'" (Reckford 1977: 6). Bilby & Leib (1986) note that 'Burru' was "a generic label covering ... [many] African-derived dance and drumming styles. ... [In Count Ossie's camps] a number of terms might have been used ... interchangeably to connote ... African derived ... fusions" (23).

³²⁷ Knibb argues that "ska was around before Cluet Johnson" (in Foehr 2000: 90).

MM ♩ = ca 120-130

Piano and electric guitar: C maj. Shuffle performed 'as is' or in 'swing 8ths' (♩ becomes $\frac{3}{4}$ ♩ and 7 ♩ becomes $\frac{3}{4}$ ♩)

Sax(es) and/or other melody instruments: C maj.

String bass: C maj. (= four-to-the bar 'walking' bass line, with choice of notes at the discretion of the player)

Drums: Cymbal, Snare dm., Bass dm. Basic beat only: snare and/or bass drum depart from basic pattern for fills, accents, and other patterns. Cymbal pattern often takes on internal accenting which emphasizes the overall offbeat time feel.

FIGURE 1.22: BASIC SKA GROOVE (adapted from Witmer 1981: 107)

and together in the studio and at live performances, it is likely that this new groove was created collectively under Count Ossie's influence, since the ska groove is similar to the Nyabinghi "heartical" pattern ($\frac{4}{4}$ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩) with its strong emphasis upon back-beats combined with weaker-sounded beats and consistent offbeat accents. Regardless of who first performed this new feel, however, it started appearing regularly on recordings released between 1959-1961, and by late 1961 it was called "ska" (Barrow & Dalton 2001: 4).

When the musicians who developed ska were experimenting in the late fifties, Jamaicanization was sometimes overt, but most often it was intuitive. They combined musical ideas in their environment and added something personal to the mix, emphasizing traits identified in section 1.3.5.1, exaggerating indigenous characteristics,

altering existing features to sound and feel more Jamaican, or adding Jamaican features where there were none. The most obvious change from proto-ska was the rhythmic structure, see **FIGURE 1.22** (pg. 204). Although the ska feel is similar to proto-ska (**FIGURE 1.21**, pg. 196), neo-Africanisms are more pronounced, especially in live performance. Snare and bass drums often accent backbeats together, with more weight than in proto-ska or R&B, with first and third beats silent or weakly played. Piano and guitar accent afterbeats as in proto-ska, but they are louder, and in some instances, a bit longer, lingering up to the start of the following beat which is almost always silent. (The piano left hand no longer plays with the bass; both hands often play block chords.) In contrast to proto-ska, which is almost always in a shuffle/swing feel, ska often uses a straight-eighth groove, or something in-between, i.e., like Revival music. A steady duple pulse in $\frac{4}{4}$ (most common) or $\frac{2}{4}$ is usually present. Horns frequently play unisons or parallel thirds on afterbeat accents, making the offbeats the loudest, heaviest sound. The bass (often a stand-up until the mid-sixties) generally plays a jazz-style walking pattern, i.e., quarter notes on each beat.³²⁸ The bass part *doesn't* accent first and third beats like jazz or R&B bass parts which typically *do* accent these beats. This change is particularly noticeable in turnaround fills (see below) which usually accent offbeats and backbeats. Together, these changes create a neo-African metric feel, which is more pronounced when neo-African movements are added (see section 1.4.2). Although many ska records used this basic groove, others featured polyrhythmic bass and bass drum

³²⁸ Ska bass lines are usually through-composed lines rather than set in ostinato or riff-based patterns. Ska bass parts tend to have more non-chord and non-key tones used as passing notes than was the case in proto-ska.

patterns influenced by Burru, Revival, Jonkonnu and Nyabinghi music. The variations in **FIGURE 1.23** (all in $\frac{4}{4}$) typically occur at phrase ends, during transitions and underneath solo sections. Offbeat notes are usually accented more strongly than those on the beat.

Two other common (and particularly significant) percussive elements are missing from **FIGURE 1.22**, pg. 204 (because they are not on all ska recordings, and because they are usually improvised) which contribute significantly to creating a neo-African

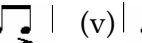
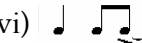
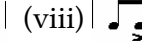
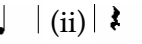
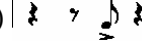
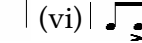
BASS VARIATIONS:		(i)		(ii)		(iii)	
(iv)		(v)		(vi)			
(vii)		(viii)					
BASS DRUM VARIATIONS:		(i)		(ii)		(iii)	
(iv)		(v)		(vi)		(vii)	

FIGURE 1.23: BASS & BASS DRUM VARIATIONS (transcribed by McCarthy³²⁹)

rhythmic feel. The first is rhythmic scatting using short, repetitive and percussive vocables which emphasize offbeats, popularized by Prince Buster in the early sixties, but originated by deejays in the fifties.³³⁰ The second missing element is the use of hand percussion instruments (e.g., Burru/Nyabinghi drums, shakers, tambourines) which play complex patterns, often hocket-style. (Note these two elements are not present in all ska recordings.)

Jamaicanization emphasizes indigenous aesthetics in many ways. The ensemble

³²⁹ Based upon a sampling of early sixties JPM chart hits listed in Chang & Chen's list of top hits 1960-1964 (1998: 84-98, 221-222).

³³⁰ By deejays Count Machuki, Sir Lord Comic and King Stitt (Johnson & Pines: 65-76).

usually functions as a whole, i.e., with “no one instrument really predominating” (White 1982b: 38). Although love is still the main theme, other lyrics quote from, or are based upon

[indigenous] nursery rhymes, digging songs, Jamaican proverbs, Biblical verses, Rastafarian chants, movie and television themes and revivalist gospel ... [as well as] mento [rhythms], ... strains of revivalism, Pocomania [sic] and the rhythms of the Rastafarians. Trinidadian and Latin American influence could also be detected especially in the area of brass arrangements. (ibid.: 38-9)

Neo-African movement patterns are almost always added (see section 1.4.2), both for expressive purposes, but especially to articulate the regulative pulse necessary for accuracy and synchronization of consistently accented offbeat parts or suppressed beats. Accompaniment figures favour contrasting rhythms and beat subdivisions to each other and to the melody. Melodies and accompaniments are often performed percussively, with Jamaican pronunciation and speech rhythms generating internal offbeat accents and phrase endings. When repeated, melodies/phrases are often shifted ahead or behind a beat. Major scales predominate, with flattened third, seventh and sometimes fifth degrees, although many of the Skatalites’ instrumental compositions feature minor modes “with repetitive or riff-like melodies and fairly static harmonic progressions emphasizing the tonic-minor chord” (Witmer 1986: 367). Call and response and parallel harmony are favoured techniques. Harmonic progressions vary from simple primary chords with few modulations and secondary dominants to jazz progressions, especially in the Skatalites’ repertoire. Bass parts are often foregrounded in arrangements and record mixes. This emphasis is heightened when records were played on dance hall PA systems (due to deejays boosting the bass frequencies) and on jukeboxes (which had

large, full-range bass speakers) (Barrow & Dalton 2001: 31). African principles of communal creativity govern rhythm section work. Although most ensembles are modeled on R&B ensembles of the forties and fifties (see **FIGURE 1.1**, pg. 28), hand percussion adds either a neo-African or Latin rhythmic feel. Because of hocketing and call and response interactions, the basic beat, harmony, and rhythm patterns often emerge out of ensemble parts. Higher-sounding instruments frequently play ostinati figures, with freer patterns in the bass.

As to non-indigenous characteristics, horn arrangements show Cuban/Latin and late-fifties jazz influences. Phrasing structure is European-influenced (two-, four- and eight-measure phrases). Song structures are eclectic, with influences from every available style: indigenous forms (neo-African improvisatory work song styles), hymns, popular ballads, rock & roll, Tin Pan Alley and swing/jazz song forms. In live performance, collective variation and open-endedness predominate.

With Jamaican independence set for August 1962, ska was the perfect music for this time. Radio programmers (and audiences) wanted celebratory music, which Bradley (2000) links to the consistent style and sound of many of the recordings issued between 1961-1964 (93-4). Both Clement "Coxsone" Dodd (Studio One) and "Duke" Arthur Reid (Treasure Isle) opened up recording studios in 1963 and 1964, which produced hundreds of new recordings. In 1964 Millie Small's "My Boy Lollipop" (a cover version of Barbie Gaye's original 1957 American R&B recording) sold 7 million copies worldwide, and placed in the U.S. and UK Top 10 (Chang, Witmer & McCarthy 2005: 67). Many new performers (mostly singers) came to Kingston which broadened

ska's style and sound (ibid.: 94-5) although many Revival-styled songs³³¹ and mento standards were also popular with a ska groove (Bradley 2000: 98). Jamaicanization techniques incorporated many new influences into ska's basic groove: American vocal harmony acts, Motown and rock. As the optimism of independence started to fade due to a lack of jobs and overt class discrimination and prejudice, many social commentary songs about indigenous concerns and feelings (particularly the increasing violence in the cities) started to appear.³³²

Edward Seaga, who was minister of culture, believed that "music and dance forms were of crucial importance to the building of national sentiment" (Stolzolff 2000: 74), so he saw ska's potential as a national symbol. He introduced Jamaica's two most successful upper-class bands (Byron Lee & the Dragonaires and Carlos Malcolm and the Afro-Jamaican Rhythms) to ska, and encouraged them to play it at middle- and upper-class events (Katz 2003: 56-7). He then promoted ska as the Jamaican equivalent of the Twist³³³ at the 1964 World's Fair in New York, using Lee and his band (Chang & Chen 1998: 36, White 1984: 65). In spite of their dilution of ska's neo-Africanisms, Malcom's

³³¹ E.g., recorded by Baba Brooks ("River To The Bank"), Jimmy Cliff ("King of Kings"), Clancy Eccles ("River Jordan" and "Freedom"), "Justin Hinds & the Dominoes ("Mighty Redeemer," "Botheration," "King Samuel" and "Carry Go Bring Come"), The Maytals ("Bam Bam," "Hallelujah," "Victory," "Never Grow Old" and "Six and Seven Books of Moses"), (Bilby 1995: 170, Foehr 2001: 86, and Bradley 2000: 96).

³³² E.g., recorded by the Wailing Wailers ("Simmer Down," "Holligan" (aka "Hooligan") and "Rude Boy"), Prince Buster ("African Blood" and "War Paint"), Alton Ellis ("Dance Crash-er"), Stranger Cole ("Rough and Tough"), Monty Morris ("Money Can't Buy Life"), Lord Tanamo & The Skatalites ("Come Down"), Justin Hinds & the Dominoes ("Teach The Youth") and Desmond Dekker ("Honour Your Father and Your Mother") (Bradley 2000: 95).

³³³ Seaga hired a choreographer to standardize (and de-eroticize) the spontaneous indigenous dancehall movements, which "reduced the level of improvisation and ... consisted of

and Lee's involvement disseminated ska "outside of its original environment [which] stimulated the sort of widespread interest required to give it legs" (Bradley 2000: 109). As observed by Chang, Witmer & McCarthy (2005), although the downtown dancers were enthusiastic ska supporters, few had the money to buy records. Thus, "with ska moving uptown, the economic prospects of downtown working class musicians were improved, through increased record sales and radio play" (66).

[Lee and Malcom] modif[ied] ska to make it more appealing to middle-class tastes and political sensibilities, ... [by making it] 'softer,' i.e., rhythmically less complex and emotionally lighter, ... [and] avoid[ing] political themes, social protest and pro-black messages. ... As members of the middle classes, these entertainers were ... in a better position to have their music promoted because of their economic and political ties. (Stolzoff: 2000: 69)

Malcolm and Lee stuck closely to the characteristics in **FIGURE 1.22** (pg. 204), but on their recordings they played the music with less improvisation and fewer neo-African accents. They emphasised European, African American and more general Caribbean/Latin features, rather than indigenous folk elements. In live performance, however, most of the Jamaicanization techniques (especially body movements) were still evident, for Lee, Malcolm and their bands were, after all, Jamaicans. Jones (1988) notes "attempts ... to incorporate [ska] and control the direction of its development, by diluting its musical and political content were largely unsuccessful, and the music's creative base remained firmly rooted in the working-class ghettos of Kingston throughout most of the sixties ... [and continued to] challeng[e] the cultural hegemony of the colonial bourgeoisie" (21-2; see also Thomas 2004: 73).

basic hand, arm and foot movements" (Stolzoff 2000: 70, 256). See section 1.4.2 re: ska dance, as well as DVD video 4.3 for an excerpt of *This is Ska!* — a 1964 film made by the Jamaican government to promote ska featuring the results of this professional choreography.

1.3.5.5 ROCKSTEADY

By 1966, Jamaicanization of new influences had shifted ska's characteristics so much that a new style emerged: rocksteady. Identifying precise reasons for this shift and the individuals involved is as problematic as identifying the origins of ska, mostly because of the same reasons: practically the only accounts are the contradictory memories of the musicians and producers involved (Bradley³³⁴ 2000: 157-97, Katz 2003: 65-95). As Chang, Witmer & McCarthy³³⁵ (2005) put it, "a definitive account [of rocksteady's origins] is unlikely" (67). Of the possible reasons for its emergence, four are significant. (*See DVD video 4.4 for examples of rocksteady.*)

1) **AFTER INDEPENDENCE, UNEMPLOYMENT ROSE DRASTICALLY**, in spite of an overall strong economy. "During the first five years of the 1960s, national unemployment figures ... doubled to 26 percent, with estimates of roughly twice that proportion in Kingston, young men under twenty being the worst hit" (Bradley 2000: 177)³³⁶. "**Many of these young men became confrontational and were labeled 'rude boys' [or 'rudies'] for their disregard of society's rules and codes**" (Chang, Witmer & McCarthy 2005: 67). Singer Derrick Harriott and producer Bunny Lee have observed that **rudies rarely liked to dance fast, preferring instead to move in a style that they called "the rocksteady"** (Bradley 2000: 160-3). Thus, **it appears that rocksteady described a dance style prior to its application to music** (Bradley 2000: 159-61).

³³⁴ See Bradley (2000: 157-90) for an extensive discussion of rocksteady.

³³⁵ Information in this section adapted from Chang, Witmer & McCarthy (2005: 67-8).

³³⁶ See Clarke (1980: 82-97) re: socioeconomic difficulties in mid-sixties Jamaica.

2) AFRICAN AMERICAN R&B/SOUL MUSIC³³⁷ AND LATIN AMERICAN MUSIC (samba and bossa nova) **BECAME VERY POPULAR IN JAMAICA BETWEEN 1960-66.** Many musicians experimented with adding elements from these styles to their own music (White 1982b: 42; see also Harriott in Bradley 2000: 161-2). **Four elements from these foreign styles helped to transform ska into rocksteady:**

A) SLOWER TEMPO: Influenced by many slower American and Latin American recordings,³³⁸ Jamaican musicians began to slow down the tempo in Jamaican recordings. Most Jamaican songs recorded between 1966-1968 were 85-120 beats per minute (Chang, Witmer & McCarthy 2005: 67).

B) AFRICAN-AMERICAN SOUL SINGING STYLE: The Soul singing style had a pronounced effect. Harriott observes, "Jamaican singers were starting to sing in that style. ... And it was working. All this was slow-down stuff, a lovers' rock kind of thing, and the crowds were going wild" Bradley 2000: 161-2).

C) ACTIVE BASS LINES, and D) STATIC HARMONIC PROGRESSIONS, which are related. Many African American recordings had few chord changes (either due to prolonged-chords or repetitious, circular progressions). More active bass lines maintained interest and built forward momentum. These lines were often ostinati riffs and/or through-composed lines. The popularity of electric bass in Jamaican studios by the mid-sixties was also an important factor; it was fuller, more percussive and could be

³³⁷ Most American R&B was released on the Atlantic, Chess, Motown and Stax labels.

³³⁸ See McCarthy (2001) for an empirical analysis of the tempi of rock and pop music 1963-1971, with tempi statistics for 1963, 1966 and 1971 (as well as a detailed analysis of the Beatles' approach to tempi and feel).

more prominent.

3) CHANGES IN LOCAL ECONOMIES FORCED A DOWNSIZING OF ENSEMBLE SIZE (Bradley 2000: 167-8). After the Skatalites broke up in 1965, many recordings featured fewer horns, sometimes none. "These smaller ensembles, combined with the slower tempi, resulted in the foregrounding of bass and drums similar to that of contemporary U.S. R&B [to maintain a full sound]" (Chang, Witmer & McCarthy 2005: 67).

4) POLITICAL CHANGES IN JAMAICA AND THE UNITED STATES 1960-66 EMPHASIZED

AFRICAN TRADITIONS. Rocksteady's more pronounced Africanism reflected the increasing social awareness of both the local and U.S. rise of "black power" and its emphasis upon Africa as the homeland of black people in the New World (White 1982a in Chang, Witmer & McCarthy 2005: 67; see also Bradley 2000: 192). Ethiopian emperor Haile Selassie's April 1966 visit to Jamaica was met by over 100,000 Rastafarians.³³⁹ This "was a show of force, which left both the ruling classes and ... [Rastas] themselves in no doubt as to the true scale of Rastafari on the island. From this point onwards its insurrection began gaining momentum" (Bradley 2000: 193). After Selassie's visit many people joined the movement, and Africanisms also became more pronounced in ska (White 1982a: 42).

With regard to musical characteristics, rocksteady maintains some ska features and introduces new ones. The biggest changes are the slower tempo, the absence of swing grooves, and an implicit sixteenth-note subdivision (that is sometimes only

³³⁹ Jamaica's population in 1966 was 1,784,000 (www.populstat.info/Americas/jamaicac.htm; accessed 21 Jun 07).

There are four interrelated problems with this two-bar notation. 1) Music notation tends to be either descriptive or prescriptive. It is descriptive when it provides information about something that has already occurred — i.e., it is a record of an event. It is prescriptive if it contains instructions on how to create a piece of music such as pitches and rhythms to play, dynamics, form, etc.³⁴² Whether notation is descriptive or prescriptive, however, it is most effective if its symbols are an accurate representation of everything necessary to perform the music in the appropriate style with a minimum of inaccuracies. The notation in **FIGURE 1.24** (pg. 214) indicates a sonic pattern (with culturally shaped presumptions about the weight, intensity, length, pitch and timbre of these sounds, since it is for a ska/rocksteady guitar part), and implies a Jamaican corporeal orientation that is linked to its performance.³⁴³ The beats, which are probably silent or weakly played, usually receive downward gestures, and the offbeat accents are usually synchronized to upward body movements. The two-bar version, however, suggests very different sonic and corporeal details: a pattern of sounds on alternating beats, probably accompanied by downward gestures — which is the norm for the type of Western patterns represented by this notation. Because the corporeal orientation implied by the two-bar version is therefore reversed to typical Jamaican performance

³⁴² Prescriptive notation ranges from being highly specific to being very general. In jazz, rock or country music, for example, notation is often just a sketch or a guide. Sometimes all that is written are chord symbols, lead lines and maybe lyrics, an overall outline of the form, or perhaps just key/significant musical ideas (e.g., the introduction, transitions, endings or signature/ hook lines) — with the assumption that the musician will improvise the remaining details, based on appropriate stylistic practice. (This is often the case if a performance is recreating a recording with which the musicians are already familiar.)

³⁴³ These claims about Jamaican performance practice are supported by the findings of this study as presented in Chapters Five, Six and Seven.

practice, it is both misleading and inaccurate in terms of conveying how these sounds are usually performed by JPM artists.

2) The second problem is related to the first. The two-bar version suggests an R&B or rock backbeat rhythm, which is quite different from a Jamaican offbeat in terms of sound, weight and function (and, of course, corporeal orientation³⁴⁴). The difference between R&B/rock and Jamaican backbeats has already been discussed in depth in section 1.3.4.6 (on Nyabinghi), so those arguments will not be repeated here. The two-bar version therefore suggests the wrong stylistic orientation for this ska/rocksteady pattern.

3) The two-bar notation also indicates a musical pattern with no reference to its historical roots, which can have serious ramifications. Given the historical consistency of offbeat accents in Jamaican music since the slavery era, the two-bar version not only ignores and misrepresents the relationship between ska, rocksteady and other Jamaican musics, but it also misperceives and misrepresents Jamaica music's neo-African feel. (*See DVD video 1.4 for a comparison of ska, rocksteady by Bob Marley and Skatalites drummer Lloyd Knibb.*) This notation presents the unique Jamaican groove as merely a variant of the African American metric feel, even though the latter has strongly sounded onbeats, a different orientation to the backbeat, differently accented offbeats and a dissimilar corporeal orientation. The reason for using the two-bar notation might be to obtain a simpler look on paper in order to achieve a more accurate performance from Western musicians (since the majority of Western-trained musicians usually play

³⁴⁴ The difference between R&B and Jamaican backbeats is discussed on pgs. 167-8.

rhythms with offbeat accents less correctly than those that consist mostly of onbeat rhythms³⁴⁵). Or it might be written this way because the notator perceived and felt this pattern differently from the way Jamaican musicians perceive and feel it. In either case, the two-bar version suggests that the notator is a cultural outsider who has perceived this rhythmic pattern independently of its relationship to other Jamaican patterns, and has chosen to make it look (and sound) like R&B or rock stylistic conventions either because it looks “easier,” “more logical” or “more accurate.”

4) The fourth problem is related to the previous three, but is the most significant argument against the appropriateness of the two-bar version for notating JPM. As discussed in Chapter One, sections 1.3.3.6 (on the effect of Jamaican choreographic rhythms upon offbeat patterns in Quadrille dancing, pg. 126), 1.3.4.2 (re: Revival Music), 1.3.5.6 (re: Reggae), in Chapter Two, section 2.1.1 (re: delayed afterbeats) and in Chapter Six, section 6.4 (re: neurobiological considerations of Jamaican musical experience), Jamaican offbeats and afterbeats are often *not* placed exactly midway between the beats. They are often sounded later (and very occasionally earlier.) (This is most common in larger ensembles, when musicians utilize simultaneous asynchronous beat subdivisions, e.g., both triplet and straight sixteenths in roots reggae or Revival hymns.) With the two-bar notation, it is possible to indicate slightly delayed or anticipated backbeats — see **FIGURE 1.26** (next page) —but all of these alternatives look awkward and *very*

³⁴⁵ I base this generalization on my own experience with many thousands of other Western-trained musicians in hundreds of university courses, workshops and conferences and performances with hundreds of different ensembles, such as chamber groups, orchestras, wind bands, jazz bands and rock/pop/jazz/blues combos.

“syncopated,” since they literally indicate a disrupted beat. If one also considers scenarios involving simultaneous asynchronous beat subdivisions within a large ensemble, i.e., simultaneously performed straight and/or swung eighths, sixteenths, thirty-seconds or sixty-fourths plus triplets, sextuplets, etc., the resultant score would look extremely complex indeed.

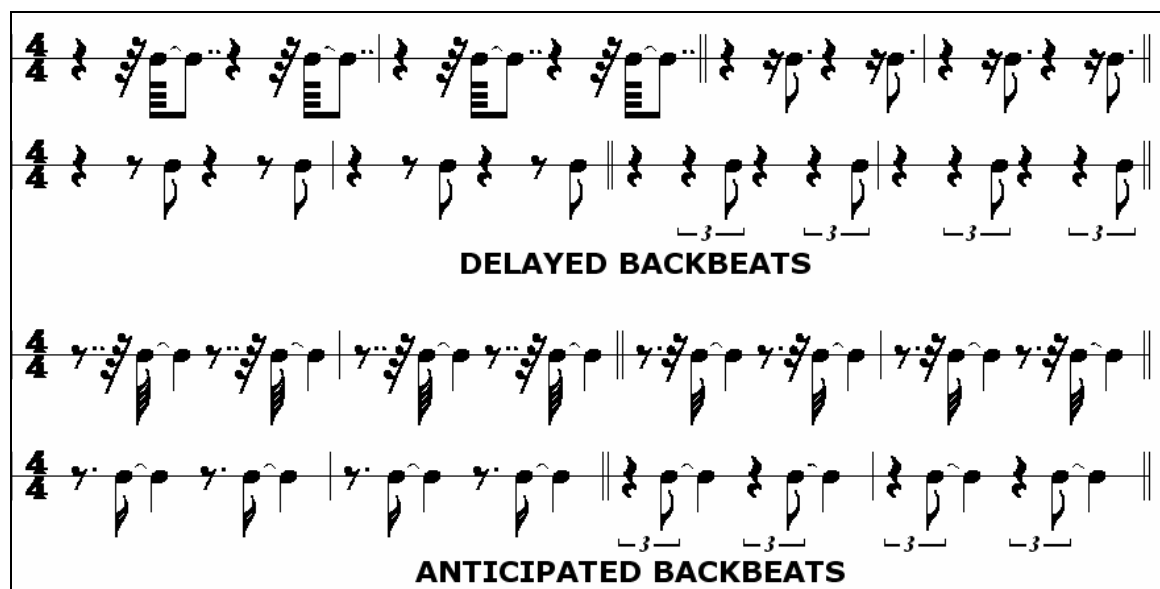


FIGURE 1.26: Delayed and Anticipated Backbeats

The notation of similar variations of rhythmic placement and beat subdivision is also a challenge with the one-bar version — see FIGURE 1.27 (next page). The *big* difference, however, is that the placement of main beats looks the same, which makes this notation easier to read, and more straight-forward to perform, especially if one steps or moves downward on each beat, Jamaican-style.

Given the difficulties of notating, reading and performing timing variations of offbeat accents using a two-bar version, it seems to follow that musicians who either conceptualize or perform these accents using the two-bar model are more likely to place

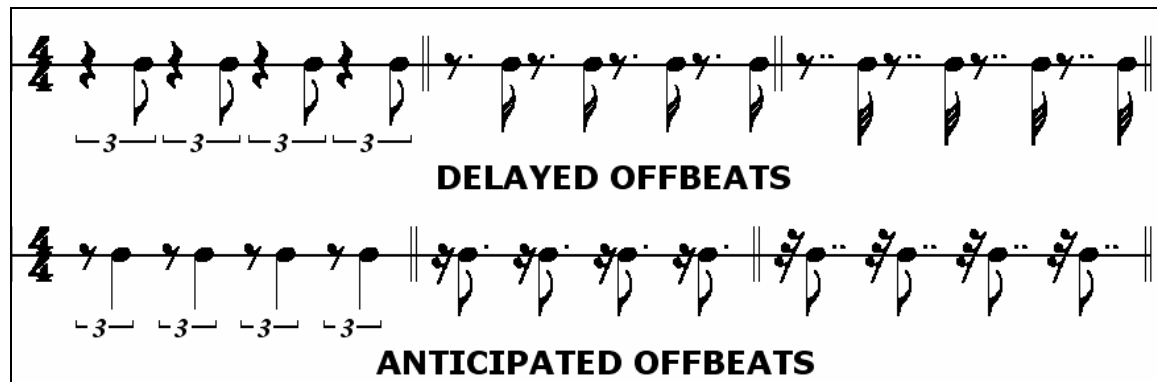


FIGURE 1.27: Delayed and Anticipated Offbeats

these accents squarely on beats two and four, since the conceptualization and performance of these groove nuances is not straight-forward. In Chapter Seven, performances of JPM by non-Jamaican artists are examined, revealing many sonic and corporeal differences in comparison to indigenous JPM. The fact that many non-Jamaicans conceptualize JPM offbeats using the two-bar notation may therefore be a contributing factor to the different rhythmic feel of non-Jamaican JPM.³⁴⁶

Given the above rationale for considering the notation in FIGURE 1.24 (pg. 214 as more appropriate for JPM than the two-bar version, it is worth noting that most musicologists who prioritize JPM in terms of its JFRM roots also favour the one-bar approach.³⁴⁷ As stated at the outset of this discussion, the best notation for musical

³⁴⁶ See Lent 1984 and Cross 1984 for two musicological analyses of JPM that use the “two-bar version.” It is notable that neither correlates the characteristics of JPM to JFRM other than making links to mento. See also Dennis Bovell’s observation that the reason that most non-Jamaican JPM sounds “off” is because most non-Jamaican musicians accent their rhythms differently from the way that JPM artists do (in Bradley 2000:345).

³⁴⁷ E.g., Chang, Witmer & McCarthy (2005), Ehrlich (1982), Lewin (2000), O’Gorman (1972, 1987a), White (1984) and Witmer (1980, 1987) all prioritize the study of JPM in terms of its roots in JFRM. Witmer (1980) describes the bass drum drop in JPM as occurring on the second and fourth beats, but he also describes some forms of reggae (with a triplet or sextuplet beat subdivision) with the drop as occurring on beat three. In the article with

performances is the one that most accurately represents all of the sonic and corporeal relationships necessary to perform the music *with a minimum of inaccuracies and misrepresentations*.

Returning to the characteristics of rocksteady arrangements, one notable change from ska is that rocksteady bands usually use more than one guitar part (either lead and rhythm, or one playing the main offbeat pattern while the other plays one of two other parts, see **FIGURE 1.25** (pg. 214). Different keyboards are used, including piano, organ and electric piano. Electric bass is used almost exclusively is used to play mostly short riffs, sometimes with sixteenth note flourishes.³⁴⁸ (The fifth of the chord is often accented strongly, either on off beats or at the end of the phrase, and accented non-chord tones (especially the flattened seventh degree) are more common than in ska. Bass patterns are often one- or two-bars long and are generally “mixed much louder and fuller than in ska recordings, similar to the style of U.S. R&B, soul and funk recordings of the mid-sixties. ... Bass parts are [sometimes] doubled at the octave by electric guitar³⁴⁹” (Chang, Witmer & McCarthy 2005: 68). Drum kit and hand percussion are played similarly to their use in ska ensembles, although busy prominent bass patterns are often coupled with the “one drop” bass drum, which is consistently interlocked with

Chang & McCarthy, he describes all forms of JPM with the bass drum drops on beats two and four.

³⁴⁸ See Bradley (2000: 157-9) re: the significance of electric bass to rocksteady arrangements.

³⁴⁹ This was primarily the creation of Trinidadian Lyn Taitt, who also often added rapid tremolo to longer notes, in emulation of steel drum playing (Bradley 2001: 166-7).

the snare on each backbeat.³⁵⁰ The snare is often played as a rim shot. By the end of the sixties, bass and drum grooves/patterns were labeled “riddims”/“ridims” (Ehrlich 1982: 53). When used, horns rarely play offbeat patterns, and often emulate the small horn sections used in American R&B. A wide variety of harmonic patterns are used, although many songs emulate static R&B and cyclical patterns. Many songs oscillate between only a few chords (often just two³⁵¹), with increasing use of minor modes (O’Gorman 1972: 51). Interlocking or hocket-style rhythm patterns are common, usually consisting of short, overlapping riffs. Song forms often use fewer individual sections, with two section forms (i.e., verse-chorus) being the most common, and overall song length is much longer than in ska (now averaging three to four minutes vs. two to three, with improvisatory sections that allude to mento, Kumina and Pukkumina music (Bradley 2000: 173, 175)). Vocal styles emulate both the smooth, melismatic American R&B/Soul and gospel styles³⁵² and indigenous Revival style singing (with Toots & the Maytals being the most prominent exponent of the latter). Song lyrics address both contemporary social problems (e.g., the rude boy attitude and difficulties) and escapist romantic fantasies with romantic, sweetly sung songs.

Even though rocksteady emulates many African American techniques, these

³⁵⁰ Many foreign analysts have misunderstood the “one drop” as occurring on the third beat of the bar; this is due to (mis)perceiving the eighth note offbeats as beats.

³⁵¹ van der Merwe (1987) notes that pieces with harmonies that oscillate between two neighbouring tones are commonplace in Africa, America (African American and American folk music) and older European folk musics, thus the ultimate origin of this technique is unprovable. He also notes that this is a common harmonic practice in reggae music (55-6).

³⁵² Popular U.S. artists include: Curtis Mayfield & the Impressions, the Supremes, Martha Reeves & the Vandellas, Marvin Gaye, Lou Rawls, Stevie Wonder, Otis Redding, the Drifters and the Miracles (Chang, Witmer & McCarthy 2005: 68).

influences are mostly surface characteristics; the deeper, overall aesthetic and rhythmic orientation is much more neo-African than in ska (Bilby 1995: 164, Witmer 1981: 106).

The a) and b) guitar patterns of **FIGURE 1.25** (pg. 216) also give a stronger mento feel.

The increased number of silences in hocketed parts generate many emergent patterns.

Regulative body movements facilitate accuracy and maintain ensemble synchronization.

1.3.5.6 REGGAE

Like ska and rocksteady, the genesis of reggae³⁵³ is fraught with contradictory accounts.³⁵⁴ The term itself first appeared (as “reggay”) in a Toots & the Maytals 1968 song called “Do The Reggay;” Toots (Frederick Hibbert) explains that it “was a [street] expression ... meaning, roughly, ‘ragged, everyday stuff’ ” (Grass 1982: 45). Although other meanings have been proffered (see previous footnote), Toots’ meaning describes what was happening at this time in recording studios and performance venues. As Grass (1982) has observed about this period, “Continuous evolution, spontaneous bursts of creation by musicians who were influenced by everything going on in their environment was in effect” (46). These circumstances were similar to those that generated ska: many like-minded, passionate artists and producers (mostly under 30, many of whom were Rastas) from similar working-class and/or ghetto backgrounds experimenting

³⁵³ As noted by Chang, Witmer & McCarthy (2005: 61), “reggae” is frequently used to mean two overlapping things. Although the term is used in this section (and throughout this dissertation) to refer to the particular style which emerged after rocksteady, it is also applied (especially in everyday usage) as a category for all Jamaican popular music since 1960, i.e., not only reggae, but also ska and rocksteady. Since the potential for confusion in using this everyday meaning is obvious, throughout this study “JPM” is used instead to refer to these three styles, plus proto-ska.

³⁵⁴ See Chang & Chen (1998: 42-3) and Katz (2003: 97-133).

collaboratively and independently with ways to express their feelings, beliefs and identities using neo-African music as the primary vehicle. Five producers (Coxsone Dodd, Clancy Eccles, Leslie Kong, Bunny Lee and Lee Perry) figure prominently in the shift from rocksteady to reggae.³⁵⁵ Rastafarian philosophy and music inspired a return to the musical elements of work songs, mento, Jonkonnu, Kumina, Revival, Burru, Nyabinghi, jazz, the R&B shuffle feel, only now the “African rhythms [were allowed] to become [the main] constituent of the ... [groove], making overt what had always been beneath the surface” (Grass 1982: 47). (*See DVD videos 4.6, 4.7 and 4.8 performances by Bob Marley and the Wailers and 15 other reggae artists.*)

Elements were retained from older indigenous traditions: sound and body movement couplings and melodic/harmonic/rhythmic/structural/arranging patterns, techniques and forms (see section 1.3.5.1), along with certain features of ska and rocksteady (offbeat accents, neo-African percussive grooves, rocksteady bass and drum riddims). New elements were added and Jamaicanized, e.g., the polyrhythms and circular forms of James Brown and Sly & the Family Stone.³⁵⁶ New technology also played an important role: keyboard innovations (electric pianos, clavinet and synthesizers), guitar effects (fuzz, distortion and wah-wah) and especially multi-track tape recorders.

The foregrounding of neo-African musical techniques and aesthetic principles made the end results sound both more uniquely Jamaican and neo-African (Witmer

³⁵⁵ See Grass (1982: 46-7) and Bradley (2000: 157-78) re: each producer’s accomplishments.

³⁵⁶ Brown & Stone were experimenting with neo-African forms and techniques at this time.

1981: 110, 112-3). "[Reggae] would certainly not be mistaken for either U.S. black music or Jamaican folk music by anyone even moderately familiar with any of the three musical types" (113). As to why this happened at this particular time, Bilby (1995) suggests that the African focus was

a manifestation of major changes taking place in Jamaican society, which popular music was both reflecting and helping to foster. ... Indigenous influences were becoming ... stronger. ... Class consciousness was converging with increasing cultural assertiveness. The popular expression 'roots' came to refer as much to the downtown ghetto experience of suffering and struggle as to the African sources of Jamaican culture. ... The Rasta emphasis on African roots, black redemption and social awareness had become the dominant force in Jamaican popular culture. ... [This] helped inspire a new round of musical changes and reopened a channel through which traditional Afro-Jamaican forms such as Kumina and Revival would continue, by way of Rasta Nyabinghi drumming and chanting, to have an indirect influence on reggae. (164-5; see also Jones 1988: 27)

Ensemble interaction became the number one priority with a stronger emphasis upon percussiveness than ever before, which Bradley (2000: 204-5), Ehrlich (1982), Jones (1988: 24), Roberts (1998: 144) and Witmer (1981) identify as reggae's most distinguishing feature. "Each instrumental role in the ensemble, except for melodic signatures, is in fact a syncopated drum part. This is the very African aspect of reggae, and accounts for the intrinsic tightness (without stiffness) of most Jamaican arrangements" (Ehrlich 1982: 52). "[In reggae], although the rhythm guitar and the organ delineate harmony, the attack used on both instruments is so sharp and short that they seem to be functioning more as percussion instruments than as providers of harmony" (Witmer 1981: 109). Another distinguishing trait is a consistently slow tempo, between 60 to 85 beats per minute.³⁵⁷ A number of African organizational techniques contribute to the overall neo-

³⁵⁷ Information which follows adapted from Chang, Witmer & McCarthy (2005: 68).

African style. Hocketting is *the* main technique used to arrange musical ideas, with many rhythms and the beat itself often emerging out of the interaction of parts, rather than being articulated by single instruments. (*See DVD video 1.3 for examples of hocketting.*) Parts frequently switch between supporting and leading roles, and most play short interlocking ostinati figures. Main parts are usually accompanied by counter-rhythms that frequently use silences and beat suppression to leave space for dialogue and interaction (not only amongst the ensemble, but often with the audience). Although many arrangement details are worked out in advance, spontaneity at concerts often takes precedence over simply replicating recordings. Producers and engineers also create new relationships and structures in the mixing stage by bringing parts in and out, altering their tone, volume and balance, adding effects and editing to such a degree that final mixes are often quite different from what was recorded. (This practice blossoms into dub in the late sixties.)

Two neo-African aspects of ska and rocksteady are heightened significantly in reggae: complex beat subdivisions and variable metric feel. Because the pulse is slower, beat subdivision becomes quite complex (with subdivisions of the beat into six parts or more becoming commonplace), especially when hocketting and overlapping parts are involved. Parts which play afterbeats (e.g., guitar, keyboard, hand percussion) often utilize a wide range of density referent values, including not only duple and triple beat subdivision, but also triplet and sextuplet variations. (Sometimes these rhythmic values are produced in the mixing stage with delay and echo effects). **FIGURE 1.28** (next page) shows 11 afterbeat patterns for guitar and keyboard, which are often played with

Afterbeat Patterns

Examples 1 & 2:
1965–present
(rock steady feel)

Examples 3–7:
1967–present
(reggae feel)

Examples 8–11:
1968–1971
(mento-based reggae)

Guitar
Guitar & keyboards

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

6.

7.

8.

9.

10.

11.

- staccato
- O open, sustained chord
- (·) optional staccato
- M muted chord
- stress
- L left hand
- > emphasis
- R right hand

FIGURE 1.28: REGGAE AFTERBEAT PATTERNS (from Ehrlich 1982: 55)

different feels, i.e., straight/swing/hybrid feels, which create complex polyrhythms.

Players also vary parts by inserting rests, adding/lengthening notes, accents, etc. in relation to what other players are doing. Masking also frequently affects the perception and impact of all patterns, and also contributes to the overall neo-African rhythmic and timbral texture.

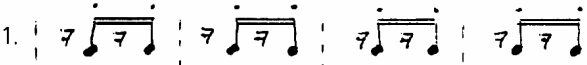
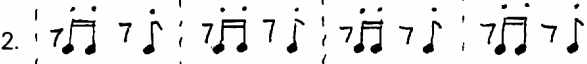
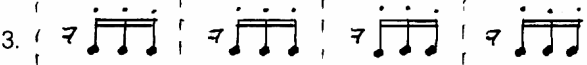
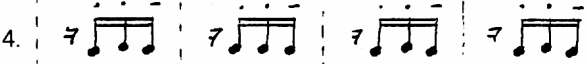
The two-manual organ³⁵⁸ plays a special (and often unacknowledged) role in reggae (especially in the sixties and early seventies), and is sometimes played like striking a drum with alternating hands (Ehrlich 1982: 54-5). On this type of organ each manual can be set to the same/different pitch register, with individual adjustments to timbre (including overtones and percussive attack). **FIGURE 1.29** (next page) shows 11 common afterbeat organ patterns. Patterns #5-11 (in **FIGURE 1.29**) are hocketted between the two manuals (usually set to either the same or overlapping pitch registers). This technique produces highly rapid articulations of the same or similar notes, usually with timbral/tonal differences depending upon the settings of each manual. (*See DVD videos 1.3 ("Get Up Stand Up") and 4.6 ("Midnight Ravers") for examples of the two-handed afterbeat organ style.*) Rhythmic organ parts are often hard to pick out, if they are mixed softly, if the tone is dull, if the attack is "mushy"/indistinct, or if either manual is masked³⁵⁹ by louder, more prominent or brighter-sounding instruments such as guitar, hi-hat, clavinet, hand percussion, etc. Although subtle, these organ rhythms are often felt, rather than heard distinctly. They sometimes provide visual cues for other

³⁵⁸ Common Organ manufacturers: Hammond and Lowrie.

³⁵⁹ See discussion on the role of masking in African music in section 1.3.2.1 #8 Resultant Rhythms (Masking) and in Revival music in section 1.3.4.2.

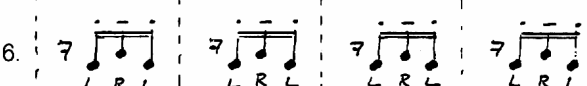
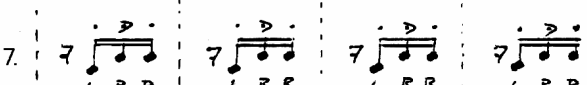
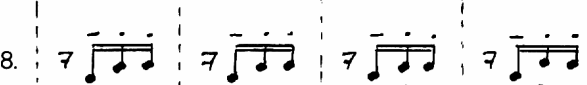
Keyboard Shuffles
Each example represents one bar of 4/4 time = 4 beats.

Simple left-hand shuffles

1. 
2. 
3. 
4. 

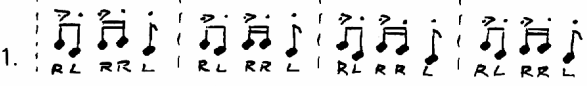
Two-handed shuffles
(Afterbeat pattern incorporated by right hand)

On examples 5 & 6 hands and inversions can be reversed

5. 
6. 
7. 
8. 

"Straight ahead" shuffles
(Two-handed, no rests)

Examples 10 & 11 are variations of 9

9. 
10. 
11. 

 lower and higher inversions of the same chord

FIGURE 1.29: ORGAN ACCOMPANIMENT PATTERNS (from Ehrlich 1982: 55)

musicians to coordinate their parts. Ehrlich (1982) notes that

[reggae shuffle organ parts are usually] one of the lowest volume sounds ... in the mix, [but] many organ shuffles have a muted or mushy timbre that performs a vital function in the sound of reggae. The organ occupies, virtually alone, a specific band of 'warm-sounding' lower mid-range frequencies which ... connect[s] the rounded, loud bass and bass drum below to everything else. ... The organ sound becomes an often invisible musical glue of subtle, but formidable cohesive power, both rhythmically and texturally. It pulls the mix together by acting as an elusive mediator between the bassy rhythm section and the trebly-ska section (piano-and-rhythm-guitar combination playing afterbeats). Because, rhythmically, the notes of organ shuffles are tucked away between other beats of other instruments, and because they are also tucked away in the group texture by their low volume and muffled EQ organ shuffles are probably the toughest sounds for the untrained ear to pick out on a record, making them the most subliminally perceived of the sounds. (Ehrlich 1982: 54-5)

FIGURE 1.30 (next page) indicates frequency ranges and relative volumes of a typical reggae arrangement, indicating how the organ is placed low in the mix, both in terms of volume and pitch.

Keyboard players sometimes hocket the parts in **FIGURE 1.29** (pg. 228) between two different instruments (each hand on a different keyboard: e.g., piano/organ, clavinet/organ), which creates highly complex consistent offbeat accents, especially if a swing feel is used. Percussionists often play identical, similar, complementary or contrasting offbeat figures that overlap with both guitar and keyboard parts, and are also sometimes masked. Bass patterns are similar to rocksteady lines, featuring repetitive riffs and ostinati figures that tend to prioritize offbeats and African metric feels, although they "often consist of much longer phrases than in rocksteady, sometimes in four- or eight-bar patterns that often become the most identifiable ingredient of a song or recording" (Chang, Witmer & McCarthy 2005: 68). More guitar parts are usually added to the rhythm guitar figures noted above, often with delineated roles: a "stutter-

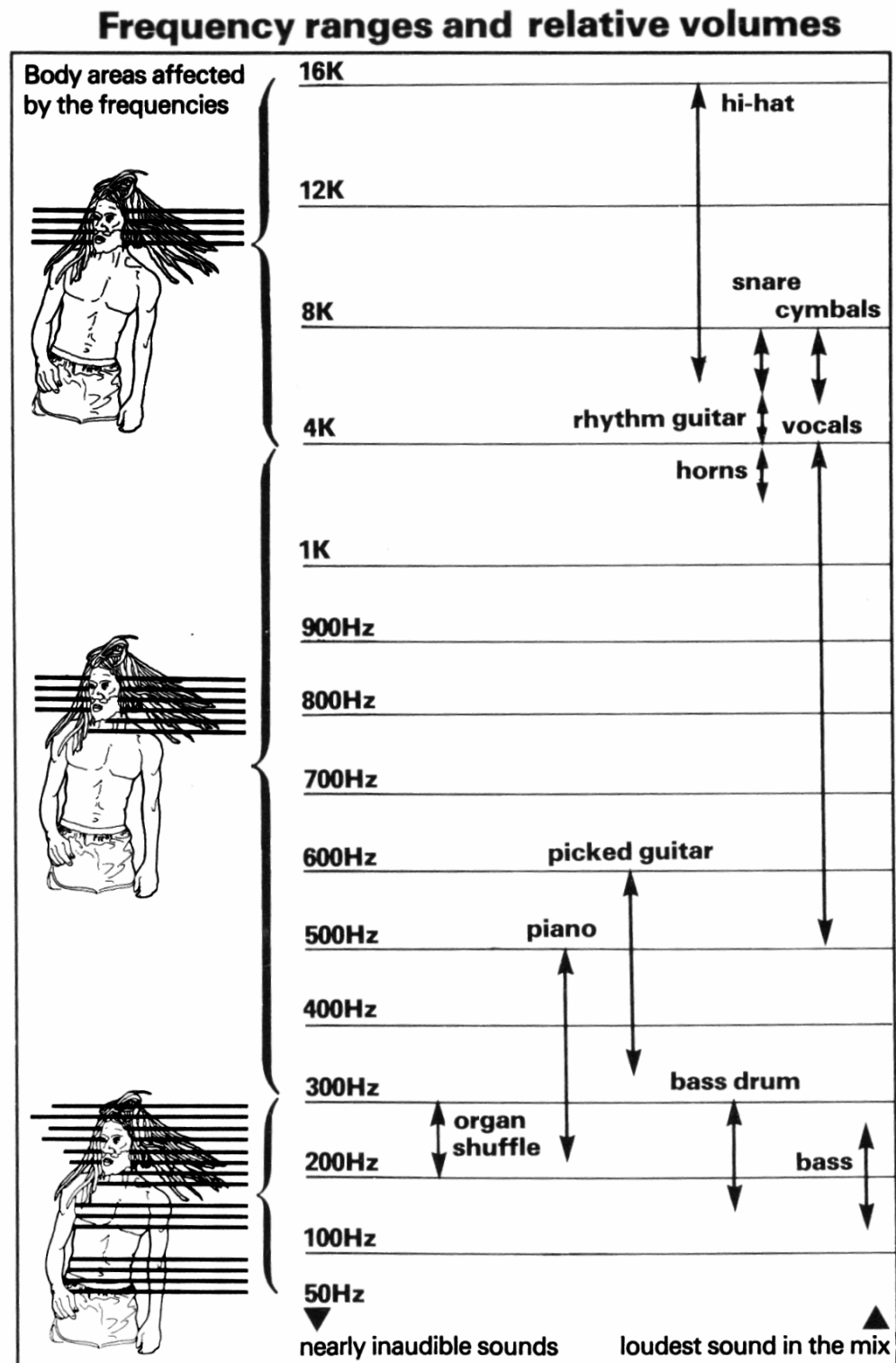


FIGURE 1.30: REGGAE ENSEMBLE FREQUENCY RANGES & RELATIVE VOLUMES (from Ehrlich 1982: 54)

ing” style, “consisting of a rapid reiteration of single note fills played in counterpoint to bass and vocal lines; and by the mid-1970s, lead guitar fills and extended solos in a blues/rock/jazz/style” (ibid.).

The reggae drumming style also retains rocksteady characteristics but adds many more pronounced neo-African elements. The one-drop snare/bass backbeat pattern becomes normative, although the snare rim is often sounded without striking the drumskin. This rim sound often alternates with the hi-hat or bass drum in rapid rhythmic flourishes, imitating the sound of a Nyabinghi repeater drum (White 1977: 16). Hi-hat patterns can be similar to rocksteady eighths, but at slower tempi they frequently consist of rapid ostinati figures with rapid beat subdivisions and with offbeat accents that interweave with the guitar, keyboard and percussion parts; e.g., hi-hat pattern from “Night Shift”:  (from Bob Marley & the Wailers’ *Rastaman Vibration* album, 1976). Overall, reggae’s rhythmic feel is both more rapid (smaller beat subdivisions) and slower (main pulse). Reggae drummers execute parts with a variety of beat subdivisions and accents on hi-hat, snare and bass drum (Witmer 1981: 109). As tempi reached its slowest (in the mid-seventies), and as more instruments took on a percussive role, drummers sometimes stopped time-keeping and introduced irregular accents and contrasting rhythms with influences of Burru, Kumina, Jonkonnu and Nyabinghi patterns (strongly influenced by Count Ossie’s style) (White 1977: 16).³⁶⁰

³⁶⁰ An exception to this was the “flyers” style pioneered by Carlton Davis in the mid-seventies, consisting of opening the hi-hat on each offbeat (Ehrlich 1982: 52). (See DVD video 1.5 (“None Shall Escape the Judgement”) for a film of Carlton Davis playing in flyers style.) This technique had been used by calypso drummers in the fifties and sixties, and also appeared in funk records of the late sixties (especially in Sly & the Family Stone records, e.g., in “Dance

Because of polyrhythms, offbeat accents, and consistent emphasis upon second and fourth beats, main regulative beats (especially downbeats) are often silent or weakly played, which most musicians articulate with downward gestures (statistics presented in Chapter Five).

In performance, reggae songs are often significantly altered with dub-style variations of parts and solos, and by audience participation, using work song-style call and response chants/ bobbins, often with vocables. Songs are repetitive and cyclical (O’Gorman 1972: 51), “with even more static harmonic progressions in minor modes than in rocksteady” (Chang, Witmer & McCarthy 2005: 68; see also Robert 1998: 144). Lyrics are frequently sung in Jamaican Creole, and dominated by social commentary, biblical imagery and political injustices experienced in the ghetto.

There are three reggae styles. 1) “Early reggae” (c. 1968 to the early seventies), is similar to rocksteady, but with greater intensification of the neo-African characteristics discussed above. (Many early reggae records feature the two-handed organ style (Salewicz & Boot 2001: 61), as well as multiple guitar parts.) 2) “Roots reggae” (early to mid-seventies), is Nyabinghi influenced, mostly at very slow tempi, with considerable polyrhythmic activity, sometimes featuring burru drums or similar patterns played on other instruments (Reckford 1982: 78, Whyllie in Logan 1982: 92). 3) “Rockers” (aka “steppers”), starting in the mid-seventies, uses a different bass drum pattern (called “militant drumming,” pioneered by Sly Dunbar and Leroy “Horsemouth” Wallace (Lent

To The Music” and “Are You Ready” from their second album *Dance To The Music* (1968, on Epic Records)). This hi-hat pattern also became a staple of disco music around the same time that it appeared in reggae.

1984³⁶¹: 171), influenced by disco's quarter-note bass drum: a steady eighth-note bass drum pattern that is lighter in weight and volume than disco drumming, without strong downbeat accents. Many foreign analysts misperceive the rockers' drum pattern as quarter notes, and incorrectly conclude that the backbeat accent is on the third, rather than on the second and fourth beat beats.

This misperception is rooted in the same conceptual problem discussed in section 1.3.5.5, regarding the best way of notating JPM offbeat accents. The majority of JPM artists who were involved with the birth of JPM in the late fifties/early sixties and many JPM scholars describe the progression from ska to rocksteady to reggae as one in which each style was successively slower. They also note that the offbeat accents and backbeat emphasis (i.e., with the one-drop drumming style) has been performed the same way in all three styles.³⁶² I have already argued (in section 1.3.5.5 and I present substantial evidence by other scholars and from my own research, in section 1.4 and Chapters Five,

³⁶¹ Lent's book and Cross (1984) present JPM transcriptions. Cross only gives basic outlines for each style without any variations. The Lent book is better in this regard, although both books misunderstand that ska, rocksteady and reggae all accent offbeats and backbeats, but at increasingly slower tempi. They both present (i.e., notate) rocksteady and reggae rhythms using the eighth note as the pulse, i.e., all rhythms are written twice as fast as perceived/performed by most Jamaican musicians.

³⁶² E.g., musicians include guitarist Ernest Ranglin who played on the very first proto-ska recordings in the late fifties (Salewicz & Boot 2001: 39-41; Barrow & Dalton 2001: 26); Skatalites drummer Lloyd Knibbs (interviewed in Foehr 2001: 88-91); Bob Marley, who demonstrates all three styles as the same physical and sonic gestures, but ever-slower (in the video *Caribbean Nights*, between 16:33 to 16:50); and British reggae guitarist and producer Dennis Bovell (in Bradley 2000: 435). Scholars include Bradley, Clarke, Chang & Chen, Davis & Simon, Ehrlich, Foehr, Hebdige, Jones, Lewin, Mulvaney, O'Gorman, Ryman, Salewicz & Boot, Stolzloff, G. White and Witmer. (Witmer used to describe the one drop as being on beat three (1981), but in more recent times (with Chang & McCarthy, 2005) describes it as being on beats two and four.)

Six and Seven) that it appears that this interpretation is corroborated by the strikingly similar way that the majority of Jamaican artists³⁶³ (as well as onlookers and other participants³⁶⁴) move relative to consistent offbeat accents and the second and fourth beat emphasis in both JPM and JFRM.

That being said, there are instances in the JPM literature where some scholars and musicians describe the one drop in reggae as occurring on beat three.³⁶⁵ The video evidence examined in Chapter Five (and on the supplementary DVD, examples 4.6, 4.7 and 4.8) shows that the majority of JPM artists move the same way relative to the rhythm of both JPM and JFRM. Thus, without conducting interviews with the beat three proponents and finding out their understanding of how and why the one drop suddenly shifted over to beat three for reggae, any explanation as to why this paradox exists is pure speculation. Perhaps this is simply further evidence of Michael Thomas' often-quoted observation that "there are no facts in Jamaica, everybody has his own version of everything" (Thomas 1973: 44).

³⁶³ This is based upon both my video analysis and the descriptions of Jamaican movement patterns presented in the following section.

³⁶⁴ Because my video footage prioritizes the filming of performers and not audiences, this claim is based upon scattered glimpses of Jamaicans moving exactly the same way as performers, in all contexts and in virtually every instance.

³⁶⁵ E.g., drummer Winston Grennon (in Katz 2003: 8), Bilby (1995: 168), Lent (1984: 167) and Cross (1984).

1.4 JAMAICAN BODY MOVEMENT & CORPOREAL FACTORS

This section examines the work of authors who consider the body movement component for all Jamaican musics (traditional and JPM), followed by “Jamaicanization, Part 2,” which correlates the information from “Jamaicanization, Part 1” (section 1.3.5.1) with JPM and corporeal characteristics.

African and African American dance analyst Julie Ann Kerr and Judith Lynne Hanna, a dance specialist who studies the relationship between dance, society, semiotics and nonverbal communication, share the same view of the relationship between dance and culture:

It is the interplay between the body and environmental factors that most significantly affects human movement. ... [O]f these factors perhaps the strongest influence is culture; cultural standards and criteria govern and dramatically shape how the body moves. ... The body through the medium of dance performance becomes an emblem of the people, their beliefs, their standards and the laws which govern them. (Kerr 1990: 67, 74)

Dance — as a system of ordering movements, a cumulative set of rules or range of permissible movement patterns — ... reflects other cultural manifestations and is a vehicle through which culture is learned. ... Movement styles develop through psychomotor socialization patterns; they are largely dependent on observing dance, general motor activity, and dance practice. (Hanna 1979: 29, 31)

These views are supported by analysts who study cross-cultural movement orientations,³⁶⁶ and conclude that differences in the physical environments, traditions, occupations and lifestyles across the world explain local variations in movement types and corporeal orientations. These orientations are always in complex dialogic interrelationships

³⁶⁶ E.g., Bartenieff & Lewis (1980), Birdwhistell (1970), Carty (1988), Dell (1977), Goodridge (1999), Hanna (1975, 1977, 1979, 1982), Kerr (1990), Laban (1974, 1980), Lomax (1959, 1968, 1971, 1974 [video, see DVD video 1.1), McClary & Walser (1994), Moore & Yamamoto (1988), Ryman (1983), Sheets-Johnstone (1979, 1990, 1999a, 1999b), Sloat (2002), Stone (1994), Tracey (1994) and Wilson (1981, 1985).

with cultural associations and symbolism. (*See DVD video 1.1 for an example of this type of cross-cultural analysis, in this case by Alan Lomax along with Forrestine Paulay and dance/movement analyst Irmgard Bartenieff.*) As Sheets-Johnstone (1990) puts it, body movements not only convey concepts, but they can also generate the concepts in the first place (30).

Since body movements and orientations are culturally shaped, and given the mimetic and corporeal character of Jamaican music (Baxter 1970: 1970-5, Hopkin 1984: 15, Lewin 2000: 65, 81, Nettleford 1968: 31), the evidence presented in this section strongly suggests that Jamaican musicians' experiences of movement and dance in indigenous folk traditions have always been strongly interlinked with their conceptions of music and performance style. (Empirical evidence for this type of relationship between movement and music is presented in Chapter Three and the specific correlation between these findings and the videos in this study is examined further in Chapter Six.) The Jamaican movement style needs to be analyzed to understand its synchronous musical structures and practices and how together they became uniquely *Jamaican* psychomotor socialization patterns, of which choreographic rhythms are an example.

Carty, Nettleford and Ryman have analyzed Jamaican dance; Carty (1988) concludes that "the most striking and lasting of the two [main] cultural influences (African/European) is the African contribution. This is evident in terms of both content and performance practice" (Carty 1988: 14). Corporeal patterns have always been a symbolic and tangible assertion of Jamaicans' African identities in the face of oppressors who tried to negate their African roots (Nettleford 2002: 81, Ryman 1984: 57-8). As

Ryman (1983) puts it, for Jamaicans, dance and body movements have been “the major source and stimulus for communicating Africanisms” (xiv).³⁶⁷ European masters controlled most aspects of their slaves’ lives, but they were unable to restrain slaves’ memories of the rhythmic interplay between their feet, hands and overall body orientation nor could they stop the enactment of this rhythmic play in work and everyday activities (Lewin 2000: 40).

Such expressions [were] beyond the reach of [their] oppressors, who ... needed [those bodies] for the energy so vital for high productivity in the cultivation of sugar. Dance, through recreation, ritual worship, and nonverbal communication ... became a survival tool that spoke to conquest over dispersal and denigration. (Nettleford 2002: 81)

Wilson (1985) argues that the African movement-sound unity was retained with minimal variation in the New World (20). Kerr (1990) notes that “movement patterns, particularly dance forms, [have always been] passed down from one generation to another”(77). Many scholars³⁶⁸ have compared Ghanaian and Nigerian dance, work, recreational and domestic movement patterns with those in Jamaica and discovered iden-

³⁶⁷ Some Jamaican scholars have observed that Jamaicans incorporate a West African corporeal style in not only musical performance, but in everyday life. Alleyne (1988: 152) notes that the motor patterns of Jamaican field workers are basically the same as those of African labourers (see also Nettleford 2002). Warner-Lewis (2003: 126) also notes similarities of posture, hand, arm and elbow positions between Jamaican and African rituals. Alan Lomax’s choreometrics project has also noted how different regions manifest different styles of everyday movements and those that are used for work (Lomax 1968, 1971, 1974 (film)), although some of his conclusions are weakened by too few examples (Kerr 1990: 94-5), Alter (1979), Kealiinohomoku (1979). (*See DVD video 1.1 for an excerpt from Lomax’s 1974 film, Choreometrics. Comparing the movement patterns in West African dance (DVD video Chapter Two (African Music) with Chapter 3 (JFRM traditions) reveals both similar and identical movement patterns which have been retained in Jamaica.*)

³⁶⁸ Alleyne (1988: 152), Kerr (1990: 77-8, 89) Nettleford (in Kerr 1990: 101-100, 2002: 86-7), Nettleford & Layacona (1969: 34), Ryman (1983: xiv, 1984: 58) and Wilson (1981: 100).

tical or similar gestures. (*See DVD video Chapter Two for a number of examples of West African movement/dance styles.*) Like musical Jamaicanization, Jamaican bodies creolized corporeal orientations, dance forms and movement expressions in their environment into a "body language that betrays a way of releasing energy and a vocabulary of 'dance' that [are] distinctive[ly Jamaican]" (Nettleford 2002: 87). Music and mimesis allowed slaves to covertly share feelings, ideas and attitudes in the presence of Europeans without any fear of reprimand (Lewin 2000: 56). Jamaican movements³⁶⁹ share a common quality (rooted in African religion and the slave experience): the image/feeling of an immovable force and positive attitude through "forward" movement in which struggles are transformed into strength and a sense of determination (Mulvaney 1985: 158-160).

1.4.1 JAMAICAN CORPOREAL ORIENTATION RE: JAMAICAN FOLK AND RELIGIOUS MUSIC (JFRM)

When considering Jamaican movement patterns, the same distinctions between social class and musical preferences apply to corporeal culture.

The dances of the black majority remained African-inspired and Creole in content and stylistic orientation, [whereas] [t]he dance forms of the establishment population were naturally Eurocentric³⁷⁰ ... In the end, both African continuities ... [and] Europe's heritage ... persist, albeit in newly reconnected, long adapted versions. (Nettleford 1969: 25, 2002: 88).

³⁶⁹ See Carty (1988), Gottschild (2002) and Ryman (1984) re: Jamaican movement patterns.

³⁷⁰ Well into the late 1960s, stereotypes about the superiority of European culture in the minds of the "brown middle class," as Nettleford (1969: 26) calls them, remained. "The European classical ballet, despite its firm roots in the national folk dances and court dances of Europe, became the hallmark of refinement and culture to the uncritical colonial. ... Contemporary European historians and travelers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had found the native people's dancing quaint, barbaric, exotic, and lascivious" (25).

The influential dances (and movement patterns) upon JPM were those of the black majority, which were, “for the most part, African-derived” (Nettleford 2002: 86).

As noted in section 1.3.2, in Africa there simply is *no* conceptual separation between music and dance. One does not accompany the other; rather, “the sound of music is only one element in a total experience, which may include the sight of costumes, the sensation of dancing, and so on” (Roberts 1998: xxiv; see also Lewin 2000: 132, Murray 1971: 153). African movements are also linked to cultural notions of pleasure, and express feelings of community involvement, joy and spirituality that often culminate in trance states in religious rituals (Kerr 1990, Nketia 1974: 207, Ryman 1983).

Nketia (in Wilson 1981) notes that

For the African, ... motor response intensifies one's enjoyment of music through the feelings of increased involvement and propulsion ... [The African] conceptual approach to music making [is one] in which physical body motion is viewed as intrinsic to music.³⁷¹ (99, 100)

Africans “direct motion toward the earth, as opposed to away from it [which is the European orientation]”³⁷² (Kerr 1990: 149), because the earth is linked to the religious belief that spirits come up from the ground (Whyllie, in Logan 1982: 89). The body displays a low “center of gravity, caused by dropping the placement of the hips over the legs. This situates [it] closer to the ground and in a readied state for movement, ... [and] allows the pelvis to assume a buoyancy and flexibility with which to contract and release” (Kerr 1990: 129).

³⁷¹ Maultsby (1985: 46-7) concurs with this perspective.

³⁷² Kerr (1990: 208-25), Nettleford (2002) and Ryman (1983 – Appendix: 2-9) compare African and European movement styles and their relationship to religious and philosophical beliefs.

AFRICAN POSTURE:

- flat, bare feet, to connect to the earth, which is considered as an extension of the dancer's body; stepping occurs with flat feet widely spaced
- bent, springy knees, linked to what is called a "get down" quality³⁷³ (to get close to "Mother Earth")
- spine and torso are highly mobile/supple
- trunk tipped slightly forward
- bent arms/elbows, usually held close to the body
- hands are rarely static; wrist is often limp
- "cool," detached facial expressions

AFRICAN PRINCIPLES OF MOVEMENT:

- contracting and release of pelvis, from which all movements radiate
- movements are confident and deliberate, and exhibit a relaxed ongoing flow and continuity with a feeling of forward momentum
- full and asymmetrical use of the body, involving polyrhythmic, and sometimes multimetric patterns in different limbs, aka "isolations" (correlated to polyrhythmic sonic patterns)
- a relaxed but controlled "bounce quality" (with bent knees) is usually present (Kerr 1990: 128-9, Carty 1988: 48-50, Ryman 1983: 35-7)
- feeling and performing the pulse/beat with the entire body and with vigorous heavily weighted movements
- emphasis upon a moving vs. static mass

FIGURE 1.31: AFRICAN POSTURE & PRINCIPLES OF MOVEMENT³⁷⁴
(Retentions in Jamaican movement)

³⁷³ Wood (in Kerr 1990) states, "Many West Africans believe that straightened knees, hips, and elbows epitomized death and rigidity, while flexed joints embodied energy and life. The bent kneebone symbolized the ability to 'get-down' " (129). The symbolization of energy and life is also intimately interwoven with African religious beliefs.

³⁷⁴ List derived from Carty (1988: 48-58, 88-9), Kerr (1990: 96-7, 208), Nettleford (2002) and Ryman (1983: 4, 35, Appendix: 54). (*See DVD video Chapter Two for examples of African movement patterns.*)

Ryman (1984) lists 39 traditional religious and recreational Jamaican dances.

The most popular/widespread indigenous corporeal traditions are examined with a view to identify the general, shared characteristics and orientations which contributed to the Jamaican psychomotor socialization patterns in the performance of all indigenous musics. **FIGURE 1.31** (page 242) presents characteristics of the African posture and principles of movement, which are “interwoven in a collective and interdependent fashion” (Kerr 1990: 97), and are all retentions in Jamaican dance (Ryman 1983: Appendix: 54).³⁷⁵

1.4.1.1 MYAL AND MAROON DANCING

Myal was the first neo-African religious form in Jamaica. It gave birth to Kumina and Revival; its movement style and patterns appear in many other indigenous forms (Ryman 1984b: 54). Kromanti Play, the Maroon religion, has similar movement patterns (Ryman 1983: 145): “fast, ... seemingly ‘violent’ motions, ... extensive coverage of space, throwing of the body on the ground, and acrobatic feats” (Ryman 1980: 9). These movements also appear in Nyabinghi dancing: “hops, shifting of weight from leg to leg and sometimes rapid foot work, punctuated by abrupt turns and sudden breaks” (Ryman 1980: 13).³⁷⁶ Dancers also spin around and around in a circle, “accompanied by rhythmic beat[ing] of hands and feet leading to spirit possession” (Warner-Lewis 2003: 192-3). “[C]ongregations danc[e] in an anti-clockwise direction ... while [making] offerings” (Warner-Lewis 2004: 26). Ryman (1980: 13) and Warner-Lewis note links between Myal

³⁷⁵ Sources for video of African and Jamaican music are presented in Chapter Five.

³⁷⁶ These movements dominated Bob Marley’s performance style (Reckford 1982: 76)

and Maroon movement patterns with those in Sierra Leone and by the West African Ewe people and also that Myal ritual practices “are reminiscent of Akan religious practice from the Gold and Ivory Coasts ... [with] a Central African slant. ... [Many] Central African terms are [used] for objects used in Maroon and Mayal [sic] rituals” (Warner-Lewis 2004: 26). Bilby (1979) notes that although Maroons leap about more than Myalists, they share flat-footed postures, emphasis upon pelvic gyration and many songs (165-6, 173). During the slavery period Myal and Maroon culture were “positive symbol[s] of African identification and conquest over the seemingly invincible force of European domination” (Ryman 1980: 5). After slavery, they “act[ed] as catalyst[s] and [gave] form to the resurgence of African identity and consciousness ... [and played a] pivotal role ... in the preservation and moulding of the Jamaican heritage” (Ryman 1980: 5). *(DVD video 3.2 contains films of Maroon music and dance, but unfortunately the examples are quite short. We see an example of two men dancing in the neo-African style noted above and a few couples with a movement style that combines neo-African and European folk movements.)*

1.4.1.2 BURRU AND JONKONNU DANCING

Both Burru and Jonkonnu are rooted in African fertility masquerade rituals. Both “show strong fertility elements as evidenced in ... the deliberate rotating action of the hip while bending through the knees accompanied by breaks of intermittent small jumps” (Ryman 1980: 8; see also Baxter 1970: 223). Jonkonnu movements feature many African traits (Ryman 1984b: 57-8): bent or relaxed knees, a trunk that is tipped forward and isolations of body parts (Ryman 1984b: 57), but there are also French and British

elements (quadrille, jig and polka) (Ryman 1983 - Resource Package #1: 1). Jonkonnu movements display the strength, energy and acrobatics of Myal, but are sometimes fluid and graceful, often with a mimicry-mime-buffoonery component. They also feature rapid footwork, high forward kicks, foot crossings and stamping on the ground, as well as shifting weight from the back to the front of the foot in the same manner as Yoruban dances (Wynter 1970: 38, Ryman 1984b: 16, 57, Baxter 1970: 223). Wynter (1970) notes that the emphasis upon leaping and agility are to celebrate and “increase the fertility of the earth, and renew the life force” (42). *(See DVD video 2.2 for examples of Ghanaian dance that are reminiscent of Jonkonnu-styled movements, which are presented in video 3.6.)*

1.4.1.3 FUNERAL RITES (DINKI MINI DANCE)

For Africans, burial practices are a significant event. They help deceased ones to have a “safe journey ... [to their] new abode of the spirit world. ... [T]he funeral rites of the West African slaves in Jamaica survived more than most other cultural elements” (Carty 1988: 32; see also Tanna 1987: 27). African religions teach that in death a spirit joins its ancestors in its homeland (i.e., Africa). Jamaican funeral rituals (called Set-Ups and Ninth Nights, lasting for over a week) are similar to West/Central African wake ceremonies. *(See DVD video 2.5 for a film of an Ewe funeral dance; many Jamaican slaves were of Ewe ancestry.)* Although they initially acknowledge the sadness, they “gradually become rejoicing ceremonies celebrating the fact that the deceased has moved into a better world” (Carty 1988: 32). Many different types of indigenous music and social activities are used: mento, singing game songs/activities, Anansi stories, riddles, dominoes, and digging songs (Ryman 1980: 8-9, Tanna 1987: 29). Revival hymns

figure prominently, performed with the African two-segment format (described in sections 1.3.2.2 and 1.3.4.2). (*Chapter Three of the supplementary DVD contain examples of all of these JFRM activities.*) Set-Up dancing is called Dinki Mini.³⁷⁷ (*DVD video 3.1 shows a very brief excerpt of the Dinki Mini.*) It begins with dancers stooping and patting the ground “to make contact with the earth” (Tanna 1987: 29). There are two types of movements, one for couples and the other for solo dancers. Solo dancing most often takes place in the center of a circle. The dancers, male and female together, make suggestive rotations with the pelvis in an attempt to prove to “Death” that they are stronger than he, as they have the means with which to reproduce. [Dancers stare ahead, looking death squarely in the eye, for it] is a dance of defiance” (Carty 1988: 34, 36). (Most of these movements also appear in mento and reggae dancing.) Although some movement patterns are fixed,³⁷⁸ most are personalized with variations and improvisation (Carty 1988: 42). **FIGURE 1.32** shows two common postures/movements

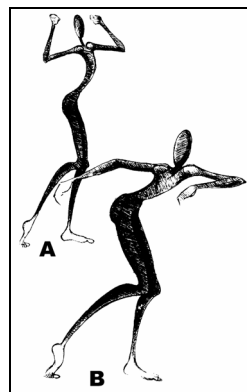


FIGURE 1.32: DINKI MINI SOLO MOVEMENTS (Carty 1988: 37)

³⁷⁷ Warner-Lewis (2004) believes that “ ‘Dinki Mini’ ... may be a reinterpretation of the name for a Koongo friction drum, the ding-winti, [which was] played ... [at] funeral rites” (29).

³⁷⁸ See Tanna (1987: 29) for details of couple dancing, and Carty (1988: 34-42) re: solo dancing.

1.4.1.3 FUNERAL RITES (DINKI MINI DANCE) / 1.4.1.4 KUMINA DANCING (+ KONGO STEP) 245

for solo dancing; these movements also appear in other indigenous dances, and in JPM performance. The feet make a shuffling motion that is similar to the Kongo step (discussed in section 1.4.1.4; *see DVD videos 2.2, 3.4 and 3.8 for examples of the Kongo step*). The working foot (right foot) is placed only on the ball and pushes up, followed by the standing leg/ foot (left above) which performs a low, quick, flat-footed hop ahead. “The standing foot gives the appearance of pushing [or pulling] the working foot forward” (Carty 1988: 36). The shoulders of the “A” person are pulled up as she “performs a slight lift and drop motion at each point of contact of the working leg with the floor. The arms reflect this slight hiccup in the shoulder” (Carty 1988: 40). Raising the hands in the air is a symbolic African gesture of unity (Ryman 1983, Appendix: ‘Here is Jamaica’: 20).

[The arm position / movements of the ‘B’ person] are used when the dancer travels to the side. Arms swing down in front of the body and go up to one side for one pair of the [push and pull] of the feet. *The down motion of the arms is emphasized with a heaviness of limb.* As the arms reach the other side, the elbows bend quickly to give a small break or flex to the motion before the arms are swung down again and over to the other side. (Carty 1988: 36, italics added)

The downward motion (on the regulative beat) is heavy and emphatic.

1.4.1.4 KUMINA DANCING (+ KONGO STEP)

As noted in section 1.3.2.7, Kumina originated in the Congo region of West Africa, and was brought to Jamaica with indentured labourers in the post-emancipation period, where it merged with Myal (Ryman 1983: 140). Body movements are similar to Ngbaka dancing in the Central African Republic and in Belize ancestral commemoration ceremonies. Like Myal movements, their central purpose is to invoke embodiment by spirits / ancestors. (*DVD video 3.4 shows examples of Kumina music, excerpts from a*

ritual designed to invoke embodiment by spirits.)

Kumina exhibits strong African retentions both in form and content. ... The dance and music are vital and compelling. The dance features flat-footed inching of the feet (or the Kongo step), a steady, but often subtle, forward thrusting of the hip, ... followed by wild spins and sudden breaks signaled by the lead drum. (Ryman 1980: 9)

The **Kongo step** consists of “stepping off on one flat foot with the knee slightly bent while pushing off on the ball of the other foot, i.e., push-step., etc.”³⁷⁹ Variations of this step may be seen in the Ghanaian ... dance ‘Kpanlogo’ ” (Ryman 1980: 9). Foehr’s (2000) description of Kumina movements³⁸⁰ emphasizes weighted beats and accented offbeats:

The heavy bass [drum] stroke seemed to come down on the dancers’ shoulders to secure them to the ground. The staccato cast [drum] notes ... seemed to push up through the ground, causing the dancers to jump and hop and twist from side to side, as if mini lightning bolts zapped their soles. (78)

In Kumina ceremonies dancers move counter-clockwise and soloists usually dance in the center. Kumina movements

reveal the strongest African retentions of all the Jamaican folk dances, ... [which] can be traced in three ways. 1) The motions and positions used in the dance are exclusively African in style and stance, incorporating a version of ... the ‘Congo Step.’ 2) In terms of linguistics, authentic African words spoken by the dancers can be distinguished at Kumina rituals. ... 3) The paraphernalia or mediums used at a ritual – e.g., rum, water and animal sacrifice – have direct links with African ritualistic practices. Also, the music created in Kumina rituals has been traced back to Africa and similarities of form and content have been noted even today. (Nettleford in Carty 1988: 20)

FIGURES 1.33 & 1.34 (next page) show basic Kumina positions and motions, which are individualized in performance (Simpson & Moore 1957: 175). All also appear in Revivalist, Maroon, and Myalist dances (Warner-Lewis 2004: 25).

³⁷⁹ See DVD videos 2.2, 3.4 and 3.8 for examples of the Kongo step.

³⁸⁰ It is also similar to Chernoff’s (1991: 1099) description of Ghanaian sound-movement patterns discussed in section 1.3.2.1 #1 METRONOME SENSE, pg. 60.

FIGURE 1.33 shows the inching step; (*it is shown in DVD video 3.4*). Barefoot feet stay flat on the ground and retain contact throughout. The dancer moves forward by thrusting the pelvis back and forth while doing the opposite with the head/torso and moving the feet forward by using the toes to clench the ground and pull the body ahead a tiny amount. Knees and elbows remain bent and bouncy/springy (Carty 1988: 22).

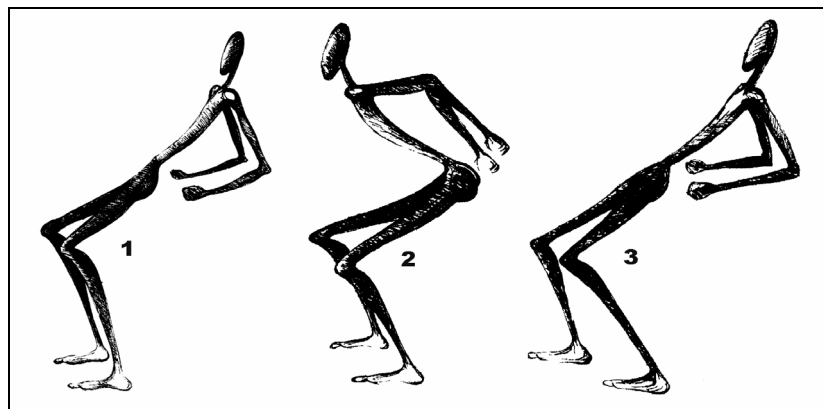


FIGURE 1.33: KUMINA INCHING STEP (Carty 1988: 23)

FIGURE 1.34 shows three postures/movements that were adopted in Revival and then later in ska. (The “proto-Revival/Ska” label is mine, not Carty’s.) Dancer “A” is using a Kongo step to pivot on the spot. The “B” movement is called “The Warrick,”

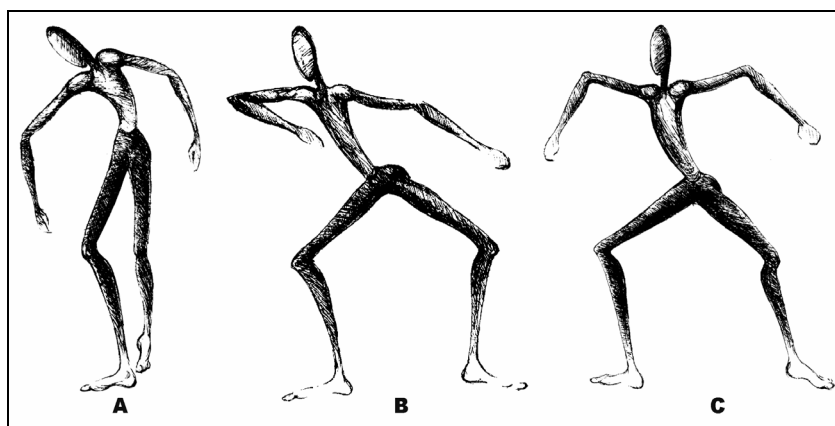


FIGURE 1.34: THREE ‘PROTO-REVIVAL/SKA’
KUMINA POSTURES/MOVEMENTS
(Carty 1988: 25, 27, 29)

used to hop sideways by small increments; “the hop is small and very low to the ground. ([Most] Kumina steps are earthbound.)” (Carty 1988: 30). Movement “C” is called “The Roll Turn.” The dancer jumps from one widely spaced foot to the other while turning mid-air.

1.4.1.5 THE QUADRILLE DANCE (+ YANGA STEP)

In its original European version, the quadrille was a courtly dance which “emphasized etiquette and formality” (Carty 1988: 46). The focus was upon

meticulous hand and head gestures, precise floor patterns and processional movements of the court. The dance was created more for effect and the appreciation of the onlooker than for the enjoyment of the participant. ... Everyone learned the same steps from their dance tutors and performed them at balls, soirées and other appropriate occasions. (Carty 1988: 46)

Upper torsos were tense and upright. Posture was stiff, particularly for the men, “who maintained an almost military stance ... [and] held their left hands behind their backs while the right was held out for the ladies to place their hands” (ibid.: 47). The ladies used their other hand to either hold out their skirt or a fan. “All gestures were stylized and meticulous” (ibid.). People moved in tandem and in straight lines, forming columns, squares, lines and circles. The goal was tight, synchronized unison movements.³⁸¹ Jamaicans Africanized everything: the torso was tilted forward, the pelvis was pushed back, knees were bent, hips were thrust and swiveled, and footwork became intricate and earthbound, and sometimes used the Kongo step. (*See DVD video 3.8 for examples of the European and Jamaicanized version of the quadrille and the Kongo*

³⁸¹ The quadrille was the inspiration for square dancing, which incorporates many of the same movements, but with less stiffness and more opportunity for individualization.

Step. Videos 2.2 and 3.4 also contain the Kongo step.) The hip-swiveling movement was an African step called the **yanga step**³⁸² (Bennett in Johnson & Pines 1982: 47) which became exaggerated in the mento dance (which grew out of quadrille). It “consists of a sideways step with knee bend³⁸³ to the right, followed by the repeated toe push of the left [foot] behind”(206). (*See DVD videos 2.4 and 4.5 for examples of the yanga step.*) The overall posture was also relaxed and a bounce quality was added to all movements; even when dancers were dancing on the spot, the bouncing would continue (Carty 1988: 48-9). This bounciness was synchronized to the offbeat sonic accents which Jamaican musicians added to European quadrille tunes (Jamaicanized like singing games). Two styles of quadrille were danced by the black underclass: the original European version (called “Ballroom Style”) and the Jamaicanized one (called “Camp Style”). “At the time of independence in 1962, the quadrille was so popular that it was chosen as the national traditional dance of the country” (Carty 1988: 50).

1.4.1.6 MENTO DANCING³⁸⁴

Mento grew out of one of the figures of the quadrille. Its development as a dance form was synchronous with the Jamaicanization of quadrille music; see section 1.3.3.6. Mento dancing has many of same movement characteristics as the Camp Style quadrille, especially the Kongo step (Ryman 1983, Appendix: 57), but with a greater emphasis

³⁸² The yanga step is similar to a Zimbabwe traditional dance (Ryman 1983, Appendix: 38). Baxter (1970) believes that “yanga” is derived from the word “Congo.”

³⁸³ The knee bends consist of dipping down on the beats (Mulvaney 1985: 158).

³⁸⁴ There are unfortunately no films of mento dancing on the supplementary DVD. Given its stature as the main recreational dance since the early 1800s, it is particularly surprising that no films of mento have appeared in any documentaries on Jamaican music.

upon the yanga step (Bennett in Johnson & Pines 1982: 47). Most mento movements are “very much ... of African origins, featuring hip-sway and pelvic roll and connected with original courtship-fertility dances, [but] influenced by [the] stateliness ... of quadrille” (Wynter 1970: 47). By the end of the nineteenth century, mento had picked up complementary head, shoulder and arm movements from Kumina dancing (Reckford 1982: 73).

The dance step of the mento ... is a series of sideways, backways and turning two-steps. The first step begins on the short beat ‘and’ after count one. ... [O]n count one the dancer is occupied in lifting one hip, preparatory to making a hip circle in a horizontal plane. This circular movement is maintained continuously throughout the dance. (Baxter 1970: 175)

Lewin (1998) observes that mento rhythms “impel most Jamaican bodies to respond [with the appropriate corresponding patterns] but ... present problems to most non-Jamaicans”(53). She doesn’t explain why, but it seems likely that coordinating poly-rhythmic body movements with offbeat accents is easier for Jamaicans because of their prior experiences with these couplings in other indigenous forms.

1.4.1.7 REVIVAL DANCING

Revival dance combines gestures from Myal, Burru, Dinki Mini and Kumina with body sounds and unique movements. The main movement pattern, called **trumping** (aka trooping, tramping, tromping), is African-derived³⁸⁵ and was a major influence upon ska music and dance. Revival dancing’s primary purpose is to make participants light-headed by over-breathing to prepare them to be embodied by

³⁸⁵ Carty (1988: 68-70), Moore (1979: 304-5), Seaga (1969), Simpson & Moore (1957) and White (1982c: 29-30). Trumping is similar to the South and Southeast African Ba-Ronga (Baronga) dance (Beckwith 1923: 32-33).

spirits/ancestors.³⁸⁶ It has three parts. (*See DVD video 3.11 for examples of Revival movements and rituals.*) 1) Dancers move steadily around in a counter-clockwise circle and bend their body forward and step to the beat with bent knees. 2) **Trumping** (FIGURE 1.35): This is a down-up movement. Dancers simultaneously lean forward and down, push their pelvis back, push their extended arms down and stamp forcefully on the beat while making a loud, grunted exhalation. Torso and hands are then moved strongly upward on the offbeat while inhaling loudly with a groaning sound.³⁸⁷ FIGURE 1.35 also shows a variation: the arms are extended to the sides on the beat and then crossed in front of the body on the offbeat. The strongest corporeal weight is the downward movement, and the loudest sound is on the offbeat: this is the characteristic feel of all JPM. This movement pattern accompanies the singing of Sankey hymns (see section 1.3.4.2). From a phenomenological perspective, Nettleford points out that dancers'

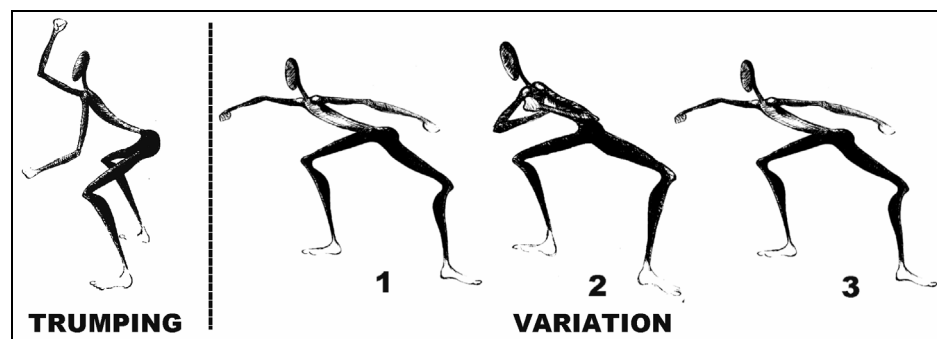


FIGURE 1.35: REVIVAL TRUMPING & VARIATION (Carty 1988: 81, 85)

experience of sound and movement is extremely polyrhythmic,³⁸⁸ since they are doing three things simultaneously: moving their bodies (while walking in a circle), grunting/

³⁸⁶ Becoming light-headed is believed to “empty the mind” to make room for spirits to enter.

³⁸⁷ Sometimes inhalation is on the beat and exhalation on the offbeat.

³⁸⁸ From an interview from *Pocomania: A little madness* (1968 – video).

groaning and singing the hymns. Hymn phrasing is usually sustained against the choppy trumping pattern.

3) **Wheeling** is the final phase. The body is held low and bent forward and the dancer spins rapidly on the spot, which causes dizziness. Wheeling alternates with statue-like poses, and dancers often fall to the ground with a sudden rebound to a standing position. Just prior to embodiment of the spirit, dancers usually "experience" a paralytic "shock" in one leg followed by unconsciousness. When they awake, they are now "possessed," which "can last from minutes to days" (Carty 1988: 70). The African Posture & Principles of Movement (**FIGURE 1.31**, pg. 242) apply: flat-footed, bent knees, bounciness, pelvis pushed back, torso tilted forward (the same as the Kumina postures in **FIGURES 1.33 & 1.34**, pgs. 249-50).

1.4.1.8 NYABINGHI DANCING

Nyabinghi movements are similar to Myal dancing, but because Rastafarians don't believe in spirit possession, they are not earthbound, a paradoxical stance given their philosophical emphasis upon Africa as the homeland (Whyllie in Logan 1982: 90). Movements include: emphatic footwork; jerky, taut arm movements; hopping, stamping and abrupt turns; shifting of weight from leg to leg; sudden stops/starts, abrupt breaks and fierce mime (Wynter 1970: 47, Ryman 1980: 13). (*See DVD videos 1.5, 3.12 and 4.6 for examples of Nyabinghi dancing.*) Thomas Pinnock (2002), a Rastafarian choreographer, and Foehr (2000) explain their symbolism.

A Rasta man ... ritualistically bounces toward the sky with a hop/skip step, always shifting weight from one leg to the other and poised in counterbalance to the movement cosmos while defying gravity. Or Rasta sees himself as a warrior defending himself and family against Babylon by rapidly shifting weight from back to front foot, mimicking the attacking steps of a warrior stalking prey or

1.4.1.8 NYABINGHI DANCING / 1.4.2 JA'N CORP. ORIENTATION RE: JPM / 1.4.2.1 PROTO-SKA DANCING 253

throwing a spear at his enemies, then signaling victory by twirling on one foot to remain rooted in Higher Heights. (Pinnock 2002: 98, 100)

Nyabinghi uses no pelvic movements, which Pinnock attributes to “borrow[ing] of Christianity’s moral code” (102). When this style began in the mid-fifties, it involved the “strenuous shaking and tossing of the dreadlocks ... [in order] to unleash the ‘earth force’ of cosmic energy that pervades the universe. This earthforce was directed against those who historically oppressed the African people” (Foehr 2000: 157).

1.4.2. JAMAICAN CORPOREAL ORIENTATION RE: JPM

Not many detailed analyses have been written about JPM’s corporeal aspects, especially by dance and movement analysts, with only a few specific correlations to sonic factors. The most complete picture emerges by combining these different perspectives and triangulating more general descriptions with more specific ones.

1.4.2.1 PROTO-SKA DANCING

The only analysis of Jamaican social popular music dancing prior to JPM in the literature is by White (1984: 69-72). He notes that many African American dance steps were popular in the dancehall in the fifties and early sixties (e.g., the shuffle, bebop, boogie-woogie, swing and jitterbug), as well as many Latin styles (e.g., rumba, mambo, meringue, cha-cha). The dance craze styles (e.g., the Mashed Potato, Hully Gully, Watusi, Pachanga and especially the Twist) were also “all the rage.” Memories of sound system operators Goodison and Blake (in Stolzoff 2000: 50, 56-9) are similar. Blake also notes that rock & roll dancing and the jitterbug were also popular dances in the fifties (57). All of these foreign dances were Jamaicanized.

[T]here was much room for extemporizing; ... while utilizing black American steps, the black Jamaican would include an element peculiarly his or hers. ‘Kinesic

codes' or body movement would, most of the time, be distinctly Jamaican. This feature was obvious in the earlier folk forms of Jamaica, religious or secular. ... [F]orms like Kumina, Zion Revival or Pukkumina were still familiar to a majority of the poor. The continuing influence of cult dancing along with that of secular social dances like mento... and the singing and dancing games of adults and the young ... naturally paved the way for the adoption and adaptation of black moves from the U.S. An invaluable part of the resultant 'common ground' was made up of the rhythmic 'impetus' of dancers, ways of holding and carrying the body, the setting up of different movements of the body at the same time. ... The black masses ... cannot keep a rigid back. ... [T]heir movements explode with centrifugal force from the regions of the pelvis rather than through extended arms and legs. ... [T]here is much variety and pauses, rests, hops, and sequences used to express joy ... [which] appear at various points. This ... results ... in an engaging combination of tension and relaxation; of tight controlled figures and easy languorous movement. (White 1984: 71, 75)

White doesn't provide many movement specifics, but his descriptions allude to the characteristics in **FIGURE 1.31** (pg. 240). He notes a few distinctly Jamaican movements which correspond to the movement patterns and orientations in **FIGURES 1.32-1.35** (pgs. 244-251). "[B]y the time local music production in the modern idiom was initiated, there were many "strictly" Jamaican "blues' moves" (72). Mento dance moves were blended with R&B dancing (74). There were also similarities between Kumina and Latin American steps, **FIGURE 1.34** "B" (pg. 247) and the Kongo step. (There appear to be no films of proto-ska dancing from any available source.)

1.4.2.2 SKA DANCING

The earliest analytical account of ska dancing in the JPM literature is by Wynter (1970). She describes it as "a response of rural folk, alienated from ancient folkways, confronted with rapid urban and technological change" (47).

[P]art of [ska's] dance movement ... [was] taken from ... the Pukkumina ... 'train': body bent forward, back almost horizontal, one leg placed forwards, slanting outwards. Arms held straight out, loosely doubled in fists, move backwards and forwards in [a] pumping movement which jerks head and shoulders forward. Changeover to the other leg takes place by straightening the back and putting other leg forward. [The] second part of [the] dance owes [its] origin to [the]

Jockey's dance in today's Jononnu – [the] riding and whipping part. Arms bent from [the] elbow, and fists held in front holding 'reins.' [The] whole body moves forward and back in jogging motion. Knees bent, [the] 'riding' motion controlled from [the] pelvis. One hand goes backwards to 'whip' [the] horse, swings forward to crack [the] whip, with a sudden and dramatic [end], then the 'riding' resume[s]. (Wynter 1970: 47)

Other observers provide similar, albeit far less detailed accounts that corroborate

Wynter's descriptions, and add a few nuances/features.³⁸⁹ Murray (1971) notes another Revival movement "that looks as if you are vigorously drying your bottom with a towel (ends in front of the body)³⁹⁰" (155). Prince Buster, (in Simon & Davis 1977: 103) describes the ska dance as a combination of R&B steps with Revival and mento movements. Ryman (1983: 149) also notes a Burru influence. Alleyne (1988) distinguishes between two types of ska dancing: one derived from Revival trumping, and the other "called 'footsy' or 'legs,' consist[ing] of rapid virtuoso movement, including vibrations, of the legs and feet³⁹¹" (118). (*See DVD video 4.3 for examples of "Legs"-style Ska dancing as well as the professionally choreographed version commissioned by the Jamaican government to promote Jamaica at the New York City 1964 World's Fair.*) Rastafarians combined some of these movements with Nyabinghi steps/gestures when dancing to "Oh Carolina" (White 1984: 72). Reckford (1998: 237) makes two important points.

³⁸⁹ e.g., Bergman et al 1985: 23, Clarke 1980: 81, Pinnock 2002: 101, Lewin & Bennett in Johnson & Pines 1982: 49, Nettleford 1969: 23 and T. White 1983: 140.

³⁹⁰ These movements are similar to those in the Twist, which first became popular amongst African Americans in the fifties, based upon African movement styles.

³⁹¹ This dance style occurs in Africa and is practiced by African American performers like Earl "Snake Hips" Tucker and James Brown.

1) Ska dancing was highly spontaneous.³⁹² Dancers incorporated many movements from domestic activities such as washing clothes and bathing. 2) Ska dancing emerged at the same time that Nyabinghi began to become popular; one can see traces of the latter in the former. O’Gorman cites mento, Gospel and Revival as influences (1987a: 86), and identifies three things which are the essence of ska dance and all Jamaican sound-movement couplings. 1) Ska’s main characteristic is its “heavy, hypnotic [offbeat] amplified to the point where the effect is a physical blow³⁹³ [which] provides a numbing of pain but induces a rhythmic ecstasy, a blessed obliviousness of time and place” (1972: 51). 2) Ska took a “a traditional religious form [i.e., Revival] and transplant[ed] it to a modern, urban form — and nobody thought that there was any strangeness at all. It demonstrates the beautiful way in which Jamaicans mould the secular and the religious³⁹⁴ (in Johnson & Pines 1982: 42). 3) “Different types of body images and ways of moving are encoded in the rhythmic style of the music” (1987b: 45), which is an echo of Lewin’s comments about sound-movement couplings in mento in section 1.3.3.7. This explains why Revival movements were apparently automatically / intuitively made to ska’s “heavy corporeal” offbeat accents: they triggered the sound / movement coupling from prior experiences either participating in, or observing, the same coupling in Revival trumping.³⁹⁵

³⁹² Clarke (1980: 81) also stresses that ska moves were extremely spontaneous, free and individualized, especially with regard to footwork.

³⁹³ O’Gorman also describes ska’s offbeat accents as a “heavy, corporeal rhythm” (1972: 50).

³⁹⁴ This is rooted in similar African aesthetics noted in section 1.3.2.

³⁹⁵ Alleyne (1988) notes that “[ska’s] early practitioners were in close touch with Revival churches in West Kingston.” Foehr (2001: 86) lists JPM studio musicians who have played on

There is a 1964 film called *This is Ska*, produced by "The Jamaica Film Unit," as a tie-in for the 1964 World's Fair demonstration. It is in two parts: 1) an instructional segment in which professional dancers demonstrate ska movements, which exemplifies the commercialized/ standardized ska dance, which White (1984: 75) has criticized as being more restrained and simplified than what was practiced in the dancehall (i.e., as described above). 2) Byron Lee & the Dragonaires playing live in a dance club backing ska stars of the period (including Jimmy Cliff and the Maytals) with an audience dancing throughout. Most of the audience's dancing exemplifies the dancehall style vs. the commercialized version in part one. (*See DVD video 4.3 for excerpts of both parts.*)

1.4.2.3 ROCKSTEADY DANCING

There appear to be only three "detailed" descriptions of rocksteady dancing in the JPM literature, but there appear to be no films of rocksteady dancing from any available source. The earliest one comes from the sleeve notes on a 1967 album by the Ethiopians:

The rocksteady dance is probably *the* most relaxed Jamaican dance ever done. ... Just relax the whole body and allow the pulsating rocksteady rhythms to seep into your system. Then ... sway your limp arms and shoulders from side to side accompanied by a one-step foot shuffle going in any direction. Occasionally you may stand in one place and raise your shoulders alternately to the beat. Forget partners — just relax and let your 'Oily' body sway in and out and go with the rocksteady beat. (cited in Bradley 2000: 159)

The second is by Clarke (1980), who attributes the reasons for the emergence of rocksteady primarily due to socio-economic problems, especially unemployment and youth

Revival-style recordings, such as Radcliffe "Dougie" Bryan (guitar), Barold Butler (keyboard), Ansel Collins (keyboard), Lowell "Sly" Dunbar (drums), and vocalists such as Larry (Bro) Marshall, The Tamlins and Carlene Davis.

violence (78-97).³⁹⁶ He provides additional movement details.

When the rhythm slowed down, paradoxically the tension increased, and the body was now responding to an inner rhythmic drive. The tension of the external society was internalized by the dancer and expressed physically. ... In Rock Steady, the dancer ... remain[s] on his spot of earth, shake[s] his shoulders, make[s] pounding motions with his [sic] arms and hands ... without recourse to or consciousness of a partner. Because the movement was stylized, its external appearance alone could be interpreted as tension-releasing violence shimmering at the surface. ... This is not to say, however, that Rock Steady was not a joyous music but its slow tempo, its intensity and tension-building features separated it from ska. (81-2)

The final account is by Bradley (2000), who believes that sociopolitical factors altered dancehall's emotional atmosphere which generated a need for new physical and musical expression of these feelings.

[There was] an atmosphere of trepidation in the dancehalls and patrons ... needed to be on their guard. ... [It] meant less fancy footwork, shuffling or jiving as couples, and ... remaining rooted to the spot, moving from the hips and shoulders ... rocking steady, either by yourself or locked tight to your best girl, but staying strictly in your own space, ever alert to what was going on around or managing to look detachedly menacing. (164)

The trumping-style ska movements vanished, although the consistent down-up emphasis linked to consistent offbeat sonic accents was retained. Another notable difference was rocksteady's preference for marking time on the spot, which dancers described as "renting a tile" (Whitney & Hussey 1984: 13).

No other accounts of rocksteady dancing in the JPM literature identify any specific body movement patterns; they just provide general descriptions or comments about its relaxed/improvisatory style,³⁹⁷ an indication it was more of a "*style* of dancing"

³⁹⁶ Also see section 1.3.5.5.

³⁹⁷ e.g., Barrow & Dalton (2001: 59-61), Chang & Chen (1998: 39), Davis & Simon (1977: 16), Johnson & Pines (1982: 57), Salewicz & Boot (2001: 48), Stolzoff (2000: 89), Storm 1998: (142-5) and T. White (1983: 217-8).

(Bradley 2000: 159) than set gestures/steps. Most of these accounts also argue (or imply) that the relaxed rocksteady dancing style was primarily due to the slower tempo and content of the musical patterns, especially the more melodic, riff-oriented bass lines, but such claims are contradicted by evidence presented in section 1.3.5.5 that the style of dancing (and the rocksteady name) preceded the music changes which appeared in 1966 (Bradley 2000: 159-60).³⁹⁸ Given all of these factors, it is mostly likely that body movement, feelings and sound patterns influenced each other: i.e., musical sounds were altered to correspond to existing body movement patterns (McCook in Johnson & Pines 1982: 56), and the participants' feelings and body movements mirrored and responded to musical patterns — a dialogic interrelationship rooted in the African unification of sound and body movement patterns (discussed in section 1.3.2). Although most accounts of rocksteady dancing prioritize its relaxed movement style, e.g., Pinnock (2002) who describes it as "a pendulumic, minimalist rock of the body," Hebdige (1987) cites bandleader Sonny Bradshaw who believes that "the rocksteady rhythm caught on because it was much 'slower and gave [the dancers] more time to do what they wanted to do' " (71), which suggests a *higher* level of physical activity.

³⁹⁸ Not all of the ska recordings from 1961-1965 (especially in the Skatalites' repertoire) were frantically fast, with a walking bass line. Some of these slower songs (e.g., Eric "Monty" Morris "Sammy Dead" (1964), Peter Tosh's "Maga Dog" (1965), Don Drummond & The Skatalites' "African Beat" (1964)) have bass parts with eighth note ostinato figures (with some suppressed beats) and one-drop drumming. Some musicians such as session keyboardists Jackie Mittoo and Theophilus Beckford believe that the change to slower tempi was because "the musicians would get exhausted after playing to dancers for some time, and they would slow down the tempo which would alter the nature of the ska rhythms" (in Clarke 1980: 80).

1.4.2.4 REGGAE DANCING

In the same manner that when Jamaicans heard Revival rhythms in ska they intuitively associated them with Kumina and tramping dance movements which then became part of ska dancing, when they heard neo-Africanisms in Reggae (especially its percussive rhythmic orientation featuring Burru, Jonkonnu and Nyabinghi rhythms, as well as a more pronounced mento feel in the rhythm guitar) they also automatically or intuitively made neo-African indigenous dance movements. The scenario is the same for reggae as it is for rocksteady, however: there appear to be only three “in-depth” descriptions/ analyses of reggae dance in the JPM literature. (*See DVD video 4.5 for an example of children dancing to reggae in the late seventies, choreographed by Cheryl Ryman.*) The earliest account of reggae dancing in the literature, by Wynter (1970: 47-8), is noteworthy because it appeared shortly after reggae’s emergence. Wynter believes that reggae “expresse[d the] new tension of [a] new transitional social order” (48). Reggae dance prioritizes one of the components of the ska dance: the jockey’s movements (described in section 1.4.2.2), but now they were more toned down with energy reined-in. The body is usually held straight. One arm is usually held on the belly and the other is stretched out to the side. The arms alternate as head and body keep up a tight rocking back and forth. Movement emanates from the pelvis, rather than from the knees with rocking motions similar to the ones in Revival dancing.

The second account is a description by musician Toots Hibbert (1976) in *Dancing Madness*, a book about popular dance styles.

In reggae, the beat came before the dance. ... The drum cast[s] around, playing off the beat. The bass line goes with it. The rhythm guitar [also emphasizes the off

beats]. ... When you dance, you dance right on the beat. It's a feeling – if you can't feel the beat, you can't do the dance. *You dance it however you want to dance – with your feet or with your hands.* The key is: follow the bass. The drum beat will lure you, but straddle it and the bass will carry you along. (87, italics in original)

In contrast to Wynter (and to Mulvaney's (1985) account which follows), Hibbert prioritizes reggae's loose style and feeling, rather than particular movements, although he also describes a few dancehall routines reminiscent of the fifties' and sixties' dance crazes. Of the "Ride-A-Bike" dance, Hibbert says it's "is just the way you sit on a bike. Knees in, toes out, holding the handlebars. You shake up and down, and turn about like you're riding into a deep corner" (ibid.). "The Suzuki" consists of "danc[ing] on the palms of your feet; your feet move like a broom sweeping 'round and 'round" (ibid.). (As noted in section 1.4.2.2, ska also uses domestic activities as dance steps.)

Mulvaney's (1985) account is quite detailed. "Reggae ... employs physical movement in a traditionally African and Afro-Jamaican way" (155). One must understand the correlationship between these movements and the sounds "to appreciate the significance of the cultural form" (156). "Skank" is the most common label for reggae dance (157).³⁹⁹ Although the offbeat accented jabs are the most prominent sonic feature, dancers emphasize the "moments where the beat drops,"⁴⁰⁰ which are often silences in-between offbeats (ibid.). (Marking regulative beats with downward motions is an African

³⁹⁹ This term doesn't appear in any pre-1985 references to reggae dance in the JPM literature, however, which suggests that it might be a later label, rather than one coined at the outset. Bob Marley used it as a song lyric in reference to dancing in his 1974 remake of his 1971 hit "Lively Up Yourself": "You skank so, you skank so!" (It was not in the original version, however.) In more contemporary usage, "skank" is often used to describe the chopped guitar offbeat pattern, although I have been unable to locate any definitive sources for this reference.

practice discussed in section 1.3.2.1.⁴⁰¹)

[U]pbeats are performed in the treble signature, delivering high frequency sounds which ... pull the dancer out of the downward movement, bring the foot off the ground and rais[e] the opposite arm in front of the dancer in preparation for the next 'drop.' ... [T]he movements take the following order, with emphasis on the downward movements: on beat one, the dancer bends the left knee and lowers the whole body a few inches to bring the left foot in contact with the ground in a deliberate manner. At this point the arms remain relaxed at the dancer's side. On the first upbeat (beat one and one-half), the rhythm coaxes the dancer to move upward. The right knee is now bent, raising the right foot off the floor, and drawing the left arm in front of the dancer while the right arm is raised behind the body. On beat two the same deliberate contact with the ground which occurred in beat one is repeated, but this time with the right foot. The same pattern of movements is repeated throughout the rest of the bar. The dance is simple, fluid, and allows for individual variation within the rhythmic structure provided. (157-8)

Reggae movements are neither light nor airy (which is the style Americans commonly adopt when dancing to reggae, because "[they] concentrate on the staccato 'clip' in the upbeat" (158)). "Instead, [Jamaicans'] movements appear more serious-minded, ... focusing on the dipping motion which brings the foot in contact with the ground"⁴⁰²

⁴⁰⁰ Because "drop" is used and defined ambiguously elsewhere in the literature, clarification is in order here. "Drop" = "beat/pulse." See Appendix A, Part Two, where Ryman explains that its usual meaning in traditional Jamaican dances is to refer to the beat. This is in contrast to the meaning of "drop" imparted by musicians which can mean two totally opposite things. As noted earlier, the most common musicians' usage (that I have encountered both in person and in print) is the reference to "one drop" drumming, where a single bass drum thump is placed (i.e., "dropped") onto the second and fourth beats. I have heard some musicians explain it differently, however, where "drop" is equivalent to "rest," i.e., they interpret "one drop" to mean that the first beat is "dropped" or left silent. This makes it one of those words whose ambiguity is so great that it can only be clarified by the context of its use with enough description to ascertain what is actually meant. Otherwise, it is very problematic, since it can mean so many incompatible things.

⁴⁰¹ From an analyst's perspective, performers' and participants' corporeal movements can also indicate how they perceive beat subdivisions (which may or may not correspond to sonic patterns), and can help to identify parts which are masked.

⁴⁰² Cheryl Ryman, in private correspondence (2002, see Appendix A), agrees with Mulvaney's description and stresses that, from a Jamaican's perspective (especially for dancers), downward movements *always* receive the strongest emphasis. Downward movements

(ibid.). Mulvaney identifies this movement as part of the yanga step (discussed by Bennett in Johnson & Pines 1982: 47). The reggae skank “looks like a slow, confident walking stride. Indeed, the experienced dancer brings to these simple repetitive steps nuances which magnify a sense of determination. The dance creates the image of an immovable force”⁴⁰³ (ibid.), which explains reggae’s popularity (both as a musical and a dance form) with Jamaica’s underclass. “Reggae music represents [sic] the situation of poverty and oppression, while physical movement, as guided by the rhythmic structure, subverts the situation transforming it into a positive attitude through ‘forward’ movement” (160).⁴⁰⁴ (*See DVD video 4.5 for an example of reggae skanking.*)

Mulvaney also identifies a significant problem in the JPM literature (as well as by non-Jamaican audiences): misperceptions about JPM’s rhythmic and metric structure. Some analysts describe the change from rocksteady to reggae as a *decrease* in tempo (e.g., Bergman 1985: 28, Bilby 1995: 168, Chang & Chen 1998: 42, Davis & Simon 1977: 17, Hebdige 1987: 58, 75, 82), whereas others describe the change as one of an *increase* in tempo (e.g. Lent 1984: 167-188,⁴⁰⁵ Clarke 1980: 80-1, 96, Thomas 1973: 348, Vulliamy &

are bounced and upward movements are “pulsed.”

⁴⁰³ The I-Threes, the vocal trio in the Wailers and Sandra “Puma” Jones of Black Uhuru frequently made this movement in performances in the seventies and eighties.

⁴⁰⁴ This is the same reaction to adversity — i.e., responding to negative emotions/feelings with positive, joyfully assertive dancing — as found in the Dinki Mini dance; see section 1.4.1.3.

⁴⁰⁵ Lent (1984) state that “the tempo of reggae gradually slowed as the music became more political” (171), but all of the transcriptions in the book utilize an 8th note grid, with bass drum drops in rocksteady and reggae indicated on beat three instead of two and four. Descriptions of musical practice also indicate that the authors conceptualize the main pulse

Lee 1976, Witmer 1981). Cross (1984: 235) states that in reggae the tempo *appears* to slow down but actually remains the same.⁴⁰⁶ Because the rhythmic texture of reggae is multilayered, polyrhythmic, and often incorporates variable beat subdivisions (which are often performed simultaneously), it is possible for different listeners, performers or dancers to perceive and feel tempo differently, depending upon which level (or part) that they consider as the main part, or to which part they direct their attention.⁴⁰⁷ That being said, however, a Jamaican interpretation of where the beat drops (i.e., based upon major JPM practioners' explanations⁴⁰⁸ or as demonstrated in live performances (in which they count-off songs)) indicates that the progression from ska to rocksteady to reggae has been one of *decreasing tempos*, with the maintenance of offbeat accents (i.e., in-between beats), and a consistent emphasis upon backbeats (on second and fourth beats) in each style.⁴⁰⁹

as being twice as fast as perceived and performed by Jamaican musicians.

⁴⁰⁶ In spite of this problematic conclusion, Cross' transcriptions for reggae are all based upon an eighth note grid, showing the bass drum drops on the third beat, which indicates that he has perceived the pulse twice as fast as Jamaicans perceive it.

⁴⁰⁷ The cognitive research presented in Chapter Three indicates that our perception of tempo is determined by our prior musical experiences which are formulated in, and shaped by, the particular cultural environments in which we develop our conceptions of musical structure.

⁴⁰⁸ e.g., Aston & Carlton Barrett miscellaneous live performances on film (see Chapter Five, and *DVD video 1.3, 1.5 and 4.6*), Prince Buster in Davis & Simon (1977: 103), Frederick "Toots" Hibbert (1976: 87), Lloyd Knibb in Foehr (2001: 90), also see *DVD video 1.4 for Knibb's demonstration of ska/rocksteady/reggae grooves*, Bob Marley, interview in *Caribbean Nights* [video] between 16:33-16:50, see *DVD video 1.4*.

⁴⁰⁹ This is also supported by the findings of this study, presented in Chapter Five, which indicates that the majority of musicians examined in this study perceive the main pulse somewhere between 60 to 85 beats per minute, i.e., with the bass drum (in a one drop style) occurring on beats two and four (at this slower tempo); see statistics in Chapter Five.

Reggae's slower tempo, emphasis upon hocketed rhythms and use of suppressed beats was a major influence upon reggae dancing, which, like rocksteady dance, is really more of a movement style than a collection of consistent steps or gestures.

Greater space in-between beats allowed for movements that responded to, or generated, complex polyrhythmic accents, rapid beat subdivision which emphasized offbeats⁴¹⁰ and filling-in of silences with emphatic corporeal movements.

Other descriptions of reggae dance in the literature flesh out or affirm these three accounts. Pinnock (2002) identifies a significant trait of reggae dance: "a heavy [movement] accent on the downbeat⁴¹¹ [which] allow[s] the dance posture to reconnect to the ancestors" (102). O'Gorman (1972: 51) and Reckford (1977: 13) also describe reggae movements as earth-rooted or earth-grinding.⁴¹² Bennett (in Johnson & Pines 1982: 47) discusses the prevalence of the yanga step and the movement style of mento and Pukkumina dances (both of which feature the Kongo step) in reggae dance (47). Reckford (1977: 13) and Ryman (1980: 13) observe the predominance of shoulder thrusts (which occur in Dinki Mini, Kumina and Pukkumina dances), Maroon elements, mento's pelvic emphasis and Nyabinghi movements. The pelvic component is a central element of

⁴¹⁰ Neo-African movement possibilities to these sounds were perceived by not only mover, but also by encultured listeners and audiences. This is a key component of the Jamaican phenomenological experience of JPM in which particular sound and movement couplings create a feel for rhythm factors and metric weight that are based entirely upon this coupling, rather than on the sonic patterns alone. Lack of familiarity with these couplings presents a significant challenge to anyone trying to understand JPM from the perspective of its makers.

⁴¹¹ Since the downbeat is frequently silent, the Jamaican coupling with strong, weighted corporeal articulations is problematic for people without prior experience with this tradition.

⁴¹² Bob Marley's Nyabinghi dancing is an exception to this; discussed in section 1.4.1.8. For film of Marley dancing *see DVD video 4.6*.

couple dancing (O’Gorman 1972: 51-2), which Pinnock (2002) describes as a means to “regenerat[e with their ancestors] through pelvic interlock” (102). Davis & Simon, O’Gorman and Pinnock identify retained rocksteady traits: “swaying motions – stepping lightly in place to the beat, arms swaying and churning as if in a stationary walking race” (Davis & Simon 1977: 49), the tendency to dance alone (O’Gorman 1972: 52), and, when couple dancing, maintaining the ‘rent-a-tile’ style of occupying a “six-inch square space of tile ... while slow ‘grin’ing’ to the music” (Pinnock 2002: 102).

The fact that Gottschild’s (2002) description of African movement principles and orientation is also totally applicable to reggae’s dancing style points to its African roots:

Movement may originate from any body zone, and two or more areas of the body may simultaneously serve as centers of movement, [which] is polyrhythmic. ... Movement, mood, or attitude disruptions that ensue abruptly, rather than with a transition phase, are ... [other] signature [traits]. A driving or somber mood may overlap and cohabit a light, humorous attitude, or ... imitative movements (reflecting particular human or animal behaviour) may be juxtaposed with abstract ones. The result of such contrasts may be comedy, irony, satire, double meanings, innuendo, and ultimately, euphoria and exhilaration. ... Ephebism ... (the exhibit[ion] of youthful characteristics: ... energy, attitude, timing [and] vitality) [pervades most movements]. Ephebism implies a supple, flexible torso, bending knees, and the ability and willingness to go down in order to be lifted up, literally and metaphorically: a flexibility that allows one to go with the flow and roll with the changes (of the dance, of life itself). ... [The] ... principle [of] ‘The Cool’⁴¹³ ... combines vitality with composure – or hot/engaged with cool/detached. To exhibit the cool involves dancing and presenting the self with clarity and lucidity. ... [Lastly,] improvisation is the name of the game, on the individual level, and it rules on the collective front as well (5-9).

⁴¹³ Mulvaney (1985) notes that the traditional dances of the Yoruba in western Nigeria epitomize “the philosophy of cool” (154).

1.4.3 JAMAICANIZATION, PART 2

This section examines how corporeal factors and JPM sonic traits and techniques were incorporated into the Jamaicanization process between the late fifties and the seventies. Given the consistency of choreographic rhythms in Jamaican Folk and Religious Musics (JFRM) (examined in sections 1.4.1.1 to 1.4.1.8, and illustrated by the findings of this study⁴¹⁴), it appears that JFRM choreographic rhythms were a significant factor in shaping JPM.⁴¹⁵ As in section 1.3.5.1 which examined Jamaicanization prior to JPM, Jamaicanization is examined below in five areas: 1. BODY MOVEMENT, 2. RHYTHM, 3. MELODY, 4. HARMONY and 5. ARRANGEMENTS & STRUCTURE.

1. BODY MOVEMENT:

African and neo-African movement postures and principles (FIGURE 1.31, pg. 240) (and the Jamaican traits described in section 1.4.1 and 1.4.2) are consistently intertwined to create or maintain an indigenous rhythmic feel:

- steady beat;
- consistent offbeat accents;
- accompaniment figures that prioritize offbeats;
- contrasting rhythms/phrases;
- different beat subdivisions, usually with a higher density referent than the melody;
- use of hocketing;
- emergent pulse and rhythms emanating from the ensemble;
- a neo-African metric orientation (weakly stated or silent regulative beats, with accents

⁴¹⁴ See empirical evidence in Chapters Five of the shared choreographic rhythms by both traditional and JPM musicians, as well as further analysis in Chapters Six and Seven.

⁴¹⁵ See discussion in Chapters Three and Six which examines neurobiological evidence of the synchronous, dialogic interrelationship between musical perception, cognition, performative skills and one's environment, especially cultural traditions.

on offbeats and backbeats);

- frequently intense percussive orientation (e.g., in guitar and keyboard parts), which sometimes minimizes pitch as a governing structural or developmental principle.

Movements are primarily earthbound, relaxed gestures which articulate regulative beats (with deeply dipped gestures) synchronized to consistent offbeat accents (with upward movements). All movements are bounced; African yanga and Kongo steps frequently appear.

2. RHYTHM:

Figure 1.36a+b (next two pages) provides examples of the six most common terms used to refer to Jamaican rhythms in a transcription of “Matilda” by Count Owen, a 1950s mento singer, as performed in *Get Up, Stand Up* (directed by Bruno Blum), a 1995 French TV documentary. “Matilda” is an adaptation of three different Jamaican mento songs recorded by Harry Belafonte in 1953.⁴¹⁶ Owen performs it twice a cappella, in a mento and ska style,⁴¹⁷ while miming the playing of a banjo or guitar and scatting accompaniment rhythm figures in-between vocal phrases. (See DVD video 4.2 for *Owen’s performances*.) In **FIGURE 1.36a+b** I’ve added typical rocksteady style parts to Owen’s melody. The numbers identify the following rhythmic devices: 1. Afterbeat, 2. Prebeat, 3. Onbeat, 4. Backbeat, 5. Upbeat (i.e., an anacrusis leading to the following

⁴¹⁶ “Matilda” appeared on his second album, *Belafonte*, released in 1955. Its melody comes from three different Jamaican mento songs: “Dip and Fall Back,” “What a Hard Time” and “Sweetie Charlie” (from www.mentomusic.com/Harry_Belafonte.htm, accessed 21 Jul 07). The lyrics are by Norman Span (from Harry Belafonte and *Friends* www.akh.se/harbel/index.htm, accessed 21 Jul 07).

⁴¹⁷ Each version has the same melody and rhythm, but the ska version is more staccato with stronger offbeat accents.

The musical score for "Matilda" is presented in a multi-staff format. The vocal line at the top features the lyrics "Ma - til - da -" and "Ma - til - da -". The instrumental parts include Piano, EL. GTR, EL. BS, TAMB., CONGAS, and DRUM KIT. The score is divided into measures 1 through 6, corresponding to the beats: 1. Afterbeat, 2. Prebeat, 3. Onbeat, 4. Backbeat, 5. Upbeat (anacrusis), 6. Offbeat. The tempo is marked as J = 100 mm.

FIGURE 1.36A: "Matilda" – as sung by Count Owen – Rocksteady Arrangement by McCarthy
1. Afterbeat, 2. Prebeat, 3. Onbeat, 4. Backbeat, 5. Upbeat (anacrusis), 6. Offbeat

Ma - til - da - she take me mo - ney and run Ve - ne - zue - la.

1. Afterbeat, 2. Prebeat, 3. Onbeat, 4. Backbeat, 5. Upbeat (anacrusis), 6. Offbeat

FIGURE 1.36B: "Matilda" – as sung by Count Owen – Rocksteady Arrangement by McCarthy
1. Afterbeat, 2. Prebeat, 3. Onbeat, 4. Backbeat, 5. Upbeat (anacrusis), 6. Offbeat

note) and 6. Offbeat. Notes marked 1, 2 and 5 are all offbeat notes, but those marked 1 and 2 can be classified as either Afterbeat or Prebeat notes depending upon their context. Notes marked 5 receive no accent, since they lead to the following onbeat note. The piano plays *consistently accented offbeat eighth-notes* — which are all mostly afterbeats (since they echo the harmony that is implied by the melody on the beat before), except for measures 7 and 8 where it plays onbeat notes on beats 3 and 4. The guitar part plays a mento-style afterbeat-backbeat-afterbeat pattern (see FIGURE 1.25a, pg. 214). The bass part accents offbeats throughout, mixing onbeats, prebeats and upbeats. With the exception of the opening downbeat (where there is a bass drum note) the drummer only plays two hi-hat eighths on the first and third beats. The bass drum is in the one-drop style on the backbeats, synchronized with a snare rimshot. There are several levels of hocketting going on in this arrangement. 1) The conga part is split between two instruments/hands; the resultant rhythm combines the two parts. 2) The tambourine, conga and drum kit can be perceived as one producing a resultant rhythm.

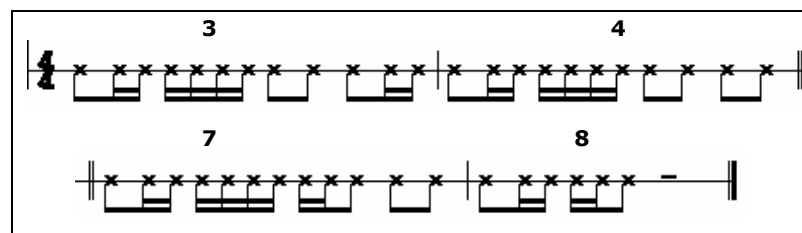


FIGURE 1.37: “Matilda” – Resultant Rhythm for Rhythm Section

3) Given that *all* of the instruments are playing short, repetitive ostinati patterns, one could also perceive the entire ensemble as one monolithic percussion unit. Because of the similarity of parts, however, the resultant rhythm for group 2) and group 3) is the same, with measures 3-4 and 7-8 illustrated in **FIGURE 1.37**. This resultant rhythm

indicates a density referent of sixteenth-notes, although this subdivision is only implied on the third beat of measures 3 and 4 and on the fourth beat of measures 4 and 8.

3. MELODY:

Increased frequency of toasting (vs. ska and rocksteady) and percussive style vocals sometimes creates melodies that are basically just intoned speech. Slower tempi (especially in roots reggae and rockers styles) often result in complex melodic rhythms, especially when vocables are used. Melodic rhythms often have high density referents, using corporeally articulated pulses for accurate timing and to maintain synchronization with the rest of the ensemble.

4. HARMONY:

Harmonic practices display a higher degree of neo-African and foreign elements than in ska or rocksteady. The prevalence of hocketting, suppressed beats, afterbeat chording, counter-rhythms and countermelodies sometimes generate asynchronous articulation of harmonic change amongst ensemble parts; i.e., melody, bass and harmony instruments/voices change chords at different times, sometimes in canon-like relationships to each other. Heavy downward corporeal gestures often occur on silent beats, i.e., just after or before harmonic changes, thus harmonic accents are often synchronized to upward gestures (which are a pulsation after a downward bounce). The bass often pedals or plays riffs emphasizing just one chord or outlining simpler harmonic progression than played by other parts. Repetitive circular patterns (favouring minor chords and keys, often consisting of four or fewer chords) are also common place. In songs with limited harmonic movement, melodic, rhythmic and timbral

variations are often central in creating interest, development and forward momentum.

Foreign influences sometimes result in complex, extended harmonies (i.e., jazz-style chords and modulations) and more sophisticated counterpoint. Some complex harmonies are created through polyharmonic techniques, whereby different chords are performed simultaneously by different instruments/voices, with the resultant harmony emerging from the ensemble as a whole.

5. ARRANGEMENTS & STRUCTURE:

Arrangements and formal techniques show an increased degree of neo-African and foreign influences. Neo-African forms are common in the roots reggae period, with decreasing use of the symmetrical, sectional European-influenced forms of the pre-JPM period. Flexible phrase lengths/sections or open-ended forms dominate live performances, where audience participation often influences the content, length, dynamics and sequence of events. The bass guitar becomes increasingly prominent in both the mix and in terms of providing contrapuntal melodies and rhythms that frequently are a song's main characteristic. In the early reggae years, guitar and bass frequently play octave ostinati figures. By the mid-seventies, instrument roles often follow those of Nyabinghi drums, with lead guitar imitating repeater patterns and keyboard/guitar imitating the funde. Hocketting and interactive ensemble composition, arranging and variation (which are all highly dependent upon synchronous corporeal orientations and choreographic rhythms) often result in different versions of songs for each performance.

Foreign influences consist primarily of Tin Pan Alley (AABA) and standard rock/pop forms (most often Verse-Chorus-Bridge), and solo instruments are more

frequently featured than in ska and rocksteady.

1.5 CONCLUSION

Experts on Jamaican movements (in general, and those regarding musical performances in particular⁴¹⁸) have observed that these movements have always been dominated by West and Central African choreographic rhythms and corporeal orientations which have been maintained and acquired through the neo-African Jamaican traditions examined in section 1.4. The consistent integration of these movements with Jamaican musical patterns from the slavery era to the late seventies (examined in section 1.3) strongly suggests that these neo-African psychomotor socialization patterns are a defining feature of all Jamaican musics, a feature which has increased in intensity during this period. This African-rooted corporeality has either enhanced existing neo-African sonic traits or facilitated the addition of neo-African traits to sound patterns that have had (at the outset) predominantly European (or other foreign) surface qualities. The analysis presented in this chapter links the neo-African performance style of both JFRM and JPM to claims by both JPM artists and scholars about Jamaican music's "African roots" or "African feel." The complex multilayered gestalts of traditional and contemporary Jamaican music include not only sonic patterns, but also a variety of non-sonic factors, including, but not limited to:

- emotional/corporeal sensations of neo-African movements experienced personally as performers, participants or dancers
- associations of music with African and neo-African activities, rituals, beliefs and

⁴¹⁸ Alleyne (1988), Carty (1988), Kerr (1990), Lewin (2000), Nettleford (1968, 1979), Ryman (1979, 1983, 1984a, 1984b) and Sloat (2002).

values experienced in daily life⁴¹⁹

- memories of music experienced in neo-African social structures and ritualistic activities, often performed in circles and involving interaction and participation with others in the creation, execution and development of musical ideas and structures — i.e., with minimal distinction between performers and audience

From a phenomenological perspective, then, Jamaican musical gestalts have always involved the synchronization of Jamaicanized sonic elements and the non-sonic factors described above. And as many observers and participants have observed, this phenomenological unity is so strong and deeply rooted that the experience of any one of these factors or patterns can automatically trigger the others in a manner that is uniquely Jamaican. The enactivist research presented in Chapter Three provides empirical evidence of how the connections between different modalities of perception and sensory stimulation are united during the execution of complex experiences (like the music/dance coupling in African and Jamaican musical practices). The skill to execute these couplings and their meaning to both makers and perceivers are contingent upon prior experiences of the people involved in such experiences and are primarily the result of common sociocultural influences. The remainder of this study provides additional evidence from a variety of areas to support and flesh out these claims and observations.

⁴¹⁹ See list in section 1.3.2, as well as additional information examined in Chapter Four.

PART TWO:

2. CHOREOGRAPHIC RHYTHMS

2.1 INTRODUCTION:

USING ANALYSES OF WEST, CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN AFRICAN MUSICS AND AFRICAN AMERICAN MUSICS TO SUPPLEMENT OMISSIONS IN THE JAMAICAN MUSIC LITERATURE

Although the Jamaican music literature has little to say about specific body movement and sound pattern relationships,¹ there *is* a body of work that has examined these relationships in West, Central and Southern African musical traditions as well as African American musics.² Since most Jamaicans' ancestors were brought from West and Central African regions as slaves between 1517 and 1838, or came to Jamaica from these regions during the postemancipation period as indentured labourers,³ West and Central African aesthetics have been a major influence upon most Jamaican folk and religious music (JFRM).⁴ Because JFRM and African American musics have both influenced Jamaican Popular Music (JPM), these studies provide important relevant

¹ See Chapter One for discussion of the Jamaican Music Literature.

² Although there is little evidence to suggest that any Jamaicans are of Southern African origins, African music specialists (e.g., Arom, Blacking, Chernoff, Kubik, Lucia, Maultsby, McGinty, Nketia, Oehrle, Tracey, Warner-Lewis, O. Wilson — see bibliography for citations) note that the aesthetic orientations of West, Central and Southern African musics (especially with regard to the inseparability of music and dance and movement orientations) are similar. Given the small number of detailed analyses of sound and movement patterns in the West and Central African music literature, I have therefore included detailed analyses of Southern African aesthetic principles where they overlap with West and Central African ones as a means to more fully understand the roots of Jamaican musical practices.

³ The most recent census figures (1989) indicate that 95% of Jamaicans are of African ancestry (Rouse 2000: 10). See Chapter One and Chapter Four for additional discussion of Jamaican sociocultural history.

⁴ See Chapter One for specifics.

information to fully understand Jamaican traditions and their relationships to these roots. This chapter first examines Kofi Agawu's concept of choreographic rhythms, then looks at African and African American music studies which either reinforce or expand Agawu's concept by corroborating his observations, or provide additional details as supporting evidence. Together, these studies provide a solid resource from which to analyze sound and body movement couplings in not only Jamaican music, but in any musical experience. *Note:* Although there are some references in this chapter to Jamaican choreographic rhythms, most of the specific correlations are made in Chapters Five, Six and Seven, in conjunction with the empirical evidence presented in Chapter Five (i.e., analysis of 878 filmed performances of Jamaican artists).

2.1.1 KOFI AGAWU'S CONCEPT OF CHOREOGRAPHIC RHYTHMS⁵

West African ethnomusicologist Kofi Agawu has observed that performers' body movements which don't generate sounds (either directly or mediated via an instrument), but rather, which are part of synchronous dance steps or other movements synchronized to African music's rhythmic groove, are often essential for both the creation and perception of African sound patterns.⁶ Agawu calls these types of move-

⁵ Agawu's concepts are quite applicable to Jamaican music/dance traditions for a number of reasons. Agawu is himself from Ghana, and his research has been primarily upon the music/dance of this region. The majority of Jamaicans' ancestors were from West and Central Africa; as noted in Chapter One, the movement patterns (both in dance and everyday life) of this region are remarkably similar or identical to those in Jamaica.

⁶ Agawu's primary experience is with Ghanaian music (Agawu 2003: 3). He points out that the musics of West and Central Africa share fundamental characteristics, such as a steady pulse, time lines — which he prefers to call *topoi* ("short, distinct, and often memorable rhythmic figure[s] of modest duration about a metric length or a single cycle, usually played by the bell or high-pitched instrument in the ensemble, and serves as a point of temporal reference) — and particular dance movements linked to the main pulse (73)."

ments "unsounded gestures," which, in combination with gestures that *do* generate sound (i.e., "sounded gestures"), create "choreographic rhythms," that are shared by performers and other participants (e.g., dancers, audience members) (Agawu 2003: 77).

Unsounded gestures include cyclical movements such as foot tapping, swaying, shifting of weight, or head, torso, and arm movements synchronized to sound patterns.

"Cultural insiders"⁷ always "instinctively and spontaneously" perceive and make (either "in actuality or imaginatively") these unsounded gestures when they hear the sounds with which they are coupled (ibid.: 73). Agawu stresses that the relationship between sounded and unsounded gestures is not hierarchical, but so dialogically intertwined that

conceptually, ... the music and the dance ... exist at the same level; the music is not prior to the dance, nor is the dance prior to the music. ... [T]here is no song proper without a sense of associated movement ... [i.e., movements are not] extra-song components. ... [The] combination of ... sounded and unsounded gestures ... [therefore] give[s] [African rhythms] and time lines [their] meaning. (Agawu 2003: 73, 94, 77)

When performers or other participants omit or change unsounded gesture and sound pattern couplings, this usually causes sonic misperceptions or performance errors.

Those not familiar with the choreographic supplement ... sometimes have trouble locating the main beats and expressing them in movement. Hearing African music on recordings alone without prior grounding in its dance-based rhythms will not necessarily convey the choreographic supplement. Not surprisingly, many misinterpretations of African rhythm and meter stem from a failure to observe the dance. (ibid.: 73)

Agawu's comments apply to non-Jamaicans' difficulties in replicating Jamaican music (as discussed in the Introduction, as per Marley's comments about Jamaican musical feel, and in Chapter Seven), as well as to my own experiences first performing Jamaican music (see Introduction and Appendix A).

⁷ For a comparison between "cultural insiders" and "cultural outsiders," see Agawu (2006).

Three of the most characteristic features of Jamaican music (which are often operative simultaneously) are related to Agawu's discussion of West African music: *consistent offbeat accents*,⁸ *hocketting* and *use of silence* (i.e., *implied*⁹ or *felt beats*). As noted in Chapter One, the most characteristic rhythmic feature of Jamaican music is the consistent *accentuation of offbeats* (especially in accompaniment patterns, most often as afterbeats). (Offbeat accents also occur in West African music, but less frequently and distinctively.) These accents are articulated in two ways that alternate or occur simultaneously. From a melodic perspective, traditional Jamaican melodies most often begin or end on an offbeat and consistently accent offbeats within a phrase (Rouse 2000: 285). Accompaniment patterns also accent offbeats throughout a song. In JFRM, these accompaniment patterns sometimes also include sounds on the beats, but in JPM, sometimes only offbeats are sounded (on guitar, keyboard, horns and hand percussion) with rests on the main beats. Agawu (2003) notes that in African music main beats are generally articulated by footsteps, weight-shifting and downward gestures with other body parts. This corporeal orientation applies to the performance of Jamaican music. (This has been confirmed in this study by comparing existing transcriptions and

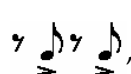
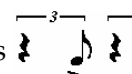
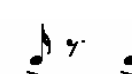
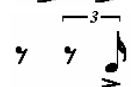
⁸ Offbeat = any sound articulated anywhere in-between beats. See section 1.3.2.1, pg. 64+ for discussion of rationale and etymology for "offbeat" (as well as "after beat" and "prebeat," two different types of Jamaican offbeats).

⁹ "Implied beat" is a term used by Dick Smith, a Jamaican percussionist who immigrated to Toronto, Canada in 1956 (Interviewed by author, 2000). Smith's father was a white coffee plantation overseer. They lived on the plantation, which was surrounded by a Maroon community in the Blue Mountains; all of his friends were Maroon children. He has become a major exponent of both Caribbean and African musics as a studio musician, teacher and performer in Toronto. He has also toured as Louise Bennett's accompanist.

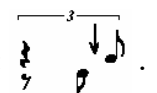
technical descriptions of Jamaican music¹⁰ with the filmed performances examined in Chapter Five.)

Jamaican musicians sometimes position afterbeat accents differently from each other within an ensemble, a scenario which I will call "the delayed afterbeat scenario." This is a common occurrence/technique in Revival music, as discussed by Hopkin (1978) — see section 1.3.4.2 — and in all JPM styles, and usually involves parts which only accent afterbeats (see **FIGURE 1.15** (Common Sixteenth-Note and Triplet Handclapping Revival Accompaniments), pg. 156 and **FIGURE 1.28** (Reggae Afterbeat Patterns), pg. 226).¹¹ In the delayed afterbeat scenario, the majority of musicians feel and articu-

late afterbeats together, in usually one of four ways: dividing the beat in two parts

, in three parts , in four parts  or in six parts . A smaller number of musicians within the ensemble place their

afterbeats later than the majority, i.e., the articulation of their afterbeats is "delayed." For example, if the majority of musicians are dividing the beat in two, the delayed afterbeat might be placed slightly later than the eighth following the beat (i.e., *after* ) but

before the final triplet eighth before the next beat, as indicated by the arrow: .

This particular type of delayed afterbeat (i.e., placing it in-between an eighth-note and a

¹⁰ For transcriptions and descriptions of Jamaican music, see: Baxter (1970), Beckwith (1922, 1923, 1929), Beckwith & Roberts (1923), Bilby (1979, 1995), Bilby & Leib (1986), Ehrlich (1982), Hopkin (1978, 1984), Jekyll (1907/ 1966), Lewin (1968, 1970, 1971, 1976, 1983, 1984, 1998, 2000), Murray (1971), O'Gorman (1968, 1972, 1987a, 1988a), Reckford (1977, 1982, 1998), H. Roberts (1925, 1926, 1989), J. Roberts (1998), Seaga (1969), G. White (1982a, 1982b, 1982c, 1984) and Witmer (1981).

¹¹ Charles Keil uses the term "participatory discrepancies" to describe situations in which musicians articulate rhythms differently from each other, especially in terms of asynchronous beat subdivision. (Keil's comments do not refer to Jamaican music, however.) (Keil 1995, Keil & Feld 1994: 96-108).

triplet afterbeat) happens often in ska, in guitar, keyboard, horn and hand percussion rhythmic figures. With regard to the other three ways of subdividing the beat (i.e., in three, four and six parts), delayed afterbeats are created by placing them slightly later than where the majority of other musicians are articulating the afterbeat. Delaying afterbeats can be intentional (i.e., a conscious act), but they more often are simply felt (i.e., they are intuitively positioned) as a complementary counter-rhythm. In either case, highly complex polyrhythms and emergent rhythms are created, especially if the beat is already being subdivided differently within the ensemble and afterbeats are then added to the rhythmic texture. In the delayed afterbeat scenario, unsounded gestures that articulate the beat with a downward movement keep musicians in synchronization with each other by entraining them to the commonly-felt main beat.

Hocketting is an ensemble arranging technique used in both West African and Jamaican music,¹² which consists of breaking up rhythmic and melodic lines into short fragments which are distributed amongst different members of the ensemble. Performers play only a segment of each line, but the aural result is a unified whole — a seamless combination of the individual parts. (Hocketting is mostly used to organize accompaniment parts, rather than vocal lines, but vocal parts often utilize call and response figures or short exclamations and asides that create a hocket-like effect.)

Silence is also used in a characteristic way in both West African and Jamaican music. "Oftentimes silences are an important part of ... African music. ... [S]ilence is not

¹² In Jamaican music, hocketting is most prevalent in reggae, especially the slower roots style starting in the early seventies. See discussion in sections 1.3.2.1 and 1.3.5.6. (See DVD video 1.3 for four examples of hocketting by Bob Marley & the Wailers.)

an absence of sound but an intentional placement of a silence as a substitute for sound”¹³

(Agawu 2003: 77). *Main beats* are often not sounded, but *implied* and *felt*, i.e., they are silent but felt corporeally as either overt or slightly nuanced physical movements, or as internal sensations of increased weight or tension. These silent beats most often receive a strong downward movement (usually stepping motions in West African music, and a variety of other movements in Jamaican music — see Chapter Five). From the phenomenological perspective of performers or audiences, the experience of silences (especially suppressed beats) is therefore not one of emptiness, but of corporeal sensations that are often *stronger* than those that occur with sounds.¹⁴ This is also a feature of Jamaican musical practice.

[L]isteners [and performers] know where the main beats are [even when they are silent] and so coordinate foot [and body] movement with these unsounded parts of the topos. The dancer thus becomes an active interpreter, contributing to the implementation of the pattern. (Agawu 2003: 130)

¹³ Suppressed beats are notes which are sounded as part of a pattern but then are intentionally (and usually irregularly) left silent on subsequent repetitions. This use of silence is based upon an African aesthetic of play, as well as a means to invite participation in the articulation of the beat with their bodies. This experience is linked to feelings of community and cooperation which also “stimulate[s] spiritual renewal” (Agawu 2003: 77-8). (See additional discussion in section 1.3.2.1, pg. 59.)

¹⁴ Some movements, like footsteps, tapping, clapping, or rhythmic breathing create sounds that are integral components of the overall sonic patterns (but are often ignored by African music analysts, e.g., Arom (1991); Witmer (1995: 8) also makes this point.) The characteristics of these sounds depend upon many different factors: e.g., whether one is barefoot (or the type of footwear worn) as well as the characteristics of the surface which is struck and the ambiance of the performance space. Bare feet produce the softest sound depending upon performance intensity and style (i.e., the force and manner (e.g., flat-footed or tip-toes) with which contact is made with the floor or ground), and hard soles create a louder, more-defined sound. Clapping or tapping with bare hands or gloves and the surface that is struck or stepped upon (e.g., bare skin, clothing, table tops, wooden floors, concrete, asphalt, bare earth sand, grass or carpet) affect pitch, volume, resonance and timbre. Performers and dancers often wear jewelry and clothing that buzz, rattle, rub, flap, tap or swish.

2.1.2 OTHER ANALYSES OF AFRICAN & AFRICAN AMERICAN MUSICAL EXPERIENCES

Other scholars have considered sound and body movement couplings from perspectives similar or identical to Agawu's approach, with additional insights that flesh out or expand his concepts. Rather than examining each of these scholars individually, I've grouped their views and findings into eleven topics. First, five topics discussed by Agawu:

2.2.1 Unity of Music and Dance in Sub-Saharan African and African-Rooted

Performance Practices

2.2.2 Relationship Between Unsounded Gestures and Sonic Patterns

2.2.3 Silences and Implied, Felt Beats in West African Music

2.2.4 Automaticity of Choreographic Rhythms for "Cultural Insiders"

2.2.5 Effect of Changing or Omitting Unsounded Gestures Upon Performance (Problems for "Cultural Outsiders" Replicating Choreographic Rhythms)

Second, six topics *not* discussed by Agawu which relate to "choreographic rhythms:"

2.3.1 Phenomenological Analysis of Musical Experience

2.3.2 Significance of Culture upon Transmission and Acquisition of Musical Skills (Creation, Performance, Perception)

2.3.3 Unity of Senses in Musical Experience

2.3.4 Tactile Aspects of Musical Experience

2.3.5 Analysis of Musical Experience from an Enactivist Perspective

2.3.6 Use of Mimesis to Transmit and Acquire Musical Skills

2.2 TOPICS WHICH CORRESPOND TO AGAWU'S DISCUSSION OF CHOREOGRAPHIC RHYTHMS

2.2.1 UNITY OF MUSIC AND DANCE IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICAN AND AFRICAN-ROOTED PERFORMANCE PRACTICES

African music scholars Erich von Hornbostel,¹⁵ J.H. Nketia,¹⁶ Gerhard Kubik,¹⁷ John Miller Chernoff,¹⁸ Olly Wilson¹⁹ and John Blacking²⁰ all emphasize the unity between sound and body movement in sub-Saharan African musical traditions. "African music is not conceivable without dancing" (Hornbostel 1928: 63). Nketia clarifies that "Although purely contemplative music, which is not designed for dance or drama, is practiced in [West] African societies in restricted context, the cultivation of

¹⁵ Hornbostel was the first scholar to analyze African music from both a musicological perspective and in terms of interrelationships between sounds and corporeal factors. Agawu 2003, Blacking 1955, C. Waterman 1991, Brownell 1994 and Arom 1991 all emphasize the importance of Hornbostel's early work for African music research, especially his 1928 article. His analysis was based entirely upon recordings by a variety of African tribes and regions, however, including music by the Ewe (Ghana), Luvemba (Zambia), Pangwe (Cameroon and Gabon), Makua (Mozambique), and Nyamwezi (Tanzania). Although Hornbostel's emphasis upon the significance of corporeality in African performance practice was particularly insightful (especially in contrast to other musicologists in the 1920s), some of his conclusions are problematic since he didn't base them upon live performances. In particular, he makes a number of observations about how Africans move during musical experiences that are totally speculative and not supported by any empirical evidence. See additional discussion in section 1.3.2.1

¹⁶ Nketia is a West African musicologist who specializes in West African (especially Ghanaian) musics.

¹⁷ Kubik specializes in the musics of sub-Saharan Africa, Brazil and Venezuela.

¹⁸ Chernoff, who spent 10 years in Ghana, where he learned to play drums in the Dagomba and Ewe drumming traditions, writes from the perspective of a participant/observer.

¹⁹ Composer/musicologist Olly Wilson has specialized in the study of African and African American music, and also shares most of Kubik's orientations and presumptions.

²⁰ Blacking conducted fieldwork in South Africa for fifteen years, and also studied musical cultures in Afghanistan, Australia, Bolivia, Ireland, Japan and Malaya (Byron in Blacking 1995).

2.2.1 UNITY OF MUSIC /DANCE IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICAN & AFRICAN-ROOTED PERF. PRACTICES 285

music that is integrated with dance ... is much more prevalent” (Nketia in Wilson 1985:

11). Wilson describes the interrelationship between music and dance as “inextricably linked.”

The dance is the music and the music is the dance. ... [I]n traditional African cultures, motion and music are viewed as interacting aspects of *the same act*. ... [The interrelationship between motion and music] functions as *the* constant, *the* core of ‘African roots of music in the Americas.’ Although the outer features of the music may change, this core is retained. (Wilson 1985: 12, 20)

Chernoff (and others)²¹ cite many examples of West African pieces shaped by a dialogic interaction between musicians and dancers’ movements as well as those of other participants (Chernoff 1979: 106-14, 1991). West African master drummers interact with dancers’ improvised choreography and “change [their drumming] patterns continuously, ... watch[ing] the lead dancer for cues” (Chernoff 1979: 118). Thus, West African musical pieces consist of a general plan or template (usually based upon a traditional melody, song or piece) which are altered by the master drummer based upon movements by different participants (dancers, singers, etc.) and anyone else who is present, and other contextual needs of the moment.

In a sense, [West African] style is another word for the perception of relationships, a dynamic aesthetic attitude which focuses the music on the occasion. ... The musical arrangement ... provides the possibility for comprehensible improvisation. ... The musical form is open rather than rigid ... the formal structure of the music becomes a process. ... A musician’s mastery of his art is evidence of his concern to bring forth a fresh dimension of involvement and excitement to the community in which he creates. (Chernoff 1979: 121, 126)

Chernoff’s comments also apply to the performance style of Jamaican music, which is often significantly altered in performance to reflect the needs of the moment.

²¹ Nketia, Small, Baily, Kubik, Jones and Waterman all characterize the African music-movement aesthetic as improvisatory, dialogic and interweaving.

Blacking also stresses that the influence of corporeal factors extends far beyond sounds. "There are close links between movement patterns and music-making in processes of enculturation and learning, of execution, of perception and of aesthetic appreciation" (Blacking 1979: xix).²²

Simha Arom²³ (1991) notes that Africans conceive of music primarily in corporeal terms, but his comments suggest that body movements are merely added on or "a response" to the sounds; i.e., he never considers corporeality to be a significant component with regard to musical creation, performance or perception.

Rhythm ... is simply thought of as the *stimulus* for the bodily movement to which *it gives rise*, and, for the most part, [it] is then given the same name as the choreography that it sustains. As numerous researchers (in particular, Hornbostel 1928; Merriam 1959; Lomax 1959) have observed, musical practice in sub-Saharan Africa is conceived as a motor activity, almost inseparable from dance. (10, italics added)

The reason for Arom's omission of corporeality in his analyses is revealed when he states above that the music *stimulates* and *gives rise to* bodily movement. In the end, however, Arom adopts the perspective that music is primarily, if not exclusively, all about sonic patterns, and although body movements are usually part of musical experiences, they are always secondary to, and "controlled" by the sounds. Arom

²² This point has also been made by many other African music scholars: Anku 1997, Chernoff (1979: 21+, 50; 1991: 1095+), Evans (1977: 58-9), Floyd (1991: 268, 273; 1999: 19-22), Friedland (1995: 137+), Jones (1934, 1959: 82-88), Kaufman (1979: 252+), Kubik (1962: 33-42; 1977: 262-70; 1979: 227+, 329; 1994: 37+, 372; 1999: 61), Locke (1982: 220+, 244), Lucia (1987: 36+), Maultsby (1985: 46+), McClary & Walser (1994: 77+), McGinty 1993, Nketia (1974, 1977: 87-8), Oehrle (1993: 165, 168-71), Small (1987: 198, 271, 464+), Stone (1994: 260), Tracey (1980: 32-35; 1994: 274, 277, 284; C.A. Waterman (1991: 120+), R. Waterman (1952: 171-3), O. Wilson (1974, 1981, 1983: 3, 1985: 10-20).

²³ Arom has been active as an ethnomusicologist specializing in African music for over 35 years. His 1991 book has meticulous transcriptions of thousands of pieces, but with no specific links between body movements and sound patterns.

doesn't appear to entertain the possibility that the African relationship between sound and body movement might be the reverse of this perspective in some situations.

2.2.2 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN UNSOUNDED GESTURES AND SONIC PATTERNS

Hornbostel, Wilson, Blacking, David Locke²⁴ and John Baily²⁵ believe that corporeal factors are significant in African music and cannot be separated. Hornbostel and Wilson believe that physical aspects are stronger in African music than in European practices. "African and ... European music are constructed on entirely different principles. ... [Whereas Europeans] proceed from hearing, [Africans] proceed from motion.²⁶ ... African rhythm is ultimately founded on drumming" (Hornbostel 1928: 30, 52). Wilson claims that West Africans foreground body movement and always make many unsounded gestures²⁷ that are an intrinsic aspect of musical performance (Wilson 1985: 10, in Kubik 1994: 37). Rhythmic variations and sound patterns are always linked to dance steps and other movements (Blacking 1995: 58-9, 65, 69). Musicians' body movements are essential to maintaining rhythmic precision. "Performers are ... guided by physically felt beats, ... [which] are not continuously sounded by any instrument ...

²⁴ Locke spent 13 years studying the music of various Ghanaian tribes (e.g., Ewe, Akan, Dagomba and Atsiagbeko).

²⁵ Baily studied psychology, physiology, spatial orientation, sensorimotor coordination, and motor control in the 1960s and early 1970s (www.goldsmiths.ac.uk/departments/music/research/j-baily.php, Accessed 22 Aug 06). In 1973 he began collaborating with John Blacking, an association that continued until Blacking's death in 1990. Baily has examined music from Afghanistan and African American blues guitar playing in terms of how musical structures and cognition are shaped by corporeal and cognitive processes.

²⁶ Agawu calls this an "absurd theory," but he acknowledges that Hornbostel's emphasis upon "difference" was probably an inheritance of the European traditional essentialist representations of others (Agawu 2003: 105, 156, 160).

²⁷ Wilson doesn't use Agawu's term, but his meaning is the same (in Kubik 1994: 37-8).

and steady their actions" (Locke 1982: 220-1). Because musical sounds are always inter-linked with body movements, Baily always includes them when analyzing musical experiences.

[M]usic is the sonic product of [physical] action[s]. ... [T]here is a need to study the way that musical patterns may be represented cognitively by the performer as patterns of movement rather than as patterns of sound. ... [S]ince the motor apparatus and its control mechanisms ... which together constitute the sensorimotor system, have certain intrinsic modes of operation, we need to consider the extent to which the creation of musical structures is shaped by sensorimotor factors. (Baily 1985: 237)

This study applies Baily's view to sounded and unsounded gestures in both West African and Jamaican musical practices (and their combination as choreographic rhythms). As examined in Chapter Three, choreographic rhythms become intertwined with performers' cognitive representations of musical patterns, and thus become a significant factor in the creation and content of musical structures.

Chernoff (like Agawu) also identifies the concept of choreographic rhythms in West African musical traditions, but he calls it *an emergent pulse* (Chernoff 1991: 1097).

The musicians ... maintain an additional beat ... by moving some part of their body while they play ... in a solid, regular way. ... [They] keep the beat in this way so that their off-beat[s] ... will be precise. The point is that a drummer plays only some of the things he hears [and feels]. ... It is precisely the ability to identify the beat [as a result of the combination of parts and in the relationship of several rhythms] that enables someone to appreciate [and fully understand African] music. We begin to 'understand' African music by being able to maintain, in our minds and in our bodies, an additional rhythm to the ones we hear. (Chernoff 1979: 50, 48)

R. Waterman, Andrew Tracey and David Locke, other musicologists who specialize in African music, respectively use the terms *metronome sense*, *unplayed beat*²⁸ and *felt*

²⁸ Tracey comments about the difficulty of non-Africans finding and moving to an unplayed beat: "The music from Cuba, Jamaica, Trinidad, Brazil and other places ... preserve[s] ... the [African] 'unplayed beat.' A large part of the listener's appreciation [and understanding of

beats to refer to choreographic rhythms that articulate the main pulse. "In many, if not all African musical idioms ... the percussive texture [is] often felt as well as heard" (Chernoff 1991: 1099).

Kubik uses the term *motional patterns* to refer to both unsounded gestures and sounded gestures;²⁹ i.e., movements "which have both a sonic and a non-sonic dimension ... The same movement patterns are to be found in the dance, [musicians' actions] and in the [sonic] aspects of the phenomenon which is ... music" (Kubik 1979: 227). Like Baily, he notes that music is sometimes conceived in terms of muscular patterns that

in a sense 'lie behind' the music, [and] may be said to constitute the *motor structure* of [a given musical] style. The motor structure consists of overlearned patterns of movement which are established by learning structurally related pieces of music that embody these patterns. (Kubik 1977: 329)

The findings of this study (see Chapter Five) reveal that the Jamaican motor structure consists of particular movement patterns that are acquired through immersion from a very young age in Jamaican cultural practices in which these particular movement patterns are usually present. Thus, over time, these patterns become "overlearned," i.e., automatic responses that become invisible because of their ubiquity.

Sudnow (1978, 1979), Brownell 1994 and Charles Keil (Keil 1995, Keil & Feld 1994) have studied the interrelationship between sound and body movement patterns in jazz. Keil (Keil 1995, Progler 1995) describes the movement patterns of jazz drummers

the music] depends on his being able to find, and move to, a beat which nobody is playing, or at the least, which is not emphasized. It should go without saying that this is very difficult for whites [sic], as we stress all our onbeats *and* move with them" (Tracey 1980: 35).

²⁹ Since "motional patterns" doesn't distinguish between unsounded and sounded gestures, and also implies a priority of corporeal over sonic patterns, it is less useful and precise than Agawu's terminology (i.e., "unsounded" and "sounded gestures," "choreographic rhythms").

2.2.2 UNSOUNDED GESTURES ... / 2.2.3 SILENCES AND IMPLIED, FELT BEATS IN WEST AFRICAN MUSIC 290

and bass players as a “choreographic response ... [creating a] ‘conversation’ between dancers and musicians” (Keil in Keil & Feld 1994: 57). These analysts concur that choreographic rhythms³⁰ are central to different grooves and feels, and often primarily intuitive, rather than consciously created. They also consider corporeal patterns as the primary creative source for many musical ideas. As Sudnow puts it, “musical meaning is intrinsically of the sounds and the body as a whole” (Sudnow 1978: 21-35, 46).

2.2.3 SILENCES AND IMPLIED, FELT BEATS IN WEST AFRICAN MUSIC

Chernoff notes that the West African conception of beat and silence is often reversed to the traditional Euro-Western one. Silences in African music are often rich with both sonic and corporeal significance, which can be particularly disorienting and confusing to someone unfamiliar with these traditions.

Generally, in African musical idioms most of the notes seem to fall on what [Westerners] would call the ‘off-beat.’ ... The rhythm that might be considered the main beat of the music is not emphasized [sonically]. ... It is [also] typical for African musicians to leave the downbeat unsounded. ... It is almost as if the sounded notes [on the offbeats] lift the dancers up while the unsounded notes [on the beats] are accented by the downward or emphatic movement. (Chernoff 1979: 47-8, 1991: 1098-9)³¹

In spite of this astute observation (which could easily be applied to Jamaican choreographic rhythms — see Chapter Five), most of Chernoff’s transcriptions do not include movement patterns. (See section 2.2.5 for more on the implications of this omission.)

Kubik notes that the Wagogo (from Tanzania) and Nankasa (from Uganda)

³⁰ Bailly, Keil and Sudnow describe and draw attention to movements which do not generate sound that are necessary to create grooves, but do not cite Agawu’s particular terminology or concepts.

³¹ This rhythmic orientation is the most common Jamaican accompaniment pattern, especially in JPM. See section 1.3 for examples.

drummers frequently organize the musical sounds as a result of cross rhythms that occur between the audible "acoustic image" against an unheard, but felt "motor image."

[There is frequently a] great difference between the movements of ... [a] musician's hands (motor image) and the pattern actually coming out (acoustic image). ... There is also a motor image in the mind of the performing musician, which cannot be heard at all. This motor image may produce an acoustic image or may not. ... The body movements of the dancers are also motor images and are extremely important in the performance of the music. (Kubik 1962: 39-40)

Blacking's, Chernoff's and Kubik's analyses of African drumming provide examples of this. Blacking stresses the need to consider corporeal patterns in light of how they feel to performers, rather than simply in terms of their direct relationship to the articulation of sounds. "When [considering] a rest between two drum beats, we must realize that for the player it is not a rest; each drum beat is the part of a total body movement in which the hand or a stick strikes the drumskin" (Blacking 1973: 27). For example, when a West African or Jamaican musician is performing an offbeat pattern, each beat consists of raising the hand or stick with increasing muscle tension that explodes/releases when the drum is struck, but the raising of the hand/stick is also usually synchronized to forceful articulation of the beat with some part of the body, or with an increased downward sensation of weight.

In West African music there are also usually different pulses occurring in synchronization, some faster and some slower. Waterman notes that in Anlo Ewe³² drumming the felt beat is sometimes based upon "the perception of a 'fastest pulse' or 'density referent,' resulting from the cumulative interaction of individual patterns, ... [rather than a consideration of] the ... [slower] gross beats" (Waterman 1991: 174). This

³² "Anlo" refers to the southern Ewe people (Locke 1982: 245)

means that a *single* "metronome pulse" is not necessarily or always the *only* means of organizing musicians' or dancers' perception and performances.³³ African musicians are used to changing their perceptions from one pulse rate to another, but Westerners often have trouble identifying or maintaining a consistent pulse in these circumstances, and if they *are* successful, they frequently lose their place or the beat (Chernoff 1991: 1097). (This is discussed in Chapter Seven with regard to outsiders having difficulties with JPM.)

2.2.4 AUTOMATICITY OF CHOREOGRAPHIC RHYTHMS FOR "CULTURAL INSIDERS"

As noted in section 2.2.1, immersion in particular cultural environments develops perceptual and performance skills which become "overlearned." These skills allow musicians to feel many musical relationships (especially rhythmic ones) intuitively.³⁴

The mental, or even physical absorption of patterns of movement in the learning process is one of the secrets of understanding African music as a musician or as a participating dancer. The body of the musician or dancer absorbs these patterns until they act as conditioned reflexes, and when they occur externally they immediately produce an inner response just like a reflex. If one has learned to know African music in this way it is very difficult to sit still when one hears it and to suppress an inner response in the sense described. The affective response to the perception of such patterns takes place after the fashion of a reflex. One starts spontaneously to dance. (Kubik 1979: 228, underscoring in original)

Keil also observes how one's prior performing experiences alter subsequent musical encounters, as both a performer and listener.

³³ This applies to roots reggae, where the pulse (as conveyed by performers' stepping patterns — see findings in Chapter Five) is usually very slow, i.e., less than 69 beats per minute. Witmer (1981: 109) also notes how reggae performers often focus upon beat subdivisions (e.g., in percussion parts), rather than the main pulse. In such instances, performers sometimes step faster than the pulse, most commonly twice as fast. See further discussion in section 1.3.5.6 and in Chapter Five (regarding Movement "B").

³⁴ This is also what the findings of this study suggest with regard to Jamaican music, as discussed in Chapters Five to Eight.

Experiments have demonstrated quite convincingly that our muscles are perceptive. And somehow muscles remember: once a bike rider, always a bike rider; once a drummer or dancer, always a drummer or dancer. ... [L]earning to play a simple clave beat, holding it in relation to another drum beat, watching someone smile and dance to the groove you generate, can capacitate people in profound ways. ... [E]ven the least moved by the experience will ... be listening kinesthetically ever afterwards, that is, feeling the melodies in their muscles, imagining what it might be like to play what they are hearing. (Keil in Keil & Feld 1994: 56, Keil 1995: 10)

Arom also shares this view. "It is in fact striking to observe, just how often, for an African from a traditional milieu, simply to hear music gives rise almost immediately to a movement of the body" (Arom 1991: 10).

Although the skills to perceive and perform choreographic rhythms are most often acquired from one's sociocultural environment, Chernoff and Kubik emphasize that they *can* be learned if one has grown up in a different environment. "[These skills do] not necessarily present difficulties to those who have been accustomed to such music [i.e., African music], but as with any musical perception, [they do] involve learning and experience" (Chernoff 1991: 1097).

Any so-called outsider to any culture can eventually become an insider. Likewise, an original insider might well cross cultural borders that first separated his small world from the larger outside world, until he or she eventually becomes an outsider to the culture in which he or she was first enculturated. *In practice, nobody is ever a 100% insider, and nobody is ever a 100% outsider to anything that exists.* (Kubik 1996: 7, italics added)

Thus, becoming proficient at choreographic rhythms is primarily a matter of practice, usually in the company of others who already have this proficiency. Since the subtleties of unsounded gestures are traditionally acquired through entraining one's movements to others, however, it makes the most sense to follow this approach, rather than simply attempting the rehearsal of such movements alone. (Speaking from personal experience

— as explained in Appendix A — it is very difficult to acquire this proficiency without others literally “showing the way.” Until one has acquired sufficient and extensive familiarity with choreographic rhythms that are foreign to one’s prior experiences, one’s perception, conception and execution of what one *thinks* is going on is almost always incomplete, distorted and sometimes just plain “wrong.”)

2.2.5 THE EFFECT OF CHANGING/OMITTING UNSOUNDED GESTURES UPON PERFORMANCE

(PROBLEMS FOR “CULTURAL OUTSIDERS” REPLICATING CHOREOGRAPHIC RHYTHMS)

David Sudnow’s early attempts at being a jazz pianist were frustratingly unsuccessful, in spite of an extensive study of jazz melody, harmony, rhythm and timbre (i.e., learning appropriate scales, chords and harmonic/melodic/rhythmic patterns) and extensive transcriptions of solos from recordings. He felt that his early efforts sounded like someone imitating jazz, rather than a fluent jazz improviser. After studying accomplished jazz pianists’ body movements,³⁵ however, Sudnow became successful when he replicated not only their sounds, but also their movements (i.e., choreographic rhythms³⁶). He started feeling the rhythm in his “fingers, hands, arms, shoulders, everywhere, ... [and] began to develop a fundamentally different way of being at the piano” (Sudnow 1978: 141, 83). His final conclusions could very well be a commentary upon the findings of this study: “to define jazz [or Jamaican music, in this case] ... is to *describe* the body’s ways” (ibid.: 146, author’s italics).

³⁵ These body motions included shoulder rolls, tilting of elbows, arms, hands, head, foot and leg movements, as well as breathing patterns.

³⁶ Sudnow doesn’t use the phrase “choreographic rhythms,” but his discussion of the inter-relationship between movements and sounds explore the same concepts and meanings as Agawu’s ideas.

Kubik has also considered what happens when musics that are rich in choreographic rhythms (like African and Jamaican music) are learned primarily from recordings.

The imitation of African music by adherents to other musical cultures on the basis of [recordings] is frequently doomed to failure because the movement patterns on which the audible result is based are not included. This is also true of imitations of Afro-American music (jazz, and so on) throughout the world. ... [This omission] has an important effect. The change in the motional pictures brings about a change, even if only slight in the exact 'spacing' of the notes to be struck. This leads to delays, anticipations, slight fluctuations of tempo, and a sense of lack of drive. ... [It] also destroys the original accentuation and the change in the mode of striking the individual notes also exerts an influence on their sound spectrum.

On the other hand, it is a striking fact that adherents to the same or related musical cultures, even from purely auditory representations (recordings, radio broadcasts) spontaneously comprehend the movement for musics on which a given piece of African instrumental music is based [and can then perform them with the correct choreographic gestures], ... because [they] know from [their] previous experience how these auditory complexes come into being. (Kubik 1979: 229-30, underscoring in original)³⁷

Kubik's observations apply to Marley's comments about outsiders' difficulties when copying the sounds and replicating "the feel" of Jamaican music,³⁸ and explain why a cultural insider (like Marley) can perceive that the feel is off (even if he is unable to identify exactly what is missing or incorrect). (This is explored further in Chapter Seven.)

³⁷ This perspective is shared by Maultsby 1985.

³⁸ See Introduction, pg. 13 and *DVD video example 5.1*.

2.3. TOPICS NOT COVERED BY AGAWU, BUT RELATED TO HIS CONCEPT OF CHOREOGRAPHIC RHYTHMS

2.3.1 PHENOMENOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF MUSICAL EXPERIENCE³⁹

“Phenomenologists explore music from the perspective of the lived, bodily experience — from the interpreter’s point of view, one might say, ... [and] offer a perspective that is strikingly fresh and richly resonant with music as a lived, human process” (Bowman 1998: 14). A number of West African music scholars stress that traditional Western musicological approaches to musical experiences (which focus primarily upon sounds and prioritize the separation of these sounds into parts) are highly inadequate and distortive when applied to African music. Tracey stresses that since all of the elements of a West African performance are “integrated into one — one’s mind, the various moving parts of one’s body, the movement patterns, the other performers, [the dancers and the sounds, the Western analytical approach of considering these factors separately is something] which Africans notably do *not* do” (Tracey 1980: 32). Blacking, Baily and Kubik concur with this. Because the sub-Saharan African conception of music is based upon “music and dance [as] complementary modes of nonverbal communication [Blacking believes] that [they] must [always] be analyzed interdependently” (Blacking 1979: xix). His analysis of musical experience therefore prioritized the phenomenological perspective of musicians and participants.⁴⁰ Baily also

³⁹ See Chapter Three for discussion of the phenomenological approach.

⁴⁰ Blacking (1977: 1-4; 1995: 55). For other phenomenologically-based holistic methodological approaches to musical study, see Berger (1999: 130, 153, 164), Brownell (1994: 15), Clifton 1983, Ihde 1976, Keil 1995, Keil & Feld (1994: 29+, 55-67, 101-106, 167), Progler 1995, Rice (1994: 116+), Stubbley 1998, Sudnow (1978, rev. 2001, 1979), Vijay (1998, 2002), Walser 1991 and Wilson 1986.

2.3.1 PHENOMENOLOGICAL ANALYSIS ... / 2.3.2 SIGNIFICANCE OF CULTURE UPON ... MUSICAL SKILLS 297

uses phenomenological analysis to study musical performances (Baily 1985, 1992).

Kubik notes that since “There is [frequently] a difference between a listener’s auditory impression [of a musical performance] and a performer’s motor concept of sound patterns” (Kubik 1994: 367), one should always analyze musical systems from the phenomenological perspective of practitioners.

Ethnomusicologist Harris Berger describes his approach as “situated phenomenological ethnography” (Berger 1999: 25, 120), with “two interdependent goals: to share the research participants’ experiences with the reader and to garner insights into the nature of experience in general” (ibid.: 120). He examines jazz and rock from many different perspectives: in terms of sound, corporeality, emotions, aesthetics, performance, composition techniques and approaches, notation, rehearsal orientations, economics, politics, gender, production nuances, reception by different audience members, the effect of technology upon performance practices, race, age, social context, and traditional notions of sound and melodic and harmonic analysis. He also utilizes a broad range of techniques including interview, survey, ethnographic description, dialogue, music transcription, feedback interview,⁴¹ and critique.

Berger considers all musical practice to be doubly constitutive. “Musical activity constitutes both the meaning of music in the participant’s experience and [a given] music scene as a social group” (ibid.: 1). Thus, musical meaning is largely in the minds of the perceivers, rather than in the sounds themselves. This point probably identifies

⁴¹ Letting participants read transcriptions of dialogue and interpretations of performances and practices, and amending the researchers’ account if they do not concur with the participants’ perspective.

the central weakness of musicological analyses that prioritize sonic features in the absence of sociocultural factors, especially the worldview and particular phenomenological experiences of their makers. As enactive research makes clear (presented in Chapter Three), musical meaning is *never* simply in the sounds as abstract combinations of pitches and rhythms.

2.3.2 SIGNIFICANCE OF CULTURE UPON TRANSMISSION AND ACQUISITION OF MUSICAL SKILLS (CREATION, PERFORMANCE, PERCEPTION)

Blacking considers culture as the most important influence upon the creation, performance and perception of musical traditions. "Music *and* its cultural background [are] dialectically interrelated parts of a total system" (Blacking 1995: 56).

[T]he expressive purpose of a piece of music is ... found ... [in] the body movements that generated it [which] ... have their origins in culture ... We can recall the state in which it was conceived by getting into the body movement of the music and so feeling it very nearly as the composer [or performer] felt it. ... [These processes] are socially constructed ... [and] mediated by culturally learned habits and attitudes and by the different ways in which people have come to use their bodies (Blacking 1973: 110-12, 1992: 305).⁴²

Musical skills are always social constructions which are acquired primarily through the corporeal aspects of one's cultural traditions.⁴³ When members of particular cultures are

⁴² Cultural theorist Raymond Williams concurs with this view. "Rhythm is a way of transmitting a description of experience, in such a way that the experience is recreated in the person receiving it not merely as an 'abstraction' or an 'emotion' but as a physical effect on the organism — on the blood, on the breathing, on the physical patterns of the brain. ... The dance of the body, the movement of the voice, the sounds of the instruments are ... means of transmitting our experience in so powerful a way that the experience can be literally lived by others. ... [This] is more than a metaphor, it is a physical experience as real as any other" (Williams 1965: 40-41).

⁴³ Patria Roman-Velazquez makes this point in her study of the relationship between Salsa and corporeality. "The interrelated experience of bodies and music is mediated through genre-specific codes and through specific social contexts and other socially constructed meanings that are recognized by listeners. ... Thus, the relationship between body and music

immersed in these traditions from a very young age (which was the case for those musicians who created new Jamaican popular music styles in the 1950s and 1960s⁴⁴), “an ‘intuitive’ grasp of music is possible because performers and listeners possess the same innate musical ‘competence,’ or ‘intelligence,’ as creators of music” (Blacking 1995: 240).

Olly Wilson notes that choreographic rhythms⁴⁵ are a form of embodied knowledge that is acquired as a result of growing up in a particular culture. “Motional styles are encultured at an early age, when small children begin to move around among the community, dance, clap hands and beat out patterns” (Wilson in Kubik 1994: 37).⁴⁶

Chernoff also stresses that participation is the most fundamental aesthetic principle of West African musical traditions: ““without participation, there is no meaning.”⁴⁷ ... The music of Africa⁴⁸ invites us to participate in the making of a community” (Chernoff 1979: 23). “The model of community articulated in an African musical event is one that is not held together by ideas, by cognitive symbols or by emotional conformity. The commu-

is not exclusively related to corporal movements and rhythms, but to specific cultural practices and social meanings. ... [There is no] biologically inherited or ‘natural’ link between body and music, [but rather] one which is constructed through specific practices ... [and these] cultural identities [are] always in the process of formation” (Roman-Velazquez 1999: 116, 117).

⁴⁴ See Chapters One and Four for particular Jamaican traditions which shaped and influenced these musicians’ worldviews, perspectives and aesthetic sensibilities.

⁴⁵ Wilson doesn’t use Agawu’s term, but his concepts are the same.

⁴⁶ This is an example of Shore’s *idiosyncratic schema* and *cultural meaning construction*, examined in Chapter Six.

⁴⁷ It appears that this concept was first elucidated by Lomax (1968: 95).

⁴⁸ Like Kubik and Waterman, Chernoff also emphasizes the diversity of African music, and the danger and distortion of conceiving of many musics in terms of “universal” characteristics: “One should not think of Africa as a single place, for to do so would be to ignore its diversity of cultures” (Chernoff 1979: 28).

nity is established through the interaction of individual rhythms and the people who embody them" (Chernoff 1991: 1095). Musical performances unite everyone into a mode of music-making "that solicit[s] participation and encourage[s] movement" (Chernoff 1991: 1099). Given its roots in West African culture, it is not surprising that the same aesthetic principle is also operative in Jamaican culture. The participatory character of African music is reflected in its structural organization.⁴⁹ Repetition is the principle musical device that promotes participatory corporeal movement.⁵⁰ It allows a listener to easily join in and perform along. Rhythms that interweave, shift accents, possess contrasting intensities of pitch and activity, and begin and end at different times — in other words what Western music theorists call polyrhythms — create this feeling, and allow for both the synchronization and maintenance of individuality and difference.

2.3.3 UNITY OF SENSES IN MUSICAL EXPERIENCE

Kubik stresses that Africans conceive of music experience from a variety of perspectives: in terms of sounds, visual images, felt movements, actual movements, and many levels of interactions involving all of these factors with other musicians, dancers, singers and members of the audience. "The human ear — like the eyes — does not perceive isolated properties, but always a 'gestalt' " (Kubik 1962: 33),⁵¹ although we are

⁴⁹ Chernoff's comments about African music are entirely applicable to most, if not all, African-derived musics of the Americas, and are especially pertinent to JPM.

⁵⁰ African repetition is usually not the literal reiteration of an unchanging musical idea, but rather incorporates many variations in the nuances of attack, delay and timbre that create a sense of forward motion within the circularity of repetition.

⁵¹ J.H. Nketia also shares this opinion. "The African learns to play rhythms in patterns. This means that the African child perceives rhythmic figures as *totalities*. ... The African child ... apprehends each rhythmic formula *as a whole* without breaking it down into its constituents" (cited in Arom 1991: 207).

able to prioritize or shift to any one of these properties, or consider them in innumerable and infinite combinations and variations.

In an article called "The Unity of the Senses," Hornbostel describes a unity between all of our senses that foreshadows contemporary neurobiological research findings (i.e., "enactivism," presented in Chapter Three):

There is a sensuous[ness] which is not limited to one sense. ... All the senses have not such clear cut individualities. ... The five senses are [merely] proverbial, [and not a biological fact]. ... There remains little which is unique to a single sense. ... What is essential in the sensuous-perceptible is not that which separates the senses from one another, but that which unites them, unites them with the entire (even with the non-sensuous) experience in ourselves; and with all the external world that there is to be experienced. ... The unity of the senses is [a] given from the very beginning. (Hornbostel 1927: 84-5, 87, 89)

2.3.4 TACTILE ASPECTS OF MUSICAL EXPERIENCE

Robert Kaufman, who has examined the relationship between African music and dance, considers the tactile aspects of African musical practices.

Tactile aspects of music making may have been ignored, particularly in Western studies of aesthetics, even though tactility is probably one of the most important aspects of artistic consciousness in Africa. ... [This] strong emphasis upon tactility would seem to indicate that different cultures can use different combinations and emphases of the basic sense phenomena. ... The Shona people of Africa have a word that means 'to hear' ... [that] means 'to perceive by touch, sight or hearing; to understand.' Its meaning involves perception in terms of a unity of the senses and cognition in terms of understanding. (Kaufman 1979: 252, 253)

Hornbostel also describes musical experience in terms of tactility. "Movement can be seen, heard, or touched. Hearing through the skin is not an unusual phenomenon" (Hornbostel 1927: 87). Blacking, Baily, Keil, Maultsby (1985), and Sudnow (1978, 1979), believe that musical thought is often purely corporeal.⁵² "Thinking may come

⁵² See Chapter Three for citations of neurobiological findings about the corporeal aspects of musical experience. This research demonstrates that musical perception and performance are *always* physical. As neurologist Frank Wilson puts it, "We feel music through its

2.3.4 TACTILE ASPECTS .../2.3.5 ANALYSIS OF MUSICAL EXPERIENCE FROM AN ENACTIVIST PERSPECTIVE 302

from movement, and especially shared, or conceptual thought from communal movement. [Therefore] the ultimate aim of dancing [and musical performance] is to be able to move [and perform] *without* thinking [in the traditional verbal sense]"⁵³ (Blacking 1977: 23).

Musicians may ... [sometimes] think primarily in terms of movements rather than sound patterns. If so, for the musician it is a question of 'how do I move next?' not 'What's the next sound pattern I should produce?' It is a form of creativity in movement, the 'dance of the hand.' The motor grammar may form an important element in this kind of musical thought ...[and] the cognitive representation in terms of which the performer operates may be a movement representation rather than an auditory one. (Bailey 1992: 154, 1985: 242)

2.3.5 ANALYSIS OF MUSICAL EXPERIENCE FROM AN ENACTIVIST PERSPECTIVE⁵⁴

Blacking,⁵⁵ Bailey⁵⁶ and Iyer (1998, 2002) have examined musical experience and musical cognition holistically in a manner that is compatible with enactivist principles (although only Iyer cites enactivist evidence *per se*).

Blacking always considered music as a highly complex phenomenon that was inadequately served by traditional Western musicology's emphasis upon sonic patterns. He stressed the need for researchers to examine musical experience in terms of neurobio-

remarkable effects on our movements as much as through its profound ... effects on our brains. ... [M]uscle memory is musical memory. ... [It] resides largely (or even exclusively) in the circuitry by which the brain represents and oversees directed movements. Memorization and the development of performing skills is as much a development of one's sense of touch as it is one's ear. Music is primarily a physical discipline. ... The spiritual, cerebral and physical aspects of music are not only unopposed, but in fact, mutually dependent. ... [Music is] the iteration of musical and physical ideas" (Wilson 1986: 40, 140, 171, 192-94).

⁵³ This perspective is shared by enactivists, especially Johnson, Lakoff & Johnson, Sheets-Johnstone, and Varela et al, based upon empirical evidence that suggests that thought is actually developed primarily, if not exclusively from our physical experiences.

⁵⁴ See Chapter Three for discussion of enactivism.

⁵⁵ Blacking (1973, 1977b, 1992, 1995).

⁵⁶ Bailey (1977, 1985: 237-58, 1991: 147-62, 1992: 152+, 1995: 12), Bailey & Driver (1992: 59).

logical factors and to consider how music perception and cognition are determined by our sociocultural experiences.

Musical relationships may reflect social relationships, and both may be generated by cognitive processes which are used in other fields of human behavior. The secret of tonal relationships lies 'in the notes'; but the notes are more than patterns of sound. They are not sonic objects which can be analyzed without reference to the deep, and often non-musical [i.e., non-sonic], structures which generate them. They are signs and symbols of the interaction of human beings and the workings of human minds, and as such they cannot be adequately understood unless they are subjected to context-sensitive cultural analysis" (Blacking 1995: 70-71).

Reginald Byron notes that this perspective was emphasized in Blacking's orientation from the late 1960s onwards (Byron in Blacking 1995: 13, 26-28).

Musicians do not play with their bodies so much as through them. Research into the biology of music-making could produce significant findings, if greater use was made of contrasting conceptualizations of music, performance practices and contextualized responses. ... [Analysts need] to identify all processes that are relevant to an explanation of musical sound. (Paraphrased from Blacking 1992: 306, 313-4, 1973: 17)

Baily also believes that complete musical analysis requires a "psychobiological" approach (Baily 1992: 146) that goes beyond "auditory perception ... [since it] is only one aspect of musical cognition; of equal interest and importance is the cognition of performance" (Baily 1985: 237).

Musicologist Vijay Iyer⁵⁷ explains jazz, R&B and rock conceptions of "groove" and "feel" based upon contemporary neuroscience findings. Grooves are the result of miniscule variations in timing, intensity, and durational aspects that are not perceived or conceptualized analytically nor by counting, but as gestalt sensations or a recognition which emerges from the crossmodal intermingling of auditory processing, physical sensations, and visual entrainment to other musicians in culturally specific contexts (Iyer

⁵⁷ Iyer draws extensively on enactivist theory, especially Varela, Thompson & Rosch (1991).

1998: 66, 68, 20, 25). "Feel" identifies one's impression of a groove, based upon corporeal sensations and emotional reactions during a musical experience (ibid.: 24, 25); see also section 3.4.3 for discussion of Iyer's ideas and research.

2.3.6 USE OF MIMESIS⁵⁸ TO TRANSMIT AND ACQUIRE MUSICAL SKILLS

Blacking noted that the South African Venda people's primary means of musical skill acquisition and development was nonverbal imitation (Blacking 1995: 62, 69). Chernoff's own experiences learning to play Dagomba and Ewe drumming in Ghana, from indigenous mentor/teachers, were primarily mimetic, with a minimum of verbal instruction (Chernoff 1979: 21). William Echard⁵⁹ has noted that jazz musicians frequently copy the "choreography" of other musicians as an essential means to duplicate their performances.⁶⁰ This mimetic copying thus becomes an important way of defining and establishing the idiosyncrasies of both a particular musician's style and of a particular genre, especially for musical practices that are dominated by corporeality. "A particular style is in part a particular kind of body experience: the body does not express the style but partly constitutes it" (Echard 1997:44).⁶¹

⁵⁸ For detailed discussion of mimesis, see sections 3.3.2, 3.4.3, 6.3 and 6.4.

⁵⁹ Echard draws heavily upon Mark Johnson's concept of image schemata. "Johnson's schemata can be useful in organizing analysis, ... [especially because they suggest] a non-dualistic, creative model of the body-mind" (Echard 1999: 144).

⁶⁰ Echard derives this perspective primarily from ethnomusicologist Paul Berliner's 1994 study of professional jazz musicians, most of whom learned corporeal techniques from mentor-apprentice relationships with older and/or more experienced musicians. Most of these musicians prioritize the learning of corporeal techniques as the principle means to generate subtleties of pitch and rhythm that have become part of their style and "sound."

⁶¹ See Brownell (1994), Rice (1994) and Walser (2000) for studies that analyze style primarily in terms of corporeal orientation.

3. ENACTIVISM

INTRODUCTION

The term “enactivism” was coined by Varela, Thompson and Rosch in *The Embodied Mind* (1991), to describe a new approach to study human experience rooted in neurobiological evidence. Even though their own contributions to enactivist research have been considerable, they were not “founders” or even initiators of a “movement.” Their accomplishment with *The Embodied Mind* was to not only describe the trends and evidence that had been building for a couple of decades, but also to identify and refine the key principles that were shared by a group of researchers who were often working independently. Most significantly, they gave this new approach a name that identified its characteristics in opposition to cognitivism, which was the then-mainstream perspective about the relationships between mind, brain, body and environment.

The enactivist conception of these relationships is radically different from cognitivism, the view held by cognitive scientists since the late 1950s that is still the dominant paradigm today for research into the brain and mental processes. Cognitivism is particularly popular with many music researchers, in spite of the rapid rise of the enactivist view since the early 1990s (Quartz 1999: 48, Coltheart 1999). This popularity seems related to the fact that the cognitivist view of music as primarily (and often exclusively) a sonic phenomenon (as well as the fact that the majority of music-oriented cognitivists only examine pitch and rhythm patterns) is similar to the orientation that most music researchers have experienced in their training at conservatories and/or music schools. The traditional western paradigm of musical analysis, exemplified by

Schenkerian theory,¹ also examines music primarily in terms of pitches and rhythms, with an atomist emphasis upon harmonic patterns and melodic motives and only a passing or superficial consideration of music's function, meaning and development in particular sociohistorically situated communities where non-sonic values, symbols and associations often define musical worth and function.

The terms "enactivism" and "cognitivism" identify important distinctions about each approach's orientation and fundamental principles that are examined in this chapter and in Appendix B (re: cognitivism).

"Enactivism" derives from "enact" which might be parsed as "en-act," since one of its meanings is "to act or perform."² Human actions are usually physical events involving our bodies in conjunction with some sort of plan, intention or response to outside stimuli. Although Varela et al don't explore the etymology of the term "enactivism," the meaning of "enact" sums up the enactivist view that the mental and physical aspects of our existence are inseparably intertwined, that is they are enactive — which is reflected in the title *The Embodied Mind*. The fundamental principle of enactivism is that neither the body is mindless nor the mind is disembodied (Varela et al 1991: 28).

Extensive empirical evidence indicates that this enactive relationship includes an organism's environment. Living things are never bounded by their bodies, but rather

¹ The fact that the Schenkerian approach to musical analysis (which attempts to explain the "meaning" of music almost exclusively in terms of harmonic progressions and considers melodies as merely a linear flow through sequences of chords and cadences) has been, and continues to be, the primary methodology to "understand music" for the past 50 years exemplifies this aesthetic orientation. See Salzer (1962) for a classic account of Schenkerian theory.

² <http://wordnet.princeton.edu/perl/webwn?s=enact>, accessed 6 Aug 07.

are always intertwined with their environment so much so that divisions between the two are usually merely theoretical ones. The air that is always in our lungs and bloodstream, the water in our bodies³ and the many micro-organisms that live on our skin and in our internal organs are so important to our existence that we die without them. Thus, researcher-determined distinctions between organisms and their environment are often indistinct or arbitrary. The effect of organisms upon their environment can also be determined and measured, and in the case of humans, has unfortunately in recent times been very negative (e.g., global warming), but there are many ways that our bodies provide nourishment for other living things. The skin cells we shed, the sweat that evaporates from our skins and the carbon dioxide that we exhale are primary sources of sustenance for microbes, animals and plants around us, without which *they* would also cease to exist.

“Cognitivism” is derived from “cognition,” which refers to a type of mental processing. “Cognition” is defined as “the psychological result of perception, learning and reasoning.”⁴ In Appendix B, where the work of many dozens of authoritative exponents on cognitivism is examined, none of these experts examine the etymological relationship of “cognitivism” to “cognition,” but the way that cognitivism is usually defined always begins with the premise that cognition is “the result of perception, learning and reasoning.” Thus, the cognitivist view of how the brain works is almost

³ According to Shils & Young (1988) and Whitney & Rolfes (2002), 62 percent of an adult male’s body is made up of water and 51 percent of an adult female is water.

⁴ <http://wordnet.princeton.edu/perl/webwn?s=cognition&sub=Search+WordNet&o2=&o0=1&o7=&o5=&o1=1&o6=&o4=&o3=&h=0>, accessed 6 Aug 07.

entirely opposite to the enactivist view: for cognitivists, the mind is separate from both its body and environment. This is not to say that cognitivists dismiss the body and environment as unimportant factors without any influence upon cognitive processes, but that they consider our bodies and their environment as basically distinct entities. This is reflected in the way that cognitivists study mental processes using laboratory tests to focus upon selected components of mental function usually without any consideration of sociocultural or contingent factors in a person's everyday environment.⁵ Enactivists also utilize laboratory testing, but they include, examine and prioritize organisms' environmental settings, considering anything with which an organism might interact in terms of their direct influence upon the content, structure and nature of mental processes.

Cognitivists regard the relationships between mind, brain, body and environment as separated, hierarchical and linear, primarily fixed by genetic "rules" and essentially universal amongst all people. Based upon neurobiological evidence (mostly from new brain scanning and imaging equipment that identifies the information flow in the brain based upon electrochemical activity⁶), enactivists argue that these relationships are overlapping, non-hierarchical, constructivist, highly interdependent and contingent upon local environmental factors. "Organisms and [their] environments [are] mutually unfolded and enfolded structures" (Varela et al 1991: 199), i.e., they always *enact* each

⁵ This is related to cognitivist claims and presumptions of modularity, which are outlined later in this chapter, and examined in detail in Appendix B.

⁶ "Computerized Tomography (CT) and Magnetic Resonance Imaging (MRI) provide information about brain structure and anatomy, while ... Single Photon Emission Computed Tomography (SPECT) and Positron Emission Tomography (PET) ... provide information about brain metabolism, physiology, and biochemistry" (Beaumont et al "Scan" entry, 1996).

other — they act upon one another and bring the other into being in a variety of significant ways (Thompson 1999: 4).

Given their ubiquity in contemporary research, cognitivist principles and cognitivists' rejection of enactivism exemplify Thomas Kuhn's concepts of "paradigms" and "normal science."⁷

'Normal science' means research firmly based upon ... past scientific achievements that some particular scientific community acknowledges for a time as supplying the foundation for its further practice. ... 'Paradigms' [is] a term that relates closely to 'normal science.' ... [They are] accepted examples of actual scientific practice ... [i.e., theories], law[s or] models from which spring particular coherent traditions of scientific research. ... [In] normal science ... [the current paradigm often] force[s] nature into the preformed and relatively inflexible box that the paradigm supplies. ... indeed those [parts or factors] that will not fit the box are often not seen at all. ... Normal-scientific research is directed to the articulation of those phenomena and theories that the paradigm already supplies. (Kuhn 1970: 10, 24)

Kuhn's conception of paradigm shift applies to the way that enactivism, which has challenged and revolutionized most foundational cognitivist claims about mind-brain-body-environment relationships, has slowly gained favour since 1991 with researchers who analyze human experience from a neurobiological perspective and have discovered that many cognitivist claims are not supported by the latest research about how the mind operates and functions.

[New] discover[ies] commence with the awareness of anomaly, i.e., with the recognition that nature has somehow violated the paradigm-induced expectations that govern normal science. [They] then continue with ... extended exploration of the ... anomaly, [a]nd ... close only when the paradigm theory has been adjusted so that the anomalous has become the expected. ... [When the] adjustment is completed, ... scientist[s] ... learn to see nature in a different way. ... [Thus,] paradigmatic changes are destructive as well as constructive. After [new] discover[ies] are] assimilated, scientists [are] able to account for a wider range of natural phenomena or to account with greater precision for some of those previously known.

⁷ Kuhn derived his ideas from the study of scientific revolutions over the past 1000 years.

But that gain [is] achieved only by discarding some previously standard beliefs or procedures and, simultaneously, by replacing those components of the previous paradigm with others. (Kuhn 1970: 53)

Enactivist findings reveal that musical experiences are much more complex than cognitivists believe; i.e., musical perception and cognition involve much more than the linear sequential processing of sonic patterns. Musical neurobiological processing always also involves many non-sonic factors which are not only processed simultaneously, but also sometimes precede musical perception and cognition and shape sonic stimulation. (Of these non-sonic factors, corporeal changes and emotional responses are the most prominent.⁸) This evidence suggests the need for appropriate holistic methodologies to study complex experiences like music, rather than the ones currently in use by most musicologists, which are based upon the cognitivist paradigm and/or the Western aesthetic conception of music that prioritizes sonic patterns.⁹

Many cognitivists view enactivism with suspicion, disdain or indifference. Jerry Fodor, the acknowledged spokesperson of the cognitivist position, has frequently rebutted enactivist critiques of cognitivist theories by labelling enactivist ideas and methodologies as “scattered or weak,” “not rigorous” and generally “not objective enough;” (see Appendix B for specifics and analysis of these critiques and Fodor’s rebuttals).

⁸ Inner, “invisible” dynamic changes include alteration of metabolic rate, heartbeat, pulse, temperature, as well as the triggering of motor neurons without generating any visible motor movements.

⁹ The similarity between the cognitivist view of music and traditional Western aesthetics (i.e., that the creation, performance, perception and cognition of music are primarily about sound patterns) is hardly coincidental, given that cognitivism was formulated by Western scholars. Western aesthetics has clearly been an unacknowledged paradigmatic influence upon cognitivists that has primarily shaped their views of music. (For the Western aesthetic view, see Eduard Hanslick 1986, Susanne Langer 1953 and Leonard Meyer 1956, 1967, 1973, 1987.)

In spite of its minority position in contemporary music cognition research,¹⁰ three aspects of the enactivist position are highly compatible with the orientation of this study, and have provided significant empirical evidence, a theoretical orientation and a methodological approach that strongly support most of this study's major claims.

- 1) Applying enactivists' research findings about the interaction among mind, brain, body and environment to Jamaican choreographic rhythms has helped to explain how this indigenous tradition has developed as a result of complex interactions between Jamaicans and their rich, multilayered sociocultural environment, which in turn have shaped Jamaicans' conception of music and how it is practiced.
- 2) Enactivist research usually begins with a consideration of any biases or presumptions that might interfere with the analysis of a phenomenon, followed by phenomenological descriptions of the subject being studied to identify its main characteristics, other factors and their interrelationships. In terms of this study, although I initially approached the analysis of Jamaican choreographic rhythms as a "cultural outsider," I was fortunate to receive support from many Jamaican, Caribbean and African "insiders" (both in person and in print) who helped me to develop the insights to identify cultural biases and presumptions that interfered with my understanding Jamaican performance practices from an indigenous phenomenological perspective. The literature on Jamaican music examined in Chapters One and Four was also invaluable in educating me about the significance and richness of Jamaican cultural practices from an indigenous perspective. These insights were then applied to the analysis and description of choreographic rhythms in the performances of hundreds of Jamaican artists on film. I then identified the main sonic and corporeal characteristics of Jamaican musical practices, other influential sociocultural factors and how they

¹⁰ In section 3.4.1, five contemporary journals that explore the perception and cognition of music are examined, and found to be dominated by cognitivist presumptions. As a typical example of the cognitivist orientation and emphasis upon sonic patterns (often to the exclusion of anything else) see the website for the Society for Education, Music and Psychology Research, www.sempre.org.uk/psymus.html.

have been intertwined with neo-African corporeal and indigenous traditions since the slavery era.

- 3) Enactivists triangulate their findings whenever possible with a variety of methodological tools to expand, clarify, challenge or corroborate their presumptions and observations, since *any* single methodology and research plan (no matter how well-conceived and executed) will always restrict or influence researchers and their work, even when neutrality is prioritized. The enactivist emphasis upon methodological plurality makes it much more likely that any biases introduced by any one approach are offset or corrected by other ways of examining and explaining complex phenomena such as choreographic rhythms. This study has analyzed choreographic rhythms from a variety of perspectives: musicological, sociohistorical study, biographical factors, ethnography, movement and dance analysis and video analysis to study them holistically with the technological ability to hone in on micro-details as necessary and where appropriate.

This chapter examines enactivism with a particular focus upon music. It is subdivided into seven parts:

3.1 ROOTS OF ENACTIVISM (PRE-1991)

3.1.1 Edmund Husserl

3.1.2 Maurice Merleau-Ponty

3.1.3 Connectionism

3.1.4 Recent Roots of Enactivism

3.1.4.1 David Sudnow

3.1.4.2 Susan Oyama

3.1.4.3 Mark Johnson

3.2 ENACTIVISM AS PRESENTED BY VARELA, THOMPSON & ROSCH (VARELA ET AL)

3.3 OTHER ENACTIVIST-ORIENTED RESEARCHERS (POST-1991)

3.3.1 Correlations Between Cognition, Neurobiology, Corporeal and Emotional Factors

3.3.2 Role of Sociocultural Factors in the Enactive View of the Mind

3.3.3 The Need for Multidisciplinary, Pluralistic Approaches to Study Human Experience

3.4 ENACTIVIST MUSICOLOGISTS:

3.4.1 Neuromusicologists

3.4.2 Ethnomusicologists

3.4.3 Phenomenologists

3.5 THE NEUROPHENOMENOLOGICAL APPROACH TO MUSICAL ANALYSIS

3.6 SEVEN ENACTIVIST FINDINGS APPLICABLE TO MUSIC RESEARCH

3.7 CONCLUSION

3.1 ROOTS OF ENACTIVISM (PRE-1991)

Although most enactivist findings are rooted in contemporary research, many of its core principles and theories are strongly influenced by the pioneering work of Edmund Husserl and Maurice Merleau-Ponty.¹¹

3.1.1 EDMUND HUSSERL (1859-1938)

Husserl, a mathematician-turned-philosopher, developed phenomenology to study experience in terms of both “objective” sensory data and “subjective” reflection, vs. the traditional scientific approach which separates them and downplays subjective factors. He considered perception and consciousness as creative acts constituted within and through our environments, rather than automatic responses to “the world out there,” but his analyses minimized corporeal experience (Primožic 2001:15, Varela et al 1991: 19).

Husserl’s primary orientation (which ran counter to the positivistic orientation of

¹¹ For Varela et al’s discussion of Husserl, see Varela et al (1991: 15-19, 27-8); for Varela et al’s discussion of Merleau-Ponty, see Varela et al (1991: xv-xvii, 3-4).

late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century science) was a rejection of an attitude known as “ ‘naïve realism’, which consists in the conviction not only that the world is independent of mind or cognition but that things generally are the way they appear”¹² (Varela et al 1991: 16). Husserl draws upon Franz Brentano’s notion of *intentionality*.

As Varela et al (1991) explain,

According to Brentano, all mental states (perception, memory, etc. are *of* or *about* something; in his words, mental states necessarily ‘have reference to a content’ or ‘direction toward an object’ (which is not necessarily a thing in the world). This directedness or intentionality, Brentano claimed, was the defining characteristic of the mind. (This use of *intentional* should not be confused with its use to mean ‘doing something on purpose.’) (15-16, italics in original)

Because intentionality colours all of our thoughts, perceptions and interpretations of what is happening to us, Husserl realized that “to understand cognition, we cannot take the world naively but must see it instead as having the mark of our own structure” (ibid.: 16). As a means to examine intentionality, he developed a technique called “bracketing” to analyze one’s presuppositions and beliefs, and thus diminish any distortions, restrictions or prejudices that might arise from one’s expectations and intentions (Husserl 1917, Hammond et al 1991: 2, Primožic 2001: 14). The first step in the bracketing process is

suspending [or] setting aside all [of] one’s presuppositions ... a temporary abstention from judgment in order to allow total attention to the objects and processes of consciousness as they exist in and of themselves. [The goal of bracketing is to] set questions of actuality or validity aside in order to enable full investigation of the phenomenological field. ... By suspending beliefs about reality, utility, logical consistency and so forth, one can examine the way experience presents itself before it is overlaid with the aftermath of mind’s categorizing and abstractive activities. (Bowman 1998: 257)

By creating detailed descriptions of “lived” time/space, including all sensations, feelings

¹² This view describes the orientation of most present-day cognitivists; see Appendix B.

and thoughts, these factors can become available for inspection, categorization, and examination in terms of essential physical characteristics and subjective impressions and reactions.¹³ It is particularly important that such analysis is not pursued *during* an event, however, but afterwards. The goal of bracketing is to savour an experience in its totality with minimal conscious interference, and to focus as much as one can upon its sensations, feelings and character as presented to consciousness. By creating descriptions of *everything* surrounding such experiences, *especially* the feelings and associations that traditional, positivist science considered outside of the frame of inquiry, Husserl examined personal experiences in great detail, and sought to make connections between such experiences, one's prior history and the so-called objective "world out there." This contrasts to positivistic scientists' treatment of the subjective component of experience as automated responses to sensory stimuli or as "background noise" to be filtered out of "true empirical investigation." The ultimate goal of Husserl's phenomenological investigation is the "illuminat[ion of] the world as it is lived ... unencumbered by the prejudices of [our intentionalities]: to get beneath the sediment of abstractions, to ground philosophical inquiry in the concrete world as it presents itself" (Bowman 1998: 258).

The bracketing technique provides music researchers with a methodology to examine not only performers' personal experiences, corporeal sensations and overall emotional states during a musical event or process (often using interviews or journals to

¹³ Many contemporary researchers adopt a Husserl's bracketing techniques and phenomenological orientation to their analyses of musical experience, e.g., Baily, Berger, Blacking, Iyer, Keil, Sudnow and Walser (although only Berger and Iyer refer to Husserl's ideas).

collect such information within moments of their occurrence, while memories are fresh), but also a means to consider and examine researchers' own experiences and their influence upon an investigation. This is especially important in situations where researchers have different cultural backgrounds or experiential histories from those of the people or phenomena being studied, since comparisons of similarities and differences between researchers' and participants' observations can bring to the surface presumptions, biases and misunderstandings that might otherwise go unnoticed and compromise the quality and integrity of the research.

3.1.2 MAURICE MERLEAU-PONTY (1908-1961)

Philosopher-psychologist Maurice Merleau-Ponty expanded Husserl's approach by emphasizing the role of the body in perception, cognition and thought. Merleau-Ponty believed that the cognition of an event is a three-part, concurrent, overlapping and non-hierarchical structure, which is developed dialogically within, and because of, our sociohistorical cultural experiences (Wolf 1998: 1):

- **Basic sensations** are not a copy of "the world out there," i.e., the body is not merely "a transmitter of messages" (Merleau-Ponty 1942/1962: 8-10).
- **Perception** is "achieve[d] with our whole body all at once. ... Synaesthetic perception is the rule" (Merleau-Ponty 1942/1962: 225, 229).
- **"Associations of memory"** (Wolf 1998: 2). Although different brain regions *are* dedicated to particular domains (e.g., vision and speech), these "regions ... never function in isolation" and are always in communication with each other and with "Central Systems"¹⁴ (Merleau-Ponty 1942/1962: 159).

¹⁴ Wolf (1998) cites over a dozen contemporary studies (with evidence of cross-modal, penetrable, "top-down," bi-directional processing) that support Merleau-Ponty's theories.

Merleau-Ponty considers body movement¹⁵ *the* significant unifier of all perception and cognitive activity (Merleau-Ponty 1942/1962: 217, 234). Movement is always crossmodal or intermodal, and consists of more than overt physical movement: a blend of physical sensations, internal pressures and cycles, metabolic rate, temperature, emotions, sounds, smells and tastes (ibid.: 267-75). Most of our knowledge and thought processes emerge and develop out of our embodied experiences, but thought can be non-syntactic, non-symbolic and primarily, if not exclusively, sensual or corporeal in nature (ibid.: 140-1).¹⁶

A movement is learned when the body has understood it, that is, when it has incorporated it into its 'world.' ... It is the body which 'catches' and 'comprehends' movement. The acquisition of a habit is indeed the grasping of a significance, but it is the motor grasping of a motor significance. (ibid.: 139, 143)

Understanding non-verbal gestures is dominated by physical imitation (ibid.: 146-7), i.e., without syntactic, symbolic thought, but complete understanding *does* require shared cultural backgrounds between gesturer and perceiver (ibid.: 140, 186-193). This understanding is mostly acquired intuitively in particular cultural settings. Thus,

the sense of ... gestures is not given, but understood. ... [Their] comprehension ... comes about through the reciprocity of my intentions and the gestures of others, of my gestures and the intentions discernible in the conduct of other people. ... Communication is achieved when my conduct identifies this path with its own. There is mutual confirmation between myself and others. ... I ... understand the gestures of others ... in a kind of blind recognition which precedes the intellectual working out and clarification of the meaning. (ibid.: 185)

Speech and musical performance exemplify crossmodal sensory integration

¹⁵ We perceive movement whenever we experience displacement and dynamic changes of any sort (Merleau-Ponty 1962/1962: 152, 267, 272, 374, 404, 453).

¹⁶ Lakoff (1987), Lakoff & Johnson (1980, 1999), Sheets-Johnstone (1990, 1999a, 1999b) and Tomasello (1999) also hold the same view.

(ibid.: 140-6, 152-9, 182-6, 193-5).¹⁷ Both integrate motor movements and patterned sounds rich in sociohistorical meanings (ibid.: 193-7). Merleau-Ponty notes that speech analysts often only examine syntactic constructions and omit the body in speech conceptualization, production and reception. "It is often overlooked that ... it is the body which points out, and which speaks" (ibid.: 197). The same omission occurs when music analysts only consider the syntactic construction of sonic patterns.

3.1.3 CONNECTIONISM¹⁸

Connectionism (aka parallel distributed processing or PDP), which emerged in the 1970s, has been a major influence upon enactivism. It is rooted in the work of behaviour psychologists Karl Lashley, Edward Lee Thorndike, and neuropsychologist Donald Hebb, who sought an alternative to cognitivism (Hebb 1949: xix, Gardner 1985a: 394). In the early 1990s, brain imaging technology revealed that the brain's information flow consists of parallel, multidirectional and inseparably intertwined exchanges between bottom-up, sensory data and simultaneous (or near-simultaneous) top-down intentions and expectations (Varela et al 1991: 88, 93-103). Mental processes and brain structures are highly dynamic, plastic, and shaped by our environment, especially in our early years¹⁹ (Karmiloff-Smith 1992: 172, Bates 1994: 2-3, Bates et al 1998: 3).

Neurons [function] as members of large ensembles that are constantly disappear-

¹⁷ Merleau-Ponty (1962/1962) primarily refers to speech in these cited pages, but it is clear by comments elsewhere (126, 234, 347, 353-4, 362) that the physical aspects of musical performance are a sociocultural behaviour that is similar to speech.

¹⁸ For information about connectionist history, see Medler (1998), Gardner (1985a), Rumelhart et al (1986) and Rumelhart & McClelland (1986).

¹⁹ Shore (1996) notes that all of the myelination of the cortex takes place ... [during] the first five years of life (16). See also Quartz & Sejnowski (1997: 550), Quartz (1999: 51), Tomasello (1999: 205) and Donald (2001: 111, 174).

ing and arising through their cooperative interactions ... in which every neuron has multiple and changing responses in a context-dependent manner. ... The brain is thus a highly cooperative system ... [whose] behaviour ... resembles a cocktail party conversation much more than a chain of command. ... [S]trictly speaking, there is no all-or-none separation between simultaneous (since the emergent pattern itself arises as a whole) and sequential (since for the pattern to arise there must be a back-and-forth activity between participating components). (Varela et al 1991: 94, 96, 98)

Thus, although some brain regions are localized and genetically specialized, most overlap and are *not* 'hardwired.'

In 1949, Hebb theorized that the learning process could be explained neurobiologically: if two neurons are active together, their connection is strengthened, otherwise it diminishes or disappears. This theory became known as Hebb's Rule; contemporary neurobiological findings²⁰ have confirmed its accuracy. Most of our knowledge and abilities are therefore not innate, but rather, arise from our experiences. It is the belief of many philosophers and scientists²¹ that many (if not most) of our fundamental understandings of the world and the metaphors that we use to make sense of most things in our lives arise out of corporeal experiences. It should not be surprising, therefore, that most knowledge is non-linguistic (e.g., spatial or kinesthetic) (Karmiloff-Smith 1992: 41, 69-79, 23).

²⁰ e.g., Altenmuller (2001), Altenmuller et al (2002), Bangert & Altenmuller (2003), Bressler & Kelso (2001), Clark (1997, 1999a, 1999b), Damasio (1995, 1999), Dennett (1999), Donald (2001), Gallagher (2000), Gallagher (2001), Haueisen & Knosche (2001), Janata & Grafton (2003), Krings et al (2003), Lakoff & Johnson (1999), Langheim et al (2002), Lecerf (1998), Lotze et al (2003), Medler (1998), Munte et al (2002), Nunez & Freeman (1999), Oyama (1985, 2000), Port & van Gelder (1995), Quartz (1999), Quartz & Sejnowski (1997), Shore (1996), Thompson & Varela (2001), Todd (1992, 1999), Todd et al (1999, 2000a, 2000b, 2002a, 2002b), Tomasello (1999) and Varela, Thompson & Rosch (1991).

²¹ See the work of Clark, Damasio, Dennett, Donald, Freeman, Gallagher, M. Johnson, Karmiloff-Smith, Lakoff, Merleau-Ponty, Nunez, Oyama, Port & Gelder, Rosch, Sheets-Johnstone, Shore, Sudnow, Thompson and Varela et al; (citations in reference list).

These findings explain why people who have lived in a Jamaican cultural environment acquire particular sound and movement couplings (i.e., choreographic rhythms) from their experiences with Jamaican musical traditions, and why people who have *not* experienced these couplings usually struggle to perceive and perform Jamaican music with the same fluidity as indigenous Jamaican performers. Thus, the choreographic rhythms one experiences literally develop one's perceptual/cognitive skills and wires the brain to automatically couple particular sound patterns and physical movements. This is true for *all* choreographic rhythms, not just Jamaican ones. Other cultural traditions with strongly defined sound and movement patterns (e.g., European step-dancing and folk music, West African music and dance, Brazilian samba music and dance, Hawaiian hula music and dance, and Cuban son and indigenous dances) also have corresponding choreographic rhythms. The most significant aspect of this research is that our perceptual/cognitive skills and brain structures remain pliable throughout our lives. Hebb's rule identifies that single or infrequent exposure to a new stimulus/experience will only create temporary, weak neural connections. This link becomes stronger *only* with regular repetition, and highly accomplished or complex skills (e.g., choreographic rhythms) can only develop when extended, ongoing repetition makes their performance intuitive and automatic.

3.1.4 RECENT ROOTS OF ENACTIVISM: DAVID SUDNOW, SUSAN OYAMA, MARK JOHNSON

David Sudnow, Susan Oyama and Mark Johnson exemplify connectionist and enactivist principles, even though they don't cite connectionist or enactivist sources.

3.1.4.1 DAVID SUDNOW

Musician-anthropologist-philosopher David Sudnow's phenomenological analysis of his own development as a jazz pianist also applies to other musical styles, especially ones involving improvisation or dance, as well as to any other complex motor skill (Sudnow 1978/rev. 2001, 1979). He used detailed descriptions of his experiences and feelings to analyze the characteristics and development of his improvisational skills. He reported that his improvisations initially lacked nuances, cohesion, creativity, and most importantly, an authentic jazz groove/feeling. When he copied particular body movements of the professionals he emulated, however, his perception and performance improved, his jazz became more "authentic," and his instrument felt like "a genuine extension of [his] body" (Sudnow 1979: 6; see also 1978: 82-141, 2001: 76-77).²² When he subsequently experienced other pianists' performances, his "fingers [unconsciously] follow[ed] the ... shapes and pacing of [their] improvisations" (Sudnow 1979: 68) and he noticed that his musical memory resided as much in his body as in his mind (ibid.: 21-35).²³ He also noticed a "corporate body" in ensemble situations, which generated and directed musical patterns and structures.

From the standpoint of the ensemble performer, there is a corporate entity ... and each voice of the ensemble is to each other as each finger is to the selfsame hand. They are linked together by a smoothly undulating flow of action that unites their

²² The movements which Sudnow noticed and copied were choreographic rhythms — although he doesn't use this term — such as undulations, rotations, swaying and thrusting of body parts in synchronization to the main pulse.

²³ This phenomenon has been discussed by many ethnomusicologists who have analyzed sound-movement gestalts, e.g., Baily (1985, 1991, 1992, 1995), Baily & Driver (1992), Berger (1999), Blacking (1977a, 1977b, 1992, 1995), Chernoff (1979), Keil (1995), Kubik (1962, 1977, 1979, 1986, 1987, 1998, 1999), Progler (1995) and Walser (1991). See Chapter Two for additional details.

variously directed and distanced articulations into a coherently interweaving whole. (Sudnow 1979: 91)

Sudnow echoes Merleau-Ponty's observations about 'the gestalt character of complex human activities,' and how thought, especially musical thought can be corporeal.²⁴ "To define jazz ... is to *describe* the body's ways" (Sudnow 1978: 146). "To leave the hands out of [jazz analysis] is to leave [the] music as a production unexamined. ... [Its] meaning is intrinsically *of* the sounds and the body as a whole" (ibid.: 43, 1979: 46).

3.1.4.2 SUSAN OYAMA

Psychologist Susan Oyama draws from genetics, neurobiology, and developmental psychology to analyze interrelationships between mind, body and environment. She shares many of Husserl's and Merleau-Ponty's convictions,²⁵ and believes that researchers who study perception must "give formative weight to all operative influences, since none is alone sufficient for [a] phenomenon or for any of its properties" (Oyama 1985: 18).

Oyama calls the shifting, interlocked and interacting influences upon an organism "developmental systems" (ibid.: 117). Understanding them requires identification of mutually interdependent, intrasystemic variables and their interrelationships (ibid.: 68, 117). She lists nine interactants that can influence an organism's development²⁶ (Oyama 2000: 73-74): 1) *The genome*. 2) *Cell structure*. 3) *Intracellular chemicals*. 4) *Extracellu-*

²⁴ Like Merleau-Ponty, Sudnow also draws many parallels between musical performance and speech (Sudnow 1979: 1-5).

²⁵ Although Oyama makes no direct references to Husserl or Merleau-Ponty.

²⁶ These interactions are not one-way flows of information or influence, so this list doesn't indicate hierarchical or sequential relationships, that they function independently, or without organism feedback (Oyama 1985: 189).

lar mechanical, hormonal, energetic environments (created by the cell or other cells).

5) *Parental reproductive systems* (physiological and behavioural). 6) *Self-stimulation*.

7) *Immediate physical environment*. 8) *Conspecifics and members of other species with which important interactions take place*. 9) *Climate, food sources and other aspects of the external environment*.

Analysts should consider how interactants are linked, “how [such] linkages [are] accomplished, what the adaptive implications of [these] development[s] are, and what the consequences are of disrupting various associations” (Oyama 1985: 181). The biggest obstacles to complete understanding of interactants and their interrelationships are conventional distinctions between nature/nurture, genotype/environment, and innate vs. learned behaviours/skills/responses. Neurobiological research shows that these dualisms are overstated or inaccurate; organisms are “equal partners” with their environment in constructing human development (Oyama 2000: 28).²⁷

3.1.4.3 MARK JOHNSON

Philosopher Mark Johnson’s approach to the study of cognition is similar to that of Merleau-Ponty; he also adapts Kant’s conception of *schema*.²⁸

[S]chemata are typically thought of as general knowledge structures, ranging from conceptual networks to scripted activities to narrative structures and even to theoretical frameworks. ... [M]y use of the term focuses on embodied patterns of meaningfully organized experience (such as structures of bodily movements and perceptual interactions). (Johnson 1987: 19)

²⁷ Most enactivists support Oyama’s views about the blending of nature/genetics and nurture/environment; e.g., Dennett (1999: 87), Lakoff & Johnson (1999: 507) and Tomasello (1999: 212).

²⁸ Johnson neither cites any foundational works, nor discusses phenomenology, yet his approach suggests a familiarity with Husserl and Merleau-Ponty.

“Image schemata” are conceptual patterns developed from inseparable physical, dynamic experiences,²⁹ which we intuitively and metaphorically project onto abstract and concrete experiences and perceptions. Imagination and reasoning are therefore embodied, pre-linguistic, and linked to bodily and cognitive mechanisms, so Johnson argues that the body is *in* the mind, but like Husserl and Merleau-Ponty, he rejects

the classical empiricist notion of experience as reducible to passively received sense impressions, which are combined to form atomic experiences. ... Experience involves ... our bodily, social, linguistic, and intellectual being combined in complex interactions that make up our understanding of our world. (ibid.: xvi)

Although most image schemata arise out of our own individual experiences, they acquire significant meaning from one’s social and cultural interactions.

Our community helps us interpret and codify many of our felt patterns. They become shared cultural modes of experience and help to determine the nature of our meaningful, coherent understanding of ‘our world.’ ... [T]hese patterns [are not] merely private projections or responses, ... they are culturally influenced modes of meaningful interaction with other[s]. (ibid.: 14)

Johnson’s ideas apply to music as a culturally based, multilayered means of interacting with others.³⁰ As Wayne Bowman puts it:

[Johnson’s account of] the bodily basis of mind ... provides a helpful balance to disembodied accounts of ‘music cognition’ in which musical experience consists primarily of the detection and contemplation of abstract patterns of sound. ... [Musical experiences are] structures learned by the body and recognized in other embodied experience that is similarly structured. ... The life experiences of the embodied mind are ... not separable from its musical ones. (Bowman 1998: 298-9)

Choreographic rhythms are an example of an image schema. With regard to the focus of this study, the findings presented in Chapter Five strongly suggest that Jamaican

²⁹ Examples of image schemata derived from our corporeal experiences, which then become models for abstractions, analogies, and making intuitive correlations between experiences include: dynamic physically rooted relationships: In/Out, On/Off, Up/Down, Empty/Full, Strong/Weak, Ebb/Flow, Rising/Falling, Force/Counterforce, Attraction/Repulsion, Balance, Pressure, Cycles and Center/Periphery.

³⁰ That being said, Johnson never discusses music directly in his work.

3.1.4.3 M. JOHNSON / 3.2 ENACTIVISM AS PRESENTED BY VARELA, THOMPSON & ROSCH (VARELA ET AL) 325

choreographic rhythms are conceptual patterns that become inextricably linked to the majority of Jamaican musicians' conceptions of musical experience which are manifest in their performance practices.

3.2 ENACTIVISM AS PRESENTED BY VARELA, THOMPSON & ROSCH

Varela, Thompson & Rosch's ideas are expressed in seven works, written together, alone, and with other scholars/researchers. (See bibliography for details.)

- Varela, Thompson & Rosch. 1991. *The Embodied Mind*.
- Varela. 1996. "Neurophenomenology: A methodological remedy for the hard problem."
- Thompson. 1999. "Human Consciousness: From Intersubjectivity to Interbeing." Keynote Address, Conference on "Human Consciousness: Integrating Phenomenology and Cognitive Science," the Fetzer Institute, Kalamazoo, Michigan, 14 Sep 99.
- Lachaux, Jean-Philippe, E. Rodriguez, J. Martinerie, & F. Varela. 1999. "Measuring Phase Synchrony in Brain Signals."
- Rosch, Eleanor. 1999. "Reclaiming concepts," In Nunez & Freeman 1999.
- Varela, Lachaux, Rodriguez & Martinerie. 2001. "The Brainweb: Phase Synchronization and Large-Scale Integration."
- Thompson & Varela. 2001. "Radical embodiment: neural dynamics and consciousness."

Note: To avoid redundancy, "Varela et al" will often be used to refer to these collective works/ideas in the remainder of this chapter, unless citing from a particular work, whereby the appropriate names will apply.

Neurobiologist Francisco Varela, philosopher Evan Thompson and psychologist Eleanor Rosch were part of a growing number of scholars and researchers in the 1970s and 1980s who were dissatisfied with traditional cognitivist models of mind.³¹ They combined Husserl's and Merleau-Ponty's phenomenological approaches, connectionist

³¹ Varela et al (1991) refer to Fodor's conception of perception as a "narrow conception of cognition" (102).

research and Buddhist mindfulness concepts and techniques.

Varela et al's conception of cognition is based upon evidence which shows that the mind is *not* a mirror of nature. "Cognition is not the representation of a pregiven world by a pregiven mind but is rather the enactment of a world and a mind on the basis of a history of the variety of actions that a being in the world performs (Varela et al 1991: 9).

Contemporary neurobiological findings about visual processing provide a striking example of mind-world interaction. According to the traditional cognitivist account, visual processing occurs in a linear sequence, initiated by light waves entering the eye. After retinal stimulation, a signal is sent to the lateral geniculate nucleus (LGN) — a region in the thalamus. From the LGN a signal is sent to the visual cortex for further processing (e.g., conceptual categorization, memory associations, etc.). Finally, the organism usually makes a response or action to the visual stimulus (Varela et al 1991: 44, 94-5). Connectionist findings indicate a very different account.

The brain is not a sequence of relay stations from the retina to the muscles. At each level there are strong reciprocal and branching connections, so that the entire network can operate only by a large amount of cooperative, back and forth matching of activity at all levels. (ibid.: 75)³²

In light of these findings, the traditional account of vision ignores three things: a) *the way the visual system is (inter)connected*, b) *the speed of reciprocal information flow between different components of the visual system*, and c) *limitations of discern-*

³² The description of visual processing and the relationship between the eyes (retina), the lateral geniculate nucleus (LGN) and visual cortex is "a uniform principle throughout the brain" (Varela et al 1991: 96). This conclusion is further reinforced by recent findings that synchronization of neural assemblies is a process that spans multiple spatial and temporal scales in the nervous system (Varela et al 2001).

ment between simultaneous and sequential events. Re: (a) *system interconnections*, only 20% of the information that enters the LGN actually comes from the retina. The remaining 80% comes from other brain regions, generated within milliseconds of retinal stimulus. As Varela et al put it,

There are more fibers coming from the [visual] cortex down to the LGN [the lateral geniculate nucleus] than there are going in the reverse direction. To look at the visual pathways as constituting a sequential processor [from retina to LGN to visual cortex] seems entirely arbitrary; one could just as easily see the sequence moving in the reverse direction. (ibid.: 95)

Thus, 80% of what we perceive during visual stimulation consists of memories, associations, emotional responses, sensations, etc. either triggered by the visual stimulus, or by something else occurring at the same time (either in one's body, consciousness, or in the environment). Re: (b) *speed of information flow*, the connection speeds are extremely fast, which impacts upon (c) *our ability to discern simultaneity vs. succession*. Contemporary research shows that neural communication takes between 100 to 200 milliseconds (i.e. 0.1 to 0.2 seconds), and when successive events are less than 200 milliseconds apart, they are perceived as simultaneous (Varela et al 1991: 76-9). There is also a "critical period of about 0.15 seconds [as] the minimum amount of time it takes for a describable and recognizable percept to arise" (ibid.: 76).³³ Thus, perception/cognition is always a simultaneous, "active (that is, top-down) process of conceptualization [in which] we frame our perceptions as intentional items" (Varela et al 1991: 78). This means that our intentions, beliefs and desires are always melded into our perceptual acts and shape

³³ Percept formation corresponds to cognitivism's second and third processing stages, which Fodor claims take place *after* a stimulus is acquired (Fodor 1983: 56, 65, 85, 97; Fodor 1985: 4; Preti et al: 53, 56; Bates 1994: 2). See Appendix B for a detailed discussion of cognitivist principles.

them accordingly. (Cognitivists, on the other hand claim that sense perception is pure, i.e., totally objective and uninfluenced by intentions, beliefs and desires.)

These findings also support Merleau-Ponty's claim that synaesthetic perception is the rule. Although different brain regions are dedicated to particular domain-specific tasks, individual domain perception "is always in active exchange with other sensory modalities, ... [so] perception and action, sensorium and motorium, are linked together as successively emergent and mutually selecting patterns" (ibid.: 163); this linkage occurs both locally and globally.³⁴ Different co-occurring events are also linked "by reciprocal dynamic connections [between neurons in neural networks]" (Varela et al 2001: 229).

[L]arge-scale integration [appears to] be mediated by neuronal groups [widely distributed over the brain] that oscillate in the gamma range (30-80 Hz, also referred to as 40 Hz) that enter into precise phase-locking (over a limited period of time). ... [This] phase synchrony [appears to] subserve not just [the] binding of sensory attributes, but the overall integration of all dimensions of a cognitive act, including associative memory, emotional tone, and motor planning. (Thompson 1999: 194, 195)

This phase synchrony or phase-locking (aka "perceptual binding") is also extremely fast³⁵ (within 4-6 milliseconds — i.e., 0.004 to 0.006 seconds — for local areas separated by 2-7 mm, and within 8-10 milliseconds for neural assemblies more than 1 cm apart (Thompson & Varela 2001: 231)). This binding activity appears to unify everything experienced in any given moment into one inseparable gestalt. This alone provides a neurobiological justification for the adoption of holistic methodologies and analytical approaches to most human behaviour and processes, since they correspond to the way

³⁴ See Lachaux et al (1999) and Thompson & Varela (2001) for detailed presentation/ analysis of these research findings.

³⁵ "[S]ynchronous networks emerge and disappear in waves that last 100-300 ms" (Varela et al 2001).

our brains process information.

Applying this information to musical perception and cognition, the same figures and processes apply, with radical implications for the understanding and study of musical experience. *Only 20% of what we perceive and cognize during a musical experience comes from what our ears perceive* (i.e., from the sonic information that cognitivists label as “music”). *The remaining 80% (of what we perceive as part of “the music”) consists of memories, associations, emotional responses, beliefs, desires, etc., either triggered by the aural stimulus, or by something else occurring at the same time (either in our body, consciousness, or in the environment).* When choreographic rhythms are involved, these findings indicate that sounds and movements are *always* automatically and uncontrollably neurobiologically united (along with the other factors listed above). This characteristic of how our minds perceive and process all experience (let alone music) as gestalt entities accounts for the significance of choreographic rhythms in our understanding, conceptualization and performance of musical patterns.

Varela et al also add three neurobiologically rooted nuances to Merleau-Ponty’s phenomenological approach that can expand the study of musical experience well-beyond the traditional Western emphasis upon notes and rhythms: *the absent body*, *nonlinear dynamic systems theory* and *mirror neurons*.

The absent body refers to the way our lived body recedes from us in daily experience and moves outside of our conscious awareness; e.g., when our posture, breathing, and repetitive or highly skilled body movements become automatic (Thompson 1999: 6).

Nonlinear dynamic systems theory is a methodological approach that is well-suited to study complex brain-body-world interrelations, providing highly detailed analyses of the processes underlying perception, learning, and especially the role of sensorimotor activity in shaping cognition (Thompson & Varela 2001: 418, 419).³⁶ Space does not permit a detailed discussion of this methodology, but the research findings and orientation of this approach are highly compatible with the orientation of this study. See footnote for key concepts and major works/scholars in this area.³⁷

Recent studies³⁸ reveal that most of our learning and communication is the result of *mirror neurons* (Thompson & Varela 2001: 424). These neurons become active when

³⁶ Clark (1997: 98, 114-23, 1999: 348-9) also favours dynamic systems theory; also see Beer (2000).

³⁷ e.g., See research in Port & van Gelder (1995), especially *Browman, Catherine P. & Louis Goldstein*: "Dynamics and Articulatory Phonology" (175-94) re: speech as a unified action; *Grossberg, Stephen*: "Neural Dynamics of Motion Perception, Recognition Learning, and Spatial Attention" (449-90) re: importance of attention for motion learning/perception; *Norton, Alec*: "Dynamics: An Introduction" (45-68) re: correlation between dynamic change and time parameters; *Port, Robert F., Fred Cummins & J. Devin McAuley*: "Naive Time, Temporal Patterns, and Human Audition" (339-72) re: analysis of music in strictly auditory terms, with an emphasis upon temporality; *Saltzman, Elliot L.*: "Dynamics and Coordinate Systems in Skilled Sensorimotor Activity" (149-74) re: coordination and entrainment; *Thelen, Esther*: "Time-Scale Dynamics and the Development of an Embodied Cognition" (69-100) re: Piagetian perspective of significance of movement in generating thought, with references to Varela et al (1991), Vygotsky, Johnson, Piaget and Lakoff; *Turvey, M.T. & Claudia Carello*: "Some Dynamical Themes in Perception and Action" (373-402) re: analysis of touch and coordinated movement; *van Gelder, Timothy & Robert F. Port*: "It's About Time: An Overview of the Dynamical Approach to Cognition" (1-44) re: correlation between sensorimotor activity, temporal perception and cognition.

³⁸ Significant studies include those by Arbib et al (2000), Arbib & Bota (2003), Aziz-Zadeh et al (2004), Badets & Blandin (2004), Billard (2001), Bower (2003), Braten (2003), Bremmer (2001), Carr et al (2003), Clark (1998), Cochin et al (2001), Corballis (1998, 1999), Cotterill (1995, 1997a, 1997b, 2001), Damasio (2003), Dobbs (2006), Fadiga et al (2000), Frith & Frith (1999), Gallese (2001, 2003), Gallese & Goldman (1998), Gallese & Keysers (2001), Greenfield et al (2003), Hurford (2004), Iacoboni (In press), Iacoboni & Lenzi (2002), Inamura et al (2004), Kohler et al (2002), May (2003), Morrison (2001), Munakata et al (2001), Muthukumaras-

we see someone moving and prepare us to imitate their actions (ibid.). This process is called "invisible imitation," and is evident when newborns use unseen parts of their body (e.g., eye, mouth and tongue) to copy others' movements (Thompson 1999: 8).³⁹

This phenomenon strongly suggests that crossmodal perception is automatic, unlearned and intrinsic.

[Invisible imitation] depends upon a 'supramodal' body schema that ... links the perceptual modalities of vision and proprioception, both to each other and to motor processes of action. ... senses are synaesthetically united with each other ... [T]he gestures that beckon from the other are seen proprioceptively and felt visually, and thus incorporated ... in [one's] response. (ibid.: 8-9)

Invisible imitation allows us to "read" other people intuitively, empathetically, and nonverbally, and to understand and learn complex sensorimotor skills such as walking, dancing, driving a car, sports and music skills by watching others⁴⁰ (ibid.: 10, 11; see also Rizzolatti & Arbib 1998: 189-90). Once sensorimotor patterns are performed intuitively, i.e., without any conscious plan or awareness, neuronal links become permanent and these movements become part of our absent body. As Merleau-Ponty, Sheets-Johnstone and Sudnow have noted, muscles can remember, guide and develop actions independent of conscious deliberation⁴¹ (Varela et al 1991: 88). Mirror neurons connect us to our

wamy & Johnson (2004), Ni et al (2000), Nishitani & Hari (2000), Petrov et al (1996), Pines (2003), Ramachandran (undated), Richter et al (2000), Rizzolatti (1998), Rizzolatti & Arbib (1998), Rossi et al (2002), Spinney (2002), Umiltà et al (2001), Williams et al (2001), Wohlschläger et al (2003) and Wolf et al (2001).

³⁹ This phenomenon happens within an hour of birth.

⁴⁰ Although many musical skills can be acquired from watching others perform, advanced techniques and concepts usually involve some form of direct instruction, scaffolding or mentoring, even in cultures that prioritize non-verbal and non-notational orientations to musical practice; see discussion of scaffolding and mentoring in section 3.3.2.

⁴¹ This is commonly called "muscle memory." See section 2.2.4 for additional discussion about muscle memory in musical performances, especially as examined by Kubik and Keil.

environment through cycles of sensorimotor coupling. "What [an] organism senses [becomes] a function of how it moves, and how it moves is a function of what it senses" (Thompson & Varela 2001: 424). Not surprisingly, given the complex inter- and cross-modal nature of sensorimotor coupling,

the sensorimotor pathways of the body ... are mediated in the brain by multiple neocortical regions and subcortical structures. Transient neural assemblies mediate the coordination of sensory and motor surfaces, and sensorimotor coupling with the environment constrains and modulates [these] neural dynamics. (Thompson & Varela 2001: 424)

The Buddhist concept of five codependent aggregates of consciousness⁴² provides a highly nuanced analysis of experience quite compatible with phenomenological analysis (Varela et al 1991: 64-7). Buddhists consider every moment of consciousness to consist of five intertwined, essentially simultaneous facets or aggregates⁴³ (ibid.: 78, 97-98). Traditional cognitivists usually only focus upon the first aggregate, and the quantifiable, physical aspect of the second, and either minimize or dismiss the remainder.

1. **Physical/Material forms** — our body in its environment.
2. **Feelings/Sensations** — everything experienced, inner and outer.
3. **Perceptions/ Impulses** — There are three basic root impulses that arise automatically and colour our perceptions: passion/desire, aggression/anger, and delusion/ignoring.
4. **Dispositional Formations** — Patterns of thinking and feeling related to our intentions and motivations.
5. **Consciousness** — The mental experience that accompanies the previous four aggregates.

⁴² These categories "are ubiquitous in Buddhist teachings, both written and oral" (Varela et al 1991: 264 n.5).

⁴³ "Each of the aggregates contains those that precede it in [this] list" (Varela et al 1991: 67).

From an enactivist perspective, a complete and rich phenomenological account of experience requires consideration of all five aggregates. Varela et al's conception of "embodiment" derives from the Buddhist conception of aggregates and is therefore totally inclusive of everything experienced in any given moment:

We [Varela et al] see our bodies both as physical structures and as lived, experiential structures — in short, as both 'outer' and 'inner,' biological and phenomenological. These two sides of embodiment are obviously not opposed. Instead, we circulate back and forth between them. ... For Merleau-Ponty, as for us, *embodiment* has this double sense: it encompasses both the body as a lived, experiential structure and ... as the context or milieu of cognitive mechanisms. (Varela et al 1991: xv-xvi, italics in original)

In 1996, Varela coined "neurophenomenology" to describe a methodology suitable for enactivist analysis, i.e., one that allows "a 'circulation' between external and phenomenological analysis" (Varela 1996: 13) and always considers phenomena from a "stereoscopic perspective": 1) *phenomenological accounts of the structure of experience*, which provides a "first hand quality of experience" that constrains empirical observations, and 2) *their counterparts in cognitive science*, which provides empirical evidence (especially from neurobiology) to support or flesh out the first.

Lastly, although Varela et al devote minimal attention to musical analysis in their work, they make one astute observation about the development of musical skills that has significant implications for analyzing choreographic rhythms.

[When] learning to play [an instrument], ... [i]n the beginning, the relation between mental intention and bodily act is quite undeveloped — *mentally one knows what to do, but one is physically unable to do it*. As one practices, the connection between intention and act becomes closer, until eventually the feeling of difference between them is almost entirely gone. One achieves a certain condition that phenomenologically feels neither purely mental nor purely physical; it is rather, a specific kind of mind-body unity. (Varela et al 1991: 29, italics added)

This observation is entirely accurate, but understated. For most professional musicians,

not only is there usually *no* difference between intention and action, but performance usually involves and combines many other factors into a holistic, gestalt blend (e.g., conveyance of emotion, social interaction, dance movements, and many pragmatic decisions involving technical/acoustical matters related to performance context. Invisible imitation and mirror neurons also play key roles in musical performance and skill acquisition.) This blending of factors can make it difficult or impossible for performers to separate a performed action into components (either for replication or in order to “teach”/ analyze the performed action). In a performance context, especially with music that is extremely familiar, professional musicians usually enter into a special state — similar to athletes being “in the zone.” This special state is so intuitive and automatic that self-reflection (in the moment or after the fact) is often not only hard, but trying to do so during a performance can sometimes significantly alter musical content/style, and even interfere with its production.

In the Introduction to this study, I recounted the Bob Marley interview in which he commented about what happens when non-Jamaican musicians played Jamaican music. (He noted, “If you explain it [i.e., the Jamaican musical feel] to a musician, they *know* it, but they can't *do* it.”) The similarity between this observation and the italicized statement in the Varela et al quote above is particularly striking. Marley and Varela et al are clearly addressing the same issue, i.e., what happens in the preliminary stages of someone learning a new musical skill, (in the Varela et al case, learning to play an instrument, in Marley's case, a “cultural outsider” trying to perform Jamaican music). Both Marley and Varela et al agree that when a musician operates only from a

plan, i.e., when the musician has only a mental conception of what needs to be done, performance attempts are rarely successful. Additional experience with the style and conventions of the music to be played is required; otherwise the performance will lack subtleties and nuances. Hebb's rule indicates that in this type of situation this happens because neuronal connections are too new and/or weak to be consistent or accurate. Complex tasks require more than clearly delivered and well-understood instructions — they need *lots* of rehearsal before the instructions, the mental plan and the physical execution of this plan become automated and fluent — i.e., before "the feel" is right (in Marley's terms) or before there is "a specific kind of mind-body unity" (in Varela et al's terms). As the cliché goes, it's a matter of "practice, practice, practice," but in the case of Jamaican music (or other musics with significant choreographic rhythms), this practice requires copying the choreographic rhythms as well as the notes and rhythms, for, as Marley so succinctly put it, "it's not a *copy* that do it, it's *the feel*, you know?"⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Neurologist Frank Wilson's (1986: 19-20) analysis of the corporeal aspect of musical performance addresses many important aspects of the steps involved to understand and develop facility with sound and movement couplings (like choreographic rhythms) that are outside of one's prior experiences. He notes that there are four physiologic mechanisms in operation during a musical performance: (1) *Visual*— watching oneself and/or others and/or music; (2) *Auditory*— listening while performing; (3) *Tactile*— kinesthetic information as a result of contact with the instrument while performing; (4) *Kinesthetic*— changes in muscle and joint positions while performing as a result of (1) and/or (2) and/or (3). The performance of rhythm has mostly to do with developing *skilled muscle and kinesthetic movements* (140).

Because musical movements require great speed and complex coordination, they must be specified *before* the movement itself actually begins. The learning of musical patterns occurs in cognitive units called "chunking" (135). All instructions to perform a chunk must be imbedded in the activity, including sonic as well as kinesthetic parameters (138). Thus, the development of performing skills is as much a development of one's sense of touch as it is one's ear (171). Music making is primarily "a physical discipline. ... The spiritual, cerebral and physical aspects of music are not only unopposed, but in fact, mutually dependent" (192-193). "We formulate a physical strategy, based on *previous experience with similar or somehow comparable tasks*, to achieve *the results we desire*. We

3.3 OTHER ENACTIVIST-ORIENTED RESEARCHERS (POST-1991)⁴⁵

This section examines the work of researchers whose orientation is either directly influenced by Varela et al's research or whose approach falls under the enactivist umbrella: biologists Walter J. Freeman and Brian Goodwin; cognitive scientists Andy Clark, Shaun Gallagher and Rafael Nunez; cognitive anthropologist Bradd Shore; evolutionary scientists Merlin Donald and Michael Tomasello; neurobiologists Steven Bressler & K.A. Kelso, Antonio Damasio, Terrence Sejnowski and Steven Quartz; philosophers Daniel Dennett and Valerie Gray Hardcastle; philosopher Mark Johnson; linguist George Lakoff; philosopher / dance scholar Maxine Sheets-Johnstone; physiologist Paul Cisek; and psychologists Jana M. Iverson and Esther Thelen. Since their research and conclusions frequently overlap, I discuss their ideas with reference to three topics, rather than individually:

execute the plan and note the outcome. ... Studying is more concerned with the examination of a problem, and "practising" with repetition of certain motions or actions, to make them a habit. ... [W]hatever is automatic in the movement sequence becomes established through repetitions that are executed with consistency. ... [D]one properly, [this process] produce[s] reliable performance[s]" (201-205, italics added).

Thus, with new or unfamiliar music to analyze or perform, our prior experiences create an anticipation of *what* we are supposed to do, which impacts significantly on the most important component of the learning process, i.e., *noting the outcome*. If noting our successes and mistakes is the seminal condition for learning, our prior experience with a new task is crucial for our self-evaluation. Thus, the absence of sufficient prior experiences (especially with Jamaican choreographic rhythms) explains why the non-Jamaican musicians described by Marley have such difficulties in their endeavours. So, when Marley states that "they know it, but they can't do it," based upon Wilson's analysis, the things non-Jamaican musicians *do* "know" are only partial, incomplete understandings which becomes evident in their playing.

⁴⁵ This delineation isn't meant to suggest that the bulk of significant work in the enactivist area occurred in 1991, but rather, it is to group together those researchers who followed in the wake of Varela et al's *The Embodied Mind* (1991), many of whom have made notable contributions to either affirm or extend Varela et al's initial ideas.

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3.3.1. Correlationships Between Cognition, Neurobiology, Corporeal and Emotional Factors

3.3.2. The Role of Sociocultural Factors in the Enactive View of the Mind

3.3.3. The Need for Multidisciplinary, Pluralistic Approaches to Study Human Experience

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[The] functions [of the brain/mind] cannot properly be understood until we see it not as the boss but as just one more somewhat fractious servant, working to further the interests of the body that shelters and fuels it and gives its activities meaning. (Dennett 1999: 57-8, 85, 77-78)

Brains have connections to other parts of the body, ... in ways which make it impossible to say precisely where a brain ends and other bodily parts begin. ... [Brains are totally] dependent upon those very connections for their everyday functioning. (Sheets-Johnstone 1999a: 477)

These statements typify contemporary enactivists' view that mind, brain,⁴⁶ body, cognitive processes, and the world are "a seamless whole or seamless web, in which perceiver/categorizer and perceived/categorized are simply opposite poles of the same event, [which] arise together" (Rosch 1999: 71, 72).⁴⁷ Cisek, Iverson & Thelen, Lakoff & Johnson and Donald challenge the cognitivist computer metaphor of mental operations as the information processing of abstract symbols (Cisek 1999: 125, Iverson & Thelen 1999: 19).

The neurochemical and neuroelectric actions of the brain are much more like digestion than number crunching. [These processes] are so rich in structure, with so many more potential ways to communicate and coordinate than digital symbol

⁴⁶ For cognitive scientists, the brain is the physical organ in the head, and the mind consists of the cognitive systems which operate inside the brain. Enactivists expand the notion of mind well beyond the brain to include other bodily and even environmental systems.

⁴⁷ See also Clark (1999b: 1); Donald (2001: 46-7, 178-91); Freeman (1999: 147); Freeman & Nunez (1999: xiv); Goodwin (1999: 229-1); Iverson & Thelen (1999: 19); Lakoff & Johnson (1999: 17, 38); and Quartz & Sejnowski (1997: 584).

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machines, ... [that] in its style of operation the brain is really not at all like a digital computer. (Donald 2001: 102)

Damasio, Clark, Freeman & Nunez and Sheets-Johnstone cite evidence that perception is always multimodal,⁴⁸ interactive, constructive,⁴⁹ and our senses are always combined⁵⁰ (Damasio 1994: 225, 233; 1999: 147, 348 n.8). This combination occurs in several ways, although at present, there is insufficient evidence to explain *exactly* how the senses are combined. That is, there is evidence to support each of the following alternatives, but not enough to be conclusive: i) via *coupling mechanisms* that synchronize neural outputs through cyclical electro-chemical pulsations;⁵¹ ii) through *reentrant processing*,⁵² which occurs “when downward pathways establish correlations between multiple cortical and sub-cortical areas, ... allow[ing] activity in one site to become correlated with activity at others” (Clark 1999b: 8); iii) in *convergence zones*, brain areas “in which several long-range corticocortical⁵³ connections (feedback and feedforward) converge, enabling signals from that area to simultaneously influence multiple distant

⁴⁸ Clark (1997: 22); Damasio (1999: 146); Freeman (1999: 147, 152); Sheets-Johnstone (1999a: 229, 255); and Sheets-Johnstone, who calls it *amodal* (1999: 255).

⁴⁹ Clark (1999a: 346); Damasio (1999: 146); Freeman (1999: 155); Lakoff & Johnson (1999: 497); and Sheets-Johnstone (1999a: 190).

⁵⁰ This evidence corroborates Merleau-Ponty’s and Varela et al’s claims that perception and cognition are cross-modal and synaesthetic, discussed in sections 3.1.2 and 3.2.

⁵¹ Bressler & Kelso’s and Donald’s 2001 findings (181-4) cite evidence of changes in the cerebral cortex as a result of two primary coupling mechanisms: *local field potential (LFP)* — oscillating currents due to synchronous activity amongst neurons, and *phase synchronization* across multiple cortical areas and both hemispheres (Bressler & Kelso 2001; 27-8, 30).

⁵² Gerald Edelman’s terminology, cited in Clark (1997: 137, 1999b: 8).

⁵³ Corticocortical connections are between midline-posterior and latero-frontal areas of the brain.

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regions of neural tissue" (Damasio, cited in Clark 1997: 139 and 1999b: 8).⁵⁴

Most enactivists believe that our intentions and attention (which arise from our prior history) control every aspect of perception (Cisek 1999: 125, Clark 1999b: 12, Freeman 1999: 146-7, Hardcastle 1999: 241). Quartz & Sejnowski cite evidence that cognitive neural circuits are constructed from our learning experiences, via a process they call *constructive learning*⁵⁵ (Quartz & Sejnowski 1997: 539). "[Thus] a bottom-up theory of [perception] is no longer tenable [since perceptual] information interacts [with so-called upper level processes such as expectations, categorization and beliefs] at early levels of processing"⁵⁶ (ibid.: 584).

Damasio cites evidence that thoughts and ideas consist primarily of multimodal images (Damasio 1994: 106-8, 1999: 317-21), which are not exclusively visual, or reproductions of sensory data, but are *interpretations* of experiences, constructed mostly involuntarily and intuitively (ibid.: 88, 97, 100; 1999: 317-8). These interpretations, which he calls *dispositional representations*,⁵⁷ are stored in temporary distributed groupings of neurons integrated by electrical and biochemical activity in the brain, bloodstream and

⁵⁴ See Freeman (1999: 151) and Hardcastle (1999: 241) for additional biophysical particulars.

⁵⁵ Quartz & Sejnowski acknowledge that this is essentially the same as Hebb's Rule (Quartz & Sejnowski 1997: 548, Quartz 1999: 50). Donald (2001) also cites empirical evidence to support this view of brain flexibility and plasticity (103, 174).

⁵⁶ This is the same claim made by Varela et al regarding reciprocal and branching connections and cooperative, back-and-forth activity at all levels of perception and cognition, discussed in section 3.2.

⁵⁷ Clark (1997) calls them *distributed internal representations* (132). Shore (1996) calls them *personal mental models* and *schematization* (46-50, 362-3). Lakoff uses *idealized cognitive models* (cited in Shore 1996: 332-6). Donald (2001) calls the process of creating dispositional representations *batching* (201). "Batching" is therefore similar to Wilson's concept of "chunking" discussed in footnote #44.

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nervous system (ibid.: 84-87, 102-3). Dispositional representations “include the motor adjustments we made to obtain the perception in the first place and also the emotional reactions we had to them” (ibid.: 225; 1999: 147-8). Lakoff & Johnson (1999: 57) also note that “whenever a domain of subjective experience or judgment is coactivated regularly with a sensorimotor domain, permanent neural connections are established via synaptic weight changes.” Based upon the research of David Bailey and Srini Narayanan, who have compared imagined vs. actual movement, Lakoff & Johnson note that:

In dreaming, the high-level motor programs of our brains can be active and connected to our visual systems while their input to our muscles is inhibited. ... [i.e.], we cognitively simulate[e] the movements, [and] actual[ly] activate[e] motor programs ... which results in the ‘feel’ of movement without moving. (Lakoff & Johnson 1999: 565, 579)

This evidence has two significant implications for the study of music:

1) There is very little difference neurobiologically between imagining and actually engaging in a movement (ibid.: 578-83).⁵⁸ An initial response to this rather astounding fact might be that “simply thinking about music is *exactly* the same as making music” — but this isn’t actually the case, for this finding has one very important clarification. By “imagined” movement, the research that Lakoff & Johnson cite refers specifically to the mental recall of movements *that one has previously made*, i.e., it doesn’t mean that thinking about movements with which one has no prior experience will produce the

⁵⁸ Based upon MRI scans of musicians playing piano, Munte et al (2002) note that mental practice of motor tasks “produces a similar but less pronounced effect” compared to actual sensorimotor activity, and that “mental practice therefore seems to be sufficient to promote the modulation of [the same] neural circuits that are involved in ... motor-skill learning” (475). For other research that compares imagined vs. physical movements, see the work of Bangert et al (2001), Bangert & Altenmüller (2003), Halpern (2001), Haueisen et al (2001), Hickok et al (2003), Langheim et al (2002), Lotze et al (2003), Pantev et al (2001), Pascual-Leone (2001), Rauschecker (2001) and Todd (1999).

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same neurobiological effect as making those movements. On the other hand, if one looks at the notation of music that one has already played, then reading the score silently *will* produce the same neurobiological effect as its actual performance and will also include other associated/ synchronous aspects of this experience, such as motor movements, emotions, other sensory stimulation (such as sights, smells, tastes and other sensations). *But* —this neurobiological similarity is limited. It will only produce the same neurobiological results as the *prior* experience of this music.

With regard to choreographic rhythms, it means that recalling choreographic rhythms allows the “rememberer” to experience prior sound and movement couplings without necessarily moving during a performance. Given Agawu’s point that choreographic rhythms *must* be experienced first-hand in order to be truly understood (2003: 73), and that without their inclusion both the performance and the perception of African music are usually subject to misinterpretation and stylistic errors, the absence of overt movement during a performance can make it difficult for observers to be aware of what is going on from a performer’s perspective,⁵⁹ especially if they lack familiarity with the same couplings and performance practices as those which the performer may be remembering during the performance.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ The use of performers’ narratives about their performances (in the form of journals, interviews, written commentary, and in conjunction with reviewing a film of their performance) can provide information about what the performer is thinking and feeling when performing.

⁶⁰ In Appendix A, Part Two, I describe my own difficulties perceiving Jamaican choreographic rhythms from the same perspective as a Jamaican artist, due to lack of prior active experience with Jamaican movement traditions. When I observed performers moving to characteristic consistent offbeat patterns, it appeared that offbeats received stronger corporeal accents. Jamaican movement analyst Cheryl Ryman pointed out that the typical Jamaican response to such sound patterns consists of the strongest accented (downward) gestures on beats, even when they are silent or weakly sounded.

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This finding also raises some related questions: “If simply *thinking* about music has the same effect as making or experiencing it, then why do people enjoy experiencing musical sound? What aspects of live performance are different from the remembrance of prior musical experiences?”

- The reason for the performance, the audience in attendance, and the day / time of its occurrence might be changed.
- Although most choreographic rhythms may be the same, other corporeal patterns/gestures/sensations can be unique for each performance.
- Many sound patterns nuances (e.g., dynamic level, timbre, vibrato, etc.) are spontaneous expressions of feelings and technical demands of the moment.
- Humidity, temperature and the number of people present can alter room acoustics.
- The appearance of a performance (e.g., performers’ positions, postures, lighting, etc.) contributes to its mood and expressiveness, but most factors are spontaneous.
- When music is performed or experienced while eating, drinking, smoking or engaging in physical activity (e.g., dancing, while working, etc.) smells, tastes and physical sensations become intertwined with musical memories.
- Many social interactions amongst performers, performers and audiences, and amongst audience members are spontaneous.
- Physical and mental states/health of performers and audiences affect perception of tempo, pitch, intensity, timbre, dynamics, structure, etc.:
 - metabolic states, hormonal / adrenalin levels change
 - thought patterns and associated feelings are always in flux

Some physical/sonic/emotional/social sensations and feelings experienced during a performance can be “responses” to the sounds, but some may be totally unrelated. Some might precede and generate the sonic patterns, and others might involve anticipated physical/sonic/emotional/social events. Strong emotions (whether

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directly related to the music or simply occurring at the same time) might be more significant to a performer or audience member than the sonic patterns.⁶¹

2) These findings have another significant implication for the study of music. **Based upon Damasio's view of dispositional representations, the fact that our memories of experiences are indissoluble couplings of abstract and physical neural links means that our sensorimotor system is always part of our reasoning.** Thus, "our neural capacities for motor control can be used to carry out abstract reasoning. The same neural circuitry that can move the body can be used to reason with" (Lakoff & Johnson 1999: 583).

Dispositional representations and synaptic weight changes also provide conclusive evidence that memories are stored throughout the body, and not exclusively in the brain (which is what cognitivists claim). For musical performances, this is most significant, since it verifies that choreographic rhythms are always a part of the memories of musical performances in which they occur.

The empirical evidence underlying the previous two implications is part of a growing body of research (e.g., Sheets-Johnstone 1999a: 492, Lakoff & Johnson 1999: 514-5, 555) that thought can be non-syntactic and non-verbal (e.g., images, feelings, sound patterns, physical sensations, and body movement). Thus we can think in colours, shapes, geometric relationships, bodily/sonic patterns of movement, energy shifts, and dynamic change.

⁶¹ Note: This doesn't negate the findings cited above. It is possible to remember a prior performance accurately, i.e., "as is," but it is very difficult to reproduce a piece of music exactly again in performance, especially when non-sonic factors are taken into account, although some performances might come very close.

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Like Merleau-Ponty, Sheets-Johnstone⁶² notes that our conception of movement involves more than physical motion or body positioning (Sheets-Johnstone 1999a: xxxi-ii, 19).⁶³

Movement and perception are seamlessly interwoven. ... Thinking in movement ... [involves being] caught up in a dynamic flow [of particular postures, forces, directions, and spatial/temporal/social factors] ... Some of [which] ... never ... wend their way into language. ... [T]hey are not *necessarily* articulated or even articulatable. ... The actual dynamic kinetic event is not reducible to a word or even a series of words. (ibid.: 444, 445, 485-7)

As Lakoff & Johnson put it, "Much of conceptual inference is ... sensorimotor inference" (1999: 20; also 37-9, 42, 555). Many enactivists believe that all metaphors, analogies, and thought itself are rooted in bodily experience, and do not always require linguistic expression to have meaning or to be understood (e.g., Freeman & Nunez 1999: xv; Lakoff & Johnson 1999: 12-20, 45-54, 128, 497-9; Sheets-Johnstone 1999a: 19, 30). Given the fact that musical experience always includes other factors, especially corporeal ones, "thinking in music" therefore involves a blend of sonic patterns with corporeal, emotional and associative imaging that often involves no verbal language whatsoever.

Our skills for imitation (mostly because of mirror neurons)⁶⁴ and our intermodal

⁶² Sheets-Johnstone (1999a) conducts a phenomenological analysis of her experiences as a dancer and choreographer, with similar conclusions to Sudnow's analysis of his piano laying. She notes that her observations/conclusions about movement (483-517) are entirely applicable to music (485).

⁶³ Physical movements have four basic qualities: tensional, linear, amplitudinal and projectional (Sheets-Johnstone 1999a: 143-4). See also Sheets-Johnstone (1999a: 233-8, 437-46 and 1999c: 267-90) for detailed analyses of movement possibilities and nuances and Lakoff & Johnson (1999: 41-2) for discussion of the control structure of motor schemas.

⁶⁴ Gallagher (2000) cites empirical evidence for mirror neurons (19). Sheets-Johnstone (1999) cites extensively from the literature on imitation and movement activities by young infants and children (224-9).

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capacity for sensory integration enable us to acquire many foundational schemas as children (Gallagher 2000: 15-17). Our body image⁶⁵ and body schemata⁶⁶ combine automatic sensorimotor predispositions (for basic physical activities (ibid.: 7)) with environmental experiences,⁶⁷ and become “highly coordinated in the context of intentional action, and in pragmatic and socially contextualized situations” (ibid.: 5).⁶⁸ Iverson & Thelen, Lakoff & Johnson and Sheets-Johnstone note that “since communication by gesture precedes verbal communication” (ibid.: 34), and once acquired, speech remains linked to gestures,⁶⁹ gesture is “a manifestation of the embodiment of thought. Human mental activities arise through bodily interactions with the world and remain linked with them throughout the lifespan” (ibid.: 19, 21-6, 35-6).⁷⁰ Speech and gesture combinations are remembered as dispositional representations, i.e., they are always “remembered as an ensemble” (ibid.: 36).⁷¹

⁶⁵ i.e., the conception we have of our bodies.

⁶⁶ i.e., the system of motor functions and programs that operates outside of our conscious attention to regulate balance, basic posture, movements, etc.

⁶⁷ Gallagher (2000: 5-7, 12), Sheets-Johnstone (1999a: 30-3).

⁶⁸ Gallagher (2000) notes that contemporary empirical evidence about the interrelationship between brain, body, innate abilities and environmental influences in shaping our body image and schema contradicts two of Merleau-Ponty’s presumptions: 1) that *all* of our corporeally oriented concepts and perceptions are strictly the result of direct, physical experiences in the world, and 2) that infants’ conscious experience is initially chaotic (ibid.: 13-4).

⁶⁹ Iverson & Thelen (1999) also cite evidence that some language and motor functions share underlying brain mechanisms; i.e., brain regions typically associated with motor functions (e.g., motor cortex, premotor area, cerebellum) are involved in language tasks, and that Broca’s area (the main language area) is activated during motor tasks (20).

⁷⁰ See also (Lakoff & Johnson 1999: 507) and Sheets-Johnstone (1999a: 372, 375-6).

⁷¹ See also Nunez (1999: 43).

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When one considers neurobiological correlations, the mechanics of constructive learning, dispositional representations, and the fact that so much sociocultural communication is nonlinguistic, the role of corporeal activity “in shaping and simplifying the information-processing problems to be solved ... is profound” (Clark 1997: 149).⁷² Lakoff & Johnson emphasize that “our bodily experience is the primal basis for everything we can mean, think, know, and communicate” (Lakoff & Johnson 1999: xi). Sheets-Johnstone suggests that “consciousness is fundamentally a corporeal consciousness, ... [and] kinesthetic regularities and expectations ... are foundational to our sense of agency. ... Movement is indeed the ‘mother of all cognition’ ” (Sheets-Johnstone 1999a: xix, xxi). Some enactivists (e.g., Varela et al, Johnson, Nunez, Clark and Lakoff & Johnson) use the phrase “embodied” to refer to the centrality of corporeality, but others (e.g., Sheets-Johnstone 1999a: 358-368, Clark 1999a and Nunez 1999) note that the term “embodiment” is potentially problematic and perhaps not ideally suited to represent the enactivist paradigm.⁷³ 1) Because it refers to body (but not to “mind,” nor to sociocul-

⁷² See also Clark (1999b: 1) and Iverson & Thelen (1999: 19).

⁷³ Clark and Nunez point out that different uses of “embodiment” are not always totally compatible. Clark (1999a) compares “simple” vs. “radical” embodiment (345-8). The former focuses upon internal data-structures “to give an account of the inner representational realm” (348), whereas the latter considers internal data-structures in terms of their dynamic interplay with the world, with significantly different foci and methodological implications. He also stresses that the latter approach addresses complexities of ecologically realistic dynamic environments. Nunez (1999) distinguishes between three types of embodiment: trivial, material, and full (55-56). “Trivial” and “full” varieties correspond to Clark’s “simple” and “radical” embodiment. “Material” embodiment considers organisms interacting dynamically in real-time with their environments, but focuses mostly upon low-level cognitive tasks. Nunez, like Clark, considers full/radical embodiment quite controversial and oppositional to traditional cognitivist presumptions, but nonetheless support it as the most appropriate view to study real-world human experience. Many of these objections to “embodiment” could certainly be raised with regard to the use of “corporeality” in this study, especially in the implication that might be inferred that corporeal factors and

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tural factors of our environment/world), it has dichotomous/dualistic connotations that “elevates the body to a place of prominence” (Sheets-Johnstone 1999a: 365) at the cost of omitting its dialogic intermingling with mind, world and other people. 2) The enactivist phenomenological orientation focuses upon living organisms in real world situations. “Embodiment” doesn’t identify nor suggest either of these foci. 3) “Embodiment” doesn’t prioritize the types of dynamic changes that are characteristic of living organisms.

Research findings show that reason is always intertwined with emotions and feelings in an array of cooperative brain and body systems.⁷⁴ Traditional views of emotion are too “amygdaloid-centric⁷⁵” and mostly ignore complex feedback loops in affective processing between amygdala and cortical and sub-cortical activity as well as

orientations are “mindless” (to use Varela et al’s (1991: 28) term). Given the inclusion and emphasis upon many non-corporeal factors throughout this study (such as worldview, religious beliefs, sociocultural traditions and sonic patterns) it is hoped that a consideration of this study as a whole will reveal this possible implication and inference of duality is not intended. Thus, the analysis of “corporeality” in isolation of other factors (which is sometimes the case in this study) is mostly for convenience of discussion and due to the limitations of written language in presenting information sequentially. (There is also the larger difficulty of organizing the variety of ideas in this study into modular-type chapters for easy access of information.) The decision to choose “corporeality” as a preferred term is primarily a response to the minimal consideration of the body in most musical analyses of any sort (let alone of Jamaican music) — and to draw attention to the need to consider this much neglected aspect of musical experience.

⁷⁴ Damasio (1994: xii-xiii, 128), Hardcastle (1999: 237-9) and Lakoff & Johnson (1999: 4).

⁷⁵ The amygdala is located deep in the temporal lobe and is part of the basal ganglia. It is the main area of the brain where emotions are processed. “Recent research indicates it is responsible for the influence of emotion on perception, through its connections with those brain regions that process sensory experiences, thus allowing perception of emotionally significant events to occur despite inattention.” (Information from *About Memory*, “Brain Structures,” Copyright 2000-7 Capital Research Limited, at www.memory-key.com/MemoryGuide/glossary_brain.htm, accessed on 7 Aug 07.)

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corporeal processes (Hardcastle 1999: 239).⁷⁶ As Sheets-Johnstone puts it, “motion and emotion — kinetic and affective bodies — are of a dynamic piece” (Sheets-Johnstone 1999c: 260, see also Mitchell & Gallaher 2001: 66-7). Thus, our gut feelings and intuitions, which Damasio calls “somatic markers” (Damasio 1994: 173-222), are always in circular, dialogic relationships with bodily states.⁷⁷ Somatic markers are “a system for automated qualification of predictions, which ... [quickly] evaluate the extremely diverse scenarios of [our] anticipated future” (ibid.: 174) and suggest the best course of action in light of our previous successes and failures (Hardcastle 1999: 240-1). Even though somatic markers can operate covertly or unconsciously, they are always equal partners with mental processes, and can actually precede and generate responses and concepts we consider to be rational (Damasio 1994: 174). As Damasio puts it, sometimes it makes more sense to consider particular bodily states as accompanied by a corresponding thinking mode, rather than the reverse (ibid.: xv). As we focus upon “the content” of the sensory information we’re processing, however, our awareness of bodily states usually recedes into the background,⁷⁸ but “if pain, discomfort, or emotion set in, attention can be focused instantly on body representations, and the body feeling moves out of the background and into center stage” (ibid.: 233). This is particularly applicable to musical performance. Musicians are often only aware of their body movements in certain scenarios; e.g., when they are tired, unwell or injured, during teaching sessions

⁷⁶ See Hardcastle (1999: 237-9) for details of anatomical circuits for emotion.

⁷⁷ Damasio (1999: 57-93, 147-9, 348), Freeman (1999: 152) and Hardcastle (1999: 238).

⁷⁸ Damasio 1999: 28-30 and Gallagher 2000: 7. This is the same as Thompson’s absent body (Thompson 1999a: 6).

when they need to break down sound/movement patterns into constituent parts, or when particular grooves or patterns require “locking in” one’s body movements with others for accuracy or simply for enjoyment. Otherwise, Varela et al’s “absent body” scenario is often in place for highly skilled movements, which, because of automated muscle memory (as discussed earlier by Wilson), carry on with little conscious thought or control.

3.3.2. THE ROLE OF SOCIOCULTURAL FACTORS IN THE ENACTIVE VIEW OF THE MIND

[Cognitivist theories present] the mind as if it were confined entirely within a single brain. Culture is not usually included ... except as part of the environment. ... This mind-in-its-box belief is accepted by Cartesians, Behaviorists, and Cognitivists alike. (Donald 2001: 149-50)

Donald identifies another significant difference between enactivism and cognitivism. Most enactivists⁷⁹ believe that culture plays a crucial role in shaping mind processes, emotions,⁸⁰ brain structure and sensorimotor development. Although “culture” is sometimes equated with particular groups of people, doing so can imply that culture or behavioural characteristics are genetically related, which is totally unsupported by *any* neurobiological evidence. Drawing on Bourdieu’s (1977) ideas, Tomasello’s conception of culture is shared by most enactivists: *Cultural environments consist of two main aspects: a “habitus” — a particular sociocultural space in which a person lives and develops, and as a source of active instruction from others* (Tomasello 1999: 79).

⁷⁹ e.g., Clark (1997: 45, 153, 194), Damasio (1994: 57-8, 124-6, 260), Dennett (1999: 57-8, 153), Donald (2001: 149, 164, 211-2) and Tomasello (1999: 4, 41, 79).

⁸⁰ Hardcastle (1999) notes, “Our emotions depend upon a psychoneural development that requires a social and cultural environment. ... The context in which we are raised determines our emotional outcome” (243).

Donald, Shore and Tomasello believe that “culture, ... [has] altered the very form of human cognition ... [by] chang[ing] the tools with which we think” (Donald 2001: 153). Cultural transmission has accelerated the rate and intensity of human biological evolution over the past few thousand years.

There simply has not been enough time for normal processes of biological evolution involving genetic variation and natural selection to have created ... [all] of the cognitive skills necessary for modern humans to invent and maintain complex tool-use industries and technologies, complex forms of symbolic communication and representation, and complex social organizations and institutions. ... [T]here is only one known biological mechanism that could bring about these kinds of changes ... in so short a time ... [i.e.], social or cultural transmission, which works on time scales many orders of magnitude faster than those of organic evolution. (Tomasello 1999: 2, 4)

Enactivists view culture as “prepackaged forms of knowledge that coordinate groups of individuals and are the property of communities” (Shore 1996: 11). These forms “point beyond themselves to other outside entities: ... to the problems they are designed to solve ... [or] to the communicative situations they are designed to represent” (Tomasello 1999: 6). Understanding cultural forms requires uncovering their “intentional significance” (ibid.). There are many different cultural forms; some are highly formulized with explicit labels, “as part of a stock of self-conscious cultural forms, ... [while others] are less conscious and more tacitly known”⁸¹ (Shore 1996: 44).

⁸¹ Different cultural forms include architecture, dances, tools, pottery, songs, music, instruments, paintings, clothing, self-decoration, games, sports, jokes, money, books, symbolic communication, language, mathematics, taxonomies, metaphors, vocal timbre, body language, speech patterns, institutions, habits, morals, rituals, food preparation and emotional expression. The degree of formulization, explicit labeling vs. less conscious, more tacitly known aspects of these forms varies considerably, depending upon one’s age, experience, profession and the context in which the activity is introduced, experienced and practiced. People who specialize in particular endeavours (or cultural analysts) develop their awareness of nuance and structure which makes them more sensitive to the characteristics and features of those forms, but for the average person, most of these forms are a mixture of formalized, overt features with less consciously acquired ones.

All provide specific models and general schemas (ibid.: 7, 44) that “defin[e] and constrain the parameters of memory, knowledge and thought in its members. .. [They create] group bonding, [teach] common behaviour, .. serve as ... cue[s] to what is important ... [and] control attention and emotional valences ” (Donald 2001: xiv, 255, 256, 212). Although models are often replicated, most are transformed; “their continued existence is contingent, negotiated through endless social exchanges” (Shore 1996: 47).

Most cultural models are acquired through “scaffolding,”⁸² i.e., learning from, or “piggy-backing” upon others’ experiences, either directly in two-way, dialogic encounters or indirectly in one-way encounters with others’ work and ideas (e.g., tools, books, traditions, institutions, etc.) (Tomasello 1999: 41). All scaffolding involves being supported or inspired by role models and exemplars. Direct contact with others usually involves feedback, task simplification and highlighting of key elements (ibid.: 80).

In musical traditions where playing by ear, improvisation, ensemble interaction, and communal arranging/ composition are characteristic features (e.g., in Jamaica), scaffolding is the main means for learning these traditions. “Coaching,” “mentoring” and “modeling” often mean the same thing as scaffolding, i.e., when younger, less-experienced musicians learn from older, more-experienced ones either by sitting-in, or “hanging around” rehearsals and performances. In these scenarios, non-verbal instruction usually takes priority over verbal exchanges. Music in which call and response structures are prominent (e.g., Jamaican music) offers plenty of opportunities for non-verbal exchanges, with corrections and suggestions demonstrated rather than explained.

⁸² Clark (1997: 45, 194), Donald (2001: 7) and Tomasello (1999: 80).

Recordings provide a common way to learn from peer-acknowledged exemplars. All of the key musicians involved in Jamaican Popular Musics (JPM) were well-versed in all scaffolding techniques.

“Off-loading” is related to scaffolding; many enactivists claim it is *the* primary source of human intelligence. Off-loading happens when we extend “our mental projects and activities into the surrounding world, where a host of peripheral devices⁸³ ... store, process, and re-represent our meanings” (Dennett 1996: 134+), which can become so intertwined with our cognitive processing that it becomes difficult to draw boundaries between them and ourselves (Clark 1997: 61, 214).⁸⁴ Donald calls memories bounded by our skin *engrams*, and external ones *exograms* (Donald 2001: 309). Exograms are “stable, permanent, [with] virtually unlimited memory records that are infinitely reformattable and more easily displayed to awareness” (ibid.), whereas engrams are the opposite, but since they include somatic markers, dispositional representations, and somatosensory information, they are hardly inferior. Our “deep dependency on our collective storage systems” means that the modern human mind is actually a hybrid of biological and external systems (ibid.: 12).

Although many cultural models involve language, many do not. Shore, Lakoff & Johnson and Sheets-Johnstone note that most of our first cultural experiences are rooted in corporeal experiences (Shore 1996: 59, 367-9, Sheets-Johnstone 1996: 224-9). Shore also notes that there are many types of non-linguistic cultural models that incorpo-

⁸³ Common devices include books, paper, computers, tape recorders, film and institutions.

⁸⁴ This especially pertains to the unity between skilled experts (e.g., musicians, surgeons, mechanics, athletes, drivers and pilots) and their instruments, tools and equipment.

rate different sensory modalities, and are perceived in a gestalt manner.⁸⁵

Donald, Lakoff & Johnson and Sheets-Johnstone note that nonverbal signals and gestures precede verbal language in infants. Donald calls these actions *mimesis*; they are a universal means to transmit and acquire nonlinguistic cultural forms that “employ the entire body as an expressive device” (Donald 2001: 240).⁸⁶ Mimetic signals can vary tremendously from one cultural group to another, however, so much so “that they are often the most difficult features for foreigners to master” (Donald 2001: 265). (This could be applied to the difficulties non-indigenous performers have when performing Jamaican music.) Such culturally specific movement traditions are “rich in movement memories, expectations and values, [and] develop and [lead to] certain kinetic dispositions, habits and ways of responding” (Sheets-Johnstone 1999a: 442, also 224-9).

[T]here are cultural differences in bodily bearings and expressions with respect to ‘states of mind.’ ... [P]ostural, gestural, ... [and] kinetic patterns ... articulate particular kinds of social relationships ... which are [also] affectively expressive of feelings. (Sheets-Johnstone 1999a: 350, 351, 352)

Donald (2001: 263-70) observes that five types of mimesis are common to all complex skills; e.g., music, dance, athletics and tool operation (including highly complex machines such as vehicles):

- i) **Mime:** imaginative reenactment of an event.
- ii) **Imitation:** the replication of another’s actions with *full understanding of the other’s perspective and objectives*.

⁸⁵ E.g., emotional models, olfactory models, sound image models (other than language, i.e., involving tone of voice or musical sound), visual image models, orientational models (re: spatial/temporal situations, and socially significant gestures) and task models (strategies for doing pragmatic tasks) (Shore 1996: 59-61, 275-77).

⁸⁶ Examples of mimetic communication include eye contact, facial expressions, poses, attitude, body language and tone of voice (Donald 2001: 240).

- iii) **Mimicking:** parrot-like copying imitation without understanding.
- iv) **Gestures:** explicitly communicative and/or intentional acts.
- v) **Skill:** develops from self-rehearsed, consistently replicable actions that become unconscious and automatic. Skill always includes mime and imitation, but not always gestures. Once they become skills, mimetically acquired gestalts can become cognitive/neural patterns (i.e., dispositional representations), which is what happens with musical skills. Once musical patterns become automatic, rhythms can be transferred to any muscle system, in any combination, without prior rehearsal or preparation (Shore 1996: 320).⁸⁷ Ramnani & Passingham 2001 note that rhythms are sometimes first learned as movement patterns and then linked to sound patterns (957), which is applicable to music dominated by choreographic rhythms.

Most cultural models are deeply embedded in our earliest experiences, which Donald calls *deep enculturation* (Donald 2001: 211-214). As a result, they often “disappear” from our conscious awareness and are difficult to describe or demonstrate (Shore 1996: 366, Donald 2001: 211). Most foundational cultural schemas “are usually only tacitly known and not explicitly cognized by members of a community. Few people are able ... to describe their operative foundational schemas” (Shore 1996: 237, 366). Although it is possible for people to address or describe these schemas by explanation or demonstration, “the fact that a model can be represented by a set of analytical procedures does not mean that this is its normal status as a cognitive model for those who use it” (Shore 1996: 365). This is especially important for researchers

⁸⁷ Shore and Donald note that this ability is also transferred to the perception of rhythm patterns in non-sonic configurations, e.g., in physical movement, flashing lights or other visual images (Shore 1996: 320; Donald 2001: 272).

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engaged in ethnographic work; although a person might be able to identify foundational schemas when asked to do so, they often go unnoticed in daily life. This is particularly true with musical performance, where choreographic rhythms are often so deeply enculturated that performers are not aware of their existence.

3.3.3 THE NEED FOR MULTIDISCIPLINARY, PLURALISTIC APPROACHES TO STUDY HUMAN EXPERIENCE

Clark, Freeman & Nunez, Gallagher and Lakoff & Johnson recommend a pluralistic approach to study human experience that combines neuroscience, psychology and phenomenology.⁸⁸ As Lakoff & Johnson so aptly put it,

The [best] method for achieving [richly nuanced, bias-free results when studying real-life experiences]... is to seek converging evidence using the broadest range of differing methodologies. Ideally, the skewing effects of any one method will be cancelled out by the other methods. The more sources of evidence we have, the more likely this is to happen. (Lakoff & Johnson 1999: 79)

Like Varela's "neurophenomenology," Gallagher stresses the need to circulate between phenomenological analysis and empirical verifications/clarifications, using one to interpret the other (Gallagher 2000: 3). Clark also suggests that researchers

abandon research methods that artificially divorce thought from embodied action-taking. ... Atomistic approaches are also not supported by empirical evidence, so anyone who "focus[es] upon any ... parameters in isolation is [likely] to miss ... true explanation[s]." (Clark 1997: xiii, 42)

Gallagher, Dennett, Iverson & Thelen (1999: 37) and Sheets-Johnstone (1999a: 190-1) believe that phenomenology should be the bedrock for any analysis of human experiences. Researchers need to consider "the lived body" in terms of "its dynamic tactile-kinesthetic-kinetic correlates," i.e., as an "animate form ... [that] is through and

⁸⁸ See also Clark (1997: 173), Freeman & Nunez (1999: ix), Gallagher (2000: 2) and Sheets-Johnstone (1999: 246).

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through a culturally relative conception ... in the context of a natural history" (Sheets-Johnstone 1999a: 360-2, 365, 367). As per Damasio's somatic marker hypothesis, since we always think about things by relating them to our personal histories, a person's history and sociohistorical surroundings are essential to understanding why things are the way they are, and to predict future perceptions and actions (Hardcastle 1999: 240-1, Sheets-Johnstone 1999a: 442). It is therefore important to also consider how memory works. When we recall something, "we retrieve not just sensory data, but also accompanying motor and emotional data [as well as] our past reactions ... to that object" (Damasio 1999: 161). From a neurobiological perspective, a recalled experience can be *exactly* the same as the experience itself (ibid.: 184).

Enactivist research which indicates that recalled experiences can generate the same neurobiological response as real ones suggests a rethinking of musical analysis. Since one's prior history can create a neurobiological response when we either re-enact a previous performance or simply think about it, this means that what is visible or audible in a musical performance may be an incomplete indication of what is actually going on in the mind and body of the performer. In terms of studying choreographic rhythms, it is therefore important to consider as many performances as possible from a performer, in order to get "the big picture." In addition, when musicians appear to be still, especially in comparison to previous performances, there are often slight corporeal changes — which may be felt by the performer as internal dynamic changes (which are usually not visible), but can be revealed if a filmed performance is sped up, which exaggerates even the slightest, most subtle movements.

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Donald also makes another important point with regard to the study of complex activities like music, dancing and conversation. Because dancers and musicians must keep track of their own actions and of others on stage, in the audience, and choreography and/or musical patterns, the demands upon processing and memory are *huge* (Donald 2001: 54).

[Complex activities involve] extensive controlled processing, ... numerous suboperations ... and [ongoing] upkeep of working memory ... [since they] can extend over very long periods of time, often exceeding an hour or more. ... The width and depth of working memory in such situations is much larger than those suggested by traditional laboratory techniques ... [T]he term 'long-term working memory' [best] describe[s] the working memory framework of expertise [for such activities]. (ibid.: 49-52)

Analysts of complex activities therefore always need to consider time-frames from the perspective of their creators, i.e., in terms of long-term working memory (minutes and hours) rather than short-term memory and time frames favoured by cognitivist researchers. The ultimate goal should be to "provide an account of mind that is cognitively and neurally realistic. ... [Analysts need] to give up the illusion that there exists a unique correct description of any situation ... but [rather] ... many correct descriptions, depending on our ... understandings at different levels or from different perspectives" (Lakoff & Johnson 1999: 79, 109).

3.4 ENACTIVE MUSICOLOGISTS:

NEUROMUSICOLOGISTS, ETHNOMUSICOLOGISTS & PHENOMENOLOGISTS

3.4.1 NEUROMUSICOLOGISTS

Of five recent publications which highlight contemporary research into music perception and cognition (four anthologies of neuromusicological studies⁸⁹ and an issue of *Nature Neuroscience* (July 2003, 6(7): 661-95)), the majority of these studies (89.3%, 158 of the 177 studies total⁹⁰) are guided by cognitivist principles; i.e., they consider music strictly as auditory information, and only focus upon sound patterns in their research. Most of these studies take place in tightly controlled listening laboratories, to allow participants to focus upon “the sounds” without “distractions.”

With regard to the 10.7% of studies which didn’t take a cognitivist-oriented approach, almost all of the researchers involved disagree with the music-as-sound paradigm and consider music from an enactivist perspective.⁹¹ They adopt a pluralist view of music, include non-sonic factors in their analyses, prioritize phenomenological methodology and consider perception/cognition to be embodied, interactive, and always contingently intertwined with culture.

In WALLIN ET AL 2000: Imberty (449-62) and Mache (473-80) examine how Western assumptions about music interfere with musicological analysis. Molino (165-76)

⁸⁹ Wallin et al (2000) *The Origins of Music*, Zatorre & Peretz (2001) *The Biological Foundations of Music*, Peretz & Zatorre (2003) *The Cognitive Neuroscience of Music* and Avanzini et al (2003) *The Neurosciences and Music*.

⁹⁰ See Appendix B for the particulars of these studies.

⁹¹ Note that none of the works cited from these collections refers to Varela et al (1991) or “enactivism” per se, but their orientation is either substantially or totally compatible with a view of perception/cognition as embodied, integrated and mutually interactive with one’s environment.

stresses that musicologists should include the body, its movements, and emotions in their analyses. Merker (315-28) believes the Greek conception of music (as a unity of melody, dance, poetry, theater and ritual) most accurately describes the way music operates in most societies. Dissanayake (389-410) and Freeman (411-24) note the multi-sensory and multimodal nature of musical perception and experience, and unity of sound and movement. Nettl (463-71) examines non-European cultures⁹² that intertwine music with non-sonic factors, with body movement being the most common.

In **ZATORRE & PERETZ 2001**: Halpern (179-92) and Pantev et al (300-14) cite empirical evidence of the link between mental musical imagery and somatosensory activity. Altenmuller (273-280), Pascual-Leone (315-29), Rauschecker (330-36) and Bangert et al (425-8) provide empirical evidence of sound-motor links and how mental musical practicing generates neurobiological activity that is similar to what occurs during actual body movement.⁹³ They suggest that musicologists always consider musical experience phenomenologically as opposed to relying on artificial laboratory-based research.

In **PERETZ & ZATORRE 2003**: Cross (42-56) recommends that musicologists adopt alternative conceptions of music and phenomenological and neurophysiological methodologies that consider music's polysemic nature and non-sonic dimensions (especially body movement), particularly in non-Western settings.

In **AVANZINI ET AL 2003**: Cross (106-11) suggests the need for "a continual and

⁹² Nettl mentions Blackfoot music, South Indian music, Carnatic Indian classical music, Arapaho music, Peyote music, Persian classical music, music of the Vedda of Sri Lanka, the Yahi tribe and Mangarevan music.

⁹³ See also Langheim et al (2002), Rainbow et al (1989) and Wallace (1985).

ongoing dialogue between cognitive neuroscientists, musicians, musicologists, and ethnomusicologists” and the “‘triangulat[ion]’ of music as both a biological and cultural phenomenon” (109). Molinari et al (313-21) examine rhythm in terms of auditory processing and sensorimotor control.

In **NATURE NEUROSCIENCE 2003, 6(7)**: Janata & Grafton (682-7) examine movement and sound couplings “across multiple levels of processing” and stress that “music is as much about action as it is about perception” (682, 686). They also emphasize that musical analysts always need to consider music in everyday situations, i.e., in terms of sociohistorical contexts and personal histories, and how these factors affect perception, cognition and reception (686).

Other recent musicological studies also adopt an enactive approach. Those marked with the symbol “*” prioritize correlations between sound and body movement patterns. Munte et al (2002), *Bangert & Altenmuller (2003), *Haueisen & Knosch (2001), *Hickok et al (2003), *Hund-Georgiadis & von Cramon (1999), Langheim et al (2002) and Lotze et al (2003) investigate the effect of music upon brain structure.

Musical experiences create audio-motor couplings comparable to the oral-aural loop in language processing and involve auditory, somatosensory, emotional, temporal and memory feedback and feed-forward loops (Lotze et al 2003: 1825-6, Haueisen & Knosch 2001: 789). Bangert & Altenmuller, Haueisen & Knosch, Hickok et al and Lotze et al all provide empirical evidence that this audio-motor coupling is so strong that “stimulation of one ... produces an automatic coactivation of the other. The occurrence of this characteristic co-activity does not depend upon the degree of attention to a task. The

circuits in question seem to be active even when the subject is unaware" (Bangert & Altenmuller 2003: 34. See also Haueisen & Knosch 2001: 786-9, Hickok et al 2003: 674 and Lotze et al 2003: 1827). Hund-Georgiadis & von Cramon (1999) note that the involvement of motor cortices is dependent upon experience (417).

*Collier & Collier (1996) review different studies of microrhythms in jazz and note that the sonic patterns that musicians *think* they are making and what they actually produce (from a rhythmic perspective) is often extremely different, since most musicians' orientation to rhythmic nuances is primarily intuitive and feel-based, rather than being a precise mathematical calculation.

*Mitchell & Gallaher (2001), *Ramnani & Passingham (2001), *Shove & Repp (1995), *Todd et al (1999, 2002), and *Wilson (1986) examine correlations between rhythm and body movement patterns. Shove & Repp (1995) agree with ethnomusicologist John Baily that "music may be as much a motor event as a sonic event, as well as ... a social fact" (59). They also point out that "there are many instances in Western and non-Western music where the movements of the performer and the resultant auditory patterns do not correspond in a simple one-to-one fashion, if at all" (60+). Todd et al note that the perception of beat (i.e., "beat induction") is based upon one's prior experiences of beat in both sensorimotor and auditory stimulus (1999: 7-9); i.e., beat induction is *not* an objective characteristic of a sound signal (2002: 26).⁹⁴ Ramnani & Passingham (2001) note that "rhythms can be learned as a series of intervals between external sensori stimuli and/or as a sequence of movements" (957), and Mitchell &

⁹⁴ This is particularly true for music (like Jamaican music, some Cuban music, and some West African music) in which the beat is not always sounded, but implied.

Gallaher (2001) point out that because “music is so much an intersensory experience, ... [that] auditory images in memory are often accompanied by kinesthetic and visual images” (67). Wilson (1986) notes that “muscle memory *is* musical memory” (140), and that the performance of rhythm has mostly to do with developing skilled muscle and kinesthetic movements.

3.4.2 ETHNOMUSICOLOGISTS

The small number of enactive neuromusicologists cited in the previous section is indicative of the minority position of enactivism in musicology in general. The enactivist orientation is quite compatible with ethnomusicology, however, since a high priority of ethnomusicology is a consideration of music in sociohistorical contexts, with particular emphasis upon musical practice, rather than upon music as merely auditory experience. This section examines ethnomusicologists whose approaches are basically enactivist — although none make specific references to enactivism per se.

Harris Berger (1999) adopts a phenomenological approach to the study of rock, death metal and jazz. He prioritizes perspectives and perceptions of musicians and their performance practices. John Baily adopts two overlapping approaches: (1) A phenomenological analysis of his own performing experiences, focusing upon relationships between body movement and sound patterns (Baily 1977, 1995 and Baily & Driver 1992), and (2) neurobiological research to support these relationships. Baily notes, “In musical performance, the cognitive representation in terms of which the performer operates may be a movement representation rather than an auditory one” (Baily 1985:242). John Brownell 1994, and Charles Keil (Keil 1995, Keil & Feld 1994, Progler 1995) consider the relationship between *kinesics* (i.e., particular body movements) and bassists’ and

drummers' creation of jazz grooves. Kofi Agawu (1992, 1995a, 1995b, 2003), William Anku 1997, John Blacking (1955, 1977a, 1977b, 1979, 1992, 1995) (who prioritizes the inclusion of neurobiological perspectives in his analyses), John Chernoff (1979, 1991), S.A. Floyd (1991, 1999), L.E. Friedland 1995, Gerhard Kubik (1962, 1977, 1979, 1986, 1987, 1993, 1994, 1996, 1998, 1999), A.M. Jones 1959, D. Locke 1982, Christina Lucia 1987, P.K. Maultsby 1985, J.H. Nketia (1974, 1977), Elizabeth Oehrle 1993, Andrew Tracey (1980, 1984), Olly Wilson (1974, 1981, 1983, 1985), Christopher Waterman 1991 and Richard Waterman (1952), all specialists in African music, prioritize how music feels from the participants' perspective, and the socially interactive contexts in which participants learn and create. Nketia states that "the dance is the music and the music is the dance. In traditional African cultures, motion and music are viewed as interacting aspects of *the same act*" (in Wilson 1985:12), and corporeal actions are frequently the genesis or prime shaper of the sounds and musical structures (Nketia 1974, 1977).⁹⁵

3.4.3 PHENOMENOLOGISTS

The field of musical phenomenology is a small one, but a number of proponents' work is especially compatible with enactivism.⁹⁶ Since the 1970s, there have only been a handful of significant works in musical phenomenology. As with neuromusicology, analysts' overall orientation and conclusions are directly related to the definition of music that drives their research. Researchers that adopt a sound-oriented definition

⁹⁵See Blacking (1973:111), Kubik (1977:270), Baily (1985:242) and Maultsby (1985) for empirical evidence of corporeal actions as the genesis or prime shaper of musical sounds/structures.

⁹⁶ Except for Iyer, none of the phenomenologists cited here refer specifically to "enactivism."

(with listening as the primary musical activity or experience) end up with a limited view of musical practice (e.g., Douglas Bartholomew (1985, 1993, 1995), Mikel Dufrenne 1973, Lawrence Ferrara (1984), Robert Shearer (1976) and F. Joseph Smith (1979, 1989)). Those who include bodily sensations and sociohistorical factors end up with a strong enactive orientation that is particularly applicable to non-Western practices (e.g., Thomas Clifton (1983), Don Ihde (1976, 1996), Vijay Iyer (1998, 2002), Eleanor Stubley (1998), David Sudnow (1978, 1979) and Robert Walser (1991)).

In significant contrast to most Western musicologists, Clifton (1983) notes that music doesn't even require pitch as an essential ingredient. "Pitch is ... not a basic stratum in the sense that music itself is dependent on discriminable and specifiable frequencies" (20). Even concepts of consonance and dissonance, harmony and tonality itself, are not foundational, but "quite possibly ... [just] habit[s]" conditioned by views of musical structure rooted in eighteenth century perspectives (32). Clifton's priority of the body in musical experience is unequivocal: "the body is the *origin* of music" (45).

For Ihde (1976), since we never experience any phenomenon in isolation from other phenomenon, "pure" auditory experience is a fabrication, and inevitably leads to analytical difficulties and distortions (43-4). From a physiological perspective, we do not merely nor actually hear with our *ears*, but we hear with our entire body (45-6).

Stubley (1999) observes that performance is a form of thinking through one's body. "[M]usic is experienced, not as being something given to the body, but as something done through and with the body. ... [T]he mind acts through the space carved out by the body as the symbiotic relationship between musician and instrument is forged

and sustained" (95).⁹⁷

Walser (1992) uses Johnson's "image schema" to examine how force is represented and conveyed musically: how timbres with rough textures are similar to sounds or feelings we experience when we encounter force in daily life: grunting, groaning, scraping, crushing, squeezing, explosive sounds, etc. All of these sounds usually share a certain amount of distortion, the sensation of overloading or stretching something beyond its limits due to excessive force being applied.

Vijay Iyer (1998, 2002) analyzes musical "groove," i.e., the manipulation of rhythms at a micro-level, involving variations of timing, duration and accent.⁹⁸ Musicians learn and communicate notions of groove by feel, usually involving mimesis, since groove subtleties are often impossible to accurately describe, notate or quantify with precision (2002: 387).⁹⁹ Iyer notes that "rhythmic expression occurs at an extremely fine timescale, ... [but] the question is how to explain our assimilation and production of very fast sequences of events in time" (2002: 395). The answer is found in the multi-sensory, crossmodal nature of processing, which allows us to perceive complex, rapid sequences in "a kind of sensation, recognition, or gestalt perception, rather than a kind of analytical or counting process" (ibid.). We also use our "echoic memory"¹⁰⁰ [to] entrain

⁹⁷ Merleau-Ponty is Stubley's primary influence.

⁹⁸ Keil (1995), Progler (1995) and Owens (1974) have also conducted groove analysis, using computers and electronic devices to quantify (with highly detailed precision) their exact timing and subtleties.

⁹⁹ Sudnow's experiences come to mind: the essence of his improving the feel of his improvisations was totally a matter of focusing upon the corporeal/kinetic aspect of his playing, rather than upon notes and rhythms.

¹⁰⁰ Echoic memory covers the immediate timescale of rhythmic activity.

to a pulse based on the echoic storage of the previous pulse and some matched oscillator periodicity [which allows us to] recognize subpulse rhythms qualitatively¹⁰¹” (2002: 396). In other words “precisely timed rhythmical activity involves the entire body in a complex, holistic fashion, combining audio, visual and somatosensory channels” (ibid.) Iyer stresses that grooves are created by a blend of synchrony and asynchrony (2002: 400-7). Asynchrony can involve differences and variations in timing, pitch, accent, volume, intensity and timbre, and are sometimes deliberate, but more often are created intuitively, in relation to the characteristics of the style in which they occur, and especially to other musicians’ performance of a groove as it unfolds.¹⁰²

3.5 THE NEUROPHENOMENOLOGICAL APPROACH TO MUSICAL ANALYSIS

[Paradigm shifts] are inaugurated by a growing sense ... that existing institutions have ceased adequately to meet the problems posed by an environment that they have in part created. (Kuhn 1970: 92)

Kuhn’s comments can be applied to the limitations of traditional cognitivism and traditional Western musicology¹⁰³ as the most effective paradigms and methodologies to study musical traditions with aesthetic orientations that differ from those in Western European art music (WEAM). In contrast to WEAM, which emphasizes the abstract relationships of sonic elements in pre-composed forms with little improvisation, musics

¹⁰¹ Mirror neurons clearly play a major role in this intuitive recognition.

¹⁰² Charles Keil uses the term “participatory discrepancies” (PDs) to describe this asynchrony, which he considers to be one of the principle reasons for music’s expressive power (Keil & Feld 1994: 96-108). As he puts it, “Music, to be personally involving and socially valuable, must be ‘out of time’ and ‘out of tune’ ” (ibid.: 96).

¹⁰³ As discussed in the Introduction to this study, since the 1990s, there has been an increasing shift in modern musicology to include many non-sonic aspects, such as corporeality, feminism, conceptions of ethnicity and race, performative analysis and poststructuralist views of language and subjectivity. This approach has been dubbed “The New Musicology.”

in other cultures frequently prioritize oral transmission, circular structures dominated by improvisation, group interaction and the inclusion of non-sonic factors (especially body movement, rituals, drama, etc.). Kuhn also notes that when our tools are no longer up to the task for which they were designed, “retooling” becomes necessary. Old tools must either be adapted or replaced by new ones suitable to the new scenario (Kuhn 1970: 76). With regard to music, traditional western musicological approaches and cognitivist methodologies are increasingly not up to the task of addressing the many different factors and complexities of non-WEAM aesthetics, such as the neo-African components of Jamaican musics.¹⁰⁴

As discussed in section 3.4, in the past few decades an increasing number of neuromusicologists, ethnomusicologists and phenomenologists have analyzed music differently from the WEAM-based approach, adopting new orientations and methodologies that include or prioritize many non-sonic factors. In the same manner that Varela et al noticed a trend in modern cognitive science away from cognitivist principles and dubbed those proponents of these new ways of examining mental processes “enactivists,” I suggest that those musicologists identified in section 3.4 be dubbed “neurophenomenological musicologists,” “NM” for short. This is based upon Varela’s

¹⁰⁴ Traditional musicology is also increasingly ill-suited to analyze music being created in the West. Because of cultural intermingling since the 1970s, contemporary Western conceptions of music appear to be undergoing a paradigm shift — from a view that prioritizes sound to one which, as noted earlier by Merker, is ironically closer to the ancient Greek conception of “music” as a multisensory and multidisciplinary integration of melody, dance, poetry, theater and ritual. It is an interesting synchrony that this shift has been occurring at the same time as contemporary neurobiological researchers have discovered that musical perception and cognition are multimodal sound-motor experiences in which corporeal, emotional and sonic factors and one’s environment and culture are highly integrated. Similar shifts are also occurring in non-Western countries, where traditional musical styles are undergoing changes and becoming ever more eclectic and cross-pollinated.

(1996: 13) suggestion for the adoption of a methodology to study human experience (which he calls neurophenomenology) that allows for a circulation between the empirical study of human experience (such as the neurobiological study of mental processes) and the phenomenological investigation of human experience. This section identifies the main principles of NM, in response to Ian Cross' suggestion for "a continual and ongoing dialogue between cognitive neuroscientists, musicians, musicologists, and ethnomusicologists" and the "'triangulat[ion]' of music as both a biological and cultural phenomenon" (Cross 2003b: 109). As it has been practiced by many of the analysts described in section 3.4, NM has the potential to be suitable for studying every type of music in today's world from a perspective that is inclusive of principles and practices that have been neglected by traditional WEAM-rooted musicologists. In Chapter Six, NM is applied to the findings of this study (which are presented in Chapter Five).

As a group, Neurophenomenological Musicologists have been attending to three aspects of musical experience:

- I. An Inclusive Cross-Cultural Conception/Definition of Music
- II. Music as Experienced in Daily Life
- III. Neurobiological Factors

I. AN INCLUSIVE CROSS-CULTURAL CONCEPTION/DEFINITION OF MUSIC

The biggest obstacle that has stood in the way of studying music (especially by traditional WEAM-based musicologists) has been a definition of music that has been too culture-specific, i.e., one that prioritizes sonic relationships and excludes or marginalizes other factors. Most of the researchers in section 3.3.4 define music in a broad enough manner that includes *any* cultural conception of music, since their focus is dominated

by the way music is used and has meaning in particular sociocultural contexts. Ian Cross (2003b) has suggested a definition of music (which I have adapted¹⁰⁵) that appears to be up to the task of being suitable for every cultural variation and use of “music:”

*Music embodies, entrains and intensionalises time, emotions,
and dynamic change in action, and usually sound.*

This definition allows for musical styles in which pitch is not a priority and, in particular, cultures where music and dance are intertwined, and those moments of musical experiences when there is no actual sound, but still body movement. It also acknowledges the multisensory nature of music involving emotions and a feeling of dynamism central to all musics.

II. MUSIC AS EXPERIENCED IN DAILY LIFE (INDIVIDUAL AND COMMUNAL ACTIVITIES)

Phenomenological analysis must consider all factors during a musical experience. Videorecording in conjunction with ethnographic work (interviews with participants before/ during/ after, as is appropriate) can increase the number of factors that can be considered, especially mimetic ones (see section 3.3.2). Husserl’s phenomenological techniques, especially bracketing (see 3.1.1.), provide a methodology to examine and prioritize the perspective and experiences of music-makers, as well as a means of illuminating biases or prejudices that might arise from researchers’ experiences, expectations and intentions and might interfere with data gathering and analysis. Oyama’s nine interactants that influence an organism’s development (see 3.1.4.) can serve as a checklist of items to consider in each situation. Another useful list to consider is Varela et

¹⁰⁵ Cross’s original definition: “Music embodies, entrains and transposably intentionalises time in sound and action” (2003b: 108).

al's summary of the Buddhist five aggregates (in section 3.2). Since dispositional representations connect things together (see 3.3.1), a researcher should also consider how environmental factors might affect participants' emotional states, expectations, moods, etc., and become a significant part of a musical experience. Finally, one should consider ways that a participant might utilize scaffolding, off-loading (see 3.3.2) or other extensions of his experiences into his environment, and include them where appropriate.

FACTORS TO CONSIDER DURING A MUSICAL EXPERIENCE

• sound patterns

- rhythm
- pitch
- harmony
- timbre
- volume
- structure
- repetition
- contrast
- variation
- transformation

• corporeal changes

- body movement
- proprioception
- somatosensory processes
- use of space, sectors
- placement
- orientation
- weight
- temperature
- speed
- tactility
- olfactory
- visual

• emotional reactions/associations (personal, sociohistorical roots and influences)

• memories/associations/anticipations

- personal, communal, sociohistorical
- past, present and imagined experiences

• sociohistorical cultural forms

- sonic
- dance
- dramatic
- pragmatic
- work
- play
- entertainment
- ritual
- ceremony

• social relationships

- personal and sociohistorical

• environmental factors

- things that might impact upon participants' experiences and perception

III. NEUROBIOLOGICAL FACTORS

- **musical experience:** (solitary or communal)
 - all experiences involve a transient, distributed, emergent and dynamic network or web of physiological, neurophysical, affective and cognitive components
 - all sensations overlap and are perceived in “a unified cognitive moment” (Varela et al 2001: 29)
 - our conception of music emerges out of past, present and imagined personal and communal sociohistorical cultural experiences and influences
 - *not* merely auditory, but always linked to motor activity
 - includes emotional, physical, associative changes (present/remembered/imagined) noted in II.
 - includes our reactions to our environment and other people (includes mimetic communication, setting, activities)
 - always crossmodal
 - always a blend of everything experienced at the time:
 - sonic • corporeal • emotional • cognitive • biochemical

FASHIONING CONCLUSIONS

As per those theorists who stress that thinking can be non-syntactic and non-verbal (e.g., Merleau-Ponty, Sheets-Johnstone, Damasio) it is important for researchers to ensure that their conclusions interpret and present musical processes in phenomenologically appropriate means. Thus, the use of non-syntactic and non-verbal media (e.g., pictures, diagrams, videos, musical notation, recordings, etc.) should be considered to convey the character and intentions of musical experience when traditional written means prove inadequate. It is also important to consider one's own biographical details

and prior experiences that might directly pertain to an experience being studied, and how these experiences can interrelate significantly with participants' perceptions and orientations in ways that might not be totally obvious by simply "observing what is happening."

3.6 SEVEN ENACTIVIST FINDINGS APPLICABLE TO MUSIC RESEARCH

Although most analysts of cognitive processing might consider *any* conclusions premature or debatable, based upon the empirical evidence of contemporary enactivist research, the following seven traits of perception and cognition have emerged from the research examined in this chapter. This list has significant implications for music research.¹⁰⁶

I. The perceptual process is *not* linear nor hierarchical, but rather a network of feedback and feedforward loops in circular interrelationships. Perceptual acts don't always begin with an outside stimulus (although they sometimes do). Because we exist in particular biophysical/emotional states with prior experiences and memories, these factors create dispositions and expectations that affect and shape our perceptions, cognition and reactions. For Jamaican music, in particular, its distinctive sociohistorical traditions involving choreographic rhythms, ritual practices, and social interaction have played (and continue to play) significant roles in its creation, performance, perception and cognition.

¹⁰⁶ This list has been confirmed by Evan Thompson (of Varela et al) — in December 2006, via private communication — as being an accurate summation of the contemporary enactivist viewpoint.

II. Perception is always a multimodal holistic activity, in which corporeal factors play a central role. Since most percepts and concepts emerge from embodied experiences, there is rarely (if any) unitary or “pure” perception. Thus, since atomistic breakdowns of complex wholes are always artificial divisions, researchers must exercise caution when focusing upon components in isolation from their gestalt contexts. With regard to music, from a neurobiological perspective, enactivist research has revealed that movement and sound are always intertwined, and that experiencing one will automatically suggest the other. For Jamaican music, where particular sound-movement gestalts dominate folk, secular and religious musical practices, musicologists should identify and prioritize such gestalts in their analyses if their intention is to analyze Jamaican sonic patterns as experienced phenomenologically by their makers.

III. Sociohistorical cultural factors and experiences always shape and determine perceptual and cognitive nuances. Environmental experiences always play a major role in the ontogeny of our perceptual and cognitive systems. Cultural traditions, in particular, train us to perceive and prioritize certain things and not others. This training is mostly mimetic and invisible, however, which can make it difficult to identify and characterize.

IV. Emotions are not independent of “rational” thought, but are a significant and integral part of rationality as well as the way our bodies feel. Emotional reactions and states are an irreducible aspect of thought and processing, and intimately linked with biophysical processes. Separating emotions from logic and their corporeal roots misrepresents how they also affect cognitive processes. The implications for musical

study are obvious, since most cultures link emotional expression and musical experience. It is important, however, that analysts should always consider emotional factors related to any music under investigation from the perspective of their makers, especially in terms of the particular sociocultural conventions and contexts in which this music exists and operates.

V. Since mind, body and environment are so deeply interlinked that our thoughts include *everything* we experience — all sensations, all modalities — **thought can, and does consist of non-syntactic, non-linear forms and processes.** For music, this means all factors are interlinked in our past memories (which Damasio has labeled dispositional representations, discussed in section 3.3.1) and present moments.

VI. **Mimesis is probably our most characteristic and significant means of communication and understanding.** Mirror neurons are the primary means that we process information and learn most new things. Musical communication and thought are so interlinked with physical expression that understanding their development and nuances requires a thorough consideration of all of the subtleties of mimetic expression.

VII. **Based upon the neurobiological characteristics of musical activity and perception, it appears that music's most fundamental feature is body movement, which explains why it is so consistently linked to dance world-wide.¹⁰⁷** This doesn't mean that music is *only* body movement, but that, at the very least, body movement is always present in musical experience, even if sound is not. Musical experience *does* involve sound patterns *most of the time*, but *not always*. It is also significant that the reverse

¹⁰⁷ This conclusion is strongly linked to enactivist finding II.

simply isn't true: sound is always linked to either actual body movement or the triggering of motor neurons by the sonic stimulus. Because movement is also dance's most predominant feature, movement without sound is often considered to be dance, so music and dance intersect in body movement, and there is a gray zone in which both are essentially the same thing. The distinguishing factor is that music prioritizes body movement linked to sound production and sound patterns, whereas dance prioritizes the development of movement patterns and changes in physical intensity and dynamism.

Judith Lynne Hanna makes this point in "Is Dance Music? Resemblances and Relationships" (1982). Although she notes that both dance and music involve culturally patterned sequences of non-verbal body movements other than ordinary motor activities, she concludes that dance is not music because "sound is .. the primary value and product of music. Physical movement is not an end in itself as in dance. Rather, in music, physical body movement is a means to an end. Tactile movement does not occur separately from sound, while in dance sound may be a byproduct of movement" (57). There are two problems with Hanna's arguments (even though she presents a balanced and carefully considered analysis from a cross-cultural perspective). First, at the outset, she notes that the goal of her analysis is to fashion a definition of music and dance that "transcend the participants' concept[tions]" (57), but she doesn't address directly the fact that her criteria for music as "humanly organized sound" (68), is a very Western conception of music as a separate activity which is simply not true in other parts of the world. She *does* acknowledge that music is always a multisensory activity (64, 68), yet

her insistence that music and dance can exist separately (61) is also not considered as being part of the same Western paradigmatic conception of music. (Of course, her view that music can exist without movement is certainly not entirely accurate when considered in light of contemporary neurobiological evidence that sound is automatically perceived in terms of correlated movement patterns).

3.7 CONCLUSION

Given that musicology has existed for centuries without enactivism, some readers may question its value with regard to (1) musical analysis in general or (2) Jamaican music in particular.

1) If holistic disciplines like ethnomusicology, the New Musicology or Agawu's methodological emphasis upon choreographic rhythms are already addressing the sonic and non-sonic factors of musical cultures, what is to be gained by knowing the particulars of the neurobiological characteristics of musical processing?

There is no doubt that each of these disciplines have broadened the traditional Western musicological focus and methodology considerably (well beyond analyses of pitch and rhythm relationships). Enactivist findings about what happens during musical experiences provide important empirical evidence to triangulate these discipline's orientations and approaches, but most importantly, they also indicate that the traditional Western paradigm of "music" as the organization of sound patterns (with minimal consideration of non-sonic factors and often in isolation of its sociocultural context) is no longer a sustainable view. A significant paradigm shift about the concept of music and its perception/processing is in order. Regarding paradigm shifts, Kuhn

has written

At times of [a paradigm shift], when the normal-scientific tradition changes, the scientist's perception of his environment must be re-educated — in some familiar situations he must learn to see a new gestalt. ... The scientist with a new paradigm sees differently from the way he had seen before. (Kuhn 1970: 112)

Kuhn also notes that older paradigms frequently exert their influence, however, long after a paradigm shift has taken place. With regards to music, many contemporary researchers have been educated under the traditional Western paradigm of music as “sonic patterns involving primarily pitch and rhythm relationships,” but have been increasingly drawn to the holistic approaches to musical analysis noted above. In the work of such holistic musicologists, however, there are sometimes instances where they unfortunately *don't* see things differently from before. Musicological analyses sometimes still focus only upon sound patterns with little, if any, correlation to non-sonic factors and in isolation of cultural influences. This omission is sometimes not merely for convenience of discussion, but appears to be an intuitive return to the presumptions and values of the traditional Western paradigm. (The consistent application of a neuropsychological musicological approach should help to minimize such “slippages.”)

For example, Agawu promotes a view of music that is compatible with the new paradigm of music supported by enactivist evidence. His analysis of non-sonic factors and the cultural factors which make African music unique is detailed and well-supported, but he sometimes emphasizes ideas about music that return to the traditional Western paradigm of music.¹⁰⁸ He stresses that researchers should not “ignore the role

¹⁰⁸ Agawu was trained in traditional Western musicological analysis, and he laments the absence in most analyses of African music of “the more profound understanding of the creation and performance of sound structures that a Schenkerian perspective brings” (189).

of the unsounded, [since they] may miss the orientation provided by the choreographic rhythm" (2003: 77), yet he singles out the work of Arom's (1991) as "the most methodologically explicit approach to the analysis of any African music" (2003: 189) because Arom focuses primarily upon "the purely musical" (190), i.e., pitch and rhythms, without social context, lyrics, and choreographic rhythms.¹⁰⁹

With regard to the influence of culture upon musical practice, Agawu (2003) identifies many traits of African culture that characterize its orientation and spirit. In the opening two pages of *Representing African Music*, he notes that African music is "communal, ... inviting, ... allows for spontaneous and authentic expression of emotion, ... is integrated with social life, ... is natural rather than artificial and deeply human in its material significance, ... [yet] the spirit of African music is, however, not always manifest in the scholarship about it" (xi-xii). He then spends six chapters identifying and clarifying African music's traits and examining the work of various scholars in light of how their work accurately portray these traits and cultural practices. He is highly critical of any authors who display colonial attitudes and treat African culture as an "exotic other," especially analyses that suggest links between musical practices and race (which was commonplace in early writings on African music). Agawu is justifiably determined that contemporary scholarship about African culture should avoid anything that might suggest colonialism or any form of racism or essentialism.

The idea of an African musical system, propped up by a uniquely African mode of knowledge production, and distinct from a putative European system, is so preva-

¹⁰⁹ Arom presents hundreds of transcriptions of African pieces without lyrics and any indications or descriptions of sounded or unsounded gestures and how they are related to musical constructions.

lent that it would seem almost perverse to question it. And yet, when subjected to interrogation, it does not hold up. The truth is that, beyond local inflected expressive preferences, there is ultimately no difference between European knowledge and African knowledge. All talk of an insider's point of view, a native point of view, a distinct African mode of hearing, or of knowledge organization is a lie, and a wicked one at that. This idea needs to be thoroughly overhauled if the tasks of understanding and knowledge construction are to proceed in earnest. (180)

Agawu's portrayal of culture as merely "local inflection" is understandable in his justifiable desire to eliminate any lingering propagation of colonial perspectives in the twenty-first century, but he unfortunately provides no empirical evidence to support this portrayal, and his main counter-argument unfortunately returns primarily to invoking the traditional Western paradigm of music as sound patterns.

Any researcher who examines the enactive evidence indicating the multimodal character of music and the significant influence of culture in shaping conceptions and perceptions of all types of knowledge, especially cultural practices is unlikely to succumb to the racist, essentialist or colonial perspectives that Agawu understandably argues need to be eradicated. If anything, this research will support the viewpoint that Agawu initially promotes, that Africans have developed highly sophisticated cultural practices with many unique ways of expression that deserve detailed study, not with the goal of emphasizing differences, but rather to celebrate the unique contributions of African artists and how these contributions have been nurtured and supported by local influences. In so doing one should be able to avoid the types of inconsistencies and conceptual faux-pas we see in the work of Agawu and others, in spite of his generally well thought out and highly developed analysis of African music and the virtues and

weakness of many classic studies of African music.¹¹⁰

2) Since there has been no enactivist research applied to the study of Jamaican music prior to this study, how do the findings presented in this chapter (and in this study overall) apply to Jamaican music?

Since enactivist research indicates that musical experiences are always crossmodal and influenced by sociocultural environments, this study triangulates these findings with the views of the holistic-oriented Jamaican scholars examined in section 1.2.2, the sonic and movement characteristics noted in sections 1.3 and 1.4, and the results of the video analysis of Jamaican music performances in this study (discussed in Chapters Five, Six and Seven).¹¹¹ Enactivist research provides a convincing rationale for linking the influence of neo-African practices (like JFRM) and European musical traditions¹¹² since the slavery era to the musical practices of the Jamaican people, and also supports the explanation presented in Chapter One (section 1.3) of how and why these practices developed into JPM in the late 1950s.

As noted in the analysis of the literature that examines Jamaican music (in Chapter One), although some analysts have observed that movement patterns always

¹¹⁰ See Chapter Two for discussion of other theorists who prioritize the significance of corporeal factors in African musical practices, yet fail to keep this prioritization at the center of their work. The same can be said for most of the same theorists who emphasize the importance of culture in shaping musical skills, processes and performance practices, yet do not support these claims with in-depth investigations of exactly how this influence is specifically related to music.

¹¹¹ There appears to have been no enactivist research conducted in Jamaica or involving subjects involved with Jamaican music. This is obviously an area for future research which would provide stronger support for claims made in this study.

¹¹² There have also been other influences; see section 1.3.4.

figure prominently in Jamaican music and are a major link to its African roots, few of these analysts have examined the relationship between sonic and corporeal patterns in Jamaican music.¹¹³ By using enactivist findings about musical experience to examine these choreographic rhythms in detail and how they figure in the birth of JPM, a number of persuasive arguments emerge to counter the common claim that the development of JPM was just a variation of African American practices (examined in sections 1.2.1 and 1.3.4.6). Rather, the birth of JPM was influenced by particular indigenous neo-African cultural influences (in which choreographic rhythm played a central role), religious beliefs and ideological motivations to Jamaicanize North American R&B which, in turn, affected musical conceptions, perceptions, performance practices and aesthetic preferences. The fact that most Jamaicans experienced strong doses of both African and European culture throughout their lives accounts for the hybrid, creolized character of Jamaican music in general and JPM in particular. The detailed analysis of Jamaican musics (presented in section 1.3 in Chapter One) bears this out. Most Jamaican musics show this dual influence (e.g., reggae in JPM — discussed in section 1.3.5.6 — and Jonkonnu in JFRM— discussed in section 1.3.2.9).

The influence of environmental influences upon musical practices is also clearly evident in the development of the two most neo-African JFRM practices (i.e., Maroon music and Kumina) in Jamaica, which only show weak European influences. Both practices developed in Jamaican sub-environments in which African elements and

¹¹³ Only Hopkin's studies on Revival music (1978) and Jamaican Children (1984) actually include body movement patterns in the analysis of musical patterns and discusses particular interrelationships between sonic and corporeal patterns.

traditions figured more prominently than in the rest of Jamaican society (where European influences were more pronounced). As discussed in section 1.3.2.5, the Maroons consisted primarily of runaway slaves who lived in the mountains (starting in the mid-1600s) and retained many African customs and traditions. Kumina (discussed in section 1.3.2.7) was a religious complex brought to Jamaica in the post-emancipation period (1841-65) by West and Central African labourers. These Africans stayed together in Jamaica (in Eastern Jamaica), although they were not as rigidly separated from the rest of society as were the Maroons. Kumina thrived in the parish of St. Catherine's largely unchanged for the next 100 years. (Bilby & Leib (1986) and Bilby (1995) note how Kumina adherents were plentiful in this parish in the 1950s.) In environments where Jamaicans adopted Kumina in a less restricted context — i.e., within the framework of existing Jamaican culture (as an African/European hybrid), the end result was a creolized blend of European and African influences¹¹⁴ in the form of Revivalism, which sprang up in significant numbers in the Kingston area in the late 1800s.

Chapter Seven of this study uses enactivist findings to analyze non-Jamaican artists' attempts to perform JPM-styled musics. (I utilize the term "Outsider Artists" or OA to refer to non-Jamaican artists.) OA JPM was often problematic and inconsistent¹¹⁵ but sometimes quite successful, depending upon the degree of familiarity and prior exposure of individual artists to Jamaican performance practices. Because most

¹¹⁴ There were also African American influences in Revival, see section 1.3.4.2.

¹¹⁵ This isn't to suggest that this music was unsuccessful in appealing to audiences that shared similar backgrounds to the artists. Many of these OA JPM recordings were massive hits in non-Jamaican markets, and some, like Eric Clapton's "I Shot The Sheriff," were even popular in Jamaica. The "problematic" label here is simply noting that the majority of OAs JPM didn't replicate enough indigenous traits to sound authentically Jamaican.

Outsider Artists learned JPM from recordings, their lack of experience with live performances resulted in their hearing, conceptualizing and replicating JPM structures with different choreographic rhythms from those made by JPM artists. Enactivist findings about musical perception suggest the explanation that the application of choreographic rhythms (mostly from R&B and rock) as well as aesthetic orientations from their own (mostly-European or African American) musical backgrounds were responsible for the distortions and changes in OA's JPM. On the other hand, those Outsider Artists who were most successful in imitating JPM — British performers like UB40, The Clash and the Police — had opportunities to mingle with other Jamaican performers and to experience JPM in authentic Jamaican-styled contexts (in diasporic Jamaican communities in England). Because of this exposure, these artists acquired sonic and movement couplings that were often the same as those of JPM artists, which appears to be the main factor why their musical efforts sound more authentically Jamaican.

The application of enactivist findings and principles to the study of indigenous Jamaican musicians and JFRM or JPM and to Outsider Artists' JPM-styled music generate the same conclusion: both indigenous Jamaican artists' music and their performance style and those of Outsider Artists' JPM-styled music exemplify enactivist principles about the neurobiological characteristics of musical experience. Musical processing always involves holistic, crossmodal perception and processing which are shaped and influenced by their particular sociocultural environments and reflected in the different ways they conceptualize, create and perform JPM in their respective styles.

4. JAMAICAN SOCIOCULTURAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS (1920-1980)

INTRODUCTION:

Most JPM studies only consider Jamaican sociocultural history between 1950-1980. Although this was undeniably an important period, this focus excludes many other factors that happened in earlier decades which were particularly influential upon the people who created and responded to JPM. As outlined in Chapter One, JPM is rooted in many traditional indigenous cultural forms, most of which are neo-African and extend back to the slavery era. The enactivist research presented in Chapter Three suggests that one's immediate sociocultural environment always plays a significant role in shaping a person's perceptual and cognitive skills, beliefs, values, attitudes and worldview. It is therefore important to include *and prioritize* the sociocultural factors during the formative years of the musicians who developed JPM in order to fashion an understanding of not only the characteristics of their musical thinking, aesthetics and skills, but also *why* certain musical features and tendencies became dominant. This chapter focuses primarily upon these factors, but it also highlights sociocultural factors in the three decades prior to 1920 – influences upon these musicians' parents and grandparents – as well as significant events during the JPM period (i.e., 1960 – 1980). In other words, it considers JPM's sociocultural history in terms of the *complete* sociocultural environments into which these musicians were born, lived *and* worked.

Most JPM artists were born sometime between 1920-1950 in poor, black rural communities, in extended families (with grandparents and other relatives in the same

home or nearby).¹ In addition to daily encounters with the indigenous neo-African cultural forms and traditions examined in Chapter One, there were also many contemporary events and factors which contributed to their personal development and outlook. This information is presented here chronologically, in eight sections: 4.1 Annual/Recurring Sociocultural Traditions, 4.2 Late Nineteenth Century / Early Twentieth Century Sociocultural and Environmental Factors, 4.3 Sociocultural and Environmental Factors in the Twenties, 4.4 Sociocultural and Environmental Factors in the Thirties, 4.5 Sociocultural and Environmental Factors in the Forties, 4.6 Sociocultural and Environmental Factors in the Fifties, 4.7 Sociocultural and Environmental Factors in the Sixties and 4.8 Sociocultural and Environmental Factors in the Seventies, followed by 4.9 Conclusion.

4.1 ANNUAL/RECURRING SOCIOCULTURAL TRADITIONS

Analysts of Jamaica's sociocultural history² identify many annual/recurring sociocultural traditions that Burton (1997) calls "pivotal institutions of Negro Village culture" (45). These traditions, which were passed on from generation to generation, were dominated by the indigenous musics examined in Chapter One (sections 1.3 and 1.4). They created and maintained "a sense of continuity with the [African] past ... and gave [people] both a communal focus and a vision of freedom before and beyond slavery" (Burton 1997: 44-5). As mentioned above, the majority of musicians involved in

¹ Based upon biographical details and overview in Bradley (2000), Katz (2003), Stolzoff (2000) and White (1982a, 1984, 1998).

² Based upon lists and discussions in Barrett (1976, 1977), Baxter (1970: 208-220), Beckwith (1929: 198-210), Burton (1997: 43-6), Lewin (1968, 1970, 1971, 1976, 1983, 1984, 1998, 2000), Murray (1971: 104-5, 114, 140) and White (1982a).

JPM came from rural communities (where these traditions were reiterated frequently in children's games, family rituals and religious observances). White (1982a) (and the other analysts cited in footnote #2) concur that "[Jamaican sociocultural] tradition[s] ... have contributed so richly to the development of contemporary popular [Jamaican] forms that they must be considered as being of central significance" (41).

Two weekly traditions were dominated by music, dance, storytelling and games: Saturday night dances, for the adults, and Sunday school, for the children. Dances were commonplace in villages or at home parties (Beckwith 1929: 204). Local musicians played mentos, calypsos, polkas, waltzes, lancers, reels, quadrilles, jigs, and scottisches (White 1982a: 60). (*See DVD videos 3.5, 3.7, 3.8, 3.9 and 3.10 for examples of Anansi Stories, Work Songs (sung at social gatherings), Quadrille dancing, Mento bands and Singing Games.*) At Sunday school, music was the primary vehicle to teach religious beliefs, practices, and many neo-African cultural traditions³ (Lewin 2000: 41-3).

Other recurring traditions were Christmas, New Year's and Easter celebrations. Preparations for Christmas usually began in early November, with many activities including singing (Lewin 2000: 121):

- Christmas market (included music, rides and games) (Baxter 1970: 208)
- collection of presents
- making food
- preparation of school & church concerts
- decorating, painting
- white-washing of stones and tree trunks
- distribution of clothes
- government's annual Christmas work program (fixing roads, etc.) to provide the poor with money
- nightly Jonkonnu performances (*See DVD video 3.6 for films of Jonkonnu.*)

Introduced in 1941, pantomimes (modeled on the British tradition) were another yearly

³ See list in section 1.3.2.

event; they ran from Boxing Day to New Years, and were seen by thousands of people.

No precise figures exist for the first few decades, but since the late sixties, an average of 75,000 to 80,000 people attended these shows each year. They featured original and traditional indigenous music, stories, drama, song and dance (Murray 1971: 143, Nettleford 1993: 3, 6). Most pantomimes were primarily verbal/oral compositions, with an overall improvisatory character (Baxter 1970: 261-2). New Year's and Easter were two other occasions when masters encouraged slaves to gather and celebrate.

Emancipation Day and Independence Day, both celebrated at the beginning of August, were festivities which often lasted 2-3 days, with village fairs featuring merry-go-rounds, ring play, donkey races, quadrille dances, athletics, sports, music, dance and stories (Lewin 1984, 2000: 86).

Many other regular gatherings featured activities (e.g., formal toasts, set dances, riddles, games, stories, dancing, hymn singing, folk and popular songs) similar to the above events. These include:

- all-day picnics (Beckwith 1929: 204)
- weddings (include games, songs, dancing)
- Tea meetings (quite popular 1940s-1950s) (see section 1.3.3.7 for more information)
- funerals (Nine-Night ritual ceremonies, see section 1.3.2.4)

4.2 LATE NINETEENTH / EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY SOCIOCULTURAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS

Although the late 1800s in Jamaica is sometimes described as a period when the lower classes were oppressed, powerless and dominated by European economic, political, cultural and ideological hegemony,⁴ such a perspective overlooks the influence of a

⁴ Thomas (2004: 31) notes that after Jamaica became a Crown Colony in 1866, British political,

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small group of intellectuals and nationalists who were vocal critics of colonial inequities and injustices, and how travel (by migrant workers) expanded the consciousness of the lower class. Although this period was one in which many Jamaicans (of all classes) saw themselves as proud members of the British Empire (Thomas 2004: 30), feelings of discontent and extreme dissatisfaction in the lower class about the status quo were mounting, since many of the issues underlying Paul Bogle's 1865 Morant Bay Rebellion were unresolved.⁵ As Thomas (2004) puts it, at this time

[I]mperial racism was not attenuated. The 'new imperialism' – justified through the pretense of philanthropy, now defined as the bestowal of civilization – emerged as part and parcel of Social Darwinist principles of progress. Within this context, a new racism, now intellectually legitimized as science, was used to justify paternalistic class domination and white social authority. (33)

In 1888, a book was published by five members of "the emergent black intelligentsia,"⁶ *Jamaica's Jubilee: or, What We Are and What We Hope To Be*, "that codified a critique of racism" (Thomas 2004: 33, 42). All five "had substantial connections to the non-conformist missionary churches" (Thomas 2004: 33). As Thomas puts it, this was "the first published espousal of black nationalism" (36). The authors assured their intended British audience that "blacks held no feelings of revenge" (33), and identified benefits to the black masses since emancipation (e.g., improved educational opportunities).

social and cultural institutions became quite strong. Barrett (1977) writes of the late 1800s: "Political apathy in the Black population ... was at its highest. ... Social and economic stagnation was widespread. ... Every aspect of Jamaican life was dominated by the Europeans, and there was little hope for native Jamaicans to improve their position" (Barrett 1977: 65).

⁵ Bogle attempted to present a list of grievances to the government protesting inhumane living conditions and wages. His march to the Governor's office turned into a riot, with hundreds of whites and blacks killed (Thomas 2004: 32-3).

⁶ Possibly fearing retribution, the authors hid their identities with authorship accredited to "By Five of Themselves."

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They also stressed that ex-slaves had engaged in self-improvement and demonstrated Christian values (e.g., they created mutual improvement societies, reading clubs and Christian associations, engaged in musical and social gatherings during Christmas time, and the number of legal marriages was on the rise (34)). These authors then indicted the British colonial government, however, “for ... abandon[ing] ex-slaves after emancipation and ... fail[ing] to initiate ... polic[ies to] counter the destabilizing influences of slavery” (35). They recommended higher wages, fairer treatment of workers, more opportunities for land-ownership and the abolition of racism and class prejudice (35-6).⁷ Shortly after the publication of *Jamaica Jubilee*, Dr. Robert Love organized voter registration campaigns and “encouraged blacks to become active in politics” (Robinson 1999: 1030).

Between the late 1800s and 1920, over 150,000 Jamaicans went abroad to work; many returned home to live.⁸ The result of experiencing other settings/cultures and meeting other blacks of African descent was the emergence of

an increasingly diasporic consciousness ... that provided the potential for an organized political movement from multiple loyalties and locations. ... [These new experiences and this expanded consciousness] bred many new leaders within Jamaican popular movements such as Marcus Garvey, Alexander Bedward, and the [four] founders of the Rastafari movement [Leonard Howell, Robert Hinds, Joseph Hibbert, Archibald Dunkley]. (Thomas 2004: 45)

These leaders argued “that blacks were capable of civilization, and that Africa, though currently wild and backward, could rise to prominence again. ... [There were also]

⁷ They also asked for improved education for workers, fewer imports and better roads (Thomas 2004: 35).

⁸ After 1880, over 50,000 Jamaican labourers traveled to Panama and to Costa Rica to construct the canal, railroads and do agricultural work. After 1911, approximately 30,000 Jamaicans migrated to the U.S.; many returned for visits or to moved back home. Between 1912-1920, 75,000 Jamaicans traveled Cuba for work on sugar plantations (Thomas 2004: 43).

4.2. LATE-NINETEENTH /EARLY-TWENTIETH CENTURY SOCIOCULTURAL & ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS 390

debates in which ... various nationalists ... [discussed] the relevance of race to political identity and participation, and to sociocultural and economic development” (42).

Two Jamaicans whose outlook was strongly influenced by *Jamaica Jubilee's* ideas and by their experiences abroad were Alexander Bedward and Marcus Garvey. Bedward led a Revival movement in the early 1900s with a strong nationalistic fervor that was extremely popular with poor working-class peasants. His “sermons emphasized the colonial oppression of black Jamaicans, criticized the Anglican and other established churches” (Thomas 2004: 47). In 1910, a new political organization was formed by S.A.G. Cox – the National Club —which called for self-government (Lewis 1987: 61). Garvey was elected as its assistant secretary.

Garvey’s significance to Jamaican history was profound.⁹ In 1914 he established the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) in Kingston as “an attempt to mobilize [Jamaicans] and African Americans¹⁰ toward a black nationalist and pan-African point of view that included among its tenets¹¹ racial pride, self-help, and repatriation to the African continent” (Thomas 2004: 45) “The UNIA laid the foundation in Jamaica and worldwide for self-respect and organized nationalism among both the

⁹ See Baxter (1970: 346), Lewis (1987, 1998), Hamilton (1987), Martin (1987), and Nettleford (1987) re: Garvey’s significance to Jamaican history and Rastafarianism. Garvey inspired many African leaders (Barrett 1977: 78, Nettleford 1987: 6).

¹⁰ Garvey founded an American branch in New York City in 1917.

¹¹ Barrett (1977: 66) identifies four goals in Garvey’s ideas: 1) A worldwide confraternity of the Black race. 2) A desire for Africa to become a developed nation and a force in world power, from which Black representatives were to be sent to all the principal countries and cities of the world. 3) The development of Black educational institutions for the teaching of Black cultures. 4) Uplifting the Black race anywhere it was to be found. Barrett also notes that Garvey’s dreams were initially not accepted in Jamaica until he achieved success in the U.S. (Barrett 1977: 66-7).

4.2. LATE-19TH/EARLY-20TH CENTURY ... FACTORS / 4.3 SOCIOCULTURAL ... FACTORS IN THE TWENTIES 391

working and middle classes" (Thomas 2004: 45). Garvey prioritized "racism as a factor retarding black social, economic and political progress" everywhere (Thomas 2004: 42). He emphasized "mental emancipation ... – to rid [oneself] of ideas that reinforced social, political, economic and racial subjugation" (Lewis 1987: 61). In the thirties, his ideas became central Rastafarian tenets.¹²

With regard to cultural factors, in 1890, the Alpha Boys School was founded in Kingston, to provide educational opportunities for poor children and those abandoned by their families. Its mandate was teaching trades, with a very strong music program (Witmer 1987: 3). By the early 1900s, there were at least four established wind bands with many Alpha graduates: the Jamaica Military Band, the Jamaica Constabulary Band, the Jamaica Regiment Band and the West India Regiment Band (Witmer 1987: 3). This school and these bands were significant training grounds for many JPM musicians.

Another notable factor during this period that was to impact significantly upon Jamaican music was the United States' displacement of Great Britain as Jamaica's dominant trading partner (Thomas 2004: 43). Although this initially involved mostly goods, by the mid-thirties, American music and culture became significant imports.

4.3 SOCIOCULTURAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS IN THE TWENTIES

In the twenties, most of the issues identified in *Jamaica Jubilee* were unresolved. Public awareness and concern about them and Jamaica's African roots intensified, "related in part to the success of several expatriate Jamaicans within artistic movements such

¹² In 1916, Garvey reported to have said, "Look to Africa for the crowning of a Black King, he shall be the Redeemer" (Barrett 1977: 67), but he apparently did *not* make this statement. See Hill (1983: 25-6) and Farley (2006: 120) re: more likely sources for this quote.

as the Harlem Renaissance¹³ as well as to the heightened folkloric interest in rural Jamaicans' songs, dances and stories" (Thomas 2004: 60, also see Barrett 1977: 64, "Negritude" 2007, Nesbitt 1999). "Citizen's associations form[ed] in the Kingston area to ... discuss... [politics and] public matters" (Barrett 1977: 64). The YWCA (1922) & YMCA (1924) opened branches on the island and provided "opportunities for cultural inspiration, poetry, writing, discussion ... as well as religious activities" (Baxter 1970: 84). The Institute of Jamaica offered art classes on Jamaican indigenous traditions, and the intelligentsia (e.g., Herbert De Lisser, Edna Manley and Una Marson) published new periodicals that examined local concerns (Thomas 60, 292 fn. 4). New literary and debating societies attracted many who would later become active in the People's National Party in the thirties (Thomas 2004: 60).

Other publications¹⁴ celebrated Jamaica's African roots. Jamaican poet and novelist Claude McKay wrote extensively on this theme; he influenced Aimé Césaire from Martinique to coin the term *négritude* (in 1939), to identify the embracing of blackness with pride, rather than something to be shunned as a mark of inferiority (Nesbitt 1999: 1404). Haitian Price Mars' influential 1927 book *Ainsi parla l'oncle* (So Spoke the Uncle), condemned blacks' veneration of colonialism in lieu of black culture (Wynter 1970: 34-5). Two other important books were introduced between 1925-27, the Holy Piby¹⁵ and the Royal Parchment Scroll of Black Supremacy (Lewis 1998: 147).¹⁶ The

¹³ E.g., poet-novelist Claude McKay, its most prominent spokesman, and Marcus Garvey.

¹⁴ By Jamaicans Claude McKay and Marcus Garvey, Senegalese Léopold Senghor and Haitian Jean Price Mars (Nesbitt 1999: 1404-5, Wynter 1970: 34).

¹⁵ "The Piby purportedly pre-date[s] the Christian and Hebrew bibles, and was originally

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first, "The Black Man's Bible," was originally published in the U.S. in 1924. The second professed Black self-determination and influenced Leonard Howell and Marcus Garvey.

Garvey (who had left Jamaica in 1916 for the U.S.) returned to Jamaica in 1927, and launched the People's Political Party and the Jamaica Workers' and Labourers' Association. Both "encouraged the poor and black working class to challenge the racist political and economic systems that had exploited them for so long" (Robinson 1999: 1031, see also Thomas 2004: 45). Garvey also campaigned for an independent Jamaica that embraced its African heritage. He believed that the arts were a primary means to develop a unique Jamaican identity (Hamilton 1987: 22). Indigenous culture, especially that of the poor people, was "a tool of liberation, particularly of mental liberation" (ibid.). "[I]n order to subvert their oppression, black people needed to develop their own cultural norms and aesthetics for literature, music, dance and visual art" (Thomas 2004: 61).

4.4 SOCIOCULTURAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS IN THE THIRTIES

The thirties were the "start ... [of] modern Jamaican cultural activity" (Nettleford 1996: 151). They were "a time of awakening in the arts ... a renewed interest in the Jamaican folk idiom [theatre, art, music and dance]" (Baxter 1970: 330). The decade started ominously; the sugar and banana industries collapsed due to the depression (Robinson 1999: 1030). The poor were hit hard (Thomas 2004: 48), but responded in positive ways. Nearly one fifth of the entire rural population – 200,000 people –

written in Amharic, the language of the Amhar tribe of Ethiopia. The book was compiled by Robert Athlyi Rogers ... [and] is considered a foundation book of Rastafari" (Foehr 2001: 82).

¹⁶ See Hill (1983: 27) for information about these two books.

migrated to the cities (primarily to Kingston); many settled in squatter camps and ghettos (Robinson 1999: 1030). Religion maintained good spirits in the face of difficulties. Between 1930-32 there was an upsurge of Revivalism (Burton 1997: 123), and the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AMEC) was established in Kingston. The minister of the AMEC “was very active in the Garveyite movement and other Africa-oriented activities” (Clarke 1980: 39). Throughout the decade there was much street-corner oratory by religiously inspired black people (Clarke 1980: 39).

In 1930, Ras Tafari was crowned emperor of Ethiopia, and took on the name “Haile Selassie” (might of the Trinity) (Barrett 1977: 80). Between 1930-1933, Four Garveyites (Leonard Howell,¹⁷ Joseph Hibbert, Archibald Dunkley, Robert Hinds) founded separate groups claiming to have received information that Haile Selassie was the Messiah of the Black People. They began to develop what became Rastafarianism, a blend of Garvey’s ideology with Christian fundamentalist beliefs (Barrett 1977: 81, 4). This movement was regarded “as much an Afrocentric worldview and form of black nationalism as it was a new religion” (Edwards 1999: 1591).

Garvey’s response to the depression was quintessentially Jamaican — not unlike the Dinki Mini after a funeral¹⁸ — i.e., singing and dancing one’s sadness and troubles away. (*See DVD video 3.1 for a film of the Dinki Mini.*) In 1931, he set up the Edelweiss Amusement Company to supply dramatic presentations, musical revues, vaudevilles, comedies, films, fairs, elocution, singing and dancing contests for Jamaicans in the

¹⁷ Howell is regarded as the most influential (Burton 1997: 123, Bilby 1995: 159). See Hill (1983) for a detailed analysis of Howell’s views and contributions to Rastafarianism.

¹⁸ See sections 1.3.2.4 and 1.4.1.3.

Kingston and St. Andrews areas (Thomas 2004: 61). He also built Edelweiss Park in Kingston, an 8,000 capacity open-air theatre for musical revues, variety shows, pantomimes, theatre productions, concerts and dances to meet “the cultural and recreational needs of a growing urban population” (Witmer 1987: 5). This period also saw the development of an urban popular music industry in which musicians performed every type of music available in Jamaica to meet the needs of people living in the cities — not only indigenous musics, but also the modern African American swing, jazz and blues (Witmer 1987: 11).

The intelligentsia that had been developing nationalist ideas and ways to address sociopolitical problems in the twenties joined forces and established “the self-government movement ... [which] proclaim[ed] that all Jamaicans, whatever their race or class, ... had a right to land [and] should have the privilege of determining the future of the territory” (Nettleford 1985: 33-4). The leaders of the movement (e.g., Norman and Edna Manley) saw the arts and culture generally, as integral to these goals. They also challenged the so-called natural superiority of ideas emerging from England (Thomas 2004: 54). “The creative imagination and the creative intellect [were considered] part and parcel of the process of shaping a new society and building a nation” (Nettleford 1996: 151). Cultural activity, based upon indigenous traditions, was a critical aspect of belief in self, necessary for social cohesion and created a sense of purpose (Nettleford 1985: 33-4). Jamaicans began “to realize that they had nothing to be ashamed of. ... The period of slavery became not an era of shame but Jamaica’s heroic age” (Lewin 1970: 16).

Many formal incentives and associations were created to promote Jamaican

culture. In 1936, the first exhibition of Jamaican Arts & Crafts was held in rural areas, featuring indigenous dances, songs, and cottage industries¹⁹ (Baxter 1970: 93-4, 257, 330). The same year, Citizen's Associations (that had been forming since the early thirties) were grouped together under the "Federation of Citizens' Associations": "an attempt to encourage and develop ... the plastic arts, music and folktales of the Jamaican peasantry in order to provide the foundation for ... [a] Jamaican national culture" (Thomas 2004: 52). In 1937, Norman Manley created "Jamaica Welfare" to develop community-based small industries. "[I]ts programs were geared toward rural development and the organization of village improvement associations" (Thomas 2004: 52). In 1938, the Quadrangle of Four Arts Club was established "to develop appreciation ... of music, drama, literature and the visual arts" (Baxter 1970: 258). The Cudjoe Minstrels were also formed at this time; they presented singing games, Anansi stories, Jonkonnu dancing, Revival songs, street preaching, polka and mento (A. Brathwaite 1978: 36). By the end of the decade, traditional Jamaican music was everywhere: on the streets, in churches, homes and yards.²⁰ Because most of the island remained without electricity until the mid-1950s, homegrown culture was a main form of entertainment for the lower classes

¹⁹ "Cottage industries" encompasses small entrepreneurial ventures, such as folk art (painting, sculpture and clothing), handiwork in straw, preserves and miscellaneous handicrafts.

²⁰ Based upon accounts by Barrett (1976, 1977), Baxter (1970), Bennett (1966, 1982a, 1982b, 1982c, 1995), Carty (1988), Lewin (2000), Mulvaney (1985), Murray (1971), Nettleford (1968, 1979, 1985), Reckford (1977, 1982, 1998), Rouse (2000), Ryman (1980, 1983), Seaga (1956, 1969, 2004, 2005) and White (1982a, 1982b, 1982c, 1998); see also Barrow & Dalton (2001), Bilby (1995), Boot & Thomas (1976), Bordowitz (2004), Bradley (2000), Burke (1977), Chang & Chen (1998), S. Clarke (1980), Cuthbert & Brown (1997), Davis (1990), Davis & Simon (1977, 1982), Foehr (2000), Foster (1999), Hebdige (1974, 1987), Jones (1988), Katz (2000, 2003), Potash (1997), Salewicz & Boot (2001), Stolzoff (2000), Soul Jazz Records (2002), Thomas (1973), D. Thompson (2002), Whitney & Hussey (1983) and Witmer (1981, 1987, 1989).

until the fifties.

In 1934, Alexander Bustamante formed the Jamaican Workers' and Tradesmen's Union (JWTU), which "demanded higher wages and better working conditions. ... [Union leaders] associated workers' rights with Black Nationalism [so consistently that] it became increasingly difficult to separate demands for economic equality [from] those for racial equality" (Robinson 1999: 1031).

In October 1935, Italy's invasion of Ethiopia "heightened the impact of black nationalist ideologies among all except the upper and upper-middle classes" (Thomas 2004: 46). This event became a unifying factor amongst Garveyites, Rastas, and the wider black community (Lewis 1998: 150).²¹ Three political organizations emerged, with leadership drawn primarily from the "brown" middle-class (lawyers, journalists, civil servants): 1) *The Jamaican Progressive League* (1936) "which set about agitating for Jamaican self-rule" (Clarke 1980: 33). 2) *The National Reform Association* (NRA) (1937), who "advocated for the development of a political party to give the new nationalism an organizational form" (Thomas 2004: 52). 3) *The People's National Party* (PNP), Jamaica's first political party, established by Norman Manley in 1938. Manley recycled many of Garvey's anti-colonial ideas into its aims, objectives and plans (Nettleford 1987: 8, see also Thomas 2004: 52). The "PNP launched an extensive educational program in order to develop a new spirit of love for Jamaica ... and to foster the political consciousness of the mass of Jamaican people" (Thomas 2004: 53). Bustamante also established

²¹ In 1937, the Ethiopian World Federation Inc. was established in NYC (Barrett 1977: 89); a branch was established in Jamaica in 1938 (Barrett 1977: 89), with an aim "to unify, solidify, liberate, and free the Black people of the world in order to achieve self-determination, justice and to maintain the integrity of Ethiopia" (ibid.).

another union in 1938, the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union (BITU) (Robinson 1999: 1031).

In spite of a great deal of optimism and efforts to make the best of hardships, by 1938 unemployment had soared to 20% (Katz 2003: 35). There were many union strikes and riots, which were met with "serious violence [by the authorities. The government's heavy-handed approach] brought Jamaican conditions to the attention of the [British] government, which appointed a Royal Commission under the leadership of Lord Moyne" (Barrett 1977: 64-5). In 1939, "Lord Moyne's report recommended the need for a new constitution as the basis of the future development of self-government" (Barrett 1977: 65). The constitution was finalized in 1944.

4.5 SOCIOCULTURAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS IN THE FORTIES

Things improved in the forties. Jamaica became a military port for British and American forces during WWII, which strengthened the economy and introduced many foreign musical influences. The PNP's educational program (begun in the thirties) continued its emphasis upon "the Jamaicanness of things" (Baxter 1970: 91). School groups encouraged "children [to] discuss the need for new and independent Jamaican thought, the proposals for a census and the need for truly Jamaican expression in art" (Baxter 1970: 91, see also Nettleford 1996: 151). In 1942, the Little Theatre movement began production of pantomime musicals, using Jamaican creole, and Lousie Bennett wrote, performed and published many verses in Jamaican Creole in *The Gleaner*, on stage and on the radio (Baxter 1970: 89, 275).

The Rastafarian movement became more formalized in 1940-1941, when Leonard

Howell started the Pinnacle commune, 20 miles outside of Kingston, with an organization similar to a Maroon settlement (Barrett 1977: 85, Stolzoff 2000: 78). "Rasta leaders intensified their opposition to the colonial state by defying police and organizing illegal street marches" (Edwards 1999: 1592). On Christmas 1949, the first large Rasta gathering was held at Issie Boat's Camp at Wareika; Count Ossie's group and Burru musicians performed. The singing, drumming, dancing, chanting, herb smoking and feasting went on for days (Reckford 1998: 241).

Underlying tensions in the political climate intensified. In spite of promoting indigenous culture, many

Jamaican nationalists ... distance[d] themselves both from the 'backwardness' of Africa and from the rural and urban proletariat whose practices – and values – were seen as a throwback to the slavery period and, therefore, as disruptive to a modern social order presided over by middle-class leaders. (Thomas 2004: 56)

In 1943, Alexander Bustamente formed a second political party, *the Jamaican Labour Party* (JLP) (Thomas 2004: 54). In 1944, "Britain ... construct[ed] a new constitution for Jamaica ... [which] stripped Jamaica of its Crown colony status and implemented limited self-rule" (Robinson 1999: 1031). At the end of 1944 Jamaica's first general election was held, and the JLP was voted in. During the campaign, many "local and regional ... discussion groups among workers, housewives, students and intelligentsia [were formed]" (Baxter 1970: 91).

After WWII, nationalist feelings intensified, "fueled by the experience of black middle-class students and war veterans returning from England [and] the victory of the Labour party in England" (Thomas 2004: 51). Many Jamaicans immigrated to Britain (Jones 1988: 33), or were recruited for agricultural labour in the U.S. (Thomas 2004: 43).

The end of the decade saw renewed emphasis upon indigenous culture. In 1946, University College of the West Indies (UCWI) opened; in 1948, UCWI offered lectures, seminars, and workshops about Jamaican music, drama, dance, literature and art. Several magazines were published that examined local events and issues: *Spotlight*, *Newday* and *Jamaican Sportsman*.

As discussed in section 1.3.4.7, two types of urban popular bands emerged in the forties, both influenced by African American popular music (White 1984: 48): 1) Road bands, which performed at urban and rural functions (with a repertoire of indigenous and African American popular music), and 2) society bands, which performed at upper class functions and for tourists, playing primarily North American popular music, with the odd calypso or mento (White 1984: 48-9; see also Witmer 1987: 4-5). Big band music, which was all the rage in the U.S., was also popular in Jamaica. After WWII, many big band-style ensembles were formed (e.g., led by Jack Brown, Eric Dean, Sonny Bradshaw and Val Bennett) (Salewicz & Boot 2001: 24).

Although big band music was popular with all audiences, the bands were too expensive for the lower classes. Improvements in sound equipment allowed deejays to fill this void. One of the first (starting in the early forties) was Tom Sebastian (Katz 2003: 5). Deejays quickly became popular with both rural and urban audiences (Johnson & Pines 1982: 66, White 1984: 49); see section 1.3.4.7.

4.6 SOCIOCULTURAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS IN THE FIFTIES

The fifties were a time of economic, political and cultural growth. Because of new industries (manufacturing, bauxite, construction and tourism) and new sugar and

banana trade agreements, "the income of the island [rose] in an unprecedented manner between 1944-55 (Baxter 1970: 96, see also Thomas 2004: 68). "Development strategies [were] initiated that were geared toward modernizing Jamaica's economy through foreign investment and industrial development" (Thomas 2004: 8-9). [All of this growth] created a sense of promise" (Baxter 1970: 102). Because of many new jobs, there was a huge migration from the country to the cities, especially Kingston (Thomas 2004: 68).

This growth suggested that the time was right for politicians to pursue Jamaican independence. In 1953, Norman Manley (head of the PNP) and Alexander Bustamente (leader of the JLP) met with British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, who stipulated that the ganja trade needed to be curtailed before Jamaica would be granted independence. Since Howell was the largest and best-organized Jamaican cultivator of marijuana, in 1954 police raided and destroyed Pinnacle (Foehr 2001: 37). Most of the Rastas moved into the ghettos on the West side of Kingston. In 1955, Norman Manley's PNP was elected on an independence ticket (Bradley 2000: 13), and he "enter[ed] negotiations with Britain to determine the method of Jamaica's independence" (Katz 2003: 36).²²

As per Garvey's views that the development of indigenous art and culture were a prerequisite for developing a unique Jamaican identity,

The efforts of the nationalist intelligentsia ... geared toward elevating aspects of Jamaican 'folk' culture to the realms of the 'cultured' in order to prove to their colonial rulers that Jamaica too possessed a culture that was not only as legitimate as British culture, but also more relevant to the surroundings and experiences of the majority of the population. By showcasing this culture through national arts festivals, nationalist elites also demonstrated that Jamaicans' culture was something around which people all over the island could be mobilized toward a unified national spirit. (Thomas 2004: 65)

²² Other African colonies that achieved independence in the fifties were Sudan (1954), Morocco (1956), Tunisia (1956) and Ghana (formerly Gold Coast) (1957).

The government promoted indigenous culture at every opportunity.²³ Many individual parishes organized speech and music festivals and art exhibitions (Baxter 1970: 99). In 1952, the Caribbean Festival of the Arts showcased indigenous music and dance to celebrate Queen Elizabeth's ascension, the first use of indigenous culture at a government-sponsored event (Thomas 2004: 62). In 1953, the Tattoo (a military and civilian show) also featured Jamaican folklore, Revival singers and folk dancing (Baxter 1970: 98). In 1954, UCWI published a journal, *Caribbean Quarterly*, devoted to local culture and issues. In 1955, the Jamaican Drama League and the National Arts Festival were established. The former was an annual adult drama festival (Thomas 2004: 62), and the latter showcased Jamaican cultural heritage (Thomas 2004: 62).

Although the new American R&B music (heard mostly at Sound System dances²⁴) was popular, especially amongst the working class, "the urban poor retained very strong rural connections, having only recently migrated to the city" (Thomas 2004: 69; also see section 1.3.5.3). In the late forties and early fifties, mento recordings featuring local artists were produced²⁵ (Stolzoff 2000: 61-2, also see Chapter One, section 1.3.3.7), using small recording facilities.²⁶ These recordings were popular at Sound System dances, on jukeboxes, and on Jamaica's newest radio station, RJR (which went on the air in 1950). By the mid-fifties, electricity was generally more available, and the

²³ Although Jamaican songs were rarely performed in schools (Lewin 2000: 12).

²⁴ Local radio played little R&B; those with radios were able to pick up American stations.

²⁵ Recordings were pressed off-island. In 1954 Ken Khouri set up Federal Records with its own record press (Stolzoff 2000: 61). In 1958, Edward Seaga purchased Khouri's business and renamed it West Indies Records Limited (WIRL) (Stolzoff 2000: 61-2).

²⁶ Jamaican radio stations had small recording studios which were available for independent productions.

cost of radios dropped, so RJR obtained a rural audience.²⁷

In spite of constant government persecution, the Rastafarian movement continued to prosper. In the early fifties, many Rastas started growing dreadlocks after seeing pictures of Kenyan freedom fighters (the Mau Mau). "Rastas equated [this hairstyle] with ... Africanness" (Bradley 2000: 84-5; see also Farley 2006: 124). When Haile Selassie granted 500 acres to the Black people of the West in 1955,²⁸ membership doubled "almost overnight" (Barrett 1977: 89). In the late forties/early fifties, drummer Count Ossie developed a neo-African Rastafarian music (Nyabinghi) that combined Burru, Kumina and Revival music with African American elements (see section 1.3.4.6). (*See DVD videos 3.3, 3.4, 3.11 and 3.12 for examples of Burru, Kumina, Revival and Nyabinghi music.*) At this same time, many Jamaican big bands had broken up, and small Jamaican jazz groups were formed (Witmer 1987: 12). Many jazz musicians performed with Count Ossie and his drummers at Sound System dances and at jam sessions at his own camp (at 32 Adastral Road) and the West Kingston Rasta camps. As discussed in sections 1.3.5.3 and 1.3.5.4, experiments at these jam sessions influenced the new proto-Ska and Ska styles which emerged in the late fifties. (*See DVD video 4.2 for film of proto-ska artists.*) In March 1958, the first Nyabinghi Grounation in Kingston attracted five thousand people (Barrett 1977: 92). Approximately 100,000 Jamaicans were Rastafarian at this time, "with many more openly sympathetic" (Bradley 2000: 63);

²⁷ In 1950, only 1.7% of the population had radios; by the mid-fifties the figure rose to 50%. By 1961, 90% of households in urban centers and 66% of those in rural areas had them (Bradley 2000: 92, Witmer 1987: 8).

²⁸ This land was 160 miles from Addis Ababa, in the country, with no water or electricity. In the late 1970s, at its peak, 40-50 Rastas and African Americans lived there (Foehr 2001: 150).

about 80% were between 17 and 35 (Barrett 1977: 2). (In 1958, the population of Jamaica was 1,630,000.²⁹)

The government's emphasis upon indigenous culture (and the success of proto-Ska recordings) resulted in a proliferation of talent shows in Kingston in the mid-fifties at the Ambassador, the Palace, the Ward and the Majestic. The biggest one was the Vere Johns Opportunity Hour (which became a radio show in 1959) (Bradley 2000: 18). "By the mid-1950s it seemed as if every Kingstonian youth was a singer" (Bradley 2000: 18). In 1959, a government-owned radio station (JBC) was created, with a mandate to promote indigenous culture. Two radio shows ("Teenage Dance Party," "Jamaican Hit Parade") hosted by musician Sonny Bradshaw³⁰ featured local musicians. Both shows featured mento and proto-Ska recordings and live performances of local artists playing Top Ten hits. Within two months the Top Thirty featured Jamaican artists exclusively (Bradley 2000: 89-90).

In 1958, the Federation of the West Indies was created, consisting of Jamaica plus twelve other territories. The Federation was "due to gain independence from Britain in 1962 as a single nation, with Trinidad awarded the seat of central government" (Katz 2003: 36). New airports in Montego Bay and Kingston were built to accommodate the increased number of travelers to and from Jamaica. As the decade closed, the future looked very bright.

²⁹ Source: www.populstat.info/Americas/jamaicac.htm; accessed 21 Jun 07.

³⁰ For more discussion on Bradshaw's shows and Jamaican radio at this time, see Chapter One, section 1.3.5.4.

4.7 SOCIOCULTURAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS IN THE SIXTIES

The decade began with government leader “Bustamente campaign[ing] against the Federation of the West Indies, arguing instead for Jamaica’s ... individual independence” (Katz 2003: 36). In a September 1961 referendum, the people voted for independence (Katz 2003: 37). On August 6, 1962, Jamaica became a nation, along with twenty-five other colonial nations during the sixties.³¹

Government promotion of indigenous culture was significant throughout the decade. Independence celebrations on August 6, 1962 prioritized indigenous music and dance. 115 villages featured quadrille dancing as part of their festivities (Baxter 1970: 201). Jamaican art exhibitions were sent to Germany and the U.S., and dance troupes to Canada and Britain (Baxter 1970: 105). The National Dance Theatre Company, with a mandate to feature indigenous Jamaican music and dance, was also formed the same year. In 1963 Minister of culture Edward Seaga instituted the “Jamaica Festival of Arts” to promote folkloric arts³² to “preserve and present [the] ‘folk’ blackness that had come to represent Jamaica’s African heritage” (Thomas 2004: 66, see also Lewin 2000: 50). It became a yearly event with special celebrations in 1000 villages (Baxter 1970: 105). The festival “brought about economic encouragement of the arts by business houses and the

³¹ In 1960: Chad, Niger, Nigeria, Somalia, Zaire (formerly Belgian Congo); in 1961: Kuwait, Sierra Leone, Tanzania; in 1962: Algeria, Burundi, Kenya, Malaysia, Trinidad & Tobago, Uganda, Western Samoa, Zanzibar; in 1963: Rwanda; in 1964: Malawi, Zambia; in 1965: Rhodesia; in 1966: Barbados, Botswana, Gambia, Guyana and Lesotho.

³² E.g., digging songs, quadrilles, Maroon dances, Jonkonnu, Kumina rituals, children’s games, speech, drama, singing and dance (Thomas 2004: 64). Ska was excluded because the “thought [was] that Jamaican self-government could be achieved without making a radical break with Britain, ... [the official government view was that] lower-class forms were too ‘primitive’ to serve as the basis of national culture” (Stolzoff 2000: 74).

commercial sector [which] provided substantial funds for awards" (Baxter 1970: 275).

There were plans to build an auditorium, folk art center, entertainment center, training institutes, and develop an art agency and arts exchange programs. A syllabus was sent island-wide to schools, agencies and cultural groups to encourage the development of folkloric traditions (Thomas 2004: 64). In 1966, folklorist Olive Lewin was appointed to study indigenous Jamaican music (Lewin 2000: 16). In the following year, she started the Jamaican Folk Singers, who sang only traditional songs. They performed at many religious ceremonies (Revival, Kumina and funeral), festivals, showcases and community events, and were asked to sing at Count Ossie's funeral in 1976. They also performed "to middle-class or urban audiences that had never been exposed to [Jamaica's] folk music as well as to rural audiences that had never heard music from other rural areas of the country" (Lewin 2000: 15, 20).

By late 1961, most Jamaican recordings were in the ska style (see section 1.3.5.4). (*See DVD video 4.3 for films of Ska artists.*) Demand for ska recordings was so great that, in 1962, Coxson Dodd built Studio One, the first major recording studio on the island. He also selected local jazz musicians to form a house band, who called themselves The Skatalites (Stolzoff 2000: 62). In 1964, Duke Reid opened up another major recording studio, Treasure Isle (Stolzoff 2000: 62). Seaga saw ska's potential as a symbol to promote Jamaica to the world, and presented it as the Jamaican equivalent of the Twist at the 1964 World's Fair in New York, using Byron Lee & the Dragonaires to back up major stars like Millie Small and Jimmy Cliff (Chang & Chen 1998: 36, White 1984:

65). In 1964, Millie Small's "My Boy Lollipop"³³ made the U.S. and UK Top 10 and sold 7 million copies worldwide.

Rastafarianism gained legitimacy after a 1960 UCWI study by Smith, Augier & Nettleford, which "gave high visibility to the Rastafarians in the public eye. ... [P]eople of the community began to take the movement more seriously, many seeing the cultists as the vanguard of social transformation" (Barrett 1977: 101, see also Lewis 1998: 147). In 1964, Marcus Garvey was proclaimed as Jamaica's first national hero, and reburied in Kingston (Lewin 2000: 34). In spite of this apparent official recognition, throughout the sixties "Rastafarian demonstrations against segregation and black poverty were violently repressed by the Jamaican police and military" (Edwards 1999: 1592). On Easter weekend in 1963, a Rasta uprising in Rose Hall in St. James parish resulted in buildings burned, hundreds arrested and eight dead³⁴ (Bradley 2000: 93). On April 21, 1966 Haile Selassie came to Jamaica on diplomatic visit, which was taken by Rastas as a sign of affirmation, especially when Mortimo Planno (also known as Mortimer Planner), a Rasta leader, was called to clear a path for the emperor to get to his car (Barrett 1977: 159-60). In 1968, the American Black Power movement (especially the ideas of Malcolm X, whose father was a Garveyite) was promoted by Jamaica scholar Walter Rodney, with a significant impact upon Rastafarianism (Davis 1990: 70, Edwards 1999: 1591). The same year, the Twelve Tribes of Israel, a Rasta organization, was founded. Members included Bob Marley, Ken Boothe, Dennis Brown, Freddie

³³ A Ska version of Barbie Gaye's (1957) American R&B recording.

³⁴ Foehr notes that "Rastas were hunted as wild animals and killed. Military snipers in helicopters flew over the countryside, searching for Rasta targets" (Foehr 2001: 165).

McGregor and Wailers' vocalist Judy Mowatt (Foehr 2001: 21, 52). Planno became Marley's mentor, educating him in Rastafari philosophy and beliefs. Planno was said to have motivated Marley to use his music to promote Rastafarianism (Foehr 2001: 53).

The glow of independence and the many political promises for better standards of living faded as the decade progressed. This change in mood was reflected in the music, which became slower, less frantic and more ominous, but a complete analysis of what happened is impossible, since participants' memories and accounts are contradictory and there are few written accounts.³⁵ A few facts are unequivocal: By the end of 1962, in West Kingston 70% of the population lived below the poverty line (Bradley 2000: 92). 1964 saw severe beef shortages (White 1983: 188). By 1965, National unemployment rates had doubled to 26%, affecting mostly young poor males, especially in the Kingston area. "Many became confrontational, and were labeled 'rude boys' for their disregard of society's rules and codes" (Bradley 2000: 177). Rude boys preferred to dance slowly by rocking in one spot, in a style they called "rocksteady." Some analysts suggest that this was the primary influence for the new musical style which emerged around 1966 which corresponded with this dance style (e.g., Bradley 2000: 159-61), but three other contemporary factors were also likely influences: 1) American Soul music of the mid-sixties (which was generally slower than earlier R&B, featured gospel-inflected singing styles, more active bass lines, and static harmonic progressions). 2) Economic considerations, which had many producers scaling down ensembles. 3) Political emphasis upon African roots (noted above), not only in Jamaica, but also in the United States.

³⁵ See section 1.3.3.5 for more details about rocksteady, with several other reasons presented for rocksteady's slower tempo.

The rocksteady “era” was short-lived. By 1968, Africanisms had increased significantly and the tempo had slowed down even further, resulting in a new style called reggae (see section 1.3.4.6 for details). (*See DVD video 4.4 to 4.8 for examples of rocksteady and reggae performances.*) Like rocksteady, fashioning a complete explanation about exactly what happened and why is problematic, because of participants’ contradictory accounts and poor historical records. A shared feature of many reggae songs is that they were either performed or produced by Rastafarians, or laced with Rasta imagery and musical elements.³⁶ In 1969, Desmond Dekker (who was not a Rastafarian) had an international hit with the reggae song, “Israelites” (laced with Rasta biblical imagery and musical traits), which “topp[ed] the charts in the UK and reach[ed] number nine on *Billboard’s* Hot 100 Chart in the USA” (Chang, Witmer & McCarthy 2005: 68; see also Bradley 2000: 242). The same year also saw the establishment of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church in Jamaica, which was welcomed by Rastas (Barrett 1977: 201-6). In the late sixties, the government promoted Jamaican cultural self-awareness on a national scale in an attempt to transform Black Power tenets into Jamaican nationalism, and Seaga launched the National Song Contest and National Festival to promote indigenous artists and their compositions (Bradley 2000: 206-7).

³⁶ e.g., records by Bob Marley, Peter Tosh, Bunny Wailer (backed by the Wailers band), Lee “Scratch” Perry, Clancy Eccles, Jimmy Cliff, Prince Buster, Gregory Isaacs, John Holt, Joe Gibbs, Ken Boothe, Dennis Brown, Max Romeo, Toots & the Maytals, Derrick Morgan, the Ethiopians and the Abyssinians (Katz 2003).

4.8 SOCIOCULTURAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS IN THE SEVENTIES

Economic and political inequities between upper and lower classes created many tensions in the early seventies. Rastafarian music's neo-Africanisms became increasingly dominant in reggae arrangements, especially in lyrical themes.³⁷ Bradley's (2000) analysis of the correlationship between musical and social factors during this period is astute.

As the tendency towards African percussion and traditional [Jamaican neo-African] rhythms evoked ... [Rastafarian beliefs and philosophy], reggae's easily accessible structures and internal flexibilities allowed greater culturally based elaboration as tempos could be adjusted to accommodate Nyabinghi chanting, psalm singing or – again a throwback to mento – revivalist-type call-and-response vocals. And, now that the government's 'Jamaicanness' policies seemed to give it the nod, the use of overtly Jamaican language and lyricism became more or less regulation. Likewise, its subject matter need have no truck whatsoever with rocksteady's ersatz American love songs, or even with the relatively universal protest songs favoured by ska. These days the Old Testament, the holy herb, repatriation, giving thanks and praise to Jah, or just plain sufferation were what so many lyricists chose to write about. ... From 1971 onwards, while the majority of records were still of the boy-meets-girl/boy-loses-girl variety, more and more were starting to look beyond romance into what became known as reality. And to complement these far more serious lyrics, the rhythms started to get slower, deeper, heavier. They were supporting Rasta percussion, horns wailing in an Addis Ababa fashion, vocalizing that ranged from the hymn to the harmonizing, lyrics that realized it was OK to be contemplative and using more minor chords to make its presence felt above the waist. (277-8)

In addition to the changes noted above by Bradley, reggae's musical orientation started moving further away from American R&B than before, making it more distinct from African American forms (aside from common instrumentation). With ska and rocksteady, the starting point had often been African American elements which were Jamaicanized to create neo-African creolized forms, but with reggae the emphasis was

³⁷ Bilby (1995) notes that "By the seventies the Rasta emphasis on African roots, black redemption and social awareness had become the dominant force in Jamaican popular culture" (165).

often upon neo-African elements and African aesthetics as the primary means of organization and development.

Six musical features³⁸ characterize reggae's shift away from the R&B-dominated approach of the fifties and sixties,³⁹ to a style that would be called "roots reggae": 1. PERCUSSIVENESS/RHYTHMIC EMPHASIS. As noted by Bradley (2000: 204-5), Ehrlich (1982: 52), Jones (1988: 24), Roberts (1998: 144) and Witmer (1981: 52), reggae's percussive/rhythmic aspect is predominant, with a primary emphasis upon counter-rhythms as a means of ornamentation or development — both deeply rooted in neo-African traditions. 2. HOCKETTING AS THE MAJOR ORGANIZATIONAL DEVICE. (*See DVD video 1.3 for four examples of hocketting.*) Ensemble interaction becomes the number one priority, with rhythms consistently broken-up across an ensemble, creating resultant rhythms and emergent beats.⁴⁰ 3. OPEN-ENDED, CYCLIC STRUCTURES. This means of organization is most highly developed in live performances and in deejay-manipulated records (involving dub practices), whereby song structures are altered spontaneously (and communally), subject to interactions amongst ensemble members and/or audience responses, embellishments and improvisations. 4. STATIC OR CIRCULAR HARMONIC PROGRESSIONS. This feature is linked to #1 and #3: emphases upon percussiveness and open-endedness are best enacted with slower or minimal harmonic movement, or over

³⁸ See section 1.3.5.6 for other musical details.

³⁹ Features #1 - 4 are also present in some contemporary African American R&B, notably the music of James Brown and Sly & the Family Stone, although their treatment emphasizes R&B roots more in African American artists, vs. a stronger neo-African emphasis by Jamaican artists. Features #5 & 6 are uniquely Jamaican.

⁴⁰ For additional details on hocketting, resultant rhythms and emergent beats, see section 1.3.2.1.

circular chord progressions involving two to three chords. 5. AFRICAN METRIC ORIENTATION. Weakly stated main beats (which are always articulated with a strong downward corporeal gesture or feeling of increased weight), consistent offbeat accents, and regular accents on second and fourth beats become the norm. 6. NEO-AFRICAN CHOREOGRAPHIC RHYTHMS. As discussed in section 1.4, Chapter One and Chapter Five, Jamaican music prioritizes particular sound and movement couplings which are strongly linked to #1, 2 & 5. Steady, metronomic body gestures (which consistently articulate the beat) become the glue that holds together rhythmic patterns that often avoid the beat or regularly accented offbeats. To non-Jamaicans, these choreographic rhythms are often opposite to those encountered in other musics (especially those rooted in European traditions). Ongoing experience with these choreographic rhythms in Jamaican Folk and Religious Musics⁴¹ (JFRM) teaches Jamaicans to associate (and expect) strong downward gestures with silences and bounced upward gestures with strongly accented offbeats.

In the summer of 1971, with an election looming in 1972, Michael Manley's PNP (who had been in opposition since 1962) viewed Jamaica's African heritage as having the potential to positively influence individual and national growth (Thomas 2004: 77). He also "knew that ... [the working class] vote held the key to power. ... Claiming to be 'profoundly' influenced by the new reggae, and no doubt realizing how much that same music meant to the electorate, Manley formed the PNP Musical Bandwagon" (Bradley 2000: 280-1). This was a flatbed truck that traveled across the island and became an

⁴¹ See Chapter Five for empirical evidence of these claims.

impromptu stage that featured many reggae artists who endorsed the PNP: e.g., Bob and Rita Marley, Alton Ellis, the Chosen Few, Dennis Brown, Scotty, Inner Circle, Tinga Steward and Judy Mowatt. Clancy Eccles wrote two songs ("Rod of Correction," and "Power for the People") which referred to a staff given to Manley by Haile Selassie and linked Manley (using biblical language and citing PNP slogans) to the working class. Manley adopted Delroy Wilson's 1971 hit "Better Must Come" as the PNP theme song/anthem, and promised "that, once in power, ... [the PNP] would both legalize the herb and sort out assisted passages back to Ethiopia" (Bradley 2000: 281). Because the PNP platform catered almost totally to the working class' needs and expectations, it won by a landslide.

Between 1972-1974, the PNP was successful at improving living conditions for the working class. They introduced a minimum wage, legislated improved labour relations, renationalized industries that had been sold to private ownership by the JLP, launched a literacy program, increased funding to education and health services, implemented public housing plans and offered financing for small farms. The economy improved and the unemployment rate started to decline. By the end of 1973, 35% of all homes on the island had electricity, up from 18% at the start of the year. Much great music was produced and released,⁴² but the biggest success was the 1972 film *The Harder They Come*, which introduced reggae to international audiences. "It had a great

⁴² E.g., by the Wailers, the Melodians, Jimmy Cliff, U-Roy, Eric Donaldson, Delroy Wilson, the Abyssinians, the Slickers, Scotty, Ken Lazurus, Big Youth, Lloyd Parkes, Horace Andy, Ken Boothe, Dennis Brown, the Heptones, Toots & the Maytals Gregory Isaacs, Johnny Clarke, Max Romeo, Justin Hinds, Derrick Harriot, Dennis Alcapone, Hopeton Lewis, the Chosen Few, John Holt, Alton Ellis, Dennis Brown, Judy Mowatt, Brent Dowe, and Augustus Pablo. See Chang & Chen (1998: 134-58, 224-5).

deal to do with the spread of Rasta and roots music" (Bradley 2000: 285). Its soundtrack album — a cross-section of the best artists of the period — became the biggest-selling Jamaican album of all time (until Bob Marley & the Wailer's *Legend* LP of 1984). In 1973, Bob Marley & the Wailers released *Catch a Fire*, their first album for Chris Blackwell's Island records, "the first reggae album conceived as a seamless unit and not just a collection of singles. ... The Wailers became reggae's biggest name and their subsequent albums ... were a major force in popular music worldwide" (Chang, Witmer & McCarthy 2005: 69). In 1974, Eric Clapton had #1 U.S. hit with Bob Marley's "I Shot the Sheriff,"⁴³ which boosted Bob Marley & the Wailers' profile and sales. (See DVD video 5.3 for Eric Clapton's performance of "I Shot The Sheriff.") The following year, Marley scored a million selling international hit with "No Woman, No Cry."⁴⁴ Between 1974-78, a new government program, the "Community Cultural Programme" "attempt[ed] to integrate traditional culture and techniques with the schedule of community centers and groups" (Lewin 2000: 19). In 1974, a new drumming pattern, called "flying cymbals" (or "flyers") was introduced, consisting of accented offbeats played on an open hi-hat cymbal, "borrowed" from American songwriting duo Gamble & Huff's disco records⁴⁵ (Bradley 2000:351). (See DVD video 1.5 "None Shall Escape The Judgement"

⁴³ It was #1 for two weeks in the U.S. in June, and stayed 17 weeks on the charts. In Britain it got to #7 for one week in July and was 8 weeks in the British topsellers. It was awarded a gold disc for over a million sales in September 1974 for the U.S. alone (Murrells 1984: 382).

⁴⁴ It was #22 and seven weeks in Britain's bestsellers, and awarded a gold record in 1975 for "well over [a] million [in international sales]" (Murrells 1984: 404).

⁴⁵ The flyers hi-hat pattern also appeared in the fifties and sixties, in calypso music; Sly & the Family Stone first used it in African American music in late-sixties recordings, e.g., in "I Want To Take You Higher" (1969). It was also prominently featured (and much imitated) in

for example of the flyers style.)

Although the PNP's accomplishments initially appeared to be working, Manley's approach and style were problematic. As Bradley (2000) puts it, "just as the country as a whole began to enjoy a better standard of living, this brave new vision was starting to unravel" (282). He dubbed his policies "Democratic Socialism," but critics countered that they were thinly veiled Communism, because of his close friendship with Cuba's Fidel Castro. This angered both the U.S. and many foreign investors, who either reduced their investments or pulled out, which created a lack of financing for the PNP's many new incentives (Robinson 1999: 1031). In 1975, Manley had to approach the International Monetary Fund for financial assistance, which insisted that a number of conditions be met before they could help: the government had to impose wage restrictions, curb its spending, allow prices to rise and introduce controls on investments. Inflation went up to 20%, unemployment reached 31% by 1980, and food shortages were commonplace (Bradley 2000: 460). Although the 1976 election was plagued by riots and violence,⁴⁶ the PNP was again elected with a majority. Musical changes reflected sociohistorical conditions. Lyrics became particularly focused upon social problems, and Sly Dunbar fashioned a new aggressive drum beat, called "militant drumming" or "rockers," that, on the surface, appeared to be influenced by disco, since it consisted of a steady pulsating bass drum (although it was an eighth note pattern, vs. disco's quarter note style) (Bradley 2000: 479). (*See DVD video 5.4 for two examples of the rockers*

"T.S.O.P." by M.F.S.B., a gold disc (1973) and 1974 Grammy award winner; it was also used as the theme for the popular *Soul Train* U.S. TV show, a major showcase for African American artists (Murwell 1984: 368).

⁴⁶ Marley was shot prior to giving a concert to encourage people to take part in the election.

groove by UB40.) In execution, however, this pattern was quite different, for it was played evenly and lightly, in contrast to the heavily accented disco style with its strong downbeat. Also, in rockers, backbeats were still louder than sounds on the first and third beats, and consistent offbeat accents were maintained.

In 1977, Jamaican radio finally started programming roots reggae, although it was mostly from midnight to 6 a.m. (Bradley 2000: 1977). At this point,

The Jamaican Rastafarian cult [had become] the largest, most identifiable movement in Jamaica. ... [A] knowledgeable Rasta leader state[d] that six out of every ten Jamaicans [were] either Rastas or sympathizers. ... Up to 80 percent of those seen in the camps and on the streets [were] between seventeen and thirty-five. (Barrett 1977: x, 1-2)

By the end of seventies, the Jamaican economy was in tatters, and unemployment continued to soar. Rioting and violence were commonplace, and cocaine started appearing on the streets. Musically, many reggae recordings seemed to be repeating themselves. As Bradley (2000) puts it,

[In the late seventies] roots reggae seemed to have become soft and had been standing still in an environment where turnover and freshness make or break reputations. ... The style became so enshrined that it evolved its own set of clichés, both musically and lyrically, which in many cases were starting to come across as pretty pointless platitudes. Having been around for almost ten years, roots reggae was now increasingly removed from the circumstances and musical generation that brought it about. ... It didn't appear to be working. ... The music, regardless of how righteous it was, wasn't having the effect it used to. (491, 494)

In 1979, Lee Perry, one of reggae's most influential producers — who had fashioned the roots reggae sound with the Wailers in the early seventies and was even more successful in the mid-seventies (Bradley 2000: 324-9) — burned his recording studio and left Jamaica, along with many other artists.⁴⁷ In May 1981, Bob Marley died. "With [Marley] gone,

⁴⁷ See Bradley (2000: 498-9) for list.

reggae lost a lot of credibility [and recording industry support]. ...His death cut off [reggae's] legs" (Bradley 2000: 490). In the early eighties, producers started favouring drum machines and computers, which led JPM into its next phase: dancehall.

4.9 CONCLUSION

Young people from the lower classes who grew up between 1920 to 1960 in Jamaica were encouraged to feel proud about proclaiming their African roots and to openly celebrate their neo-African heritage. This encouragement was both overt (in the form of festivals, associations, and public events that celebrated Jamaican traditions), and implicit, as a result of the increasing number of opportunities to experience indigenous traditions in their day-to-day lives. This was in distinct contrast to the experiences of their parents, grandparents, and especially great-grandparents who, as children, often feared being punished by "the authorities" if they should display their African heritage in public. As the sixties approached, economic, educational, and political opportunities steadily improved. Most of the promises and goals set by political leaders since 1888 (involving being free, independent and treated fairly) looked like they were about to come true. For young black musicians in the late fifties, so many positive, thrilling things were happening at once:

- economic prosperity and rising employment;
- government-sponsored celebrations of neo-African indigenous musics and culture;
- growing Jamaican nationalism (with nationhood literally "just around the corner");
- the religious fervor of Revival and Kumina influenced by Rastafarian idealism;
- American R&B recordings, which reflected many things in the contemporary Jamaican urban landscape (although the most popular recordings — the high energy jump

blues — were diminishing in number);

- Count Ossie's musical experiments blending indigenous and foreign musics;
- dancehall promoters responding to the shortage of uptempo American R&B records with homegrown recordings by local artists some of whom were strongly influenced by Count Ossie's experiments;
- hearing mento and proto-ska on the radio, in the dancehall and on jukeboxes (and seeing the strongest response by the underclass to those proto-ska recordings that sounded the most Jamaican rather than African American in style);
- a new government-owned radio station (i.e., JBC⁴⁸) with a mandate to promote indigenous music, i.e., a communication medium in need of local musicians.

The last four factors were particularly exciting, for they suggested that a Jamaican musician might be able to have a career making records for local audiences who enjoyed the best new modern music (R&B) combined with indigenous Jamaican elements.

When one considers JPM in light of the ideas, feelings, cultural traditions and sociopolitical factors in Jamaica prior to the fifties, however, it becomes clear that many of JPM's characteristics were more than simply a reflection of what was happening in the late fifties — JPM was also strongly rooted in the experiences of Jamaican musicians in the decade(s) before, when JPM artists were children. But why was JPM not born before the late fifties? A definitive answer is unlikely, but some things stand out as the most likely reasons. The fifties were such an exceptional period in Jamaican history because of the anticipation that four hundred years of colonialism were finally about to end. For the young people from the underclass in particular, the optimism of this period

⁴⁸ For additional discussion on the history of Jamaican radio, see sections 1.2.5.3 and 1.3.5.4.

was especially intense, since they had so much to gain and so much to look forward to.⁴⁹ Although Jamaican musicians have always selected those things from their environment that met the needs of the moment and usually added something of themselves into the mix, the zeitgeist of this period suggested the need for something *extra*-special to reflect not only their present feelings and circumstances, but also their past experiences — something that would allow them to look forward by leaning back. The fact that these musicians were well-versed in both indigenous and foreign musical styles was essential to the shift to JPM, but since this skill had been present for many generations, it doesn't explain why the shift occurred *at this time*. When one considers the many factors examined in this chapter, it appears that Rastafarian neo-African idealism (especially Count Ossie's musical experiments)⁵⁰ was the central catalyst which transformed the optimistic feelings about the future and past remembrances into neo-African sound and movement patterns — the ideal of "modern sound on traditional roots" as Witmer has put it (1981: 113). The positive response of the black underclass to JPM indicates that these new musics addressed and met many of their social, political, economic and artistic needs of the moment.

Even though the increasing number of problems in the mid- to late-seventies appeared to reverse the gains of the fifties, and many of the hopes for economic and political freedom ended up being, difficult or impossible to achieve, JPM artists kept

⁴⁹ See accounts in Katz (2003) by JPM musicians about their experiences growing up in Jamaica 1920-60, as well as those by Barrett, Baxter, Bennett, Carty, Lewin, Mulvaney, Murray, Nettleford, Reckford, Ryman, Seaga and Garth White.

⁵⁰ Most artists involved in this shift (see Katz 2003) concur that Count Ossie's musical experiments were their biggest inspiration; see discussion in sections 1.3.4.7, 1.3.5.3 and 1.3.5.4.

fifties optimism alive in musical forms that continued to satisfy their needs and those of their audiences. As their African ancestors had done centuries before, JPM artists transformed negative feelings and contemporary problems into positive, corporeally dominated cultural energy in a spirit of interactive communal celebration. Seventies artists maintained musical optimism and joy during some of darkest years in Jamaica since the Morant Bay rebellion in 1865, and in so doing, created some of the very best music of the genre. This reaction to adversity was quintessentially Jamaican, but rooted in neo-African traditions of turning to indigenous cultural forms for inspiration and strength in moments of crisis.⁵¹ As Bob Marley put it in 1974, when many dreams and promises were fading away, "Forget your troubles/sorrows/sickness/weakness and dance!" (*See third example in DVD video 1.3, for a partial performance of "Them Belly Full."*)

THEM BELLY FULL (BUT WE HUNGRY)

(from Bob Marley & the Wailers *Natty Dread* – lyrics from web.bobmarley.com)

Them belly full, but we hungry;
A hungry mob is a angry mob.
A rain a-fall, but the dutty tough;
A yot a-yook, but d' yood no 'nough.⁵²
You're gonna dance to Jah music, dance;
We're gonna dance to Jah music, dance, oh-ooh!

Forget your troubles and dance!
Forget your sorrows and dance!
Forget your sickness and dance!
Forget your weakness and dance!

⁵¹ This is expressed in the Jamaican Dinki Mini funeral dance, in which one does not succumb to sorrow, but rather concentrates on moving forward by celebrating the good things in life. (*See DVD video 3.1 for a short film of the Dinki Mini.*)

⁵² The original LP shows these lyrics as "A rain a fall but the dirt it tough, A pot a cook but the food no 'nough."

Cost of livin' gets so high,
Rich and poor they start to cry:
Now the weak must get strong;
They say, "Oh, what a tribulation!"

Them belly full, but we hungry;
A hungry mob is a angry mob.
A rain a-fall, but the dutty tough;
A pot a-yook, but d' yood no 'nough.
We're gonna chuck to Jah music – chuckin';
We're chuckin' to Jah music - we're chuckin.'

A belly full, but them hungry;
A hungry mob is a angry mob.
A rain a-fall, but the dutty tough;
A pot a-cook, but d' food no 'nough.

A hungry man is a angry man;
A rain a-fall, but the dutty tough;
A pot a-yook, but you no 'nough;
A rain a-fall, but the dutty tough.
A pot a-cook, but you no 'nough;
A hungry mob is a angry mob.

5. JAMAICAN CHOREOGRAPHIC RHYTHMS 1957-81 (FINDINGS OF THIS STUDY)

This chapter presents this study's methodology and findings: an analysis of the choreographic rhythms of 878 filmed performances¹ by 210 Jamaican popular and folk artists;² (see section 5.2 for artist list). From these films a conception of Jamaican Popular Music (JPM) emerges in which particular corporeal orientations appear to be central to its creation, performance, perception and development. Significant findings include:

- 1) Most JPM performers share similar body movements and corporeal orientation.
- 2) These movements and corporeal orientation are consistently coupled with specific sound patterns, creating unique Jamaican choreographic rhythms.
- 3) These choreographic rhythms appear to be rooted in Jamaican Folk & Religious Music (JFRM) practices, which are themselves rooted in indigenous neo-African³ and African traditions.

This chapter is divided into six sections:

- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 Methodology
- 5.3 Phase I: Empirical Findings for 227 Performances by Bob Marley and the Wailers
- 5.4 Phase II, Part 1: 526 performances by 200 Other JPM Artists (111 Identified plus 89 Unidentified Artists); List of Artists Analyzed in this Study
- 5.5 Phase II, Part 2: Empirical Findings for 125 Performances by 9 Identified Jamaican Folk and Religious Music Artists
- 5.6 Conclusion

¹ "Performance" refers to a single rendition of a song. When a song appears more than once in the video samples, i.e., multiple different renditions of the same song, each rendition is counted as a different performance. Thus, if three songs were each performed twice, they would be counted as six performances.

² See section 5.2 for explanation re: how solo artists, groups, etc. were identified / counted.

³ Indigenous neo-African traditions are sometimes called "Jamaican Creole culture."

Chapter Six focuses primarily on the analysis of this data in terms of its correlation to the information presented in Chapters One to Four.

5.1 INTRODUCTION

As noted in Chapter One (especially by Bennett (1982a), Chang, Witmer & McCarthy (2005), Hopkin (1984), Lewin (1983, 1998) and Mulvaney (1985)), body movement is a central component of all Jamaican music. These analysts note that these body movements are an automatic response for most people who have grown up in a Jamaican environment — i.e., for people who have experienced Jamaican choreographic rhythms from a young age. These analysts also often mention how these movements are intimately connected with sonic patterns,⁴ yet a detailed analysis of the particulars of this correlation has yet to appear in the literature. Lewin (1983) has addressed this problem succinctly and accurately. She emphasizes that the transcription of the melody, words and rhythm of Jamaican songs (and the delineation of “all their specifications” (34)) only hint at their unique and defining qualities. “It is the intangible qualities so difficult to express in words [and notation] that ... truly convey the essence of this music” (ibid). Like Bilby (1995) and Hopkin (1984), Lewin emphasizes the need to consider musical performances not only relative to their present contexts, but also in terms of their total environment, which as Bilby (1995) puts it, consist of “deep and distinctive cultural wellsprings” (145). She concludes that the limitations of conventional transcription make it “a most unsatisfactory way of documenting this music for

⁴ See enactivist research in Chapter Three.

general use and, moreso, for posterity" (ibid.)⁵. The best media for this documentation are "high quality sound tapings ... supported by visual documentation" (42).

Video, especially in DVD format, meets all of Lewin's criteria. It provides a high quality sonic recording, one can zoom in/out, view segments at different speeds (including sound on some players), and provides perfect freeze-frame.⁶ When sped up, small or slow movements (especially with regard to shifting of weight) are easier to see.⁷ Watching rapid or complex performances slowly or in reverse also makes it easier to determine sequence, frequency and timing. Sections can also be "looped" to replay continuously (combined with the above manipulations), which facilitates analysis of complex segments involving movements by different body parts or many people.⁸

This study began in 2000, when I acquired a twenty-hour video tape collection of Bob Marley and the Wailers performing live at thirty-five different events between 1973 and 1980. These films were a mix of amateur and professional footage of concerts, TV performances and rehearsals in recording and TV studios and during soundchecks. Some of this footage had been previously released (mostly as short segments in documentaries about Jamaican music), but most of it was unreleased.⁹ The amateur films,

⁵ Conventional notation is ill-suited for indicating nuances of timbral characteristics, dynamic variations or corporeal components, as well as improvisational embellishments that are essential aesthetic features of Jamaican melodic and rhythmic patterns.

⁶ On a computer one can also print video frames. One can also edit together multi-camera filming, from different angles, to the same soundtrack, creating a richer experience than the human eye can perceive during the event itself.

⁷ See *DVD video 1.7 for examples of this*. (Appendix C provides a listing of all of the videos on the supplementary DVD as well as commentary on each film.)

⁸ See *DVD video 1.6 for an example of looping*.

⁹ Since 2000, some of the professional footage has been released commercially.

shot on consumer video cameras, were of inconsistent video and/or audio quality; the professional films were TV broadcasts, or raw footage of live events that had been edited and included in commercial films.

After watching the entire collection, it struck me how similarly (and consistently¹⁰) the Wailers performed throughout their career, in both public (e.g, concerts and TV shows) and non-public events (e.g., rehearsals, recording sessions, soundchecks) where they weren't entertaining an audience. I also noticed that individual members of the Wailers shared recurring movement patterns. I decided to formally analyze these movement patterns and examine their relationship to the sonic patterns the band members were playing.¹¹ (*See DVD videos 1.3, 4.6 and 4.7 for examples of videos by Bob Marley & the Wailers — BMW.*)

I also examined four commercially released videos that contained footage of the Wailers, to build a larger sample from which to determine the characteristics of the choreographic rhythms I was seeing: (1) *Bob Marley & the Wailers Live!* (1991) a 1977 British concert, (2) *Roots, Rock, Reggae* (1988) — an analysis of the 1977 Jamaican music scene that featured many other JPM artists, (3) *The Bob Marley Story: Caribbean Nights* (1986) and (4) *The History of Ska* (a TV broadcast from the early 1990s). In addition to the Wailers footage, the last three films also contained historical footage tracing the develop-

¹⁰ By "consistently," I don't mean that their movements were identical, but rather that their overall style, intensity and choreographic rhythms were similar. Marley's movement style, on the other hand, was much more sedate in his 1973 performances, with no Nyabinghi steps. When I saw him perform in 1975, he was moving in the same way that he did for the remainder of the seventies: with frequent use of Nyabinghi movements.

¹¹ At this point, Agawu had not published his work on choreographic rhythms; my findings would end up corresponding to his conclusions about links between corporeal and sonic patterns.

ment of JPM, films of other JPM artists in live performance (often showing audiences dancing to the music), and a few segments featuring traditional Jamaican folk music. I noticed similarities between the movements of other JPM performers, JPM dancers and participants in traditional Jamaican music events. I wondered whether there was a relationship between body movements and sound patterns in all Jamaican music, but at this point I had too few non-Wailers examples to be sure. After analyzing the Wailers footage, there was clear evidence of consistent body movement and sound patterns amongst the members of the Wailers (see section 5.3) and the possibility that these patterns were also shared by other JPM performers and JFRM participants.

After completing the analysis of the BMW videos, I studied the work of dance movement analysts such as Irmgard Bartenieff & D. Lewis (1980), Ray Birdwhistell (1970), Cecily Dell (1977), Janet Goodridge (1999), Judith Lynne Hanna (1975, 1977, 1979, 1982), Rudolf Laban (1974, 1980), Alan Lomax (1968, 1971) and C.L. Moore & K. Yamamoto (1988), and acquired many useful concepts and techniques to fine-tune my analysis of the Wailers' choreographic rhythms.¹² I tweaked my methodology (see section 5.2) and revised my BMW findings in light of the ideas of the movement analysts noted above. (I also added some more performance examples.) I decided to examine filmed performances of other JPM artists and JFRM participants to study their choreographic rhythms with the hope of answering three questions. 1) How consistent were the choreographic rhythms of other JPM musicians, and how did they compare to those of the Wailers? 2) How did the choreographic rhythms of *all* JPM artists compare to those of

¹² See DVD video 1.1 for an excerpt from a movement analysis film by Alan Lomax.

JFRM participants? 3) And if there *were* unique Jamaican choreographic rhythms, what was their significance to Jamaican musical practice in general and to the development of JPM in particular?

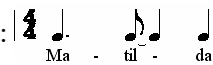
My hope was to examine the earliest filmed JPM performances (ideally shot in Jamaica) to study JPM when it first emerged. This goal had to be radically changed, however when I discovered that there are few films of *any* Jamaican music prior to the 1970s.¹³ All that appears to exist are seven items: 1) & 2) Two 1957 performances of mento singer Lord Flea (and his band) in two Hollywood films, *Calypso Joe* and *Bop Girl Goes Calypso*. I have not been able to obtain a copy of *Calypso Joe*, in which Flea sings his mento hit "Naughty Little Flea."¹⁴ In *Bop Girl Goes Calypso* — which I *did* procure — he performs three songs: two unknown mento-style songs, and a Hollywood-penned song (possibly called "Go Calypso"). (See DVD video 3.9 for one of Lord Flea's songs from *Bob Girl Goes Calypso*.) 3) Miscellaneous TV appearances by Harry Belafonte on American TV. An Internet website¹⁵ lists dozens of performances 1949-1974, in which Belafonte presents a mix of Jamaican music, folk songs, show tunes, and

¹³ The main reason is the lack of Jamaican TV facilities until 1963, and the lack of a feature film industry until the seventies; (*The Harder They Come* (1972) was the first Jamaican feature film). In 1994-95, Steve Barrow, producer of the Island Records 4 CD boxset "Tougher than Tough: The Story of Jamaican Music" (1992), tried to locate archival footage of JPM for an accompanying DVD, but he was unsuccessful. Given that no material has appeared since then in any subsequent documentaries, it seems likely that the absence of footage is because *none* exists. For Barrow's comments about this (in 1999), see: http://groups.google.ca/group/rec.music.reggae/browse_thread/thread/d51e904c12cf7dea/4f4a49e1b0a3e6c6?lnk=st&q=barrow+%22ska+%26+rocksteady+on+film%22&rnum=1&hl=en#4f4a49e1b0a3e6c6.

¹⁴ According to www.mento-music.com/flea.htm; accessed 14 May 07.

¹⁵ www.belafontetracks.ca/television_1.htm to www.belafontetracks.ca/television_6.htm. Most of these performances have not been released commercially; accessed 14 May 07.

popular songs. I have examined four of these, one on the Ed Sullivan Show (c. late fifties), one 1966 Stockholm TV broadcast plus two late 1990s TV performances. In the first two, the overall style is a cross between mento and calypso and the latter two are strongly South African influenced. Belafonte's performance style is not strongly Jamaican (either sonically or corporeally) in any of these appearances, however.¹⁶ (*See DVD video 4.2 for a film of Harry Belafonte from 1961.*) 4) Folkloric Jamaican music performed for Independence Day ceremonies in August 1962; around a half-dozen artists were filmed, included in various documentaries. 5) A thirty-eight minute 1964 film called *This is Ska!* produced by "The Jamaica Film Unit," a tie-in for the 1964 World's Fair.¹⁷ The film is in two segments. In Part 1, professional dancers demonstrate ska dancing. In Part 2, Byron Lee & the Dragonaires play a few songs by themselves and also back up ska stars of the period (including Jimmy Cliff and The Maytals) in a nightclub (with an audience dancing in front of the performers).¹⁸ 6) A twenty-two minute 1968 documentary BBC film, *Pocomania: A Little Madness*. (*See DVD video 3.11 for excerpts.*) It features ritual performances by Revival/Pukkumina groups, and an interview with Rex Nettleford in which he demonstrates and discusses tramping.

¹⁶ Belafonte mixes pop, folk, calypso and mento, and often eliminates offbeat accents. Eg., he sings "Matilda" (in 1966 Stockholm performance): , whereas Count Owen (a 1950s mento singer, in a 1995 TV documentary *Get Up, Stand Up*) sings it:

. See pg. 271-72 for transcription of Count Owen's performance.

¹⁷ See section 1.4.2.2 for additional discussion about Jamaica's involvement in the World's Fair.

¹⁸ The other performers that Lee and the Dragonaires accompany are The Blues Busters, Prince Buster, The Charmers, Stranger Cole, Eric "Monty" Morris and Roy & Yvonne. *DVD video 4.3 contains excerpts from This is Ska!, with a sample of Parts 1 and 2.*

7) *Reggae*, a fifty-seven minute 1970 documentary of the 1970 Wembley Reggae Festival (directed by Horace Ove) with performances by Bob (Andy) & Marcia (Griffiths), Black Faith, Count Prince Miller, Desmond Dekker, John Holt, The Maytals, The Pyramids and Millie Small. (*See DVD video 4.8 for an excerpt from Desmond Dekker's performance and 4.4 for an excerpt of The Pyramids' performance.*)

Since the 1970s, however, many fifties and sixties JPM performers appeared in films, documentaries and TV shows — not only locally, but also abroad — often performing their early hits. After confirming the existence and availability of these films using online catalogues, library holdings and Internet searching, I obtained 254 performances filmed between 1957-1981 — roughly the same number of performances by BMW which I had already analyzed. In order to have the most representative mixture and number of JPM artists possible, however, I decided that it would be better to also include videos of artists with careers between 1957-1981 in performances that were filmed after 1981. In the next section, I explain how I managed to more than double this total number — a sufficiently large number of different artists from which to make solid generalizations. (*See DVD videos in Chapter Four for samples of the videos analyzed in this study.*)

5.2 METHODOLOGY

As noted in Chapter Two, a number of analysts have studied relationships between body movements and sound patterns, but all with regard to non-Jamaican musics: John Baily's (1985, 1992) analysis of Afghanistani music and blues guitar

playing;¹⁹ Paul Berliner's (1994) extensive interviews with jazz musicians about improvisation;²⁰ John Blacking's (1973) investigation of South African music;²¹ John Brownell's (1994) study of jazz drumming;²² Keil²³ (1995) & Progler's (1995) analysis of jazz bass and drum swing figures; Gerhard Kubik's study of West African music;²⁴ Tim Rice's (1994) phenomenological account of Bulgarian violin playing²⁵ and David

¹⁹ Baily (1985) notes that sound patterns are often interlinked with the characteristics of the movement patterns used to create them and that the cognitive representation under which a performer operates may be primarily a movement representation rather than an auditory one (47). "There is a need to study the way that musical patterns may be represented cognitively by the performer as patterns of movement, rather than as patterns of sound" (44), i.e., how musical structures are shaped by sensorimotor factors. Thus, acquiring performers' body techniques are just as important skills for musical development as listening (47).

²⁰ Berliner (1994) notes that for many jazz musicians, learning their craft includes watching the physical patterns made by other players, and copying these movements if the intent is to assimilate another artists' precise style. Thus, particular styles are in part a particular kind of body experience (cited in Echard 1997: 43).

²¹ Blacking (1973) believes that many musical styles (such as those found in Africa) originate in the body movements that generate them, and are therefore best studied and learned by acquiring these movements (110-1).

²² Brownell (1994) notes that many drum patterns are based upon "seed patterns" which are largely physiological in nature (22-3).

²³ "[L]earning to play a simple clave beat, holding it in relation to another drum beat, watching someone smile and dance to the groove you generate, can capacitate people in profound ways. ... [E]ven the least moved by the experience will ... be *listening kinesthetically* ever afterwards, that is, *feeling the melodies in their muscles*, imagining what it might be like to *play* what they are hearing" (Keil 1995:10, italics added).

²⁴ Kubik (1977) notes that many West African pieces are often better served by describing the music in terms of body-movement patterns rather than simply sonic ones (261). He also notes that movement analysis must go beyond simply describing movement patterns and also include the use of body energy (270-1).

²⁵ Rice (1994) describes his learning to play violin in a Bulgarian style and his discovery that many of the idiosyncratic features (especially ornaments) required an overall corporeal orientation (including unsounded gestures) that were essential to getting the appropriate rhythm, tone and inflections.

Sudnow's (1978) study of jazz piano playing.²⁶ Neurologist Frank Wilson's (1986) observations about the relationship between musical perception and corporeality have since been corroborated by the research presented in Chapter Three. He suggests that *musical perception and performance are always physical acts*, and musical instruction and analysis would be better served if a greater emphasis were placed upon corporeality as *the* central aspect of performance, rather than focusing primarily upon the understanding and mastery of sound patterns as disembodied abstractions.²⁷ All of these analysts' approaches and orientations have influenced this study's methodology. I have applied their ideas to the examination of Jamaican choreographic rhythms in musical performances, noting particular corporeal patterns and orientations and their relationships to sound patterns.

Because the goal of this study was to determine whether the Jamaican movement style identified by Carty, Nettleford, Ryman and others in section 1.4 was applicable to JPM choreographic rhythms, rather than examining those movements as they directly

²⁶ Sudnow (1978, 1979) concludes that motor grammar is central to the organization of performance. He was only able to learn all the nuances of jazz phrasing by copying his mentor's physical approach at the keyboard, mimicking *every* body movement. He discovered that playing with appropriate jazz inflections and nuances can only be accomplished by adopting appropriate body movements, rather than by just focusing upon theoretical relationships between sounds — i.e., scales, harmonies, rhythms.

²⁷ "We feel music through its remarkable effects on our movements as much as through its profound ... effects on our brains. ... [M]uscle memory *is* musical memory. ... [It] resides largely (or even exclusively) in the circuitry by which the brain represents and oversees directed movements. Memorization and the development of performing skills is as much a development of one's sense of touch as it is one's ear. *Music is primarily a physical discipline. ... The spiritual, cerebral and physical aspects of music are not only unopposed, but in fact, mutually dependent. ... [Music is] the iteration of musical and physical ideas*" (Wilson 1986: 40, 140, 171, 192-94, italics added).

related to sound production on particular instruments, or examining idiosyncratic, highly personal or irregular gestures, I focused primarily upon general, more universal movement patterns shared by different JPM performers, and those that were also common for JFRM performers.²⁸

As noted in the previous section, I had decided to use footage filmed after 1981 to get as many performances by the “first wave” of JPM artists as possible. Some were purchased from commercial sources, but the majority were obtained through trading with private collectors whom I met through Internet groups dedicated to Jamaican music.²⁹ I managed to obtain quite a few films which were commercially unreleased, including recordings of TV broadcasts, amateur footage of concerts, and some outtakes of TV programs and films. By the end of May 2006, I had collected another 272 perform-

²⁸ When movement patterns appeared choreographed, they weren’t included. If this was impossible to ascertain — especially if the filmed segment was a short one, or if performers appeared on screen in non-continuous segments — then the movement patterns were considered non-choreographed and included. Characteristics of movements that were considered choreographed include:

- The *exact* same movement patterns in the same order, made by two or more performers during the same song (except for “note” below). (This could also apply to a single performer if different renditions of the same song were accompanied by the *exact* same gestures.)
- Two or more performers making the same movements for an extended period of time (more than 3-4 phrases) without looking at each other.

Note: Simple ostinati movement patterns, such as head bobbing, knee-bounces, foot tapping, stepping on the spot, etc., were usually not considered choreographed movements.

²⁹ A number of these groups are no longer active, and most have changed their URLs numerous times, so there is no point in citing web addresses. Four communities provided me with many rare films, especially TV programs and documentaries from Britain, Germany, France, Italy, Sweden, New Zealand, Australia and Brazil, in addition to North American programming. There was a group of avid collectors on the original *Napster* and a reggae group called *DJ-Rizzla* on the original *WinMX* — both peer-to-peer software that allow users to download and share digitized films, in mpg, avi and DVD format. Since the demise of both of these (in their original format), the *Soulseek* peer-to-peer community has also been particularly generous as well as a group called *The Reggae Lossless Traders*. Other sites with many generous reggae fans are found in the forums and chat-rooms on the bit-torrent tracker sites *Demonoid*, *DimeaDozen*, *Tapecity* and *Hungercity*.

ances of artists that were filmed since 1981. This brought the total of JPM performances up to 526 by 112 JPM artists (including Bob Marley & the Wailers) plus 89 artists who were not identified by name — some were amateurs or up-and-coming artists, others were included in documentaries without any identification — providing a grand total of 201 JPM artists. I also received some additional BMW footage, bringing their total to 227 performances. (To maintain the integrity of the data, I only included unidentified artists if I was certain that the footage was shot prior to 1981. And since I wanted to examine artists who had all grown up within the same basic time frame, and thus more likely to have experienced similar sociohistorical environments in their youth, I also didn't include any artists whose careers began after 1981.)

Video analysis occurred in two phases. Phase I: 277 performances by Bob Marley & the Wailers (BMW), consisting of unreleased plus commercially available footage (up to 2000). Phase Two: live footage of other JPM performers (whose careers spanned 1957-1981) and of Jamaican folk and religious music (JFRM) performers (including singers, players and dancers). To catalogue information about each song (i.e., artist, song titles, comments, the number of musicians involved, movement types, source, dates, song styles, etc.), I used a computer spreadsheet (which can automatically calculate totals and percentages of data, and generate charts and tables, for ease of comparison and analysis). One song was listed per row; see **FIGURES 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3** on the next page. Each column stores different data/information; the number of performers applicable for each category was entered for each song in the appropriate column and tallied at the bottom. Column 1 is used to tally the total number of performances.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Song Mark-er	Tape / DVD ID	ARTIST	SONG TITLE	comments	BMW Perf Mark	TH #/Vs. BMW	Oth JPM Perf Mark	Td#Vs. Oth JPM Mus	Ousi-der Mus Perf Mark	Th #/Vs Ousi-der Mus	JFRM Perf Mark	Td#Vs JFRM Mus
1	A.1	Bob Marley & the Wailers	<i>You can't blame the youth</i>	PT lead w/ BMW vcls only; BM & BL walking on spot; CB slight bobbing; PT moving d/u because of playing wah-wah pedal	1	6						
1	C.19	Bob Marley & the Wailers	<i>Midnight Ravers</i>	excellent long shot of CB moving up and down (near start); exc: SHORT shot of BL moving feet at end; long shot of KB subtle 16th head movements; AB still; PT some w/d due to guitar wah-wah	1	6						
1	RRR.6	Jimmy Cliff w/ Byron Lee	<i>From the beginning</i>	SKA dancers all moving down and up to the beat			1	10				
1	OL.2	Christie Hynde	<i>Wait in vain</i>	Christie Hynde moving up and down to the beat			1	10	1	1		
1	SU.1	Chapman/Springsteen/Gabriel/N'Dour	<i>Get up, Stand up</i>	Tracy Chapman, Bruce Springsteen, Peter Gabriel, Youssou N'Dour all moving up and down to the beat					1	4		
1	RRR.21	Ras Michael band	<i>Ethiopia</i>	Ras Michael band & 2 dancers; "in a traditional Ethiopian style"							1	15
1	JVC.1	Maroon drummers & Dancers	<i>Maroon Communal song</i>	Maroons (4 players, 4 dancers)							1	8
7				TOTALS:	2	12	2	20	4	11	2	23

2	4	14	15	16	17
Tape	SONG TITLE	Complete	TYPE	SOURCE/LOCATION	Date
A.1	<i>You can't blame the youth</i>	c	reh (TV)	Capitol Recording Studio-Rehearsals (Hollywood)	Oct 73
C.19	<i>Midnight Ravers; same as A.15</i>	c	reh (TV)	Capitol Recording Studio-Rehearsals (Hollywood)	Oct 73
RRR.6	<i>From the beginning</i>	p	conc	Roots, Rock, Reggae (Beats of the Heart)	early 60s
OL.2	<i>Wait in vain</i>	c	conc	One Love - The Bob Marley All Star Tribute	2000
SU.1	<i>Get up, Stand up</i>	p	conc	Stand up and be Counted	2000
RRR.21	<i>Ethiopia</i>	c	conc	Roots, Rock, Reggae (Beats of the Heart)	1970s (?)
JVC.1	<i>Maroon Communal song</i>	c	film perf	JVC Smithsonian Tape	1992

3	4	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
Artist SONG TITLE	FOLK: Rasta	FOLK: trad	FOLK: work song	FOLK: ring song	FOLK: Maroon	FOLK: Burru	FOLK: Jonkonnu	FOLK: Mento	FOLK: Calypso	FOLK: Quadrille	REL: trad Christian	REL: Revival	REL: Pukkumina	REL:

FIGURES 5.1, 5.2 & 5.3: BASIC IDENTIFICATION & SOURCE INFORMATION

Column 2 stores Tape/ DVD ID. Columns 3 & 4 indicate Artist and Song Title. Column 5 was for my comments. Columns 6, 8, 10 and 12 are markers for a performance by BMW, Other JPM performers, Outsider (i.e., non-Jamaican) musicians, or JFRM performers.³⁰ The column to the right of each of these categories (i.e., #7, 9, 11, and 13) indicated the number of visible performers for these categories in each song.

Columns 14 to 17 (in **FIGURE 5.2**) store additional I.D. and other information to allow different types of sorting and analysis:³¹ #14: whether a performance is complete or partial; #15: performance type (e.g., TV show, concert, rehearsal, soundcheck, studio recording, interview, etc.); #16: source and location, and/or DVD/Tape name (if applicable); #17: date(s) (performance, broadcast, publication, etc.). Columns 18 to 30 (in **FIGURE 5.3**) indicate different styles (as per Lewin's (1970) classification of JFRM): Rasta, traditional folk, work song, Singing game song, Maroon, Burru, Jonkonnu, Mento, Calypso, Quadrille, traditional Christian, Revival or Pukkumina.³²

All movement types were analyzed with reference to the main regulative beat. The placement of the beat was determined from musicians' perceptions and performances using two principal sources for the Wailers footage: 1) Wailers drummer Carlton Barrett's count-ins to songs (which established beat, tempo and metre) and 2) a Bob Marley interview in which he performs a short example of ska, rocksteady and reggae,

³⁰ Dancers and other participants were included if they remained visible on camera for a significant amount of time (i.e., long enough to note their movement patterns).

³¹ On the computer, all of these columns simply continue to the right, and not the way they appear in FIGURES 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3. They are arranged in this manner here merely for convenience of display on paper.

³² Statistics for Revival and Pukkumina were combined upon completion, since no clear distinction was often made between one and the other.

back-to-back.³³ In this interview, Marley's body movements indicate that he perceives ska, rocksteady and reggae to be essentially the same musical and physical gesture, except at an increasingly slower tempo, and he moves his head and shoulders upward on the upbeat accents. When the Wailers play these styles, the bass drum is consistently placed on the second and fourth beats of each $\frac{4}{4}$ measure. The Wailers' conceptualization of beat placement is the same as that of other JPM musicians (based upon similar counts in live footage, and descriptions of beat placement by JPM performers in interviews.³⁴)

With regard to movement types, when I conducted Phase I, I initially noted ten possible movement categories,³⁵ which were noted in additional columns to the right (labeled A-J). In addition to tracking each movement type for BMW, Other JPM musicians, Outsider musicians (i.e., non-Jamaican musicians with a specialty in some other style), and JFRM performers) I also decided to track movements of the three musicians in the Wailers who played a central role in almost every song: Bob Marley (lead vocals and rhythm guitar) and brothers Aston Barrett (bass) and Carlton Barrett

³³ From the video *Caribbean Nights*, (16:33 to 16:50); on supplementary DVD: video 1.4.

³⁴ E.g., Skatalites drummer Lloyd Knibbs interview in Foehr (2001: 88-91); Ernest Ranglin interview in Salewicz & Boot (2002: 41). See DVD video 1.4 for a demonstration of ska, rocksteady and reggae. My interpretation is also congruent with the musicological analyses cited in section 1.3, especially with research by Ehrlich, Lewin, O'Gorman, Reckford and White.

³⁵ I arrived at these ten categories through trial and error, adding some and deleting others as they emerged or as they proved to be either infrequent or idiosyncratic. Most of the adjustments to the "types of movements" were made as I watched the footage after studying the work of the dance and movement analysts noted above, and noticed nuances that had escaped me the first time. For Phase II, however, three movement types (H, I & J) were dropped as individual categories and included in *E Other Movements*. See "Note" in discussion for *E Other Movements*.

(drums).³⁶ Because these three were also the most consistent members throughout various incarnations of the Wailers over the years, tracking their movement characteristics would help to determine consistency of choreographic rhythms over the eight-year span of my Wailers collection. Adding columns for these three musicians meant that there were seven sub-categories for every movement type.³⁷

There are a few statistical “anomalies” with regard to the analysis of movement patterns as presented in professionally shot films that need to be addressed. First, professional film editors usually change camera angles and perspectives every 4-5 seconds *minimum*. This means that performers are rarely on screen for entire songs/performances (except in some amateur footage shot with one camera). It is therefore usually impossible to determine the precise moment when a movement begins or ends. This means that virtually all of the statistics presented in this chapter are only samples of a performance, rather than definitive “measurements.” When applied to large enough numbers of performances and performers, however, the idiosyncrasies of a person’s corporeal style *do* emerge and allow for useful comparisons between different performers, styles and cultural backgrounds.

It is also important to consider what these statistics *do* and *don’t* measure.

They *only* measure the presence of a movement and not its duration. For example, let’s

³⁶ JPM’s dominant sonic characteristics are created primarily through the interplay between rhythm guitar, bass and drums. The Barrett brothers were also obvious choices for analysis because they were always positioned directly behind Marley, which resulted in both of them frequently appearing on camera with shots that focused primarily on Marley.

³⁷ I-IV: *BMW* (+ Bob Marley, Aston Barrett, Carlton Barrett), V: *Other JPM Musicians*; VI: *Outsider Musicians*; VII: *JFRM Performers*. See section 5.3.5 for comparison between these three musicians and the rest of the Wailers, including the degree to which the movement patterns of these three have influence the overall totals.

consider a very simple, straight-ahead scenario. Imagine an 8-piece group in which 5 performers make Movement A throughout the whole song, 3 of them make Movement B for the entire song and 2 performers don't move at all (other than the necessary gestures to play their instrument or to sing). This means that 62.5% (5/8) of the group made Movement A, 37.5% (3/8) made Movement B and 25% (2/8) basically didn't move.³⁸ Given these numbers, however, it is very easy to think *incorrectly* that in this group, Movement A occurred 62.5% of the time and Movement B occurred 37.5% of the time, which is *not* what's been measured, nor is it what occurred. The performers who made each movement type made it 100% of the time, and not for 62.5% of the time, etc. *But* this is a simple example. Things get more involved when performers make more than one movement type. This scenario will be addressed under Movement G (Mixture of Movements) below.

An important thing to note (and a potential concern with regards to the validity/reliability of the data): I was both the observer and researcher for all of the video analysis, which could be viewed both positively and negatively. On the positive side, I applied the same criteria and classification for all of the films, so I believe that the point of view is consistent in terms of which types of movements were selected, which were ignored, how performances were compared, etc. Each performance was watched no less than three to four times, and at different times to see if each viewing would yield the same findings (which they did). On the negative side, it could be argued that, especially since I was not brought up in a Jamaican cultural environment, I lack the necessary

³⁸ Thus, the presentations of these statistics to one decimal point is merely to allow for finer comparisons. It is not meant to imply finely nuanced precision.

analytical skills to address the nuances of the choreographic rhythms in these films.

There is no doubt that my initial observations were to prove problematic in this regard, which came to light when I contacted Jamaican dancer and folklorist Cheryl Ryman, who agreed with some of my observations and conclusions but pointed out a number of errors. In Appendix A, I recount the exchanges that we had via email over a five-year period (although the most intense communication in terms of frequency and length of messages was in the first year), as well as my dialoguing with her about her writings, her dissertation and some films that she made for her master's thesis. (Two of the films from her master's are included on the supplementary DVD, a sample of "Legs" dancing (a form of ska dance) and a demonstration of reggae dancing by Jamaican children which Ryman choreographed.) As a result of these exchanges, I adjusted my movement types and reanalyzed all of the BMW videos and some JPM artists whose films I had analyzed prior to our meeting. In addition to these conversations with Ryman, I also sent her a DVD with some video examples (a very early version of the supplementary DVD) and shared my observations more recently with her. This time I received much positive feedback, which gave me the sense that I was on the right track. I also read everything available about Jamaican and West African movement and dance, spoke with many Jamaican musicians living in the Toronto area, spoke to a number of African musicians about my research, including Kwasi Dunyo and Dr. Erik Akrofi (both from Ghana). In 2003, I also presented highlights of my research at the University of Western Australia for a conference celebrating the work of John Blacking (which is where I met Dr. Akrofi). Amongst the other attendees for my presentation were two scholars from

South Africa who were very positive about my findings, and ethnomusicologist John Baily (whose work is cited in Chapter Two). All of this being said, there has been the potential that my own biases and expectations may have skewed the statistics somewhat, in spite of trying to cross-check things as best as I could.

TEN MOVEMENT TYPES / CATEGORIES NOTED IN PHASE I (BMW ANALYSIS)

(Note: Movements H, I and J are combined with E in Phase II;
i.e., Phase II only considers seven movement types / categories: A to G.)

See DVD videos 1.3 and 1.5 for samples of the following movement types.

- A) Movements in 2:1 ratio to main beat, i.e., in an eighth-note pulse, starting with a downward movement on the beat; (i.e., ♪ ♪ = Down-Up).** These movements (head, upper body, shoulders, upper torso, and knee-bends) involve moving down and up in a constant 8th note pulse. Most of the time, these movements are the result of stepping on the beat in quarter notes in combination with another motion.
- B) Movements in 4:1 ratio to main beat, i.e., in a sixteenth-note pulse, starting with a downward movement on the beat; (i.e., ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ = Down-Up-Down-Up).** These are the same as Movement A, except twice as fast, and usually the result of stepping on the beat and the offbeat in 8th notes.

Movements A & B appear in two other variations, in **FIGURE 5.4** (next page). The “Walking on the spot” version is the movement described above for each type. The second variation, “Bouncing on the spot,” consists of the same overall movement orientation, but executed by bouncing down and up without lifting the feet off the ground, by bending knees simultaneously or in alternation. The third one, “Shoulder Lifts,” consists of shoulders moving down on beats and rising on upbeats. For all of these variations, movements usually freeze for a split second at their apogee and perigee, and 2nd and 4th beats receive the most effort and deeper drops. Vigorous songs

often display increased effort and energy, but not always.

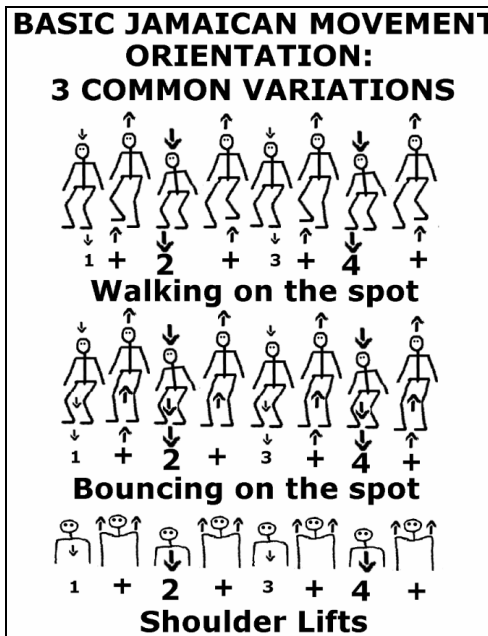


FIGURE 5.4: BASIC JAMAICAN MOVEMENT ORIENTATION³⁹

- C) Same as Movement A, but beginning with an upward movement on the beat; (i.e., ♪ ♪ = Up-Down). These motions are usually the result of stepping on the offbeat in quarter notes.
- D) Same as Movement B, but beginning with an upward movement on the beat; (i.e., ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ = Up-Down-Up-Down). These are the same as movement B), except twice as fast, and usually the result of stepping on the offbeat and the beat in 8th notes.
- E) **Other Movements.** This category tracked miscellaneous movements which were consistently repeated (i.e., as choreographic rhythms). *NOTE:* When I completed Phase One, the totals for movement types *H. Side to Side*, *I. Back and Forth* and *J. I-Threes' Movement* were very low; individually, they totalled only 0-3% of all movements. I decided to include them in *E. Other Movements* for Phase II.
- F) **No Movements.** This category tracked performers who were virtually still, other

³⁹ Stick figures adapted from Ryman (1983).

than movements necessary to perform an instrument or to sing. Upon repeated viewing, however, (especially at faster speeds than normal viewing), sometimes it turned out that performers who initially appeared still were actually swaying or pulsing very slightly, thus necessitating a reclassification of their “movement status.”

G) Mixture of Movements. This category tracked performers who utilized a mixture of movements during a song (including *F No Movements* as a “movement type”).⁴⁰

As noted a few pages back, because there is usually no way to determine the beginning and end of any movement during a performance, the only reasonable assumption (unless there is evidence to the contrary) is that if performers are seen making a particular movement, that it is continued when they are not on-screen.⁴¹ And when a performer *is* observed switching to another movement, it is also not usually possible to determine exactly how long each movement lasts, or if the performer goes back and forth between two or more movement types within a song. Since the data only measures the presence of movements (and not their duration), it was determined that the best way to treat movement switches was to first indicate the presence of *each* movement in a song, then use category (G) to indicate that “X” number of people switched movement types within the song. And, if a person *did* switch to another movement more than

⁴⁰ Most of the musicians in performance moved in one consistent manner for the entire song (i.e., maintaining the same choreographic rhythm), but some musicians changed to different movement patterns. If a musician changed from a movement type to more than one other type within a performance or went back-and-forth between a few types, such repeated changes were considered as *one* example of a “mixture of movements” for that performance.

⁴¹ As discussed earlier, this really isn’t totally accurate — there’s actually no way to verify this — because the camera is almost never on a performer long enough to know whether this is really what has happened. The one evening-out aspect of this problem is the consistency of the quick-cut camera style: this “inaccuracy” is applied to virtually *all* examples to the same degree.

once, it was only noted *once* that they “changed movements,” since it seemed most important to compare the number of performers who preferred adopting one movement for an entire song to those who preferred switching movement types (regardless of the number of times they switched movements).⁴² The following example should demonstrate how this works, and also address how the statistical “anomaly” that is introduced by this method doesn’t affect the integrity or usefulness of the resultant data.

Imagine a hot seven-piece reggae group. Four performers (Subgroup 1) make Movement A, two musicians (Subgroup 2) switch back and forth between Movements B and C and one musician (Subgroup 3) switches back and forth between Movement B and D. The statistics pan out as follows:

- 57.1% (4/7) of the group (i.e., Subgroup 1) makes Movement A;
 - 42.9% (3/7) of the group (Subgroup 2 and 3 together) makes Movement B;
 - 28.5% (2/7) of the group (Subgroup 2) makes Movement C
- and • 14.3% (1/7) of the musicians (the one in Subgroup 3) make Movement D.

Therefore, 42.9% (3/7) of the group (Subgroups 2 and 3 together) like to change movement types while they perform but the majority — 57.1% of the group (Subgroup 1) — only make one movement throughout. Each of these statistics is individually accurate, as is the final overall observation. That being said, there *is* an obvious “anomaly” with the percentages if one adds everything up: the sum of Movements A, B, C and D percentages totals 142.8%. This is not necessarily problematic, however, if one considers what is being measured here, and what these statistics *are* good for, and *especially*

⁴² Given how other movements are tracked, i.e., using a number to indicate the number of people making that particular movement, using the number “2” or “3” to indicate two or three movement shifts within a song would therefore indicate that two or three people made this shift, which is not accurate.

what they are not good for. The sum of these figures gives a higher total than 100% because it isn't possible to adjust them for their duration. If we consider these statistics comparable to the statistical analysis of different types of foods that people eat or the choices they can make, it becomes obvious that this "anomaly" occurs because adding up figures in these types of analyses serves no useful purpose, given the limitations of data gathering and the characteristics of the scenarios being examined.

As an example of this, consider the following statistics for an imaginary survey in the Kingston daily, the *Jamaica Gleaner*, in which 500 Jamaicans were asked what they did to cool themselves down on a day when the temperature went up to 40 degrees celsius. Their answers might be reported in the newspaper as follows. (Note that I've used the exact same percentages and subgrouping as the above example.)

- 57.1% of Jamaicans (Subgroup 1) had ice cream (Option A)
- 42.9% of Jamaicans (Subgroup 2 & 3) drank cold pop (Option B)
- 28.5% of Jamaicans (Subgroup 2) took a nap (Option C)
- 14.3% of Jamaicans (Subgroup 3) went for a swim (Option D)

Therefore, 42.9% of Jamaicans (Subgroups 2 and 3 together) did more than one thing to combat the heat. Thus, each statistic is a useful, accurate description of what happened — and, like all surveys, is only a representative sample used to infer what "Jamaicans" prefer to do to beat the heat. It also isn't problematic to consider that people might choose to do more than one thing in this situation, and that the sum total of these percentages might add up to more than 100%, because adding them up makes no sense, given the question that was asked. The duration of each activity also doesn't matter.

All of these same conditions and criteria apply to the usefulness of this study's analysis of Jamaican performers' movement preferences and tendencies. Although adding up the percentages of individual movements will always exceed 100% in those performances in which some (or all) performers make more than one movement type, this "anomaly" doesn't matter any more than it does in the imaginary survey about favoured activities to beat the Jamaican heat. The individual statistics still accurately measure the percentage of performers who engage in each movement type, especially when the sample size is large enough to even out the discrepancies of camera angles, which performers are given the most screen time and the length of individual movements. It must also be kept in mind that the main point of this study is to not only figure out the percentage of movement types, but how these movements are correlated to the musical patterns to which they are synchronized. In this regard, these statistics *do* achieve this goal.

(As noted earlier, the remaining movements were initially considered in Phase I, but discovered to be infrequent, so they were all included in Category E).

H) Side-To-Side movements in a 2:1 ratio to main beat, i.e., in an eighth-note pulse.

These motions mostly involved the upper body; they were rare.

I) Back-and-Forth movements in a 2:1 ratio to main beat, i.e., in an eighth-note pulse.

These motions mostly involved the upper body; they were quite rare.

J) I-Threes' Movement. This complex movement was favoured by the I-Threes, the Wailers' three female vocalists. It consists of stepping (or shifting weight from one foot to the other) in time to the beat, i.e., in quarter notes, with the upper body rising on the beat and falling on the off-beat; it also often includes twisting of the feet on the spot and a variety of arm movements. (*See "Them Belly Full," third example in*

DVD video 1.3, for an extended shot of the I-Threes making this movement.) None of the other Wailers musicians moved this way, (although it was occasionally made by other JPM and JFRM performers⁴³). Thus, it is not a universal choreographic rhythm, but one that is mostly an idiosyncratic movement preference. The I-Threes' movements overall are only loosely choreographed; i.e., they are similar, but not identical in different performances of the same song.

FIGURE 5.5 (next page) provides an example of how I used the spreadsheet to track movements, using seven songs. This sample only shows the columns for Movement A (i.e., for sub-categories I-VII); each movement type (i.e., B to J) utilized seven columns — a total of seventy columns for all ten movements. For obvious restrictions of space, the remaining nine movement types aren't displayed here. When a particular movement was present, the number of musicians that moved in this way was listed in the appropriate column. Columns 6 to 13 indicate the Artist category; the number of musicians for each one is inserted in the cell. For example, in FIGURE 5.5, for song A.1 "You Can't Blame the Youth," a "1" is placed in column 6 as a tally of one BMW performance, and a "6" is placed in column 7 to indicate that 6 musicians were visible during the song. As to their movements in this song, 4 out of 6 made Movement A (a "4" in column 31), and Bob Marley, Aston Barrett and Carlton Barrett all made this movement (with "1" in columns 32, 33 and 34 to track this). In the next song, C.19 "Midnight Ravers," only Marley and Carlton make Movement A (with a "1" in columns 32 and 34).

(As to what the other musicians are doing, the remainder are making different

⁴³ A couple of background singers in one of Dennis Brown's bands and some unidentified JFRM musicians also moved this way.

2	3	4	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	31	32	33	34	35	36	37
Tape/ DVD ID	ARTIST	SONG/TITLE	BMW Perf Mark	TH #Visible/ Wailers/ Musicians Perf Mark	0th. JEM Mus Perf Mark	TH #Visible/ Other JEM Musicians Perf Mark	TH #Visible/ le JEM Perf Mark	TH #Visible/ le Outsider Perf Mark	JERM Perf Mark	TH #Visible/ le JERM Perf Mark	II BM A2 — 8th down/up	III AB A3 — 8th down/up	IV CB A4 — 8th down/up	V. 0th JEM Mus A5 — 8th down /up	VI Outsider Mus A6 — 8th down/up	VII. JERM Perf A7 — 8th down/up	
A.1	Bob Marley & the Wailers	You can't blame the youth	1	6							4	1	1	1			
C.19	Bob Marley & the Wailers	Midnight Ravers	1	6							4	1	1				
RRR.6	Jimmy Cliff w/Byron Lee	From the beginning			1	10								10			
OL.2	Christie Hynde w/Jamaican Band	Wait in vain			1		1	1						8			
SU.1	Chapman/S pringsteen/ Gabriel/N Dour	Get up, Stand up					1	4							1		
RRR.21	Rae Michael Band	Ethiopia							1	15						7	
JVC.1	Maroon drummers & dancers	Maroon Communal song							1	8						8	
		TOTALS:	2	12	2	20	4	5	2	23	8	2	1	2	18	1	15
		Average % of TH musicians displaying movement:									66.7%	100.0%	50.0%	100.0%	90.0%	20.0%	65.2%
		% of performances displaying movement:									% of TH # of Wailers Musicians	% of TH # of Bob Marley Perf's	% of TH # of Aston Barrett Perf's	% of TH # of Cartho n. Barrett Perf's	% of TH # of JEM Musicians	% of TH # of Outsider Musicians	% of TH # of JERM Mus

FIGURE 5.5: SAMPLE OF MOVEMENT TRACKING

combinations of Movements B to to J, not shown here for reasons of space.) In the Jimmy Cliff song (RRR.6), 10 out of 10 musicians (column 9) made Movement A (column 35). Chrissie Hynde sings the fourth song (OL. 2) accompanied by a ten-piece Jamaican band. Columns 8 and 9 indicate the band's movements, and #10 and 11 indicate Hynde's movements. 8 band members make Movement A (column 35). (Hynde makes movement C, which is indicated in column 49 (but not shown here for reasons of space). The fifth song (SU.1) is sung by four "outsider" musicians; 1 makes Movement A (column 36); the rest of the musicians make Movement B (column 42, *not shown*). Of the 15 musicians in the Ras Michael Band (song RRR. 21), 7 make Movement A. In the final song (JVC. 1), all 8 performers make Movement A. The totals for each column appear in the next row, followed by percentages of column totals relative to the total number of musicians.

The spreadsheet formulas automatically add up the number of times each movement occurs in each category (i.e., how many musicians move for each movement type), and also calculate the percentage of each movement occurrence for the total number of performances. (This is calculated by dividing the total number of movement occurrences by the total number of visible musicians for the number of songs being analyzed). For the sample in **FIGURE 5.5**, the summaries re: Movement A are as follows:

Re: BMW (subcategories I-IV) (Songs A.1 & C.19):

- the majority of the Wailers (66.7%, 8 / 12) made Movement A; (column 31)
- Bob Marley (II. BM) and Carlton Barrett (IV. CB) only made Movement A, i.e., 100% of all movements (columns 32 & 34)
- 50% of Aston Barrett's movements are Movement A (in 1 out of 2 songs) (column 33)

Re: Other JPM Musicians (subcategory V) (Songs RRR.6 & OL.2):

- 18 out of 20 JPM musicians (90%) made Movement A

Re: Outsider Musicians (subcategory VI) (Songs OL.2, SU.1):

- 1 out 5 (20%) of the musicians made Movement A (column 36)

Re: JFRM Performers (subcategory VII) (RRR.21 & JVC.1):

- 15 out of 23 performers (65.2%) made Movement A (column 37)

5.3 PHASE I: EMPIRICAL FINDINGS FOR BOB MARLEY AND THE WAILERS

As I analyzed the Wailers' performances, I sought answers to five questions:

- 1) What were the Wailers' unsounded gestures and how many members of the band made them?
- 2) What were the specific features of the Wailers' choreographic rhythms? i.e., What were the particular body movement and sound pattern couplings?
- 3) Were these choreographic rhythms consistent from performance to performance?
- 4) 33% of the Wailers footage was filmed in "non-public" contexts (i.e., without an audience). Were choreographic rhythms different in non-public vs. public contexts?
- 5) How did the choreographic movements of Bob Marley, Aston and Carlton Barrett compare?

227 filmed performances (1972-1980)⁴⁴ of BMW were examined in Phase I: 42

⁴⁴ See Bibliography for specifics. With regard to the non-public footage: A small amount of the 1973 Capitol Recording Studio footage has surfaced in commercially released collections (just two or three songs). These live performances are most significant in that they feature the original line-up of the band, with Bob Marley, Peter Tosh and Bunny Livingstone sharing vocals. Included are many casual moments, such as Aston Barrett tuning-up Marley's guitar, the band having a spliff break, and a few conversations about musical details. Occasional applause is heard on these tapes, but only a handful of people are watching. (The only other footage that exists of this line-up are commercially released performances from the British TV show *Old Grey Whistle Test*, with live vocals sung to prerecorded tracks.)

The 1979 Ottawa footage was shot by a local cable company for a late-night cable program and was commercially broadcast, most likely to a very small audience. The 1980 Tuff

commercially released performances (18.5%) and 185 non-commercially released performances (81.5%). (This totalled approximately 30 hours of footage — 20 hours from the unreleased private collection, and 10 hours from commercially released videos.)

These performances can be categorized in two general types: (i) *152 public performances* (67%), consisting of concerts, TV performances, and videos and (ii) *75 non-public performances* (33%), consisting of rehearsals in recording and TV studios and during soundchecks. The fact that much of the non-commercially released footage (81.5% of the collection) was raw and unedited was exciting; the diversity of performances spread over a nine-year period was also a large enough sample, with a great deal of variety, to provide appropriate comparisons of BMW's choreographic rhythms over several years and within relatively short time-frames. (There are several unreleased performances captured during the same tour, sometimes within a few days or weeks of each other).

Gong Recording Studio Rehearsal is shot with one amateur-quality camera as BMW run through 7 songs with very little passion or excitement. Everyone except Marley perform while sitting down. The 1980 Down South Studio rehearsals are the most fascinating of the non-public performances. For the first half-hour, Marley runs through about 5 songs with a percussionist and another guitarist; he moves constantly while he sings. (*See DVD video 4.6 and 4.7 for samples.*) He keeps repeating one unidentified song (perhaps called "The Laws of Humanity") for about 15 minutes. Later he plays mostly rhythm guitar with conga accompaniment and at one point (during "Rebel Music") he plays a very inspired and accomplished guitar solo, returning to rhythm in between phrases without missing a beat or hitting any wrong notes or rhythms. A song that might be called "All on Board, Jah-Jah Children," features the camera man singing harmony to a wordless repeated line, with other people in the room (some not on camera) joining in this refrain, which is also repeated for a long time — about 10 minutes. When the rest of the band eventually arrives, Aston Barrett is not present; different guitarists play competent but uninspired bass instead. Interestingly, none of the guitarists move at all when playing bass — perhaps due to concentrating upon "getting the right notes." This is a very long rehearsal, consisting of over 30 songs — almost concert-length. One of the keyboard players experiments with some sort of a syndrum during a few songs. The performances here are frequently quite inspired, and the sound is often extremely distorted. This footage is also filmed with a single, amateur-quality camera.

5.3.1 BOB MARLEY AND THE WAILERS (BMW): CHOREOGRAPHIC RHYTHMS

The statistics for all BMW performances are summarized by **FIGURE 5.6**.⁴⁵ (See *DVD videos 1.3, 1.5 and 4.6 for examples of BMW's performance style*.) Overall, 61.6% of the members of BMW make Down-Up motions in an eighth-note pulse (Movement A). If one combines this with the fact that 41.9% of the Wailers make Movement B,

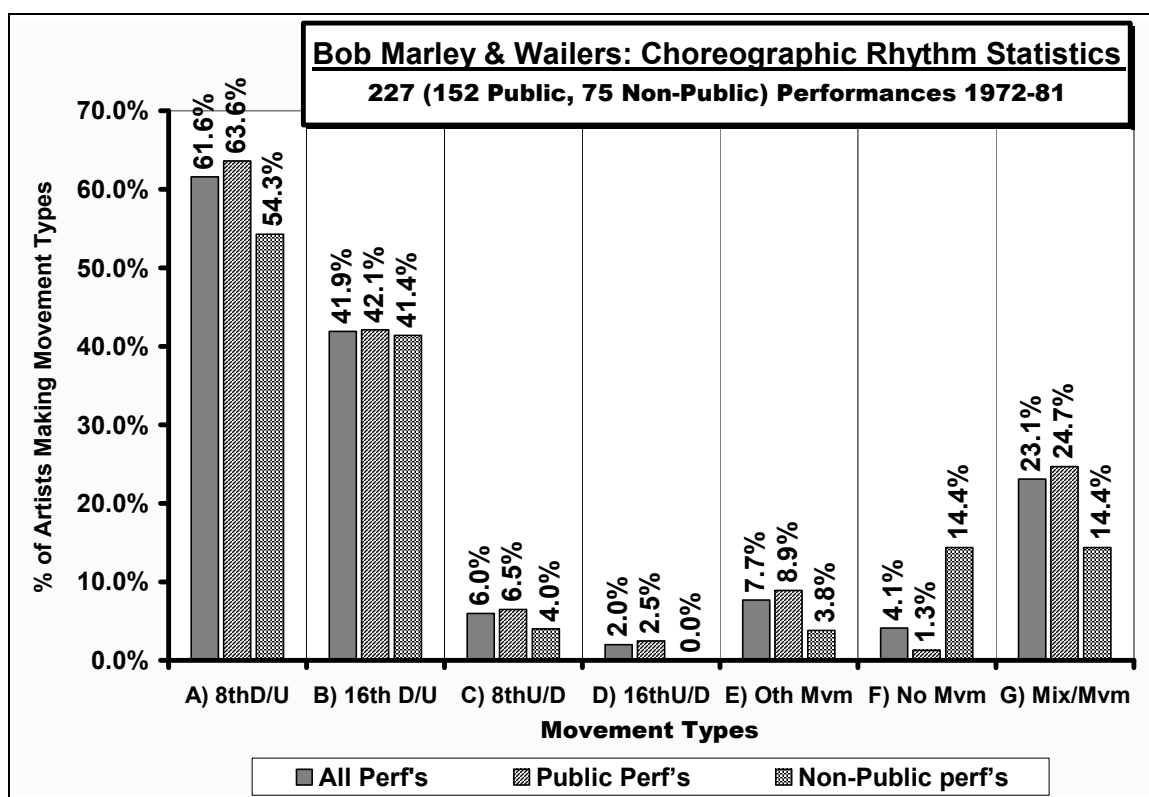


FIGURE 5.6: BOB MARLEY & THE WAILERS: CHOREOGRAPHIC RHYTHM STATISTICS

which also involves moving Down-Up, but in a sixteenth-note pulse, one can conclude that *the members of BMW mostly move in a Down/Up orientation while performing*,

⁴⁵ As discussed in section 5.2, the total of all of these percentages exceeds 100% because of songs in which musicians adopted more than one type of movement during a song, noted in Category G.

i.e., bouncing on the beat⁴⁶ in a vertical plane. As noted in section 1.4, this movement is also characteristic of African dancing, neo-African Jamaican traditional forms, and is the dominant movement orientation in ska, rocksteady, and reggae. In all traditional Jamaican musical and dance forms (see section 1.3 and 1.4), Jamaicans usually instinctively step down *forcefully* where there is no sound⁴⁷ and suddenly lift their bodies upward synchronized to strong upbeats, a musical characteristic that permeates both Jamaican and West/Central African musics. These downward movements usually consist of stepping to the beat, using the African yanga (i.e., weak-kneed) step — discussed in section 1.4.1.5. Both Movements A & B usually possess similar qualities and involve the same parts of the body. Performers primarily cover little ground, typically move on the spot, bend their bodies at the knees and/or at the waist and move heads and shoulders down and up. Torsos, shoulders and heads often suddenly drop downward, generally with considerably more weight than accompanying sounds, since main beats are usually articulated with weaker sounds followed by strongly accented offbeats (which are usually afterbeats; see discussion in section 1.3.2.1). Backbeats (i.e., second and fourth beats) usually receive the strongest sonic accents of the main beats, and they also often receive a stronger, heavier and more deeply dipped corporeal emphasis. Jamaican folklorist Louise Bennett (1982a: 47) notes

⁴⁶ This bouncing is both overt and pronounced, with a subtle shifting of weight that is often hard to see with the naked eye, but becomes visible when video is sped up.

⁴⁷ Performers sometimes shift their weight from one foot to the other, i.e., with step-like motions, but without actually lifting their feet off the ground. Movements of leg, upper torso and head imply that the feet are lifting up and down in a walking motion, but this is sometimes the result of weight transfer and not walking per se.

that the yanga step adds a bounced quality to all Jamaican movement. Jamaican dance specialist Ryman notes that “Jamaican dancers usually feel *two* pulses *per beat* and can employ or interpret these pulses as a *break*, [which] occurs in two segments: first, a slight hesitation, ... or suspension on the upbeat⁴⁸ followed by an immediate (or delayed) dramatic and very strong downward movement on the downbeat.”⁴⁹ Downward pulses receive the strongest movements; upward pulses are perceived as preparation for a downward fall.⁵⁰ Jamaican cultural analyst Ivy Baxter describes the upward motion “as if each foot in turn had received a sharp current from the ground, which [is] transmitted vertically upwards through the body by means of a quick serpentine thrust, until head and chest are successively reached” (Baxter 1970:175). Bodies are generally like erect, straight pins that are constantly sinking and rising in a vertical plane with the center of body weight remaining upright. What is not evident to an observer who hasn’t experienced this choreographic rhythm personally, is that each phase of the down-up cycle often receives an *equal* amount of energy (Ryman, personal communication with author, 2003).

The reverse type of movement orientation (i.e., Up/Down), occurs infrequently in BMW performances: only 6% of performers make Movement C (Up/Down in eighth-note pulses) and 2% make Movement D (Up/Down in 16th-note pulses) — this is not surprising since this orientation is opposite to the dominant movement in all Jamaican

⁴⁸ When each of these movements reaches its maximum point, it is usually bound and held for a split-second.

⁴⁹ Ryman, in personal communication with author, April 2003, see Appendix A, Part Two.

⁵⁰ Also Baxter (1970:175-193), Carty (1988) and Ryman (1979).

folk dancing traditions. Other unsounded gestures (Movement E) are only made by 7.7% of the Wailers, and only 4.1% of the Wailers exhibit no unsounded gestures. 23.1% of the band changes movement patterns within a song performance.

Comparing the Wailers' public vs. non-public performances, each type of movement occurs less in non-public settings compared to public ones for each category, but sometimes the difference is small. Movement A (Down-Up eighth-note pulses): 63.6% public vs. 54.3% non-public — a 14.6% decrease; Movement B (Down-Up sixteenth-note pulses): 42.1% public vs. 41.4% non-public — a 1.7% decrease; Movement C (Up/Down eighth-note pulses): 6.5% public vs. 4% non-public — a 38.5% decrease; Movement D (Up/Down sixteenth-note pulses): 2.5% public vs. 0% non-public. The amount of mixed movements (G) dropped the most, a 41.7% decrease, from 24.7% public to 14.4% non-public. The only increase in non-public settings was for "No Movements" (F): from 1.3% public to 14.4% non-public. In both settings, moving down on the beat and up on offbeats, with a bounced quality remains the main corporeal orientation (whether in eighth or a sixteenth note pulsations), which strongly suggests that for this group of musicians this unsounded gesture is inseparably intertwined with their sound patterns and not merely added-on in order "to entertain." These type of choreographic rhythms basically remained the same throughout the Wailers' career, but starting in 1975, Marley frequently included Nyabinghi movements.⁵¹ (*See DVD video 3.12 for Nyabinghi dance and 4.6 for examples of Marley's Nyabinghi movements.*)

⁵¹ Ryman (1979) notes that Nyabinghi dance consist of "hops, shifting of weight from leg to leg, ... rapid foot work, ... abrupt turns and sudden breaks" (13). See section 1.4.1.8 for analysis of Nyabinghi dance movements.

5.3.2 BOB MARLEY: CHOREOGRAPHIC RHYTHMS

This section examines the choreographic rhythms of Bob Marley in terms of overall performances, as well as with regard to a comparison of public vs. non-public settings. Of all the Wailers, he moved the most, rarely maintaining the same patterns for an entire song. His choreographic rhythms were also *never* the same in different performances of the same song, i.e., it is obvious when considering all 227 performances in this collection that his movements were always spontaneous, and never pre-planned. FIGURE 5.7 statistics show that Marley was the most physically active Wailer. He favoured Movement B (Down-Up sixteenth-note pulses). They constitute 87.6% of his

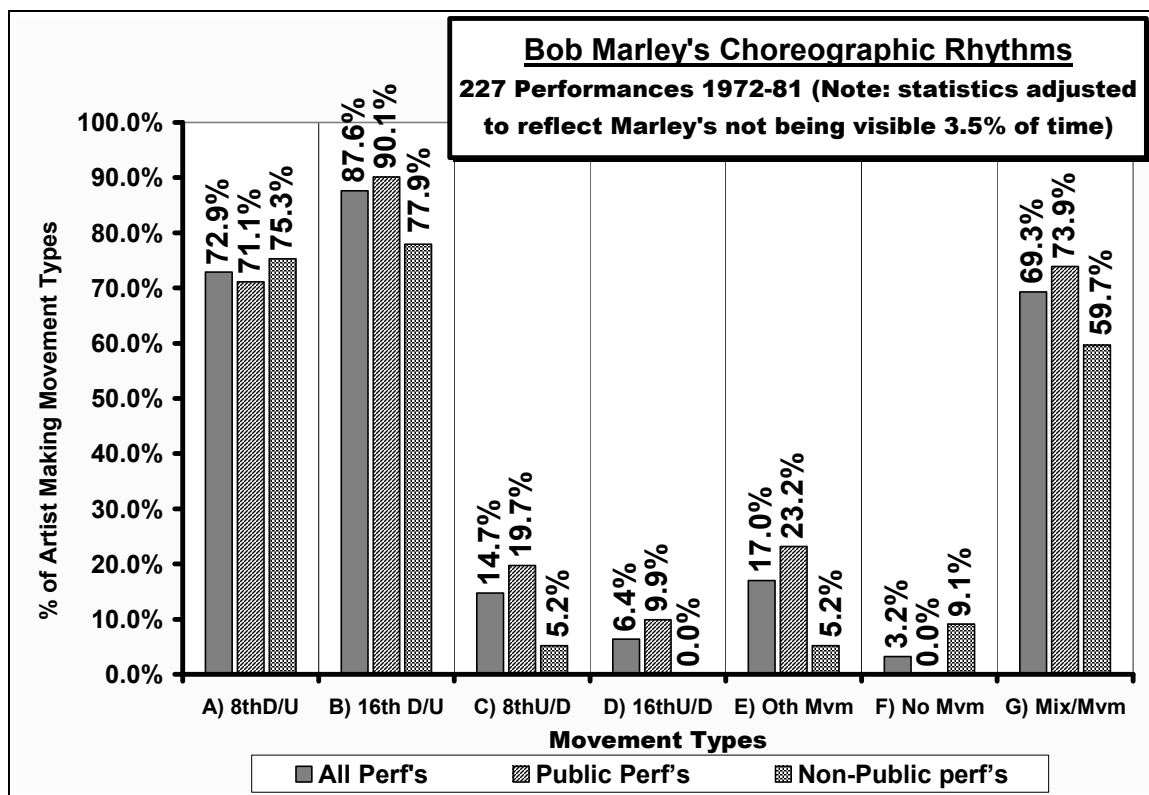


FIGURE 5.7: BOB MARLEY: CHOREOGRAPHIC RHYTHM STATISTICS

overall movements (vs. 41.9% of BMW's movements overall — see **FIGURE 5.6** (pg. 451) for BMW statistics). Movement A (Down-Up eighth-note pulse) is the next most common movement: 72.9% overall (vs. 61.6% of BMW's movements overall — see **FIGURE 5.6** for BMW statistics). The equally high percentages of these two movements is because Marley also liked mixing different types of movements (G) much more than the rest of the band. Marley switched movement types in 69.3% of his overall performances in contrast to 23.1% of the members of Wailers who switched movements — see **FIGURE 5.6** for BMW statistics). He also used far more Other Movements (E): 17% of his overall movements vs. 7.7% of the members of BMW's overall movements — see **FIGURE 5.6** for BMW statistics). Most of Marley's "other movements" were similar to the Nyabinghi steps described in section 1.4.1.8 by Reckford and Ryman, which are more expressive and irregular than the ostinati-types of movements favoured by the rest of the band. Differences in Marley's movements in public vs. non-public settings were less pronounced than those by the other members of BMW. With regard to Movement A (Down-Up eighth-note pulse), he actually moved *more* in non-public performances (75.3%) than in public ones (71.1%), whereas for BMW the difference was 54.3% of the band moving in non-public vs. 63.6% of the band moving in public settings. Marley most favoured movement was "B" (Down-Up sixteenth-note pulses) decreased from 90.1% of his movements in public to 77.9% in non-public settings. In comparison, 43% of the members of Wailers made Movement B in public performances. In non-public settings, this figure dropped to 39.3%.

In non-public performances, Marley was more noticeably still than in public

settings: 9.1% of his movement orientation involved no unsounded gestures, whereas in public performances he *always* displayed movement, i.e., No Movements (F) = 0%.

The Nyabinghi steps that were frequent in public were also mostly absent in non-public performances. (Most of these hops, twists, turns and leaps are included in (E) Other Movements: 23.2% of his movements in public settings consisted of 'Other Movements' (E) vs. only 5.2% of his movements in non-public performances.) It is notable that the non-public performances in which Marley was noticeably less physical were mostly at soundchecks or rehearsals where he was often focused upon resolving technical problems (e.g., sound balances or structural details). In other words, in such situations his attention was primarily focused upon some pragmatic aspect of performance preparation, rather than on performing a song. In these situations, his performance was also often uninspired or merely technically correct, rather than displaying much creativity, interplay or passion. On the other hand, whenever he was focused upon the delivery of the song, whether in public or non-public, unsounded gestures were usually present. Another significant reason for the high percentage of E Other Movements in public performances is that Marley frequently stopped playing his guitar and took it off — which happened about 30% of the time⁵²; this allowed him a great amount of flexibility, not only in overall movement, but resulted in his acting out lyrics and making gestures to emphasize words or rhythms. On the other hand, Marley rarely performed without a guitar in non-public performances.

The one exception to Marley's singing without a guitar in non-public is a non-

⁵² Marley performed without a guitar in 59 out of 210 performances, i.e., 28.1% of the time.

commercially released performance filmed on Sept. 13, 1980, in the Down South Studios in Miami (see Bibliography), just one week before he collapsed due to a brain tumor, and never performed in public again. (*See DVD video 4.7.*) Marley arrives at the studio before everyone else with his percussionist (and one of his mentors), "Seeco" Patterson. For about half an hour, the two of them perform about a half-dozen songs, sometimes a cappella, and sometimes joined by another guitarist. For about half the songs, Marley sings without a guitar and dances with total abandon, using some Nyabingi steps. He moves constantly, emphasizing parts that he is hearing but that are not being performed. At one point, (during a version of "Rebel Music" with just Bob on guitar and Seeco on congas), he plays a lead guitar solo (something that he has *never* done in any concerts), without any accompaniment (other than the conga). His solo blends lines and chords (almost in a jazz style), with many tasteful breaks and pauses; whenever he resumes playing after these breaks (which are not regular), he always comes in at the proper spot (in terms of the overall chord progression), usually playing rhythm on the afterbeat, without ever losing his place in the arrangement. This performance is a masterful interweaving of singing, guitar work, and dancing, all extremely spontaneous, without any hesitation, wrong notes or rhythms. (This version is completely different from two other performances in the collection.) Throughout this segment, it is strikingly obvious that Marley's corporeal movements are not ornamental to his performance of the music, but rather, absolutely essential to his afterbeat rhythms — especially while playing his guitar solo. At times, this performance looks like corporeal movements interspersed with singing and playing, rather than the opposite.

5.3.3 ASTON BARRETT (WAILERS' BASSIST): CHOREOGRAPHIC RHYTHMS STATISTICS

FIGURE 5.8 shows Wailers bassist Aston Barrett's choreographic rhythm statistics. His movement patterns are similar to the overall movement patterns of BMW,⁵³ but he frequently was more still or subtle when moving than the rest of the Wailers, which is

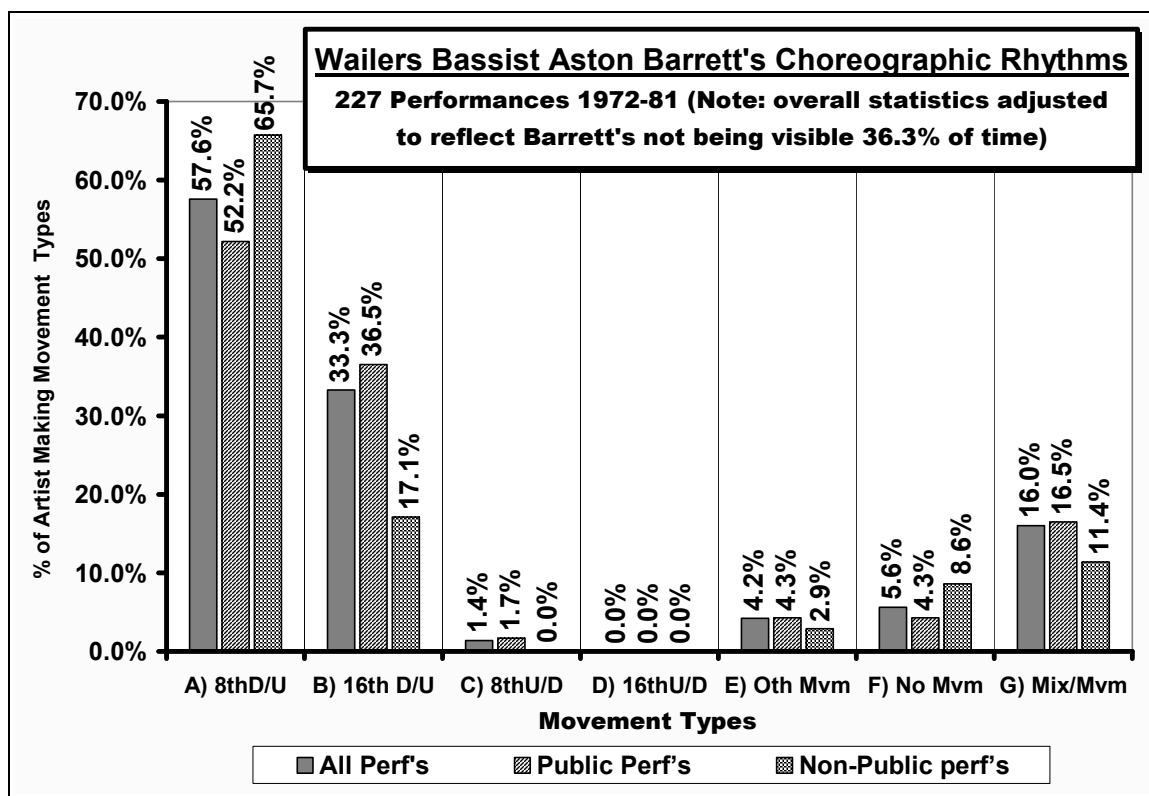


FIGURE 5.8: WAILERS BASSIST ASTON BARRETT: CHOREOGRAPHIC RHYTHM STATISTICS

not reflected in these statistics, since they don't track length of movement types.⁵⁴ His movements possess the same orientation as the rest of the Wailers, with a predominance of Movement A (Down-Up eighth-note pulses): 57.6% of his overall movements consists of Movement A vs. 61.6% of the members of BMW moving this way overall. Most of the

⁵³ See FIGURE 5.6, pg. 451, for BMW's movement statistics.

⁵⁴ In contrast to the rest of the Wailers who generally chose a movement type and maintained it fairly consistently for most of a song, Aston frequently stopped moving for long stretches, and might only move for a phrase or two during an entire song.

time he simply nodded his head, moved his shoulders slightly, or bent his knees gently and subtly, rather than making strong emphatic movements. His strongest movements were some variation of a walking step, usually on the spot. In comparison to Marley, Aston's movements were less dance-like; i.e., he usually didn't move several parts of his body simultaneously and he rarely covered a lot of ground, which was more typical of the movement style of the other members of the Wailers. His favoured performing spot was to drummer Carlton's right (if one is facing the stage). He occasionally moved in front of the drums, and he sometimes turned his back to the audience and faced the drums. Some of his movements were so subtle that I didn't notice them at all on the first viewing. (Transferring this footage to DVD and watching at different speeds or looping sections allowed me to notice what were more often weight shifts than actual stepping.)

He often moved for a short while, then stopped moving, only to resume movement later in the song. In comparison to Marley, who very frequently changed his orientation from 8ths to 16ths and included many Other Movements, Aston usually maintained one type of movement within a song. (Only 16% of his performances involved switching to more than one movement type within a song).

With regard to Aston's public vs. private choreographic rhythms,⁵⁵ like Marley, Barrett's overall movements were not only not substantially altered in non-public situations, but some movements actually *increased*. Specifically — and somewhat surpris-

⁵⁵ Statistics have been adjusted for public and non-public performances to reflect the fact that Aston was not visible 21.8% of the time for public performances and 55.7% for non-public performances. The higher figure for the latter is significantly due to the fact that he was not present at one extensive rehearsal involving 36 songs — i.e., Sept. 13, 1980. Down South Studios, Miami, where two other (unknown) people played bass.

ingly — the number of Movement A gestures (Down-Up eighth-note pulses) *increased* in non-public performances to 65.7% from 52.2% in public ones (vs. Marley whose number of Movement A gestures also *increased*, to 75.3% (non-public) from 71.1% (public)). For the other members of the Wailers, on the other hand, their percentage of Movement A usage *decreased* in non-public settings — from 63.6% public performances to 54.3% in non-public ones. *Given the centrality of bass, drums⁵⁶ and guitar to reggae, the fact that both Marley & Aston Barrett's main choreographic pulse is not only maintained, but increased in non-public performances strongly suggests that corporeal movements are essential to the feel and performance of JPM.*

The number of Aston's Movement B gestures (Down-Up sixteenth-note pulses) *decrease* significantly in non-public performances, however, from 36.5% for public ones to 17.1% for non-public settings. When Aston made this movement, his overall posture was much more dance-like than when he made Movement A, which made it more obvious to the viewer. This seems to suggest when he was consciously "performing" for an audience, the sixteenth-note movements were more of an "added-on," less intrinsic movement. This is also reinforced by the increase of his lack of movements (i.e., F No Movements) in non-public settings, changing from 4.3% of his total movements in public to 8.6% of his total in non-public performances. (Note that Marley's increase for this category was also significant, rising from his *always* moving in public performances to not moving in 9.1% of his non-public performances). This seems to suggest that per-aps around 10% of Marley's and Aston's movements might be considered to fall into a "for

⁵⁶ The same thing is also true for differences in drummer Carlton Barrett's Movement A in public vs. non-public scenarios: the percentage increases for the latter; see section 5.3.4.

entertainment purposes" category.

5.3.4 CARLTON BARRETT (WAILERS DRUMMER): CHOREOGRAPHIC RHYTHMS STATISTICS

Since playing drums involves the ongoing use of both arms, hands, legs, and feet, Carlton Barrett's movements were understandably more consistent in each scenario than those of the other Wailers. It is important to stress, however, that my analysis of his movements basically ignored limb movements that specifically generated sounds. Rather, I focused upon unsounded head, torso and shoulders movements that would reveal an overall underlying schema of body movement that was not solely related to movements to play the drums. Thus, when looking at Carlton Barrett's choreographic rhythm statistics (in **FIGURE 5.9**, next page), the "No Movements" statistic (F): 1.9%, reflects an absence of such unsounded gestures, and not that he was still — rather hard to do as a drummer!

From a drummer's phenomenological sense of JPM groove, however, since Movement A (Down-Up eighth-note pulsation) is its most characteristic rhythmic feature, most of a drummer's limbs *are* active in an eighth-note grid; sixteenth-notes occur most frequently in the hi-hat, which involves mostly wrist movements.⁵⁷ Thus, the need

⁵⁷ One might speculate that maintaining an eighth-note pulse in the torso, head and shoulders would be a typical drummer's body posture when playing JPM regardless of their upbringing and prior experiences, as a result of the physiology of sympathetic or supportive body movements when moving one's limbs to play reggae drum parts, but I have observed that this is not the case. I base this observation upon performing with mostly rock drummers who have *not* developed their ability to play JPM from Jamaican contexts, whose body movements look nothing like Carlton Barrett's. One specific example: expert rock/funk/jazz drummer Steve Gadd in a 1996 performance by Eric Clapton of "I Shot the Sheriff" (from *Live in Hyde Park VHS; part of this performance is on DVD video 5.3*). For this song, Gadd primarily plays a funky R&B groove, not a reggae groove. But when he *does* use rhythmic ideas similar to Carlton's, his overall body orientation doesn't adopt Barrett's

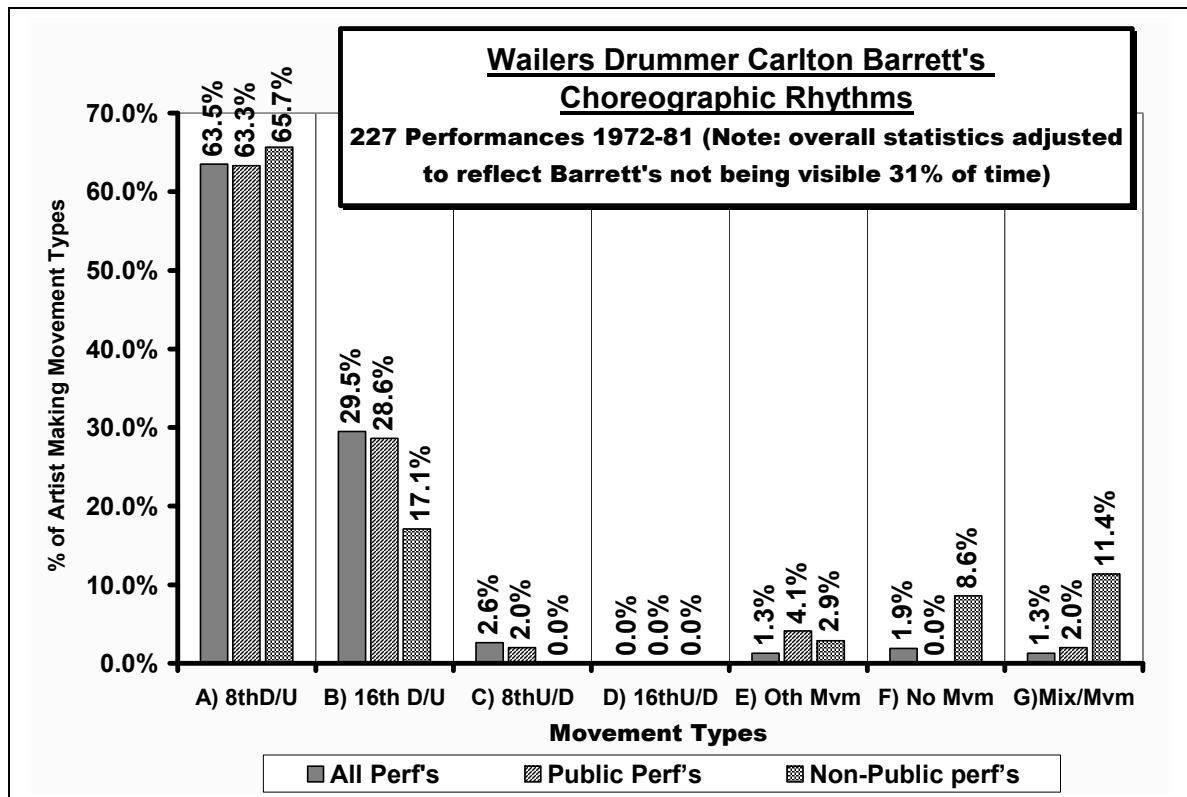


FIGURE 5.9: WAILERS DRUMMER CARLTON BARRETT: CHOREOGRAPHIC RHYTHM STATISTICS

for a drummer to maintain an eighth-note “clock” in his/her body is essential to keeping accurate and consistent time. Also, playing the drums requires larger, less subtle movements, even when playing softly or at lower intensity levels, than for guitar or bass playing. As a result, it is not surprising that Carlton displayed slightly more overall Down-Up movement in an eighth-note pulsation (Movement A) than BMW overall, i.e., 63.3% percent of his movements were the “A” type, vs. 61.6% of the members of BMW moving this way — see FIGURE 5.6 (pg. 451). Marley’s use of Movement A was much higher however, 72.9% of his overall movements were “A” gestures – see FIGURE 5.7 (pg. 455).

Down-Up orientation. This is probably why Gadd’s execution of reggae rhythms is never successful from a “feel” point of view, although he certainly has the technical facility to play anything that Barrett could play.

Carlton's most common unsounded gesture was Movement A, and he had a lower percentage of Movement B (Down-Up sixteenth note pulsations), at 29.5%, than Marley's movement preference for type "B." Marley's usage was 63.5% of his total movements (see **FIGURE 5.7**) and Aston's usage of Movement B was 33.3% of his total movements, **FIGURE 5.8** (pg. 459). There was also a larger discrepancy between Carlton's usage of Movement A (63.5% of his total movements) and Movement B (29.5% of his total) than for the movement style of most members of BMW, for whom Movement A was 61.6% of their overall movements, with Movement B as 41.9% of their total (see **FIGURE 5.7**). For Marley, the discrepancy overall between his usage of these movements was 72.9% of his total movements for "A," and 87.6% of his movements for "B." Movement A constituted 57.6% of Aston's movements and "B" represented 33.4% of his total gestures (see **FIGURE 5.8**).

Probably because of the point made earlier, that the dominant groove for a JPM drummer is based upon an 8th-note grid, Carlton didn't display many overall Other Movements (E) (1.3%) and rarely changed movement approach mid-stream. Only 1.3% of his performances involved switching movement styles; his percentage of Mixture of movements (G) was also only 1.3% of his total movements. I think that this can easily be explained by the fact that playing the drums requires an overall kinetic repetitiveness that is part of playing a steady, consistent groove.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ Dick Smith made this point to me in reference to his own playing, that he generally moves in the same way in order to generate a consistent groove, and that the maintenance of those movements not directly responsible for actual performance, such as stepping in time, swaying back in forth, or moving up and down are essential to playing well (Interview with author, 2000).

With regard to comparing public vs. non-public performances, Carlton's percentage of Movement A increased slightly in non-public performance situations (from 63.3% in public settings to 65.7% non-public ones). This was not a significant increase, but it does suggest a (perhaps unanswerable) question: Why did Marley's and both Barrett brothers' movements in this orientation increase in non-public performances, whereas such movements decreased for the Wailers as a unit? Given the centrality of bass, rhythm guitar and drums in creating a JPM groove, since the rest of the band decreased not only their movements, but their overall intensity in non-public settings, perhaps the more-pronounced use of this movement by these three was an unconscious attempt to make up for this energy difference by making their parts stronger.

Like Marley, and Aston Barrett, Carlton's percentage of Movement B (Down-Up sixteenth-note pulsations) was also less in non-public performances (28.6% of his movements in public settings vs. 17.1% of the total in non-public ones). This decrease in quicker pulsations was *not* accompanied by significant changes in the musical sounds' rhythmic content, however. (As mentioned earlier, there were some performances where a diminishing of corporeal movements did *not* result in music that was less intense, in fact the opposite was true). Even though there is not a consistent one-to-one relationship between the intensity of corporeal gestures and the intensity of the music as a rule, many performances *were* less intense overall when the corporeal component was less visibly active or intense.⁵⁹ This is based upon my phenomenological impression of the music, however, and is not supported by statistics. (Perhaps the use of dance

⁵⁹ It is also important to keep in mind that feelings of intensity can primarily involve shifting

notation that can indicate the energy of different movements might generate a more precise quantification of my observation).⁶⁰ It does seem logical, however, that less intense feelings about a performance, which are evident in some of the non-public performances, would be accompanied by a diminishing of sixteenth-note movements, since they require far more energy to produce (and especially sustain) compared to eighth-note movements.

Carlton's mixing of movements (category G) was significantly different in public performances (where 2% of his total movements were changed to another gesture) vs. non-public ones (where 11.4% of his movements were switched). As mentioned above, many of the non-public performances were less intense than public ones; Carlton's change in orientation (in non-public performances) was mostly the result of changing between Movements A and B. Perhaps this mixture of movements was related to the energy level required to sustain extended sixteenth-note movements, which simply wasn't as pronounced in non-public performances. Carlton may simply not have had the energy (or felt that it fit the overall feel of the music) to sustain, or to continue higher-energy sixteenth-note movements when the band wasn't playing to a big crowd.⁶¹

of weight and very subtle body movements, rather than large, overt ones.

⁶⁰ The most common dance notation systems are Labanotation and Benesh Movement Notation.

⁶¹ Additional study into the relationship between musical energy levels and corporeal movement is an area for future research.

5.3.5 CHOREOGRAPHIC RHYTHMS OF MARLEY / BARRETT BROTHERS COMPARED TO THOSE OF THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE WAILERS

Out of the 227 Wailers songs/performances in this study, Marley is filmed in 210 of them (92.5% of the total). In the remaining 17 performances, the band accompanies the I-Threes (who frequently opened mid- to late-seventies shows with four to five songs, without Marley on stage) or plays instrumental pieces⁶² without Marley as the introduction and ending to their show. Aston Barrett is visible in 123 out of 227 performances (54.2% of the total). Although for most performances he was the bassist, he was either not filmed and, in some instances, he was not present.⁶³ Carlton Barrett appears in 144 out of 227 performances (63.4%); he is either off camera for the remainder or not present.⁶⁴ This section compares the statistics for these three musicians with those of the rest of the Wailers, to examine to what degree, and in which areas the greater amount of "on screen time" by these three musicians affected the Wailers' overall statistics. **FIGURE 5.10** (next page) shows the statistics for the movement patterns of the members of BMW, for Bob Marley, for Aston Barrett, for Carlton Barrett and for the remaining Wailers, i.e., without these three. (To simplify referring to these three

⁶² They often played an instrumental vamp, accompanied by a chant of "Marley" prior to Marley's returning for encores.

⁶³ Aston Barrett is not present at one rehearsal session on 13 Sept. 80 (at the Down South Studios in Miami), involving 34 songs, plus there are a few Wailers performances where Marley performs solo. For the Down South sessions, three different unidentified bass players are used.

⁶⁴ Carlton is the only trap set drummer playing with the Wailers in the videos analyzed in this study (although he doesn't appear on camera for 73 songs/performances). (It can be inferred from songs before and after those in which he isn't on camera that he is still the drummer.) There are 10 Wailers performances without him; six of these feature Marley with just a conga player, and four with Marley performing either solo or with another guitarist.

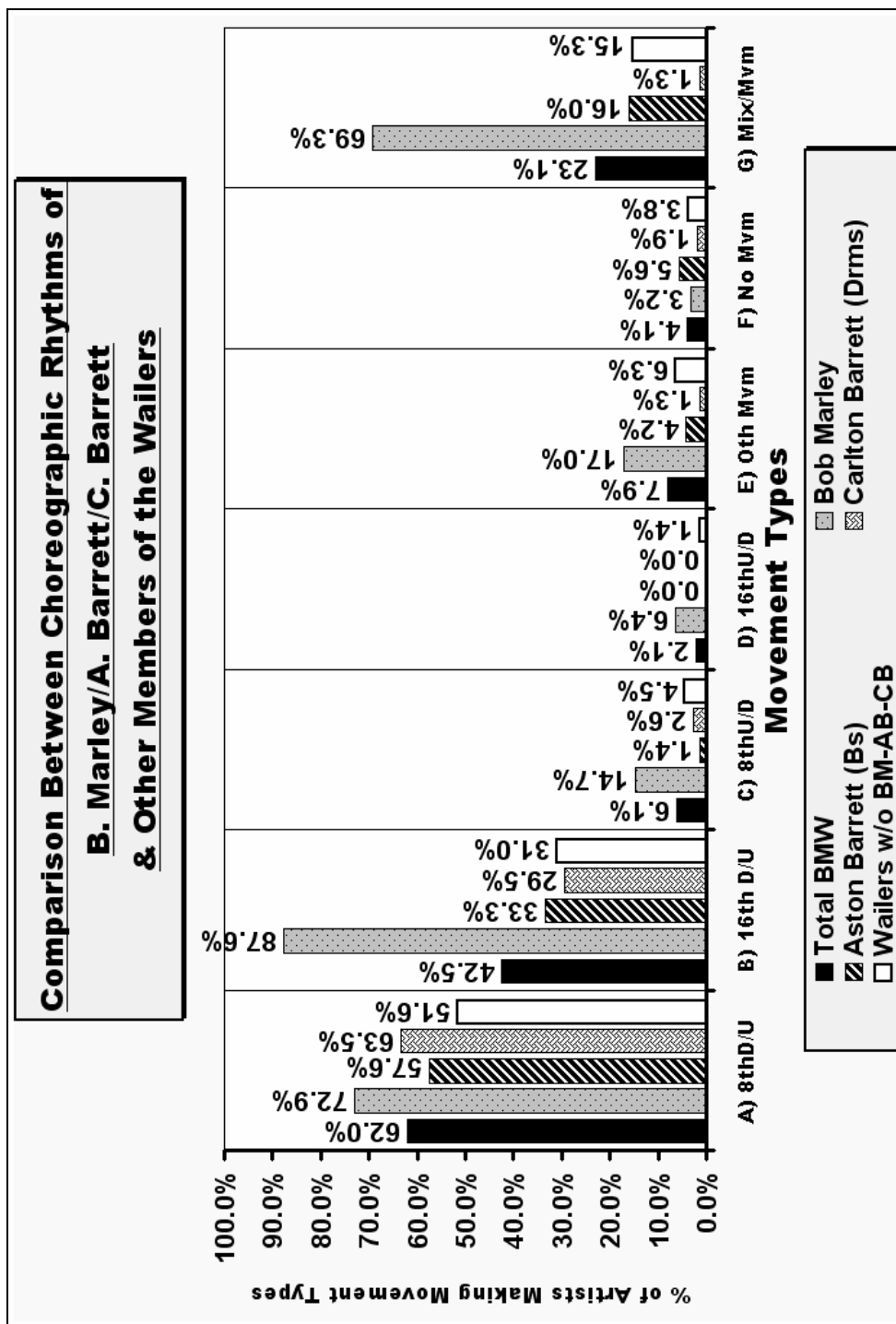


FIGURE 5.10: CHOREOGRAPHIC RHYTHMS OF BMW RHYTHM SECTION & THE OTHER WAILERS

musicians, I sometimes refer to them as the “BMW rhythm section” below.)

Before comparing these statistics, it is worth stressing that because the BMW rhythm section is on camera for much longer consecutive stretches of time and more often than the rest of the Wailers, the overall Wailers statistics are strongly shaped by the movement preferences of these three musicians. That being said, however, the rhythm section's statistics are a more accurate representation of these musicians' overall movement patterns than those for the rest of the band, who sometimes only appear on screen for just a few seconds in an entire performance, and sometimes for only a small number of performances in total due to changing personnel since the earliest BMW footage from 1973. In 1973, the Wailers were a six-piece band, fronted by Bob Marley, Peter Tosh and Bunny Wailer,⁶⁵ and performed with the Barrett brothers and a keyboardist. Between 1974-1981, the Barrett brothers were the only regular members. Tosh and Wailer left at the end of 1973, and were replaced by a vocal trio named the I-Threes (Rita Marley, Marcia Griffiths and Judy Mowatt), who performed at most, but not all concerts; sometimes only two of the three were present. There were often two other guitarists, two keyboardists, one and sometimes two percussionists, and a horn section (from one to four musicians). When one combines this flexible line-up with the anomalies resulting from camera work, keeping track of the precise characteristics of the rest of the Wailers' choreographic rhythms (in terms of specific changes relative to particular individuals) is simply not possible. That being said, however, the changing personnel makes the Wailers statistics a random sampling of different musicians that appears to offset the "dominance" of statistics by the BMW rhythm section (as noted below).

⁶⁵ Tosh was born Winston Hubert McIntosh and Wailer was born Nevine O'Reilly Livingston.

Marley's frequency on camera (in 92.5% of analyzed performances) certainly appears to skew statistics for movement patterns influenced by Nyabinghi dancing (discussed in section 5.3.2) if one compares individual movement patterns, but this skewing is reduced / offset for overall totals because of the way percentages were calculated. The total number of occurrences of each movement were divided by the total number of musicians shown on camera in the total number of performances. This generates the average number of musicians making each movement for the total number of musicians (for the 227 performances analyzed). Thus, for the Wailers' 227 performances, 1643 musicians were tallied, although this doesn't represent 1643 different musicians.⁶⁶ Since Marley appeared in 210 performances, he accounts for 210 of the 1643 musicians — 12.8% of the total (on average) for each movement type. The BMW rhythm section together accounts for 477 musicians⁶⁷ out of the 1643 tallied — 29% of the total, which is a reasonable figure, given that the Wailers varied in size from six to around sixteen musicians in these performances. To look at it the other way, this means that 71% of the figures for the BMW total show the movement preference for musicians *other than* the BMW rhythm section.

Marley's Nyabinghi influence makes his percentages for Movements A-E higher than those of the rest of the Wailers. Movement A (moving down and up in an eighth-note grid) constitutes 72.9% of his total movement set, vs. 57.6% of those by A. Barrett,

⁶⁶ E.g., the BMW rhythm section was counted anew for each performance, as were any other musicians who reappeared. This makes phenomenological sense, since it can be argued that even the same musician will perform slightly (or significantly) different from performance to performance, due to influences from other performers, audiences and other contextual factors. This was the same tallying procedure for all other performers analyzed in this study.

⁶⁷ This total is arrived thus: Marley (210) + Aston Barrett (123) + Carlton Barrett (144) = 477.

63.5% of those by C. Barrett, 51.6% of those by the other Wailers and 62% by BMW as a whole. The same proportionate difference applies to Movement B (moving down and up in a sixteenth-note grid), Marley's favoured movement style. 87.6% of his movements are this type, vs. 33.3% of A. Barrett's movements, 29.5% of C. Barrett's movements, 31% of the other Wailers' movements and 42.5% of all of the members of BMW. The erratic Nyabinghi movement style also accounts for Marley's higher percentages for Movements C (moving in an up-and-down eighth-note grid), "D" (moving in an up-and-down sixteenth-note grid) and E Other Movements. 14.7% of Marley's gestures use Movement C, vs. 1.4% of A. Barrett's movements, 2.6% of C. Barrett's movements, 4.5% of the other Wailers' movements and 6.1% of the entire band's preferences. 6.4% of Marley's movements are type "D," vs. 0% of both Barrett brothers' movements, 1.4% of the other Wailers' and 2.1% of BMW as a whole. The most drastically different statistic, however, is for G Mixture of Movements. Marley's preference for mixing movement types (again, linked to his Nyabinghi style) makes his percentage over four times higher than the rest of the band (and three times higher than the band overall): Marley switches movements in 69.3% of his performances vs. 16% of those by A. Barrett, 1.3% for those by C. Barrett, 15.3% for those by the other Wailers and 23.1% of those by BMW as a whole.

5.4 PHASE II, PART 1: JAMAICAN POPULAR MUSIC PERFORMANCES BY 200 OTHER ARTISTS

For Phase II, I used the same methodology as Phase I, but only tracked Movements A to G; Movements H to J were included in E Other Movements. I analyzed 526 performances by 111⁶⁸ identified + 89 unidentified non-BMW JPM artists. Because most performances were in public situations, however, there weren't enough non-public films for a valid comparison, so that aspect of Phase I was not replicated. **FIGURE 5.11** (next page) lists all of these artists, as well as those in Part 2⁶⁹ of Phase II. The numbers in brackets indicate the number of performances analyzed, and the symbol “#” indicates JFRM performers. A listing of each performer's songs analyzed by performer is provided in the Videography. (*Also see DVD videos 1.5, 4.1, 4.2, 4.3, 4.4 and 4.8 for a sampling of these artists.*)

FIGURE 5.12, pg. 474, shows findings for all 201 JPM artists. These figures show that the majority of JPM musicians (in the video sample of this study) adopt Movement A as their most frequent movement. With regard to the percentage of the number of orientation, it constitutes 72.8% of non-BMW JPM artists' movements, 61.6% of the members of BMW's movements and 69% of JPM artists overall. The next most common

⁶⁸ Groups, like Black Uhuru or Inner Circle are counted as one artist. Duets by artists who normally perform alone, e.g., a duet by Freddie McGregor and Gregory Isaacs, are counted as two artists, although only *one* performance is tallied. When artists who are members of groups perform alone, e.g., Michael Rose (Black Uhuru) or Jacob Miller (Inner Circle), they are counted as individual artists. This results in the total number of artists exceeding the number of performances, because of shared duets, etc. Percentages have been calculated using the number of performers. The reason for noting different artists is to indicate that the study has included a wide range of artists, which should bolster the claim that these choreographic rhythms represent a universal performance preference amongst the majority of JPM musicians.

⁶⁹ Part 2 consists of findings for performers of Jamaican Folk and Religious Music.

Abbyssinians, The (2)	Heptones, The (1)	Parkes, Lloyd (1)
Althia & Donna (1)	Hibbert, Toots (solo) (12)	Penn, Dawn (1)
Andy, Bob (1)	Higgs, Joe (2)	Perry, Lee (18)
Andy, Horace (1)	Hilton, Sheila (1)	Prince Buster (Cecil Bustamante Campbell) (2)
Aswad (5)	Hinds, Justin (1)	Ranglin, Ernest (9)
Barrett, Aston (The Wailers' bassist) (1)	Holt, John (from the Paragons) (7)	Ras Michael Band (2)
Belafonte, Harry # (4)	Inner Circle (17)	Rodriguez, Rico (2)
Bennett, Louise # (7)	Isaacs, Gregory (43)	Romeo, Max (2)
Big Youth (Manley Augustus Buchanan) (4)	Israel Vibration (19)	Rose, Michael (orig with Black Uhuru; as a solo artist) (5)
Black Kush (1)	I-Threes (Rita Marley, Marcia Griffiths, Judy Mowatt) (2)	Roy & Yvonne (1)
Black Uhuru (27)	Jasper (1)	Shakespeare, Robbie (as solo artist) (2)
Blues Busters, The (1)	Johnson, Linton Kwesi (2)	Shirley, Roy (1)
Boothe, Ken (1)	Kay, Janet (1)	Sibbles, Leroy (2)
Bovell, Dennis (in Matumbi) (5)	Kiddus-I (1)	Simpson, Mickey (1)
Brevett, Lloyd (Skatalites' bassist) (2)	King Jammy (Mixer) (1)	Sims, Scully (8)
Brown, Dennis (34)	King Stitt (DJ) (Winston Sparks) (1)	Sir Lord Comic (DJ) (3)
Brown, Hugh (1)	Knibb, Lloyd (Skatalites' drummer) (5)	Sister Carol (Carole East) (1)
Burning Spear (Winston Rodney) (12)	Lee, Byron & the Dragonaires (11)	Skatalites, The (22)
Charmers, The (1)	Legends Mento Band, The # (1)	Sly (Dunbar) & Robbie (Shakespeare) (5)
Cimaroons (1)	Lepke, Lui (1)	Small, Millie (3)
Clarke, Johnnie (6)	Levy, Barrington (7)	Smith, Karen (1)
Cliff, Jimmy (14)	Lewin, Olive # (2)	Smith, Little Wayne (1)
Cole, Stranger (1)	Lewis, Ava (1)	Steel Pulse (17)
Collins, Dave & Ansell (1)	Lindo, Wire (1)	Talisman (1)
Count Machouki (DJ) (3)	Lone Ranger, The (Anthony Waldron) (DJ) (2)	T. Miller Band, The (Theodore) (mento group) # (2)
Count Ossie (Oswald Williams) & the Mystical Revelation of Rastafari # (2)	Lord Flea (Norman Thomas) & his Calypsonians (mento group) # (3)	Third World (20)
Count Owen (Owen Emmanuel) # (2)	Marley, Bob & The Wailers (227)	Thomas, Nicky (1)
Culture (6)	Marley, Bob (solo) (10)	Thompson, Carroll (1)
Cumberland, Enid (1)	Marley, Rita (solo) (2)	Thornton, Eddie 'Tan Tan' (1)
Dekker, Desmond (5)	Matumbi (1)	Toots & the Maytals (5)
Dr. Alimantado (Winston Thompson) (DJ) (1)	McCook, Tommy (2)	Tosh, Peter (as a solo artist) (32)
Dowe, Brent (Melodians) (2)	McGregor, Freddie (11)	Tucker, Junior (1)
Dunbar, Sly (as solo artist) (3)	Mighty Diamonds, The (3)	U-Roy (Ewart Beckford) (8)
Eccles, Clancy (2)	Miller, Jacob (solo) (1)	Wailer/Livingstone, Bunny (as a solo artist) (14)
Edwards, Jackie (3)	Minnott, Sugar (2)	Wailers Band (w/o Marley) (3)
Eek-a-mouse (6)	Misty in Roots (3)	Wailing Souls (1)
Ellis, Alton (10)	Morgan, Derrick (1)	Washington, Delroy (1)
Gladiators, The (1)	Morris, Eric 'Monty' (1)	Wilson, Delroy (3)
Gordon, Patrick (4)	Mowatt, Judy (3)	Unidentified/Unknown artists (89)
Griffiths, Marcia (3)	Murvin, Junior (1)	
Haines, Jah Jerry # (5)	Mutabaruka (Allan Young) (2)	
	Nettleford, Rex (dancer) # (1)	

FIGURE 5.11: ALL JAMAICAN ARTISTS ANALYZED IN THIS STUDY

type is Movement B, adopted by 22.6% of non-BMW JPM artists, 41.9% of the members of BMW and 29.7% of all JPM artists. BMW's higher percentage is mostly because of Marley's preference for Nyabinghi movements, which are not often made by many times this movement appears in their overall other JPM artists.⁷⁰ Marley's movement

⁷⁰ Other performers that make Nyabinghi movements include Michael Rose (of Black Uhuru) and Jacob Miller (of Inner Circle).

style also accounts for BMW's higher occurrence of G) Mixture of Movements: 23.1% of the members of BMW switch movement types within a performance, 16.6% of non-BMW JPM artists also adopt more than one movement type and 16.3% of all JPM artists mix their movement style on average. Movements C & D (unsounded gestures with an Up-Down orientation) occur infrequently — for "C" (in an eighth-note pattern), 5.5% of non-BMW JPM artists adopt this movement in comparison to 6% of the members of artists overall. For Movement D (moving Up-Down in a sixteenth-note pattern) the

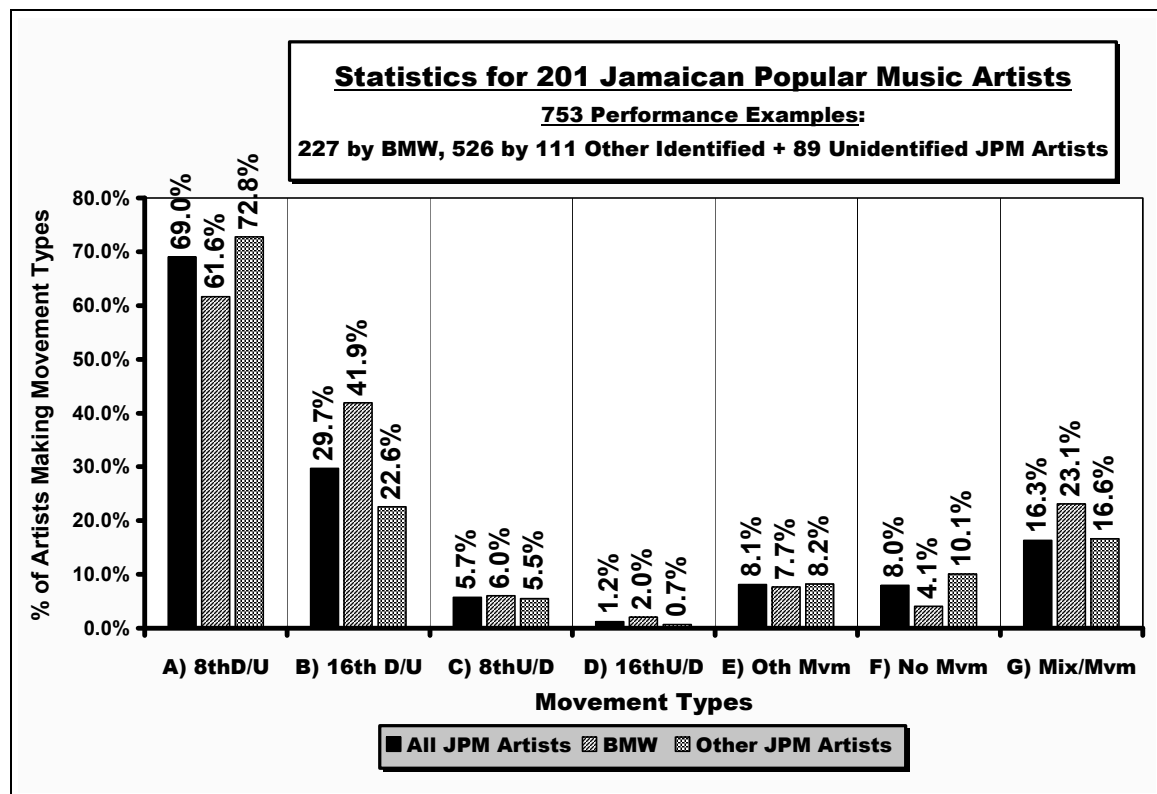


FIGURE 5.12: STATISTICS FOR ALL JAMAICAN POPULAR MUSICIANS⁷¹

figure is quite low for each grouping: only 0.7% of non-BMW JPM artists move this way, as do 2.0% of BMW members and 1.2% of JPM artists overall. The percentage of

⁷¹ In FIGURE 5.12, 201 JPM artists = 200 other artists + BMW

“E” Other Movements were relatively the same across the board. 8.2% of non-BMW JPM artists adopted other gestures in their movements, as did 7.7% of the members of BMW and 8.1% of JPM artists overall. The figures for F No Movement show that the majority of JPM artists are rarely still. 10.1% of non-BMW JPM artists basically showed no movement, as did 4.1% of the members of BMW, with a total of 8% of all JPM artists doing the same. The research in Chapter Three suggests that perceptual, cognitive and behavioural skills (like musical performance) are always transmitted and acquired primarily through one’s environment, especially cultural traditions and practices. Based upon this research, the overall similarity of unsounded gestures between all JPM artists for all seven categories suggests that these artists must have experienced a common cultural heritage and prior musical experiences, which is borne out by their sociocultural histories — as outlined in Chapters One and Four.

These similarities also raised two questions: 1) *Why* are the similarities between the majority of JPM artists’ choreographic rhythms so pronounced? 2) *How* and *when* did so many of these artists acquire these particular common skills? There certainly is the likelihood that they may have influenced each other’s performing style, since many played on each others’ recording sessions and together at village dances, nightclubs, Count Ossie’s jam sessions, etc. The fact that most lived in the West Kingston area also created the possibility that they could have also interacted on a regular basis. But there were other contributing factors: Most of these musicians grew up in rural Jamaica, immersed in indigenous cultural traditions (JFRM, as outlined in Chapters One and Four) during a sociohistorical period (1920-1960) when neo-African traditions (i.e., JFRM) and

an overall emphasis upon all things African became increasingly pronounced in day-to-day life. The lower classes had always viewed themselves primarily in terms of their African roots, but these feelings had traditionally been restricted to private expression. During this period, charismatic leaders like Marcus Garvey, Norman Manley and Leonard Howell inspired the lower classes to assert themselves politically and culturally.

The birth of Rastafarianism in the thirties was a direct outgrowth of, and a contributing factor to, the growth of nationalist feelings and religious fervor, as the lower classes' neo-African identity 'went public,' reaching a peak in the late fifties as independence was about to become a reality. Musicians speak of the shared feeling of community and excitement at this time, as they celebrated their neo-African identities and incorporated contemporary influences in recordings (i.e., proto-ska, then ska) that blended traditional, local and foreign musics that were extremely well-received by 'the people' at sound system dances (Katz 2003: 1-63). Given that the sociocultural climate prior to the sixties was dominated by neo-African JFRM, it certainly seems likely that if JFRM's choreographic rhythms were similar to those of JPM, that there would have been a significant common factor that would explain the common corporeal orientation of JPM artists.⁷² With this possibility in mind, I was eager to analyze the choreographic rhythms of JFRM performances and compare the results.

⁷² The correlations between cultural influence and the statistics in this chapter are explored more fully in Chapter Six.

5.5 PHASE II, PART 2: EMPIRICAL FINDINGS FOR JAMAICAN FOLK & RELIGIOUS MUSIC (JFRM) ARTISTS

This section examines the movement patterns found in indigenous Jamaican Folk and Religious Music traditions, with the number of examples for each tradition listed in brackets in **FIGURE 5.13** below. (See **FIGURE 5.11**, pg. 473, for a list of JFRM artists marked “#”). (See *DVD video Chapter Three for JFRM examples*.)

Folk:	Maroon (6)	Religious:
Rasta (24)	Burru (1)	Traditional Christian (5)
Traditional (11)	Jonkonnu (10)	Revival (13)
Work song (5)	Mento (24)	Pukkumina (16)
Ring/game song (4)	Calypso (4)	
	Quadrille (2)	

FIGURE 5.13: BREAKDOWN OF 125 JAMAICAN FOLK & RELIGIOUS MUSIC EXAMPLES IN THIS STUDY

Obtaining video performances of JFRM was even more difficult than for JPM, since *very* little has been filmed. I located 125 performances, with 9 identified artists and literally dozens of unidentified participants (in some ritualistic events). These were mostly short examples (with voiceover narrations) in documentaries about JPM produced since 1968.⁷³ Getting precise numbers of participants in JFRM ensembles was difficult or impossible in most examples, because of a lack of distinction between performers, observers, dancers and other participants. Many examples featured large numbers of people that were sometimes in the video frame for only a few seconds. **FIGURE 5.14** (next page), presents statistics for JFRM (white bar) as well as for all Jamaican musics (cross-hatched bar), all JPM artists (black bar), BMW (bar with diagonal lines) and non-BMW JPM artists (bar with checkerboard pattern). I used the same data collecting

⁷³ The only film prior to 1968 consists of a half-dozen folkloric performances (included in JPM documentaries) filmed during Independence Day celebrations in August 1962. All are short 20-30 second fragments with voiceover narration.

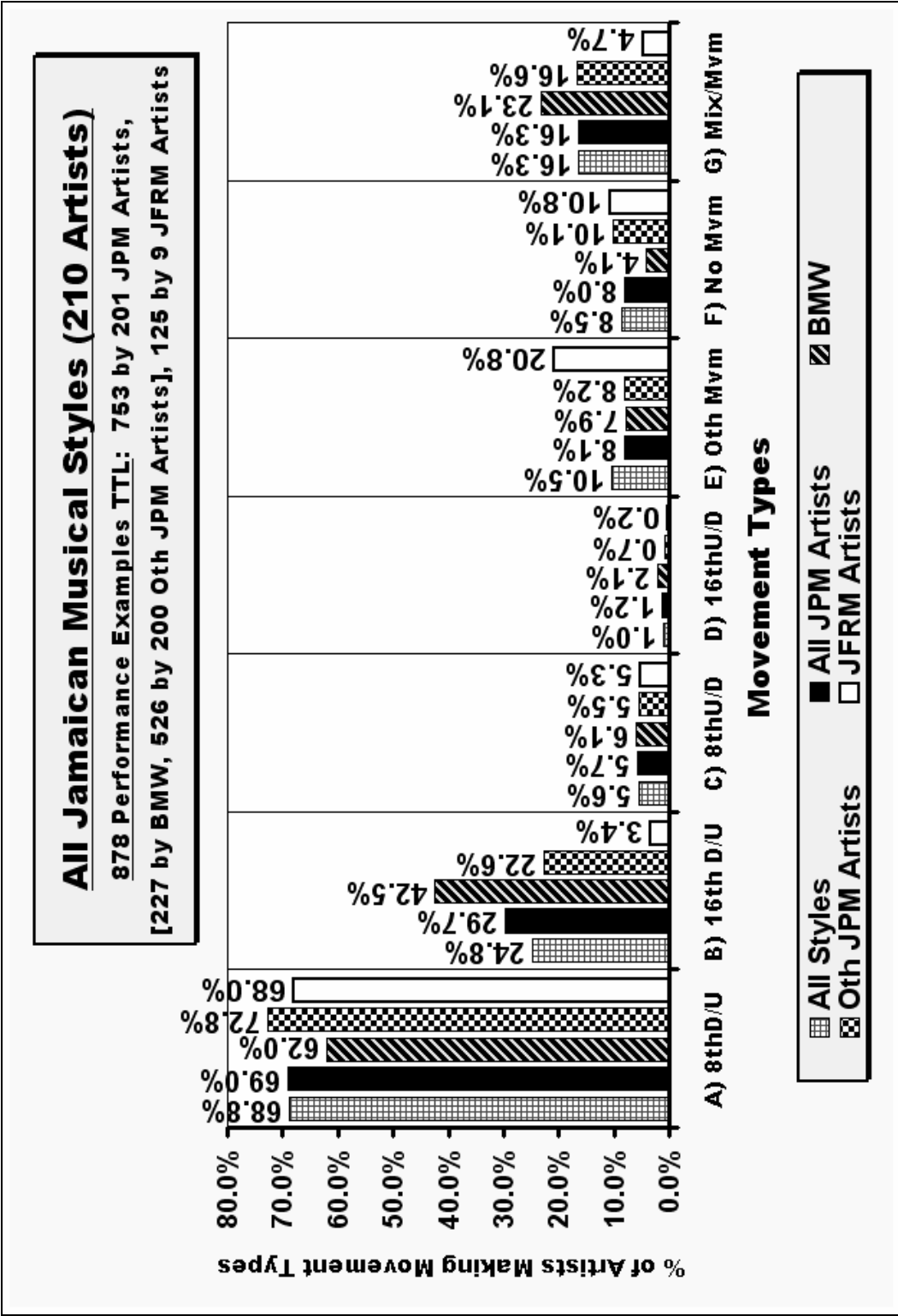


FIGURE 5.14: STATISTICS FOR ALL JAMAICAN MUSICAL STYLES

JFRM as I had for other JPM artists. To confirm the placement of the beat I consulted authoritative Jamaican musicologists⁷⁴ for typical metric and rhythm patterns.

A comparison of these statistics reveals strong similarities between the choreographic rhythms and movement orientation of all Jamaican artists. Figures for Movement A (Down-Up in eighth note pulsations — JPM's main choreographic rhythm) are virtually the same for JFRM and JPM artists. 68% of JFRM artists make this movement, as do 69% of all JPM artists. Percentages for Movements C & D (that prioritize an up/down orientation) are also strikingly similar. With regard to Movement C (moving Up-Down in an eighth-note pattern) 5.3% of JFRM artists move this way vs. 5.7% of JPM artists overall. Movement D occurs infrequently. Only 0.2% of JFRM adopt this movement, and only 1.2% of all JPM artists make it as well. In all Jamaican styles, the number of performers who don't make unsounded gestures is another shared movement orientation. 10.8% of JFRM artists make no unsounded gestures; only a slightly fewer percentage of JPM artists (8%) do the same.

The biggest differences are for Movement B and Categories E and G. With regards to Movement B (Down-Up sixteenth-note pulsations), the percentage of this movement in JFRM artists is much lower than it is in JPM artists' movement style. Only 3.4% of JFRM artists make Movement B, but 29.7% of JPM artists make it. I believe that this discrepancy is primarily because of the stylistic emphasis in my JPM sample. Since the majority of JPM video footage was shot post-seventies, i.e., after reggae and roots reggae had become the predominant musical styles, most examples are in these

⁷⁴ Laura Murray (1971), Olive Lewin (1973, 2000), Verena Reckford (1977) and Marilyn Rouse (2000).

styles, with only a relatively small number in ska and rocksteady. Because the basic tempo of reggae is between 60 to 85 beats per minute (Chang, Witmer & McCarthy 2005: 68), this means that the majority of analyzed examples utilize a sixteenth-note beat subdivision, which is usually the case when Movement B occurs. On the other hand, JFRM is generally much faster than this, with tempi typically ranging between 84 to 126 beats per minute. The majority of the 125 examples analyzed for this study fall in the upper half of this range, with predominant eighth-note subdivision, which explains the absence of Movement B in JFRM,⁷⁵ since this tempo is simply too fast to make Movement B comfortably.

The unique steps and gestures of the many dance steps and ritualistic movements that are part of many JFRM styles account for the higher percentage of E Other Movements for JFRM. 20.8% of JFRM artists make Other Movements in comparison to only 8.1% of all JPM artists who do the same. The low percentage of G Mixtures of Movements — only 4.7% of JFRM artists switch movement types vs. 16.3% of all JPM artists who do the same — might seem to indicate that folk and religious musicians maintain the same movements more consistently than JPM artists. This might be due to technical aspects of the JFRM video performances in this collection, however, which are mostly less than a minute long. Given that the tendency to change movements is common amongst JPM artists — 23.1% of the members of the BMW adopt more than one movement type per performance, as do 16.6% of non-BMW JPM artists — it seems likely (or at least a possibility) that more than 4.7% of JFRM artists may also switch to

⁷⁵ I suspect that a larger sample would also provide a greater range of tempi that might raise this percentage.

other movement patterns over the course of an entire song. The problem with thirty to sixty second video excerpts (which are also edited with different camera cuts), is that it is likely that they cut away before a shift to other movements might occur; thus, to test the validity of this statistic for JFRM artists would require longer video examples so that it could be determined whether this difference is real, or simply the product of film editing.

5.6 CONCLUSION

The findings of this study, i.e., the choreographic rhythms and corporeal orientation presented in **FIGURE 5.12** (pg. 474) indicate that there are significant common inter-relationships between body movement and sound patterns in every type of Jamaican music. These choreographic rhythms can be manifest in a variety of styles and intensities along a continuum represented by two extremes: 1) Overt unsounded gestures which are visible to an observer; 2) More subtle shifting of weight and energy (usually downward and upward, as per Movements A & B) that generate inner feelings of corporeal change that can be just as intense as #1 from a performer's perspective.⁷⁶ (Movements at the #2 end of the continuum are often difficult to perceive with the naked eye, but are sometimes easy to see when film is viewed at faster than normal speed.) These findings have significant implications for the interpretation of the relationship between Jamaican musicians' movements and the sounds they make as well as for the understanding of how corporeal orientations contribute to, and shape, Jamaican musical impulses and performance practices.

⁷⁶ These more subtle movements are most easily perceived by someone who has prior personal experience making similar movements.

These choreographic rhythms and corporeal orientation mark and articulate the regulative pulse (which is often weakly sounded, silent or suppressed⁷⁷) and offbeats (which are usually accented in most Jamaican musics). Marking the beat corporeally in this manner keeps musicians in synchronization with each other and appears to be crucial for accurate placement of their parts, especially in reggae, with its slow pulse, complex beat subdivisions, hocketed rhythms, emergent beats and emergent rhythms. Reggae parts have many neo-African characteristics: they often consist of only a few sounds or short phrases that are interlinked or overlap with other parts. These parts sometimes function similarly to African *ostinati* timelines, with phrase lengths and entry points that are often non-synchronous and frequently accent beats or parts of beats that do not coincide with the phrasing of the main melody or a song's harmonic patterns and changes. Although parts are often interlinked in hocketed patterns or overlap in complex polyrhythmic relationships (with contrasting groupings, accents, beat subdivision, etc.), they sometimes come together for a time, only to separate again. For parts that accent only offbeats or are part of hocketed rhythm patterns which generate either the beat or emergent patterns, the corporeal marking of beats and offbeats is crucial to creating and maintaining the same feel (i.e., beat subdivision, accent level, timbral nuances and dynamics) as others in the ensemble, or for creating supportive contrasting parts. Most importantly, this movement orientation often becomes a silent but visually obvious way of indicating to others exactly how and where improvising performers are conceptualizing and articulating their parts. This is important if the parts they are

⁷⁷ A suppressed beat is the withholding of a beat that was previously sounded.

creating are metrically ambiguous or irregular/unpredictable variations of existing parts or consist of brand new material.⁷⁸

Another commonality amongst JPM artists is that many usually start to pulse their bodies to the beat prior to making sounds (often only a beat or two before performing) as a means of clarifying or solidifying the groove or feel before they make any sound.⁷⁹ The sequence is usually movement first, with sounds fitting into the corporeal patterns. Thus, the corporeal aspect is usually a generative component out of which different rhythmic patterns and grooves emerge, rather than merely a response to the sounds or coming later. Studying Jamaican music without prioritizing and understanding these corporeal factors is therefore omitting the bedrock upon which most rhythmic patterns are built.

When I first began this study, i.e., my initial analysis of BMW footage in Phase I, I only considered the vertical component of the musicians' movements and primarily focused upon body positions and overt movements of the limbs. After studying the work of movement analysts described in section 5.1, subsequently re-analyzing this footage and then studying the hundreds of other films by other JPM artists and JFRM performers, however, it seems now strikingly obvious that if one considers factors like weight shifting, effort qualities of movement and other kinespheric nuances and

⁷⁸ Given the fact that the Wailers never performed *any* song the same way twice in any available filmed performances, it is astounding that I have not encountered any moment during collective improvisations in which the groove deteriorates or falls apart. The only "weak" moments are song endings; in some performances final chords or accents are not tightly coordinated, but this looseness appears to be a preferred aesthetic, given that endings are never prioritized, worked out or coordinated in filmed rehearsals.

⁷⁹ The difficulty in providing statistics about this is that few filmed examples show pre-performance moments, although in those that do this "corporeal introduction" is common.

variations, that there is a great deal for musical analysts to take into account within the basic Down-Up orientation (Movements A & B) that is central to the complexities of the Jamaican groove and rhythmic feel. Given the subtleties of some of these corporeal patterns, the use of video analysis appears to be the best way to both dissect these complexities and to absorb them holistically. The use of video performances as a mimetic teaching medium can also come very close to “the real thing,” with the advantage of precise repetition ad infinitum.

6. ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS FROM AN ENACTIVIST PERSPECTIVE

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the findings presented in Chapter Five, the musicological analysis in Chapter One, and the sociocultural factors in Chapter Four from an enactivist perspective, using Neurophenomenological Musicology (outlined in section 3.5) as the primary methodological tool. The main focus is upon a holistic, phenomenological analysis of Jamaican Popular Music (JPM) artists' creative and performance practices and those of their initial indigenous audiences. Given the centrality of Jamaican Folk and Religious Musics¹ (JFRM) in the lives of these people, and their influence upon JPM's sonic and corporeal patterns and Jamaicans' overall aesthetic sense and worldview,² however, this analysis also includes JFRM.³

¹ See Chapter one for a list of Jamaican neo-African- and European-influenced traditions, such as Myal, Jonkonnu, Maroon, Buru music, work songs, Anansi Stories, Singing Games, Quadrille, Revival, Mento and Nyabingi.

² Jamaican aesthetics and worldview are a blend of neo-African and European elements, but most indigenous scholars and folklorists (e.g., Alleyne 1984: 4-8, 1988: 62, 149-157, Baxter 1970, Brathwaite 1970, Hopkin 1978: 34, Carty 1988, Lewin 1983: 34-5, O'Gorman 1987a: 87, Rath 1993: 705-6, Roberts 1998: xxiii, Ryman 1984: 53 and Warner-Lewis 2002, 2003: 114-37) argue that neo-African components have always had more emotional weight than European ones in the black underclass's cultural forms. "European [culture has] provide[d] the surface structure, [e.g.,] basic melod[ies,] while the deep structure derives from the Afro-Jamaican tradition" (Alleyne 1998: 117). "The most striking and lasting of the two [main] cultural influences (African/European) [in Jamaican traditional cultural forms] is the African contribution" (Carty 1988: 14). The result of the neo-African influence has been an African emotional core in the daily life and cultural expressions of the black underclasses that has become intertwined with their sense of Jamaican identity (Barnett 1978: 31, Ryman 1984b: 51).

³ JFRM's sonic, corporeal and sociocultural aspects are presented in Chapters One and Four.

6.2 JAMAICAN CONCEPTION OF MUSIC

A neurophenomenological study of Jamaican music requires a definition of music derived from indigenous traditional practices. For a Jamaican who was a member of the black underclass sometime between the 1920s and 1970s, musical experiences typically involved many factors in addition to sound. As outlined in Chapter One, the creolization process has shaped all indigenous Jamaican musical forms from the slave era to the present.⁴ This resulted in many JFRM traits being borrowed or adapted from other traditions: e.g., neo-African, British, French, Spanish, indigenous Caribbean⁵ and African-American ones, which were combined with artists' personal preferences and the needs of the particular religious and sociocultural occasions with which JFRM was intertwined.⁶ As discussed in section 1.4., regardless of their origin, in performance, these diverse elements were usually shaped by neo-African musical aesthetics⁷ (e.g., rhythmic, pitch, structural and timbral sonic characteristics rooted in West and Central African musical practices). The most pronounced neo-African influence was an African corporeal orientation, involving many body movements, postures, gestures and styles

⁴ See section 1.2.5.2 for discussion on creolization.

⁵ Primary influences are from Cuba, Trinidad and Brazil.

⁶ See section 1.3.2 for an extensive list of neo-African-rooted forms and practices common in the everyday lives of the black underclasses.

⁷ Even when songs are predominantly European, e.g., in Quadrille, Singing Game songs and in Revival hymns, they are usually Jamaicanized with Jamaican Creole pronunciation and word substitutions (which accent offbeats) (Rouse 2000: 64, Roberts 1989: 412), neo-African rhythmic and pitch alterations, improvisation, embellishments, the addition of bobbins (short, repetitive refrains) and counter-melodies (or call and response techniques), and especially the addition of neo-African movement patterns and accompaniment figures (of which handclapping is the most frequent). See sections 1.3.3.6, 1.3.3.8 and 1.3.4.2 for musicological particulars.

which were (and still are) identical to, or minimally altered from, those in West and Central Africa.⁸

Neo-African religious beliefs and worldviews have been a particularly strong influence upon JFRM, linking music to prayer, worship and ritual practices, but their most profound impact upon practitioners has been the way that particular sound and movement patterns (i.e., choreographic rhythms) have been the primary means through which practitioners became embodied with ancestral spirits — what is often called “possession” in the literature; see sections 1.3.2.3 to 1.3.2.7. The African belief that spirits live in the present and all around in the environment imbues these choreographic rhythms with deep emotional and spiritual associations and symbolism that have been reinforced by their ubiquity in many JFRM forms (Carty 1988, Ryman 1979). The belief that a person is a member of both a living as well as ancestral community has influenced the sonic patterns of all religious-rooted musics (e.g., in Myal, Jonkonnu,⁹ Funeral Songs, Maroon, Burru, Revival and Nyabingi). All feature a steady pulse that is always articulated by strong downward body movements (but is often silent or weakly sounded), with offbeats that usually receive strong and consistent sonic and corporeal accents. The intensity and repetitiousness of body movements, especially when combined with trumping¹⁰ (rhythmic over-breathing) create a trance state (a feeling of

⁸ From research by Alleyne (1988: 152), Kerr (1990: 77-8, 89) Nettleford (in Kerr 1990: 101-100, 2002: 86-7), Nettleford & Layacona (1969: 34), Ryman (1983: xiv, 1984: 58) and Wilson (1981: 100) re: comparison of Jamaican and African movement styles. See discussion in section 1.4.

⁹ Although contemporary Jonkonnu is primarily secular, its roots are in African harvest rituals; see section 1.3.2.9.

¹⁰ See section 1.4.1.7.

letting go and light-headed-ness) which practitioners believe empties their minds and bodies and makes room for incoming spirits. As discussed in Chapter One, these choreographic rhythms become internalized at a very young age. The enactivist research shows that during a musical experience our entire beings — mind, spirit and body — are actively engaged in a variety of overlapping, non-hierarchical ways. Thus the corporeal aspect of Jamaican religious musical experiences involves more than external (i.e., visible) body movements; equally important are the internal corporeal changes (increase of metabolism, heartbeat, breathing, temperature and loss of consciousness when one becomes embodied by a spirit), powerful emotional responses (great joy, ecstasy and sometimes sadness and fear) as well as many symbolic associations involving the communication with one's ancestor-spirits.¹¹

The communal aspect of Jamaican musical experiences favours musical structures that are dominated by African aesthetic principles. The main aesthetics are adaptability / flexibility / negotiation and celebration of the individual supported by his/her community. Forms are rarely fixed and rigidly predetermined. Rather, most are dominated by open-ended, interactive strategies and organizational devices (especially call and response, ornamentation, hocketting, complementary counter-rhythms and improvisation) that shape the content of ideas and their arrangement to meet the needs of the community at any given moment. This is especially true for musics in religious rituals, which always encourage and prioritize contributions by any

¹¹ e.g., remaining close to the ground to facilitate becoming "possessed," since spirits live in the earth; upraised hands as a sign of unity; purposeful walking-steps creating an image and feeling of moving forward to conquer adversity.

participants, even when source materials are the European-derived Sankey hymns that are Revival music's primary repertoire.¹²

Based upon these factors, the Jamaican conception of music is highly complex and variable, depending upon the context of its creation and reception, and the non-sonic factors to which particular pieces are linked. The range of possibilities run along a continuum, with neo-African aesthetics, elements, techniques, and practices at one end (as found in JFRM) and Europeanized formally rigid arrangements and elements at the other (which sometimes applies to JPM — more on this below).

Thus, although certain elements of Jamaican sonic patterns are often traceable to particular foreign sources (especially if one only considers surface characteristics), when considered holistically and phenomenologically, the Jamaican conception and performance of music has usually included and prioritized many non-sonic factors. Both JPM and JFRM have been dominated by neo-African concerns and aesthetics, in which musical sounds have rarely been produced simply for their own sake. Rather, sound patterns have usually been synchronized to, or have been at the services of, neo-African corporeal orientations, rituals, spiritual beliefs and community needs and concerns, typically in highly interactive social contexts that have often exerted major influences upon the content, dynamics and shape of the final musical structures.

With regard to JPM, it is important to distinguish between recordings and live performance practices. Problems and omissions occur when analysts focus exclusively upon recordings without consideration of the context of their indigenous reception, i.e.,

¹² See section 1.3.4.2 for particulars about how European elements are altered and dominated by neo-African performance aesthetics in Revival practices.

they omit non-sonic factors as well as ways that the sound and experience of recordings were significantly altered at Sound System dances. JPM records were heard by the underclass primarily at these dances,¹³ which involved much more than listening or dancing to records played through a P.A. system. Deejays edited and mixed records “on the spot” (by using equalization to change the timbre and sonic content of individual records, and by moving the needle to difference spots to resequence patterns and change a song’s form). Deejays toasted, sang or chanted with the records, got the audience to clap and/or sing along with the recording or with their chants, and to participate in call and response phrases created by deejays, usually to fill in gaps between records or when deejays moved the needle to skip over or repeat sections. These changes creolized the recording into a hybrid of live, prerecorded and manipulated sounds, combined with a mix of set and spontaneous dance steps and general social interaction.¹⁴ These manipulations were similar to the Jamaicanization¹⁵ of Sankey hymns at Revival services by preachers, choirs and congregations, and the transformation of European songs in Singing Games, Dance Music, Anansi Stories, Funeral Songs or as Work Songs through the addition of movement patterns, bobbins, call and response phrases, etc.; see sections 1.3.3.4 to 1.3.3.8 in Chapter One.

¹³ In the 1960s, the more affluent of the underclass, i.e., those who had disposable income, would also hear JPM recordings at home, either on purchased records or on the radio. Only the middle- and upper-classes could afford them until the late fifties/early sixties, when the price of both dropped significantly because of the invention of the transistor radio and because of the creation of radio station JBC in 1959, which boosted sales of both radios and records and caused the price to drop. See section 1.3.5.4 for more information on the history of Jamaican radio.

¹⁴ See section 1.3.4.7 for more information on JPM records at Sound System dances.

¹⁵ See sections 1.3.5.1 and 1.4.3 for discussion of Jamaicanization.

The live performance of JPM also existed along a continuum, from neo-African, interactive, spontaneous variations at one end (i.e., like the open-endedness of song performances at Revival services), to prescribed and virtually identical replications of recordings at the other. Examples of the former include artists such as Frederick "Toots" Hibbert, Jimmy Cliff, Desmond Dekker, Marcia Griffiths and Bob Marley who usually altered their songs every time they performed, frequently interacting with other performers and/or their audiences,¹⁶ adding asides, new phrases, improvisations, stretching things out and repeating, adding, lengthening or shortening sections. When they were required to lip-synch to their records (for TV appearances) or were constrained by time limits or other formats,¹⁷ however, they could (and did) deliver precise replications of their records, with minimal (if any) variations.

6.3 JAMAICAN EXPERIENCES OF MUSIC IN DAILY LIFE

As noted in section 6.2, the majority of Jamaican musical experiences (both JPM and JFRM) are in communal settings, with most musical styles utilizing a steady pulse. Both JPM and JFRM are also predominantly group-oriented in terms of musical ensembles, with a great deal of overlapping of parts and interaction amongst performers and audiences. Divisions between audience and performers in JFRM (especially in religious contexts) are often non-existent.

Many different sonic structures exist in Jamaican music, from simple and repetitive forms to complex open-ended ones that prioritize variation, embellishment and

¹⁶ Based upon the video footage analyzed in Chapter Five.

¹⁷ Such as playing their songs live on Sonny Bradshaw's "Jamaican Hit Parade" JBC radio show, which featured live renditions of the Top 10 songs each week.

transformations. Musicians communicate with each other primarily orally / aurally through non-notated sound patterns and using mimesis, i.e., non-verbal communication that employs the entire body as an expressive device (Donald 2001: 240).¹⁸

Donald notes that most cultural concepts involving highly complex skills like music / dance and athletics are transmitted and acquired via *mimesis*. Mimesis is dominated by eye contact, facial expressions, poses, attitude, body language, tones of voice, and consists of *mime*, *imitation*, *mimickry*, *skill* and *gesture*.¹⁹ It is the first layer of culture that we encounter as infants and children; it can vary tremendously from one cultural group to another (Donald 2001: 265). As noted in section 3.2, mimesis occurs because of mirror neurons which allow us to read other people intuitively, empathetically and nonverbally. In Jamaican culture, the choreographic rhythms described in section 1.4 and in Chapter Five are transmitted / acquired in every live musical performance situation. Once they become skills, these choreographic rhythmic motor gestalts become cognitive / neural patterns that can be transferred to any muscle system, in any combination (Donald 2001: 272, Shore 1996: 320).

¹⁸ JFRM and JPM are rarely notated in either live or recorded performances. American guitarist Al Anderson, who played lead guitar with the Wailers on their 1974 album *Natty Dread*, noted in 1976 that "sheet music is nowhere in sight [in Jamaican studios] — ever" (in T. White 1976: 40). See also Witmer (1981, 1987) for first-hand accounts of recording sessions in Jamaican studios, including descriptions of recording sessions where no notation is used. There is also no use of written music in any of the live performances examined in this study.

¹⁹ See section 3.3.2 for more discussion on mimesis, which Donald has classified into five types. *Mime*: imaginative re-enactment of an event. *Imitation*: the replication of another's actions, with full understanding of the other's perspective and objectives. *Mimickry*: similar to imitation, but without its deep understanding, i.e., only parrot-like copying imitation. *Skill*: the result of rehearsed imitative actions that become consistently replicable and ultimately unconscious, automatic actions. *Gestures*: explicitly communicative and / or intentional acts.

Based upon the findings presented in Chapter Five, the most striking thing about Jamaican choreographic rhythms is their consistency across all styles (JPM and JFRM) and the similarity between performers,' dancers' and other participants' movement styles/orientations.²⁰ Based upon the writings of the movement analysts cited in section 1.4 who have compared Jamaican and West/Central African movement patterns and found them to be essentially the same, this is an example of a "pure" African cultural retention that may well have continued unchanged for centuries. Gerhard Kubik, who has studied the musics in West and Central Africa, has observed similarities between the movement patterns of African dancers, musicians and performers (Kubik 1979: 227).²¹ As a result, he notes that African music is sometimes best conceived in terms of muscular patterns that constitute its *motor structure* (Kubik 1977: 329). These observations also apply to Jamaican music and dance, as do Kubik's explanation of how African music is usually taught:

When teaching African music, one emphasizes in many cases not only the sonic auditory aspect but primarily the motional production process. ... Patterns of movement are imparted 'physically' by the teacher to the pupil, for instance by a xylophonist holding his pupil's hands and imparting direct impulses to them until the pupil has absorbed the movement pattern and his hands holding the sticks act at the correct instant. (227)

Kubik (1979) advises researchers that acquiring performing experience is essential for the accurate and appropriate analysis of African music:

The movement patterns which form the basis of African music are usually simpler than the sonic result, which often confuses the outside observer. The mental, or

²⁰ Although it was impossible to arrive at a statistical figure for indigenous audiences' movement patterns, mostly because the same people were rarely featured consistently or for extended periods, audience and performer patterns were often identical.

²¹ Maultsby (1985) also shares Kubik's perspective.

even physical, absorption of patterns of movement in the learning process is one of the secrets of understanding African music as a musician or as a participating dancer. The body of the musician or dancer absorbs these patterns until they act as conditioned reflexes, and when they occur externally they immediately produce an inner response just like a reflex. If one has learned to know African music in this way, it is very difficult to sit still when one hears it and to suppress an inner response in the sense described. The affective response to the perception of such patterns takes place after the fashion of a reflex. One starts spontaneously to dance. (228)

Kubik's description corresponds with the discussion of the absent body by Varela et al (1991) and Donald's concept of "deep enculturation;" see section 3.2. Both note that, in highly skilled complex sensorimotor skills such as walking, dancing, driving a car, sport and music skills, repeated movement patterns disappear from our consciousness and are usually executed without any deliberate plan or awareness;²² i.e., muscle memory takes over, guiding and developing most movements.²³ Kubik's observations also point to the scaffolding process (discussed by Tomasello and others in section 3.3.2), whereby beginners piggy-back upon more experienced musicians' experiences to acquire their skills. Although many JPM musicians received formal musical instruction as part of their early training (at institutions like the Alpha Boys School), the development of JPM was a communal, dialogic achievement dominated by scaffolding, especially in the recording studios; see discussion in sections 1.3.5.3 to 1.3.5.6.

Another notable characteristic of JPM development was the significance of recordings, which Dennett and others call "off-loading" — the use of external devices to

²² Most choreographic rhythms are so deeply enculturated that performers are not aware of their existence.

²³ Other analysts who have researched the absent body include Bailly, Sheets-Johnstone, Keil, Proglor, Sudnow and R. Wilson; see bibliography for citations.

store information and ideas (see discussion in section 3.3.2). Although live performance played a central role in allowing musicians to engage in collective experimentation, the primary vehicle for dissemination of JPM was through recordings at Sound System dances.²⁴ For young musicians-to-be, their training was a mixture of live music (in the form of JFRM and interaction with other JPM artists), experiencing recordings at Sound System dances, on the radio, and through studying performances on records. These records were in all available contemporary styles: not only indigenous music, but also international (especially American and British) popular music and music from other circum-Caribbean regions and artists. Thus, the recording process combined both scaffolding (in rehearsals and during recording sessions) and off-loading, whereby musicians learned many musical ideas from others on records.

6.4 NEUROBIOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS OF JAMAICAN MUSICAL EXPERIENCE

As noted in Chapter Three, since the seventies, neurobiological research findings (especially those derived from brain imaging and scanning equipment) have indicated that mind, brain, body and environment are always interactive and enact each other in overlapping, non-hierarchical and constructivist relationships (VTR 1991: 199, Thompson 1999: 4). Our daily experiences and relationships generate our conceptions of “reality” and structure our perceptual/cognitive skills (Tomasello 1999: 79). Oyama (1985: 117) uses the term *developmental system* to include all of these factors plus our genes, subjective feelings and memories. Our encultured experiences give rise to *image*

²⁴ See Stolzoff (2000) for analysis of the role of Sound Systems in the development of JPM.

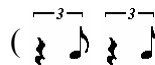
schemata, “recurring, dynamic pattern[s] of our perceptual interations and motor programs, that give coherence and structure to our experience” (Johnson 1987: xiv). Some schemata are universal (e.g., physical, dynamic patterns of growth and movement) but many arise out of specific cultural practices.²⁵

When choreographic rhythms are experienced in Jamaican developmental systems, participants acquire a highly complex image schema: the *weakest* sounds (on beats) receive the *strongest downward efforts*, and the *strongest* sounds (on offbeats) receive *strong upward lifts*, a gesture which is *generally perceived as light* (in ordinary movement patterns) (Bartenieff et al 1980: 85). Both beats and offbeats can be equal in *corporeal* intensity, weight and accent, although the main beat is usually felt as the stronger of the two. When the main pulse is between 60 and 70 beats per minute, when this equal corporeal emphasis is synchronized to an equal sonic emphasis (such as is often the case in the rockers style,²⁶ this suggests an $\frac{8}{8}$ meter rather than the $\frac{4}{4}$ which is commonly used to notate this rhythmic feel. *Downbeats* (the first beat of each measure) are *often unsounded* (with *strong downward motions*), yet are usually *strong beats in terms of harmonic change* (as implied by melodies). When downbeats are silent, *harmonic change* often occurs after its melodic implication, i.e., changes of harmony are frequently sounded on beat one and a half²⁷ or on beat two. *Melodies* can begin in many

²⁵ This view of image schemata is shared by Damasio, Donald, Goodridge, Johnson, Lakoff & Johnson, Oyama, Sheets-Johnstone, Shore, Tomasello and Varela et al.

²⁶ This is reflected in the predominance of Movement B (pulsing down/up in sixteenth notes) in slower JPM; see Chapter Five.

²⁷ Depending upon the tempo of the piece and the density referent of the part producing the harmonic change, this placement can occur upon a variety of offbeats.

places: on downbeats, in conjunction with harmonic changes, or somewhere else, and **phrase lengths** of harmonic and melodic patterns are often different or overlapping. With larger ensembles, it is common to hear a variety of different simultaneous beat subdivisions (e.g., swung and straight eighths, sixteenths, thirty-seconds and/or sixty-fourths) and/or dissimilar starting/ending points and asynchronous accents. When these sonic complexities are combined with body movement patterns that strongly accent silent beats, it is not surprising that musicians with little or no prior experience with JPM or JFRM frequently have difficulty hearing, feeling, and/or performing Jamaican sounds and movements. Two significant examples of consistent misperceptions or errors in the literature due to a lack of familiarity with choreographic rhythms are: 1) Jamaican offbeats (especially in ska) are often identified as occurring at the midway point between beats (♪ ♪, etc.) or as the last note of a triplet figure (, etc.), yet they are frequently sounded slightly midway between an eighth and a triplet. 2) Songs with a slow  feel, common in roots reggae or rockers, are often notated with the eighth note perceived as the beat, i.e., one bar of  is written out as two bars of $\frac{4}{4}$. See **FIGURE 6.1** (next page) as an example of these two forms of notation, using four Bob Marley and the Wailers songs.

Bradd Shore (1996) has examined the relationship between perception and enculturation based upon contemporary neurobiological findings, and provides a number of interpretive frameworks useful to examine JPM and JFRM in greater depth. A number of his ideas explain how cultural forms (such as JPM and JFRM) affect the development of perceptual, cognitive and performance abilities and skills of the people

who experience them regularly.

Evolution has equipped our species with ‘an ecological brain,’ dependent throughout its life on environmental input. ... Our nervous system unfolds in relation to two quite different kinds of environment, the one more ‘natural’ and the other more cultural. Basic cognitive skills like perception, classification, and inference have evolved in the species and develop in individuals as ways in which ... [our] body interacts with the ... physical world.²⁸ ... [Our] nervous system ... has evolved under the sway of culture (in general) and ... *a* culture (in particular). The human nervous system appears to be dependent on external models or programs for normal operation. (Shore 1996: 4, italics in original)

<u>NOTATION OF JPM GROOVES</u>	
<u>MORE APPROPRIATE</u> Shows regulative beat as articulated corporeally	<u>LESS APPROPRIATE</u> Doesn't indicate regulative beat as articulated corporeally
"Simmer Down" (Ska) 1965 Guitar/ KB Bs Dr	Guitar/ KB Bs Dr
"Thank You Lord" (Rocksteady) 1967 Guitar/ KB Bs Dr	Guitar/ KB Bs Dr
"Slave Driver" (Reggae) 1973 Guitar/ KB Bs Dr	Guitar/ KB Bs Dr
"Lively Up Yourself" (Roots Reggae) 1974 Tamb Accents Bs Dr	Tamb Accents Bs Dr

FIGURE 6.1: TWO FORMS OF JPM NOTATION

²⁸ Shore uses “natural” here to refer to the *inner, subjective* aspects of experience, whereas Varela’s usage is exactly the opposite, that is for *outer, objective* aspects of experience. Varela uses “mind” to refer to inner, subjective states; Shore uses “nature” to refer to what is “naturally” inside us. Varela, on the other hand, uses “nature” to refer to those culturally derived factors and experiences that exist outside of ourselves; for this, Shore uses the word “culture.” Thus, although Shore’s and Varela’s similar, yet different use of vocabulary might be confusing on the surface, when one looks closely, they are clearly describing the same relationships; the big difference is how they interpret and apply the word “nature.”

There is a complex relationship between external cultural influences and our internal mental representations of this culture. “The idea of a ‘cultured brain.’.. is not simply the problem of thinking about culture *and* mind but specifically the challenge of conceptualizing culture *in* mind” (ibid.: 5, italics in original).

Like all of the enactivists discussed in Chapter Three, Shore (1996) observes that contemporary neurobiological evidence indicates that perception is always a constructivist process. Our cultural models shape our perceptual apparatus, which then determines not only *how* we perceive, but *what* we perceive, how we think about these perceptions and how we respond to them and to subsequent stimuli and experiences.²⁹

Thus, amidst the flood of impressions that we perceive, our brain selects or prioritizes certain impressions and filter outs or downplays others. As per Hebb’s Rule,³⁰ a repeated task creates “dedicated connections” between neurons in the cerebral cortex, which are strengthened over time. When the brain recognizes and anticipates a pattern, and makes a correct prediction, “the [neuronal] connections become even stronger” (Blakeslee 1995b: C10). Thus, repetitive activities actually transform the very structure of our brains: they *create* the particular “wiring” and connections between the neurons. This is why perception and cognition are always enactive, constructed and embodied, and our sense organs are *never* neutral transmitters of “objective” information.

²⁹ Psychologist J.L. Mursell made the same observation back in 1937. “Music depends essentially not on the stimuli which reach the external ear, nor even upon the responses which the structures of the inner ear make to those stimuli, but rather upon the organizing and transforming of the mind upon them. ... [Musical effects depend upon an array of intricate selective and synthesizing activities] by which the mind determines the patterns and relationship[s] ... in what comes to the ear” (Mursell 1937: 50, 53).

³⁰ See section 3.1.4 for discussion.

The brain is not ... a passive recording device, ... [or] a waiting shell into which specific contents are dumped. ... It is a ... pattern-seeking, and pattern-generating organ ... an adaptive and opportunistic information processor that transforms its data into meaningful patterns. To the extent that these patterned neural networks are altered through learning, it becomes difficult to clearly distinguish the container from the contents. ... Variations in cultural cognition can be traced to important local differences in the specific models and general schemas that constrain ordinary perception and understanding. ... [Although] all humans share a common nervous system, ... the place of cultural models in [the] mind can never be relegated to a kind of window-dressing over ... primordial ... hardware understood as the 'real' meaning of mind. (Shore 1996: 7-8)

Shore's description provides a neurobiological explanation as to how and why the choreographic rhythms of Jamaican Folk and Religious Musics (JFRM) were maintained in JPM. When JPM artists were young, they were most likely exposed to the cultural models of JFRM on a regular basis,³¹ which would have shaped their anticipations about what type of corporeal and sonic patterns they would have expected to encounter in any new music they would come across. Thus, when they heard the offbeat accents in late forties/early fifties American R&B, there is a strong possibility that they would have projected JFRM sound and movement image schemata onto R&B offbeats and interpreted them as variations of Jamaican offbeats.³² The fact that Jamaican musicians' initial attempts to play American R&B resulted in Jamaicanized (i.e., slightly heavier and longer) offbeats seems to provide further evidence that their perceptual, cognitive and performance skills were simply showing the effects of ongoing exposure to JFRM cultural models. Once ska emerged, and neo-African features increased in intensity as musicians gained confidence about expressing their African roots, leading first to rocksteady, and

³¹ See section 1.3, 1.4 and Chapter Four for accounts of the sociohistorical events and indigenous traditions during the childhood years of JPM artists.

³² This may have been a conscious perception/connection, but was most likely an intuitive/automatic response/decision, based upon two types of cultural models: "idiosyncratic schemas" and "somatic markers" — both discussed in the coming pages.

then to reggae, other projections from JFRM were transferred to either Jamaicanized R&B (that were then incorporated into JPM) or to existing JPM: mento banjo strumming patterns to guitar strumming, drumming feels and patterns from Burru and Jonkonnu, bass riffs from mento, and percussive approaches from Kumina and Nyabingi drumming onto guitar and keyboard playing.

Cultural models are always learned enactively and developed according to what Shore (1996) calls “idiosyncratic schemas”:

The brain [is] dependent for its functioning on a range of extrinsically derived models. ... [We all possess a variety of] idiosyncratic schemas constructed opportunistically and ecologically by individuals as a way of negotiating novel environments. These are part of an individual’s personal knowledge. Between the species and the individual lie prepackaged forms of knowledge that coordinate groups of individuals and are the property of communities. (10-11)

Jamaican choreographic rhythms and the various Jamaicanized performing techniques described above are examples of “idiosyncratic schema” which were acquired ecologically and intuitively by Jamaican musicians whenever they partook in JFRM and indigenous traditions, especially those with strong neo-African roots (see section 1.3.2) and transferred unconsciously, intuitively or deliberately to JPM. Thus, JFRM traditions and newly creolized JPM forms became prepackaged forms of knowledge that coordinated the behaviour and thought processes of individual musicians and became the property of their musical communities – other musicians and their audiences.³³

Shore (1996) calls the process by which we acquire idiosyncratic schema “cultural meaning construction.” It is

a specific kind of assimilation, requiring two distinct cognitive processes. 1) A

³³ These schema and prepackaged forms of knowledge are not restricted to Jamaica proper; they are also present in Jamaican Diasporic communities.

conventional form of a cognitive model is derived from instituted models present in the social environment. 2) A novel experience is organized for an individual in relation to this conventional cognitive model, providing a significant degree of sharing in the way individuals within a community experience the world. (319)

Once again this applies to the development of JPM. JFRM techniques and forms were “conventional forms of cognitive models” derived from instituted Jamaican models, i.e., neo-African JFRM traditions. JPM produced “novel experiences, initially organized for in-dividuals in relation to the conventional cognitive model” of JFRM (i.e., organized by the musicians who first developed these new musical styles) which were subsequently shared and accepted by the Jamaican community at large.

With regard to Jamaican musicians’ learning, they acquired “instituted models” and developed their idiosyncratic schema primarily through *mimetic representation*, a way of learning that “underlies all modern cultures and forms the most basic medium of human communication. ... [It] is distinct from literal mimicry or simple imitation in that it involves the invention of *intentional* representations” (Donald cited in Shore 1996: 320, italics in original). Mimetic representations are re-creations of perceptual models through analogic schematization (ibid.: 320).

Mimetic representations are inherently cross-modal and permit representations to move freely among distinct sensory and motor modalities. Human aesthetic qualities such as the feeling for rhythm are supramodal and ‘once a rhythm is established it may be played out with any motor modality, including the hands, feet, head, mouth or the whole body’ (Donald 1991:186). Indeed this modal ‘slipperiness’ of rhythm goes beyond different motor modalities and includes the ability to perceive analogous rhythm in physical motion, in sound, and in visual representations.³⁴ The supramodal character of mimetic representation suggests ... the exis-

³⁴ This is essentially the same point that Brownell (1994) has made in his analysis of how trap drummers transfer rhythmic ideas from one limb to another. Paul Farnsworth has also made this point. “The ability learned by one set of muscles ‘crosses over’ in some degree to the other sets. A rhythmic pattern, say a five-beat one learned through drill with the right hand, is in actuality learned by the entire organism. The left hand, either foot, or in fact any mobile

tence in the brain of 'a central mimetic controller that can track various movement modalities *simultaneously* and in parallel.' (Donald 1991:186, italics in original). ... This mimetic controller ... integrat[es] perceptions from numerous sensory and motor modalities. (Shore 1996: 320)

The fact that musicians can easily transfer rhythms from one modality to another (e.g., hearing a pattern then performing it with any part of the body) and that their memories of repeated musical sounds become integrated with the muscle memory required to make these sounds is evidence of the neurobiological links that account for choreographic rhythms.

Like Shore (and Donald), Lakoff & Johnson (1999) also examine the importance of mimetic representation,³⁵ but in greater detail, with significant implications for the rote and non-verbal learning that is the primary means of musical communication in Jamaican cultural forms. Lakoff & Johnson cite Bailey's 1997 research which notes that

at the neuronal level, the conceptual structure of a body-movement concept would be doing the same kind of job as the neural structures carrying out the movement. ... The information characterizing each detail of a high-level motor action is the same as the information needed to activate the performance of each detail of a higher-level motor action. (579-580)

In other words, **the conceptualization of a movement** (i.e., the motor schema) **and the actual movement itself produce the *same* neuronal response. In terms of brain activity, there is *essentially no difference* between imagined movement and actual movement.**³⁶

"It is possible for a motor schema to function as a pattern recognition device for what

part of the body can beat out the rhythm" (Farnsworth 1969: 63).

³⁵ Although Lakoff & Johnson do not adopt Shore's or Donald's terminology.

³⁶ With regards to musical experience, however, as discussed in Chapter Three, in section 3.3.1, there many additional factors that usually arise when a piece of music is performed live, as opposed to simply imagining it.

[one] sees or imagines someone else doing. ... The system of motor schemas ... in the brain can operate without the muscles of the body actually moving" (Lakoff & Johnson 1999: 580-1). As a result, *when our observation of others is rooted in prior embodied experience that is similar to that of these observed others*, we can learn to imitate these others, i.e., we can "vividly imagine [them], doing what [they do], experiencing what [they] experience" (ibid: 565) *without necessarily engaging in the actual movements themselves*.³⁷ **Our prior experiences with movement patterns allow us to**

empathetically imagine ourselves in the body of another, cognitively simulating the movements of the other. That cognitive simulation, when 'vivid,' is the actual activation of motor programs with input to the muscles inhibited, which results in the 'feel' of movement without [actually] moving. The experience of such a 'feel' is a form of empathetic projection. (ibid: 565, bolding added)

This phenomenon of "the feel of movement without actually moving" certainly seems to apply to performances by Bob Marley & the Wailers in non-public settings examined in Chapter Five, i.e., when there was an increase of "No Movement" from 1.3% to 14.4%. It was also noted in Chapter Five that quite often, when JPM artists appeared to be still, that if the film was sped up, very small and subtle movements (not visible at regular speed) emerged, which indicated that they were still maintaining the same basic choreographic pulse with very slight down-up pulsations that were more a shifting of weight

³⁷ With regard to music, corporeal movements that are associated with particular sonic patterns can be perceived strictly from the sounds. Kubik (1979) has observed this frequently with regard to the reception of African music. "The motional patterns in African music are usually immediately recognized by those taking part and the dancers respond with the corresponding movements" (231).

than overt movement.³⁸ Bailey's (and other researcher's³⁹) evidence that motor neurons are *always* activated during musical experiences seems to explain the reason for these very slight, "invisible" movements. This evidence also explains why people who do *not* have prior or sufficient experience with the image schema (i.e., choreographic rhythms) of a musical tradition, usually find it difficult and sometimes impossible to formulate an accurate or consistent motor schema necessary to perform the sounds properly, especially with regard to replicating all the nuances of groove (see Iyer's discussion of groove in section 3.4.3).⁴⁰ When they try to recreate (or analyze) Jamaican rhythms only based upon what they *think* they hear, especially if they only use recordings, there are *no* appropriate movement schematization models to draw upon. The results are often unsatisfactory, because the particular motor movements that produce the sonic result are omitted, altered or substituted with an entirely different movement. (This explains why people who lack experience with "the deep and distinctive wellsprings of Jamaican culture" often have difficulty understanding and performing JPM. This is further discussed in Chapter Seven.)

With this understanding of how external and internal cultural models shape the mental and physical abilities of members of a cultural group, JPM can therefore be considered as the result of the application and adaptation of idiosyncratic schema to the

³⁸ See DVD video 1.7 for two examples of very subtle movements which become visible when film is sped up.

³⁹ Bangert et al 2001, Bangert & Altenmuller 2003, Halpern 2001, Haueisen et al 2001, Hickok et al 2003, Langheim et al 2002, Lotze et al 2003, Munte et al 2002, Pantev et al 2001, Pascual-Leone 2001, Rauschecker 2001, Todd 1999.

⁴⁰ Maultsby (1985) shares this perspective for all African-based musics.

perceptual models derived from instituted models of corporeally rich JFRM traditions, which have been transmitted from musician to musician in the type of aural, non-verbal mimetic representation described in section 6.3. The JPM rhythmic feel and aesthetic orientation (involving all of the sonic and corporeal characteristics discussed in section 1.3 and 1.4) developed in ensemble-generated *processes*, in which subtleties and techniques were primarily acquired and passed on mimetically.⁴¹

Contemporary neurological research findings (such as those of Antonio Damasio 1999: 184; also see 147-154, 182-187) about the way memory operates provide additional information with which to contextualize JPM and JFRM practices. Our memories blend everything experienced in a given moment into unified, inseparable gestalts, which Damasio calls dispositional representations. Dispositional representations combine all physical details, sensations, musculoskeletal information and one's emotional and cognitive states during a particular event or stimulus. These findings show, in contrast to the cognitivist view that consciousness is strongly linked to language,⁴² that consciousness consists primarily of nonverbal images and feelings. Our feelings, which are intertwined with our corporeal state, play a crucial role in our intuitive reactions to new stimuli or experiences. Damasio calls intuitive reactions/feelings

⁴¹ Maultsby (1985) notes this scenario in all African-based musics: "The process of music-making, both in West Africa and Black America, extends beyond mere sound production. Bodily movements and their dance manifestations constitute an integral part of the process. In all genres of Black music, various forms of motion, including head movement, shoulder jerking, foot-tapping, hand-clapping, arm extension, body swaying, and other types of physical movement [both] accompany [and are essential to] the production of sound" (46). Sudnow (1979: 91) uses the term 'the corporate body' to refer to the interaction of a group of musicians engaged in communal improvisation. This is discussed further in section 3.1.4.1

⁴² See Appendix B for a detailed discussion of cognitivism.

“somatic markers,” and notes that we identify the significance of an experience primarily based upon the bodily feeling tone associated with it (Damasio in Donald 2001: 67).⁴³ Of course, this doesn’t mean that consciousness doesn’t include language, but rather that discursive symbols may not always be the driving force, and certainly not the only level of mental activity. As enactivist research clearly indicates, “thinking” can (and usually does) involve many modalities and senses. And with regards to musical experiences, *musical* thoughts typically involve a mixture of corporeal sensations, tones, pulsations, patterns of duration and *lots* of emotional activity. The consistency of musical choices by JPM artists since the fifties points to the existence of similar dispositional representations rooted in shared histories with neo-African JFRM forms. The intuitive embracing of increasingly neo-African permutations ever since the proto-ska experiments of the late fifties through to seventies’ rockers also points to shared somatic markers about the emotional value and importance of creating new musical forms rooted in an African heritage while also reflecting contemporary urban life in Jamaica (and the influences of African American R&B). Enactivist research also indicates that this intuitive embracing of particular sonic and corporeal structures is nurtured and most often inspired by the sociocultural environment within which one is most comfortable.

⁴³ See Damasio (1995, 1999) for a highly detailed study of the relationship between emotions and reasoning.

6.5 CONCLUSION

The findings of the neurobiological research that examines links between culture and the development and operation of our perceptual and cognitive apparatus, memories, abilities and skills have considerable implications for the study of musical systems (such as JPM and JFRM) in which choreographic rhythms are a significant factor: *people who possess a particular motor schema will perceive and perform sound patterns associated with particular body movements differently than people without this schema and can do so without any overt or visible movements.* Enactivist research also shows that habitually experienced sound and movement couplings can become so strongly linked that the experience of one will evoke the other. With regard to Jamaican musical practices, this means that people who have always experienced particular sounds as choreographic rhythms will link sounds with particular movements and corporeal reactions involuntarily whenever they not only hear or perform the sounds, but also simply when they *think* about them. The reverse would also be true — that the physical activity could evoke the sound patterns. And of course, they could also evoke each other in a dialogic, equal relationship. The selection of trumping movements (see section 1.4.2.2) to synchronize to the offbeat accents in ska is an example of this intuitive, automatic process. Considered from an enactive perspective, then, when those musicians who grew up in Jamaica heard, witnessed or participated in musical events, they acquired dispositional representations that combined choreographic rhythms, image and motor schemata, and a bodily feeling tone that would play important roles in their intuitive conception of music when they later chose musical careers. Now this isn't

to say that individual movement schema would be identical, since different body sizes, shapes and metabolisms have naturally comfortable ways of moving — especially when intuitive, involuntary movements are concerned — but if one looks at the range of movement and sound schemata at a revival service,⁴⁴ for example, there are more similarities than dissimilarities, and the variety and quality of movements fall within a fairly narrow stylistic range.

And when considered holistically, the corporeal aspect of Jamaican choreographic rhythms is thus never separate from the sonic patterns nor merely the realization of mental processes; it often clearly becomes a source of musical ideas and shapes performance practice. As Baily puts it,

What is remarkable about musical performance is the integration of auditory and spatiomotor representations of music structure; the same pattern can be attended to by the performer [and also the listener or analyst] both as a pattern of movement and as a pattern of sound. Auditory, kinesthetic, and visual information may *all* be involved in the planning and feedback control of the pattern. Instead of viewing the spatiomotor component in musical cognition as a lower-level process through which auditory images are translated into sound patterns called music, *it may be better to treat auditory and spatiomotor modes of musical cognition as of potentially equal importance. The spatiomotor mode can then be regarded as a legitimate and commonly used mode of musical thought, used to instigate and to control musical performance, and just as creative as the auditory mode, for creativity in music may often consist of deliberately finding new ways to move on the instrument, which are then assessed, and [become] further creative acts, guided by the aesthetic evaluation of the resultant novel sonic patterns.* (Baily 1985:257-8, italics added)⁴⁵

Jamaican musics (and most other African-derived musics) have historically been passed on primarily by mimesis. Musicians without prior experience in Jamaican musical prac-

⁴⁴ See description in sections 1.3.4.2 and 1.4.1.7, and especially DVD video 3.11 (which shows several Revival services and many dozens of participants).

⁴⁵ Baily also makes these same points in Baily (1992: 151) and Baily & Driver (1992: 59). Also see Maultsby (1985).

tices who attempt to learn or imitate them primarily from explanations or audio recordings lack the understanding of the *perspective* and *objectives* of Jamaican musical practice which is dominated by a particular type of corporeality. As Marley observed,⁴⁶ this music requires *doing* and *feeling*. The high percentage of Jamaican musicians who favour the same type of choreographic movements (whether in JPM or JFRM) hardly seems coincidental. The evidence in this study, and the discussion in this chapter strongly suggest that the main and most likely reason for this commonality of choreographic rhythms is due to the way that the musical minds/brains/bodies of JPM artists have been interlinked with their cultural environments. This dialogic interrelationship shaped their expectations, perception, cognitive and performance abilities along similar neurobiological lines that favoured particular choreographic rhythms as a central means of conceptualizing and organizing musical experiences. Ultimately, then, since Jamaican music literally *is* dance (from a neurobiological perspective), its study (whether with the goal of analysis or of performance) therefore requires no less than the acquisition of appropriate motor experiences as a starting point. Of course, this does not mean that choreographic rhythms are unique to Jamaican music (or other neo-African musics). Most musics around the world involve choreographic rhythms, but the particular sound and movement patterns are not all the same, although some might be. The goal for analysts and practitioners of not only Jamaican music, but of any style is to identify and master the appropriate choreographic rhythms, otherwise, as Marley has succinctly put it, the result will only be a “copy” that simply “won’t do it.”

⁴⁶ With reference to his comment (cited in Introduction) about non-Jamaicans’ difficulties performing Jamaican music.

7. ANALYSIS OF “OUTSIDER” ARTISTS’¹ JPM PERFORMANCES

This chapter examines non-Jamaican artists who have covered JPM songs or created their own original JPM-style music, either in live or recorded performances. It is divided into four sections, 7.1 INTRODUCTION, 7.2 OUTSIDE ARTISTS PERFORMING JPM: METHODOLOGY & FINDINGS, 7.3 ANALYSIS OF STATISTICS FROM AN ENACTIVIST PERSPECTIVE, and 7.4 CONCLUSION.

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Traditionally, most white musicians [have] found Jamaican music hard to imitate. Since the late 1960s various pop and rock artists [have] attempted to experiment with reggae rhythms, achieving intermittent chart success with near approximations of Jamaican styles. Reggae, however, [does] not easily lend itself to musical appropriation. For most rock musicians [of the sixties, seventies and eighties], Jamaican music was completely alien to the R&B and blues traditions to which they were accustomed. (Jones 1988: 104-5)

Although Jones’ observations appear to target only “white musicians,” he expands this label² in his analysis to include *any* musicians who have grown up in a non-Jamaican cultural environment, such as African Americans and non-Jamaican British blacks. He notes that lack of familiarity with Jamaican traditions results in outsiders perceiving Jamaican music differently from indigenous Jamaican performers and audiences, and that “Outsider Artists” (to use my terminology, which is compatible with

¹ i.e., artists whose expertise, training and experience have primarily (if not exclusively) been “outside” of in-depth or consistent exposure to Jamaican cultural influences.

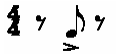
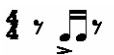
² “White reggae” is commonly applied to JPM made by outsider musicians, but this label is problematic for many reasons. For starters, it’s often applied to all non-Jamaican attempts at JPM, including ones by African American musicians such as Johnny Nash, Stevie Wonder, the Staple Singers, as well as biracial bands such as War, the Selector, the Specials, the Beat and UB40. Since Jones is here referring to a lack of cultural experience and competency, not whether one is of African descent, his (and others’ use of similar terms) is unfortunate, since it can easily be misconstrued as racist or essentialist. Alleyne (2000) calls JPM-styled music made by outsiders “pseudoreggae” (20), which is still problematic, since it presumes that none of this music is “authentic” simply because its makers live outside of Jamaica.

Jones' meaning) often have difficulty replicating many JPM nuances, especially rhythmic ones. This observation has been reiterated by many analysts and musicians themselves³ ever since the first JPM recordings started appearing on international charts in the sixties and Outsider Artists (OA) tried either copying these recordings or making their own. Most non-Jamaican musicians have discovered that there is something elusively complex about the Jamaican rhythmic sensibility that belies its harmonic and melodic simplicity and surface similarities to rock and R&B. As Timothy White (1976) humorously put it, with reference to the first batch of JPM recordings (and their clones) in the early seventies, "What the hell *is* this 'Slinky-Toy' rhumba that's keeping me up nights?" (38, italics in original). Other than this problem being noted, however, few analysts have explored the reasons for these difficulties and scrutinized Outside Artists' versions of JPM with reference to many, if any, musicological factors. Also, no analysts have considered, let alone examined, the role of corporeal factors in OA's JPM, which the findings presented in this chapter suggest are strongly related to these differences, since OA choreographic rhythms are often not the same as those of the Jamaican artists examined in Chapter Five.

Dick Hebdige (1974, 1982, 1987), Lenny Kaye (1982) and Mike Alleyne⁴ (2000)

³ E.g. Comments by Paul McCartney in Thomas (1973), by Paul Simon in Alleyne (2000), and Wayne Perkins (American session guitarist who performed on Bob Marley & The Wailers' *Catch A Fire* album in 1972) in *Classic Albums: Catch A Fire* (DVD), noting their difficulties in their initial understanding and performance of JPM grooves. (See DVD video 5.2 for Perkin's interview in this documentary.) Al Anderson, an American who was the Wailers' guitarist since 1974, notes that "American or British artist[s] ... who try ta copy [reggae] arrive at somethin' else. People 'ave gottan close ... but is still differ'nt" (White 1976: 41). Simon & Davis (1977) have observed, "[M]any of the finest rock and jazz drummers in the world have been unable to master reggae time" (12).

⁴ Note: There is another Alleyne cited in this study, a Caribbean scholar named Mervyn

have also examined the phenomenon of Outsider Artist JPM and suggested reasons for these sonic differences. All describe OA's versions of JPM as "diluted" or "watered down" in comparison to indigenous JPM because non-Jamaican musicians only borrow *some* of JPM's cultural ingredients and syntax (Alleyne 2000: 15-25, Hebdige 1987: 95, Jones 1988: 106-110, Kaye 1982: 167). My own musicological analysis of OA JPM supports this assessment, with qualifications.⁵ Most of these recordings only include isolated features of JPM, with guitar or keyboards usually playing:  or  as the most common way to "Jamaicanize" a song,⁶ while retaining most, if not all, the main features from the OA's "native" style (e.g., rock, pop, jazz, country). In other words, the Jamaican ingredients are minimally integrated with the compositional structure or procedural development of the songs to which they have been added. The effect is like playing a song on a keyboard with a reggae beat-box preset. The reggae rhythm may be concurrent and in synchronization with the other sounds, but it is a separate, unchanging ostinati pattern. To use a culinary analogy, most OA's Jamaicanization procedures are like adding soy sauce to a favourite dish and calling it "Oriental" food. Cooking in a particular cultural style usually involves much more than simply adding characteristic ingredients to a dish that has been prepared in a manner

Alleyne. In this chapter, however, all references are to *Mike* Alleyne, even when only a surname is given.

⁵ As discussed later in this section, I do not share Alleyne's perception and conclusions that OA JPM has little artistic merit.

⁶ Other frequent Jamaicanizations include bass parts omitting regulative beats and/or accenting offbeats and one-drop or rockers drumming style. Less frequent are hocketing of parts, wholesale afterbeat harmonic shifts, offbeat melodic phrasing (especially in vocal parts) and an overall lightness of beats.

that is foreign to that style. Cooking procedures, tools and ways of preparing and combining ingredients are often as important as the ingredients themselves. With regard to OA's JPM, one rarely encounters the type of hocketing, emergent beats, rhythms and counter-rhythms that are normative in Jamaican music and usually inseparably integrated with generative musical ideas. With most OA JPM these Jamaican devices are rarely integrated with the central, core ideas of a piece, but usually consist of surface, ornamental "add-ons." The collaborative, interactive Jamaican process is also usually absent, with little of the transformation and open-endedness that are normative in Jamaican music, especially in live performance. Echoing Bilby's observations quoted in Chapter One, Kaye suggests that one of the main reasons for omissions and stylistic incongruities in OA JPM (in comparison with authentic JPM) is that most non-Jamaican artists have "little understanding of the soul of the music, ... the social set and setting which might bring reggae into sharper focus" (168). Alleyne notes that "pseudoreggae songs ... have utilized fragmented elements of the music's syntax while simultaneously divorcing [JPM] from the political polemics of Rastafari, and reggae culture in general" (15).

As to the meaning, significance and aesthetic value of "pseudoreggae," however, these analysts part company. Alleyne considers most non-Jamaican and commercial JPM (even by Bob Marley & the Wailers) as "culturally and musically suspect" (19).⁷ He

⁷ In his dismissal of all OA JPM, Alleyne fails to acknowledge ways that these artists' successes contributed to JPM. Although most OA *did* lack the necessary experiences to replicate JPM nuances in the same manner as indigenous performers, many had no intention of replicating the style fully. Many simply used it as a jumping off point to create a hybrid of their own, and in so doing, produced high-quality music that both introduced many non-Jamaicans to JPM and inspired them to investigate JPM made by indigenous artists.

argues that the commercialization of JPM by OA and by the internationalization of reggae by major JPM artists has “contributed significantly to [JPM’s] ideological defusion and creative dilution” (15). He links JPM to particular sociocultural factors in Jamaica, and problematizes artists (whether non-Jamaican or Jamaican) who “remove [JPM] from its original temporal context in an attempt to ... transplant it into [the present]” (20). Alleyne accurately identifies JPM’s polyrhythmic African percussive approach (that is strongly linked to dance⁸) (18) as its most “authentic” feature, but his conception of the continuation of Jamaican traditions problematizes most contemporary permutations of reggae and its absorption of outside influences (both by Jamaican and non-Jamaican artists⁹). He views such endeavours as “a detachment of reggae from its original lyrical, instrumental and social contexts, thus creating a misrepresentational pseudoreggae manifestation to be consumed by the mainstream audience” (ibid.). Although he acknowledges that

[JPM has always been] a hybrid text in the first instance [and that JPM] was influenced by and has sought to assimilate elements of other musical styles, ... the commercial framework within which this has most often been attempted has usually been detrimental rather than progressive. The white representations of [JPM] in this commercial context ... have produced a creative vortex within which notions of authenticity eventually become highly distorted. (27)

In many ways, Alleyne’s view is ultimately so “purist” that it problematizes the creolization process that generated JPM in the first place. He is highly critical of artists (such as

⁸ Alleyne (2000) only alludes to dance, and doesn’t directly address the relationship between sonic and corporeal patterns. He describes the reggae groove as a “kinetic cohesion of drums and bass guitar and the choppy interjections of rhythm guitar and keyboards [which] reflect a percussive sensibility traceable to an Afro-Caribbean axis ... elements that are rarely found collectively in white reggae” (18).

⁹ Alleyne is particularly negative about Bob Marley’s commercialization after he became an international artist when he joined with Island Records in 1973.

Marley) because they/he reached international audiences who interpreted traditional Jamaican sonic and lyrical symbols differently from Jamaican audiences due to the alteration of traditional styles with outside references or musical devices.¹⁰ Alleyne's overall conceptualization of "authenticity" is ultimately related to the degree by which artists replicate and retain original cultural features from the sixties and seventies, which is a conservative interpretation that seems to regard all change and deviation with suspicion.

On the other hand, Hebdige, Jones, and Kaye consider innovation and change as positive ongoing forces in JPM history, and see contemporary developments (both by JPM artists and OA) as part of its ongoing development.¹¹ They note that Outsider Artists' approaches to JPM have resulted in musical and ideological differences and changes, but don't imbue these differences with Alleyne's negativity and restricted con-

¹⁰ One curious omission by Alleyne is any reference to the rockers groove/style, which was created by Jamaican drummer Sly Dunbar in the mid-seventies as a deliberate permutation of American disco drumming (Simon & Davis 1982: 135). Alleyne's criticism of non-Jamaican influences upon JPM would quite likely conclude that the rockers continuous eighth-note bass drum pattern was not an "authentic" Jamaican rhythm. Rather, he would likely view it as a commercially driven permutation of disco drumming that has abandoned the original heartical pulsations of Nyabinghi-influenced roots reggae drumming (see section 1.3.4.6). Yet, rockers' 'dilution' of the roots reggae style was easier to dance to by non-Jamaican audiences and frequently appeared in many Outsider Artist arrangements. Most significantly, it also resulted in some of the most creative and highly neo-African music of the reggae genre, e.g., Bob Marley & the Wailers' *Exodus* album, and most of Black Uhuru's post-1980 Sly & Robbie-arranged material.

¹¹ Based upon the sociocultural historical background of JPM and its relationship to JFRM — presented in Chapters One and Four — it appears to me that these authors' interpretation of OA JPM as merely another phase in its overall development is in keeping with the ongoing dynamic growth of all Jamaican music since the slavery era. Alleyne, on the other hand, interprets various Jamaican forms as static archetypes essentially frozen in time, and a view of authenticity which venerates replication and admires performers who "stick to their roots," meaning those who engage in the fewest and least-radical innovations.

ception of authenticity. All three believe that many of the homegrown British JPM artists (such as those in the Two Tone movement of the late seventies/early eighties¹²) were particularly creative in their refashioning of JPM to meet the needs of both British Jamaicans and white youth. They argue that these artists' fusions of punk, rock, R&B and JPM were a reflection of their environment, especially the "rapport that had been built up between black and white youth who had been to school together and shared the same streets, communities and leisure activities" (Jones 1988: 104). In distinct contrast to Alleyne's interpretation of these changes as distortions and dilutions, Kaye (1982) considers "the give-and-take between white and black reggae [as] an intermingling on several different levels, a backscratching coexistence based on mutual favor: as the international popular music community encompasses reggae, so reggae can become a part of that community" (167). As Jones (1988) also puts it,

while reggae remains partially anchored in the experience of the Jamaican working class, its 'meaning' is by no means fixed or unitary, nor reducible to that class alone. ... [The] commercial development [of JPM in the seventies, and Outside Artists' appropriation of stylistic elements] has supplied the infrastructural means for reggae's dissemination to disparate communities of Afro-Caribbean peoples in ... metropolitan countries ... [and] partly enabled reggae to acquire a mass popularity beyond the boundaries of its original context of production, embracing not only the British black community but other social groups in the population at large. (31)

Although Kaye (1982) understands how some people might view the changes wrought by both Jamaican artists and OA in the seventies and early eighties as "dilutions," he "prefer[s] to see [them] as adaptation and mutation, [resulting in] the spread of [JPM's]

¹² Two Tone (aka 2 Tone) was a British record label with the following groups: The Specials, Madness, the Selector, the Beat (aka the English Beat in North American releases), the Bodysnatchers and Bad Manners. All of these groups were multiracial with the exception of Madness (all of whom were white).

mores¹³ as it becomes universal, reaching beyond an exclusivity of race and religion”

(167). Hebdige shares Kaye’s assessment. With reference to the Two Tone movement in Britain, Hebdige writes,

Behind the fusion of rock and reggae lay the hope that the humour, wit and style of working-class kids from Britain’s black and white communities could find a common voice in 2 Tone; that a new, hybrid cultural identity could emerge along with the new music. ... The 2 Tone bands were ... interested in harmonizing the form and the lyrics, the sound and the sense, so that, without being obtrusive, the multiracial message could be *inferred* by a broadly sympathetic audience. ... This was music for Saturday nights, something to dance to, to *use*. The politics were there but they were sublimated, as in reggae, to the rhythms. And the rhythms were what pulled the crowds in. (160-1)

Lloyd Bradley (2000) is another writer who has examined the British JPM scene in depth. Like Jones, he argues that the meaning of JPM was not fixed nor limited to indigenous Jamaican references. With regard to the meaning of JPM in Britain for the Jamaican community there, he notes that

Rastafari’s notions of displacement actually made greater sense in the UK than they did in Jamaica, as the teenagers in the British bands, like their contemporaries in their audiences, either had first-hand knowledge of moving from the West Indies to a relentlessly adverse landscape or they knew somebody who did. ... It wasn’t a quantum leap to mentally translate the Africa/Jamaica theme to a West Indies/Great Britain exodus. (431)

The punks and skinheads, who also “felt at the bottom of the heap” (448) also strongly identified with “roots reggae’s revolutionary sentiments and relentless defiance of all things Babylonian, ... [and] Rasta’s gentler philosophies appealed enormously to a generation who had just missed out on hippiedom ... and who wanted to get in touch with their caring, tender side without losing street cred” (449). When British JPM started appearing in the late seventies, it was made by Jamaican expatriates, by skin-

¹³ “Mores” are the traditional values and customs of a social group.

head/punk groups, and some mixed-race bands. "[These groups] cultivated the romance of the street ... [and] sought to break the Atlantic connection; [they] were moved by a desire to tap British experience and to shake off the traditional dependency ... on American styles and motifs" (Hebdige 1987: 110). Song themes and musical references were primarily local — very much a Jamaican aesthetic. Many black and white working-class youths shared common frustrations with unemployment and prejudicial treatment by the upper classes. Yet, in spite of this commonality of purpose, when the non-Jamaican bands (whatever their race) attempted to replicate JPM rhythms, the sonic results were not the same. Dennis Bovell is a multi-faceted British Jamaican who formed a reggae band called Matumbi, ran a deejay company, wrote songs and produced many British JPM hits. He notes that

When white bands¹⁴ started getting interested in playing reggae they could never find the timing.¹⁵ It was like, 'Where's the one? Where's two? ... One ... two ... oh' It resulted in a lot of them playing on the first beat of the bar and counting off *one* and two and *three* and four, instead of one and *two* and three and *four*, completely the other way around. It came out with more of a ska feel to it than reggae, because they were playing the ska timing with reggae on top of it, not knowing they were marrying two different rhythm forms. So it always sounded a bit funny to us who knew; then when we twigged that's what they're doing we named it English One Drop. We even put a section in our show where we'd go and play white man reggae — *Now dis a white man reggae tune, seen?* — and get our emphasis the wrong way around. (Bovell in Bradley 2000: 435, italics in original)

This study aligns itself with Bradley's, Jones,' Kaye's and Hebdige's take on the meaning and value of OA's and JPM artists' experiments merging JPM with other styles in the seventies (as represented by the best OA and JPM artists who continued the creoliza-

¹⁴ Like Jones, Bovell's reference to 'white bands' means musicians without Jamaican cultural experience, since some of the bands to which he alludes had members with African ancestry.

¹⁵ This applies to Wayne Perkins' observations in the video *Classic Albums: Catch A Fire*.

tion process throughout their careers¹⁶). Of these analysts, Hebdige is the only one who actually discusses corporeal factors in Outsider Artists' music, so his observations bear quoting in their entirety.

[The Two Tone bands'] rhythms [were] fast and jumpy, ... provid[ing] the perfect complement for that nervous, wiry kind of dancing idealized by every English inner-city subculture from the original Teds of the 1950s through the mods, rudies and skinheads of the 1960s to the Northern Soul fans ten years later. The ideal inner-city dance is a very English affair. Manic yet restrained, it bears little relation to the free-form stuff favoured on the college circuit in the States, ... [whose] dancing ... [was] floppy and out of time. ... The inner-city stomp, on the other hand, is improvisation within a tight structure. It's graceful but the grace is always 'under pressure.' Fred Astaire on leapers.¹⁷ And just as, in the 1930s, Astaire's syncopated tap routines had drawn heavily on Negro jazz dancing traditions, so the modern English stomp has its roots in the black in the West Indies, in the backyard Kingston blues parties. Two Tone made those roots visible. ... Two Tone braided musical strands from England, America and the old Caribbean colonies, and turned the wake into a carnival. They gave us the Ghost Dance of the British Empire, played out at the moving point where the pre-war Lambeth Walk meets Peter Tosh's "Steppin' Razor": culture-clash converted into fun – "Knees Up Mother Brown" with coconuts. (110)

Unfortunately, most video footage of OA's JPM performances focuses primarily upon performers in concert settings or TV performances, with few shots of audiences dancing. That being said, however, when visible, audiences and performers' movement patterns and overall orientation were often remarkably similar, although the former's movements generally show a greater degree of social interaction and less obvious interrelationships to sonic patterns, compared to OA's choreographic rhythms .

¹⁶ E.g., Outsider Artists who were particularly innovative in their use of JPM include The Clash, The Police (to a lesser extent The Specials, Madness, The Selector and UB40). JPM artists who engaged in many cross-stylistic fusions and experiments include Bob Marley & the Wailers, Peter Tosh, Jimmy Cliff, Toots & the Maytals, Black Uhuru Third World, and Inner Circle, all of whom were both artistically and commercially successful with both Jamaican and international audiences.

¹⁷ Slang for amphetamines.

7.2 OUTSIDE ARTISTS PERFORMING JPM: METHODOLOGY AND FINDINGS

The methodology and analytical approach to study the choreographic rhythms of Outsider Artists (OA) in filmed performances was the same as what was applied to JPM artists and Jamaican Folk and Religious Music (JFRM) artists (presented in Chapter Five). The goal was to analyze filmed performances of the first wave of OA in the seventies and early eighties who either recorded cover versions of Jamaican songs or, in most instances, created JPM-style original songs in order to compare their choreographic rhythms with those of JPM artists.¹⁸ Since there had been a large number of OA releases in 1983, (with big hits by Matthew Wilder, Men At Work, Culture Club, Bryan Adams, the Police, Blondie and UB40),¹⁹ I made 1983 the cutoff date. The earliest films of OA JPM appears to be a performance of American Soul singer Johnny Nash singing/lipsynching "Hold Me Tight" in a 1968 TV appearance and two performances by the British group Marmalade, who had a #1 hit in 1969 in England with the Beatles' "Ob-La-Di, Ob-La-Da," which was a deliberate attempt to replicate the rocksteady groove in an original song. (*These three performances are included on the supplementary DVD; video 5.3.*) Unfortunately, a number of Outsider Artists with major hits during the 1970s and early 1980s were either not filmed performing these songs, or footage was not available.²⁰ After an extensive hunt, I obtained 109 performances filmed between 1969-1983

¹⁸ Most of this footage consisted of 'public' performances, i.e., with audiences present, at concerts or for TV appearances. A few films are promotional videos with artists miming without any audience.

¹⁹ See bibliography for song titles.

²⁰ I could not obtain filmed performances for the following (* = chart hits): The Beatles – "Ob-la-di, Ob-la-da" (1968), * Bruce Cockburn – "Wondering Where The Lions Are" (1979), J. Geils Band – "Give It To me" (1973), *Elton John – "Lucy In The Sky With Diamond" (1974), *Led Zeppelin – D'yer Maker (1973), *Johnny Nash – "Cupid" (1968), Orleans – "Give One

of 50 artists whose careers began in 1983 or earlier. I was surprised that the sample was so small. In order to obtain more performances, especially multiple performances of the same song, I decided to also include post-1983 films of these same artists, many of whom had not been filmed in the seventies. I was able to find another 39 videos, bringing the total up to 148 performances. Although this was a respectable enough number, I was concerned that some performers for whom I had lots of footage might skew the sample. I preferred to get around 200 performances (as well as additional Outsider Artists) to have enough variety of artists and multiple versions of songs to be truly representative of the genre and performance practices. While obtaining first wave OA footage, I ran across post-1983 non-Jamaican artists whose background, style and approach to JPM was similar to this first wave group. Their careers and performance orientation were basically the same; they all specialized in other styles (a mix of rock, pop and R&B) and grew up in non-Jamaican sociocultural environments. They were also artists who only occasionally recorded or performed songs in a JPM style, also like the majority of the first wave OA. The strongest argument for their inclusion, however, was that the film of this second wave group was mostly live footage, with extended shots of performers — ideal to analyze. So, given their similarity to the first wave OA, I added 29 post-1983 performances by 15 'second wave' artists who played JPM. The main criteria for choosing these particular 15 artists was mostly a question of 1) availability and 2) video footage suitable for the analysis of choreographic rhythms. (All artists are listed in

Heart" (1975), Rolling Stones – "Luxury" (1974), "Cherry Oh Baby" (1976), *Paul Simon – "Mother and Child Reunion" (1972), Patti Smith Group – "Ain't It Strange" (1976), *Three Dog Night – "Black and White" (1972), *Matthew Wilder – "Break My Stride" (1983) and *Stevie Wonder – "Boogie On Reggae Woman" (1974).

FIGURE 7.1 (next page.) This brought the total number of artists up to 65 and the total number of performances up to 177 — an improvement. This was now a more representative sampling of different performers, and the overall group was still dominated by the first wave OA in two respects. First, 76.9% of the total are first wave OA, vs. 23.1% second wave OA. Second, the first wave group constitutes 83.6% of the total number of performances of the total (148/177), with the remaining 16.4% of the total performances by the second wave OA group.

In **FIGURE 7.1**, the number to the right of each Artist indicates the number of per-

10 cc	3	Madness	10
Abba	1	Marmalade	2
Adams, Bryan	1	Mason, Nick	1
Africa Unite *	1	McCartney, Paul (& Wings)	10
Badu, Erykah *	5	Men At Work	6
Beat, The	1	Mungo Jerry	3
Bellamy Brothers	1	Nash, Johnny	5
Big Mountain *	1	N'Dour, Youssa *	2
Big Sugar *	1	Neville Brothers member (unknown)	1
Blondie	3	Neville, Aaron	1
Browne, Jackson	1	Palmer, Robert	1
Bundrick, John (session KB player for Wailers)	3	Perkins, Wayne (session gtr for Wailers)	2
Busta Rhymes *	3	Police, The	7
Clapton, Eric	5	Preston, Billy	1
Clash, The	16	Queen Latifah *	3
Collins, Phil	1	Robinson, Chris *	2
Costello, Elvis	3	Ronstadt, Linda	1
Culture Club	6	Rucker, Darius *	3
Dr. John	2	Selector, The	4
Drury, Ian	1	Specials, The	11
Eagles, The	4	Springsteen, Bruce	3
Eve *	3	Staple Singers, The	1
Fat Boys *	1	Steely Dan	1
Gabriel, Peter	2	Sting	1
Gouldman, Graham (of 10 cc)	1	Sublime *	1
Hagen, Nina	2	Tracy Chapman *	13
Harper, Ben *	4	UB 40	13
Hill, Lauryn *	4	War	1
Hynde, Chrissie	6	Waters, Roger	1
Jagger, Mick	2	Wonder, Stevie	3
Jardine, Al	1	Wood, Ron (from Rolling Stones)	6
Johnstone, Bruce	1		
Jones, Grace	1		
Laid Back	1		

FIGURE 7.1:

65 OUTSIDER ARTISTS ANALYZED

*** INDICATES POST-1983 ARTISTS**

formances analyzed. (*Note:* The total number of these numbers = 212 performances, which is higher because of 35 songs in which two or more artists performed together.)

With regard to OA music, with a few exceptions,²¹ most of these songs are missing significant JPM features, and would never be mistaken for JPM by anyone with expertise in the genre: main beats are consistently strong (and only occasionally unsounded) and few contain the same type of complex polyrhythmic or hocketed patterns typical of seventies JPM.²² What is strikingly different with most Outsider Artists' JPM is the lack of variation and interplay amongst instrumental lines, as well as the absence of consistent melodic offbeat accents in both vocal and instrumental parts. The vocal melody is often sung in a sustained, non-rhythmic manner, with only occasional JPM offbeats, and a predominant emphasis upon downbeats and other regulative beats.²³ Instrumental parts are dominated by clichéd JPM ideas (especially rhythmic ones) that are usually remained unchanging ostinati, without the nuanced timbral/rhythmic shifts and ornamentations applied by JPM artists. The overall effect is a stripped down rhythmic texture that only alludes to, rather than creates or maintains, neo-African polyrhythms. Together, these omissions contribute to the most glaring difference in the rhythmic feel of OA's JPM — which is illustrated in the statistics

²¹ The most consistently "authentic-sounding" JPM of the OA group is by the Police, the Clash, the Two Tone bands (The Specials, Madness, the Selector, the Beat, the Bodysnatchers, Bad Manners), and UB40; more discussion on these artists follows below.

²² Songs are listed in the References List, pg. 702-704.

²³ E.g., Abba – "Tropical Loveland," Blondie – "The Tide Is High" (a 1982 cover version of the 1967 rocksteady hit by the Paragons, a Jamaican group), Culture Club – "Do You Really Want To Hurt Me?," Johnny Nash – "Stir It Up" (a Bob Marley song recorded first by Nash in 1972) and "Tears On My Pillow," UB40 – "Red, Red Wine" (a 1983 cover version of Jamaican Tony Tribe's 1969 reggae hit — which itself was a cover version of a Neil Diamond song). (*All of these performances are included on the supplementary DVD, video # 5.3.*)

presented in **FIGURE 7.2** (next page): the absence of JPM choreographic rhythms (i.e., corporeally articulated, weakly sounded beats) and a pre-dominance of different choreographic rhythms than those made by most JPM artists.²⁴ (This suggests a different conception of rhythm and beat by OA vs. JPM artists, which is discussed in detail in section 7.3.) All OA recordings include accented offbeats (usually played by guitars, keyboards, and sometimes by bass, percussion and some melodic instruments, such as horns), but (as per Bovell's observations in section 7.1) first and third beats are usually accented (especially by bass and drums) – mostly in rock, R&B, country or jazz styles. The consistently accented, heavy main beats gives offbeat accents a syncopated feel, i.e., they sound and feel like disruptions to the strongly stated main beat, rather than the reiteration of normative, consistent offbeat accents by JPM artists. This is particularly evident during fill-ins (either between phrases or at the end of sections), where offbeat accents stick out and essentially fight against the emphasis upon the beat that occurs before and after these fill-ins. In addition to a consistent emphasis upon strongly sounded regulative beats, other frequent non-JPM oriented rhythmic tendencies in most of these recordings and arrangements occurs during improvised solos where musicians usually revert to non-JPM rhythmic emphases or over-exaggerate off-beat notes in the midst of otherwise on-the-beat phrases.²⁵

²⁴ These findings show that most Outsider Artists create different unsounded gestures in their performances from those by JPM artists.

²⁵ The consistency of Jamaican offbeat/ afterbeat accents makes them technically every bit as regulative as weak unsounded beats, *but* as Ryman's analysis of the phenomenological experience of how Jamaicans respond to such figures makes clear, the main emphasis is always upon the corporeal articulation of the beat and not the offbeat, in spite of its ubiquity in both JPM and JFRM. See Appendix A, Part Two for Ryman's analysis of Jamaican corporeality.

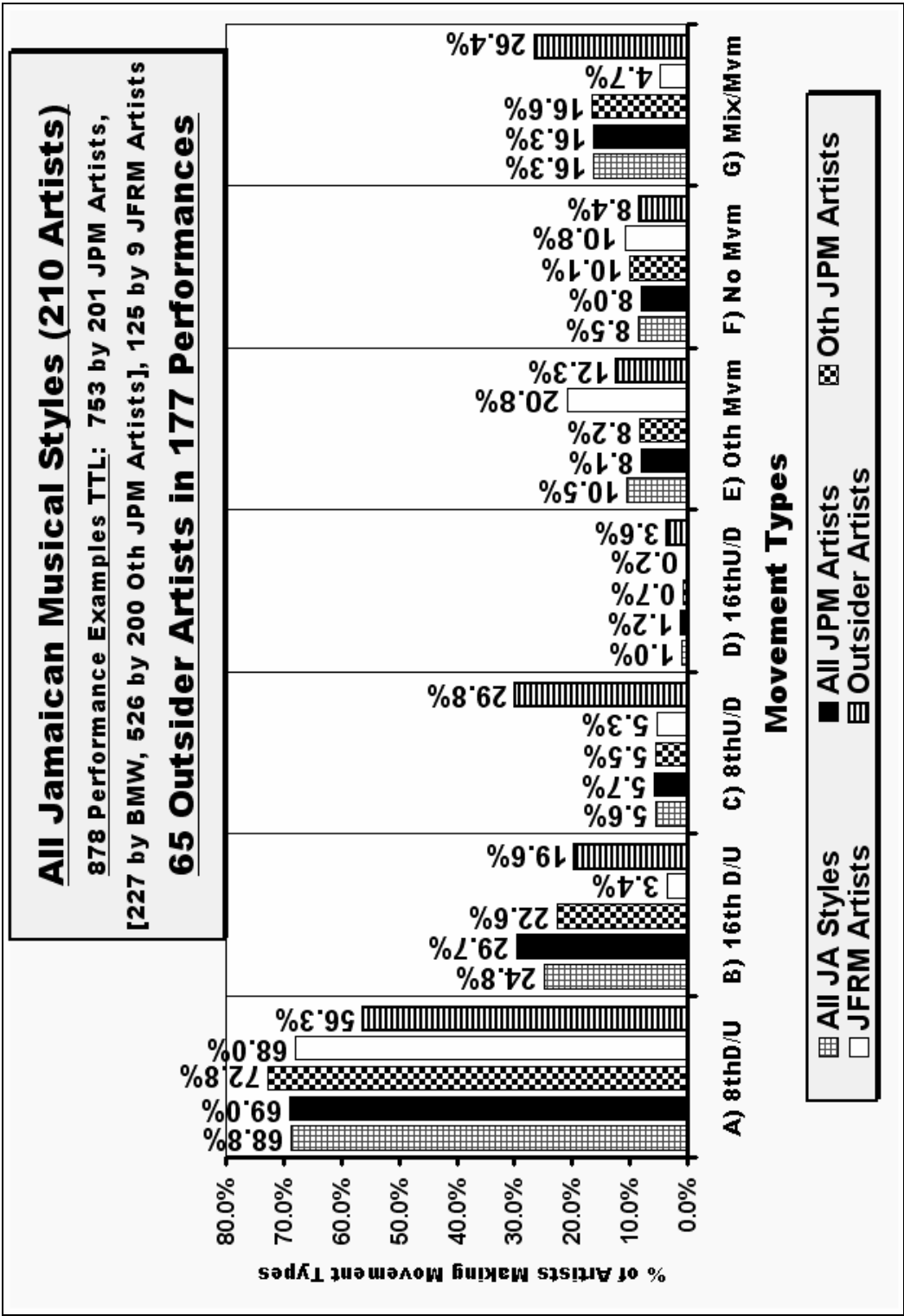


FIGURE 7.2: OUTSIDER ARTISTS: CHOREOGRAPHIC RHYTHM STATISTICS
(+ STATISTICS FOR ALL JAMAICAN MUSICAL STYLES)

FIGURE 7.2 lists the statistics for Outsider Artists (OA), along with those for all Jamaican musical styles, for comparison.²⁶ There appear to be similarities for Movements A & B, but as noted above, the sonic approach in the majority of OA performances creates a very different choreographic rhythm than these statistics might suggest. First, both figures are lower for OA Movements A & B. For movement A (moving down on beats and upward on offbeats in an eighth-note pulse, usually the result of stepping or bobbing down on the beat), 56.3% of OA performers adopt Movement A vs. 69% of JPM artists who move this way. With regard to Movement B (moving down on both beats and offbeats, i.e., moving down-up-down-up in a sixteenth-note pulsation), only 19.6% of OA move this way vs. 29.7% of JPM artists who select this movement. The differences might initially appear to be not as significant for Movements C, D & G. In contrast to indigenous JPM, most OA performances feature strongly sounded beats. This gives the majority of beats in OA's performances both a strong sonic accent *and* strongly articulated corporeal gesture. Thus, the look, sound and especially the *feel* of OA's choreographic rhythm for these gestures is different than what happens in indigenous JPM. In OA performances, the downward portion of the down-up coupling is sonically and corporeally heavier than the Jamaican equivalent, without the same type of bouncy upward offbeat in Jamaican movement (where beats are usually sonically weak or silent).²⁷ Unfortunately, like dance notation, which simply notates body parts,

²⁶ Note: statistics calculated in **FIGURE 7.2** were based upon the number of musicians and actual performances (i.e., "177"), not 212, however.

²⁷ In other words, a choreographic rhythm consists of more than simply the presence of a movement in a particular direction with a certain timing. A movement's *qualities*, i.e., the style of how the movement is created are substantial aspects of a choreographic rhythm. Movements can be executed in many different ways: slowly, quickly, sustained, choppy,

direction and space, these statistics only indicate the percentage of selected movement patterns in performance, and not their qualities or movement style. Thus, although useful, these percentages by themselves do not fully describe how these movements interact with the sounds and create the type of “feel” that Marley (and others) have observed is strikingly different when most Outsider Artists (or Outsider Audiences) perform or move to JPM. For those aspects of movement analysis, prose descriptions are required.

The amount of “No Movement” (F) is virtually identical for both JPM Artists and Outside Artists. 8.4% of OA are still in performance, similar to the 8% of JPM artists who also favour “no movements.” Again, however, one must analyze the numbers *in context* (and with prose) to see what these figures omit. When JPM artists are still, they often remain so for the duration of a performance, whereas OA are often only still for parts of a song, sometimes because they appear to be concentrating on executing their parts, or as a brief pause in-between different movement types. (This statistic is linked to (G) Mixture of Movements, discussed below.)

The most striking thing about these statistics is where they differ (and why), however, for it seems that these differences are linked to the dissimilarity in sonic characteristics discussed in section 7.1. For example, with Movement C (i.e., moving opposite to Movement A, with a strong downward gesture on offbeat accents) the number of OA’s who make this movement is extremely significant. Almost a third of OA perform-

smoothly, bounced, lightly, heavily, nervously, confidently, in isolation, in combination, with vigour, with caution, in a narrow space or taking up a great deal of space. They can be in vertical, diagonal or horizontal planes. Consider the movement analysis presented in section 1.4 which describes the African orientation to movement and how different it is from a European movement style. The African movement orientation is rich in nuances of movement style.

ers (29.8%) consistently synchronize accented offbeats with a strong downward movement vs. only 5.7% of JPM artists who do the same. This means that OA move in a manner that *reversed* to most JPM and JFRM artists, i.e., upward on regulative beats. Outsider Artists either step or make a heavily weight downward gesture on the offbeat when this happens. (This seems to indicate that they may be feeling the offbeats as onbeats, since in the styles of music that OA usually play, strongly sounded onbeats are the spots which received this type of corporeal response.) In other words, 29.8% of OA performers respond to consistent offbeat JPM accents with a *European* choreographic rhythm, which, for most of the experienced OA, would be an automatic response they've undoubtedly made for decades.²⁸) And if OA are *not* feeling the offbeats as onbeats, then this physical response would create a sensation that the offbeats are "syncopations," i.e., as disruptions to the main pulse, since OA give these accents a *stronger* corporeal accent than the main beats.²⁹ This same analysis also applies for Movement D statistics. ("D" is opposite of "B," moving up-down in a sixteenth note grid). 3.6% of OA performers move this way, more than double the number of JPM artists (1.2%) who make this movement. Although 3.6% in and of itself is not a large percentage of the performers, it *does* indicate a perception of the relationship between beats and offbeats that is quite rare for the majority of Jamaican artists.

The number of performers who adopt more than one movement style or type per performance/song is significantly different, indicated by the percentage for Mixed

²⁸ This is based on the ubiquity of Jamaican traditional musics in everyday life during the childhoods of JPM artists, as discussed in Chapters One and Four.

²⁹ This is probably why the Jamaican rhythmic groove is often described in the JPM literature as a backwards or back-to-front feel (in comparison to rock and R&B).

Movements (G). Over a quarter of Outsider Artists (26.4%) switch movements within a song, vs. only 16.3% of JPM Artists who adopt more than one movement. When Jamaican artists switch movement patterns, they most often do in synchronization with a change of rhythmic pattern (e.g., using one corporeal pattern for a Verse and another for a Chorus), but most OA switch movement patterns randomly (quite often in the middle of a musical idea) or for subsequent repetitions, which happens infrequently with Jamaican artists. This switching of movement patterns for OA also most often occurs when rhythmic figures are complex, more involved patterns (e.g., crossrhythms, either with different beat subdivisions — implied or sounded — asymmetrical phrase lengths and asymmetrical timing of harmonic change, i.e., different harmonic rhythms). In such instances of rhythmic complexity, OA's frequency of movement switching often looks like artists are uncomfortable or feel awkward.

The final movement statistic, Other Movements (E), is also deceptive if one only considers percentages without putting them in context. 12.3% of OA choose a movement type other than Movements A to D, vs. 8.1% of JPM artists who do the same. As noted in the discussion in Chapter Five, the greatest number of Other Movements made by JPM artists are Nyabinghi movements, by Bob Marley, Jacob Miller (Inner Circle), Michael Rose (Black Uhuru), the Ras Michael Band and others.³⁰ OA Other Movements, on the other hand, are often either random, jerky and/or rarely repeated consistently. (In spite of Nyabinghi having a certain randomness, jerkiness and lack of repetition, there *is* a "consistence to this inconsistency," i.e., all of the movements remain in a

³⁰ Other JPM artists also include Nyabinghi movements in their movement repertoire, although not as frequently as these Marley, Miller, Rose and the Ras Michael Band: Dennis Brown, Burning Spear, Eek-a-Mouse, Toots Hibbert, Mutabaruka, U-Roy and Bunny Wailer.

similar style, quality with a dynamic logic that joins everything together.) With OA's "Other Movements," however, their changes from movement to movement usually lack fluidity and are less often linked to musical changes (in comparison to JPM artists who often coordinated changes of movement style to musical characteristics or mood). This suggests that OA's perception of similarity between contrasting or variant rhythmic patterns, and especially switching fluently from one to the other is either insecure, weak or undeveloped in comparison to JPM artists. The latter often zig and zag for a moment or two only to resume regulative pulsations without losing their sonic or corporeal placement. Outsider Artists, on the other hand, appear to perceive such sonic differences as requiring a different corporeal approach, in contrast to Jamaican artists who will sometimes *not* switch movements when a pattern changes and maintain the same choreographic rhythms quite solidly and confidently. The bottom-line difference here is that when JPM artists change movement patterns the switch usually looks coordinated and flows, whereas OA changes of movements can sometimes look quite awkward and lack a sense of direction.

Not all Outsider Artists approach JPM with the same amount of experience and with the same creative goals. **FIGURE 7.3** (next page) shows statistics for all OA, divided into main groups and two subgroups, to compare the choreographic rhythms for each of these subgroups to the creative approach and performing style of different artists.

Outsider Artists can be divided into two different groups. **Experts:** seven artists who specialize in JPM, i.e., JPM is a major part of their repertoire: Four Two Tone bands (the Beat, the Selector, the Specials and Madness), the Clash, the Police and UB40. This first group can be further subdivided. The Two Tone bands and UB40 (hereafter 2

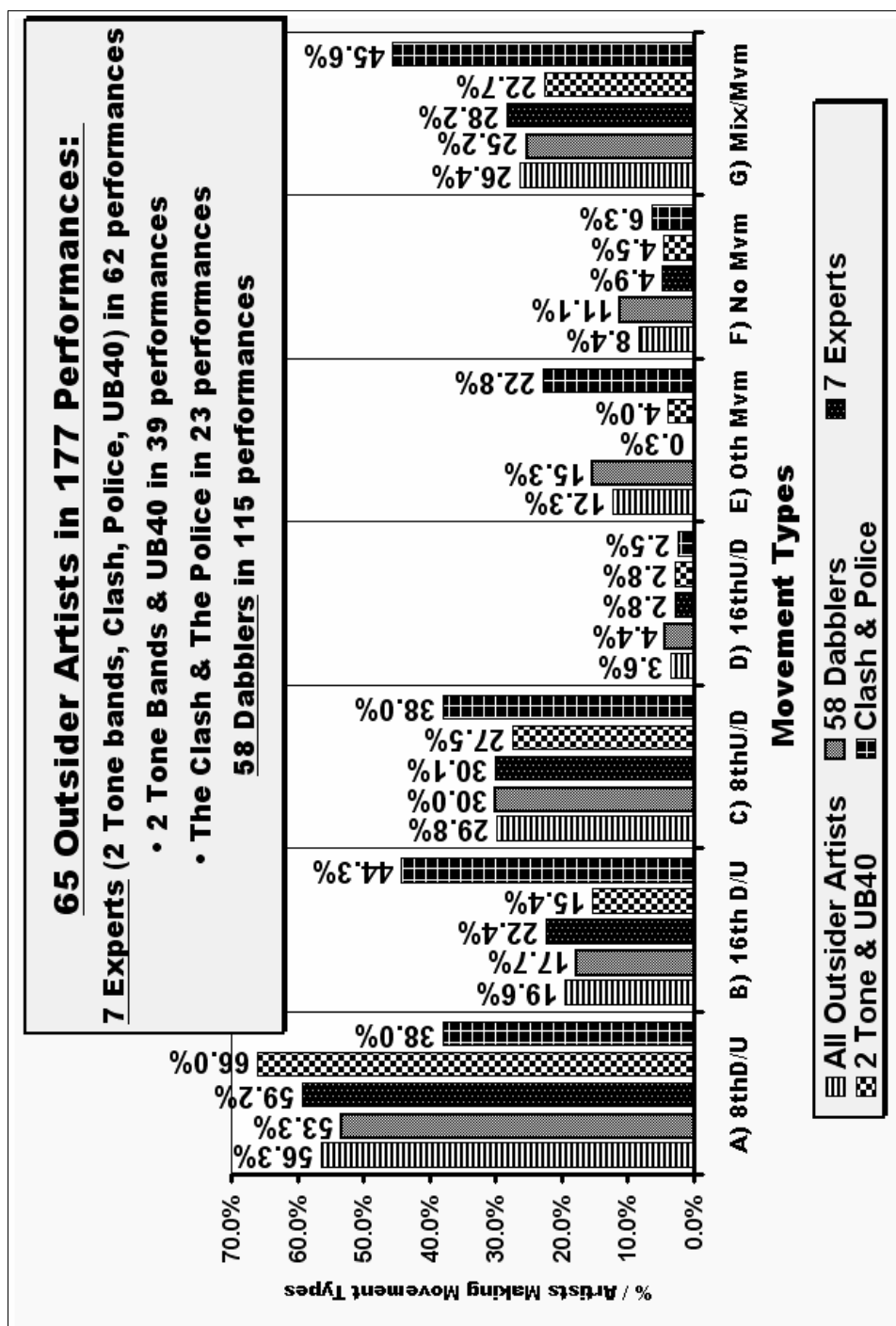


FIGURE 7.3: OUTSIDER ARTISTS: COMPARISONS WITHIN GROUP

Tone+) were more conservative than the Clash and the Police, and often covered original JPM hits quite faithfully, with minimal deviation from the original model – although,

in most cases, these copies usually eliminated and streamlined many nuances and rhythmic subtleties/ variations of the originals. Given that the intentions of the 2 Tone+ artists (in recording these cover versions) was usually to pay homage to the original JPM artists, it appears that these changes may have been unintentional, rather than deliberate attempts to create a variation. The Clash and the Police were much more adventurous and celebrated what Police guitarist Andy Summers calls “the Uncertainty Principle” (in Cohen 1984: 76-9). Rather than coming off as a Jamaican cover songs band (which *sometimes* applies to the 2 Tone+ groups), the Clash and the Police favoured creating songs that were “deceptively simple and thin, ... [with] much room for improvisation and experimentation,” as guitarist Andy Summers put it when asked to characterize the Police’s style (in *ibid.*: 76). (The same observation applies to the Clash.) Both bands rarely replicated their (or anybody else’s) recordings, and instead made each performance spontaneous and fresh by altering songs’ structures and creating (or inserting spontaneously in concerts) open-ended or new ideas and/or sections. They used JPM techniques as a creative ingredient intertwined with their song ideas or something that emerged organically in performance. Rather than striving for “authentic” copies of JPM grooves — which both bands were quite capable of doing — both bands consistently mixed JPM ideas with other styles to create unique hybrids that occupied a grey zone between rock, funk, R&B and JPM, with the same type of approach to creolization favoured by Jamaican artists (discussed in section 1.2.5.2). Neither band performed any of the “pure” JPM-styled cover songs that dominated the repertoire of the 2 Tone+ groups.

I call the second group **Dabblers**: fifty-eight artists who only dabbled occasionally with JPM. For these artists, JPM techniques were superimposed upon songs that

were often basically in another style. Rather than organically intertwined with compositional or structural principles, JPM traits are primarily ornamental “add-ons.”³¹

Comparing Experts’ and Dabblers’ statistics (see **FIGURE 7.3**) shows that the Experts’ choreographic rhythms are more like those of JPM artists³² than the Dabblers. (This observation isn’t totally supported by the statistics that follow, however, for some of these similarities are a matter of the *qualitative* similarity between the Expert group’s movements and those of JPM artists. Most Expert artists’ movement style shows a Jamaican fluidity and comfortable security that unfortunately can’t be quantified in these numbers. That being said, however, there *are* some notable statistical differences.) With regard to the presence of Movement A (moving down on beats and upward on offbeats in an eighth-note pulse, usually the result of stepping or bobbing down on the beat), appears in 59.2% of the movements by Expert performers vs. 53.3% of movements by Dabblers’ performers (in comparison to 69% of the movements by JPM Artists). Movement B (moving down on both beats and offbeats, i.e., moving down-up-down-up in a sixteenth-note pulsation) constitutes 22.4% of the Experts’ movements vs. 17.7% of the Dabblers’ movements (in comparison to 29.7% of JPM artists who move this way). With

regard to Movement C (the reverse of Movement A), there is no statistically significant difference between Experts’ and Dabblers’ movement preferences. Movement C

³¹ This describes the role of JPM traits in “Hotel California” (Eagles)*, “Live and Let Die” (Paul McCartney & Wings), “Tears On My Pillow” (Johnny Nash), “Reggae Cowboy” (Bellamy Brothers), “Baby I Love Your Way” (Big Mountain), “Sunshine Reggae” (Laid Back – a Danish group), “Do You Really Want To Hurt Me” (Culture Club)*, “I Can See Clearly Now” (Johnny Nash), “I’ll Be Your Baby Tonight” (Robert Palmer & UB40 doing a reggae version of a Bob Dylan song) and “Tropical Loveland” (Abba)*. (*Included in DVD video 5.3)

³² All JPM statistics from **FIGURE 7.2**.

constitutes 30.1% of the Expert performers' movements and 30% of Dabbler performers' movements. These figures indicate that all Outsider Artists frequently synchronize the offbeat to a downward gesture, in contrast to only 5.7% of JPM artists who do the same. (Reasons for this difference are discussed later.) Movement D (the reversal of Movement B) occurs with twice as many Dabblers (4.4%) as Experts — only 2.8% of the latter make this movement, vs. only 1.2% of JPM artists who adopt this movement. Only 0.3% of the Experts make Other Movements (E), vs. 15.3% of Dabblers — an enormous difference. Most of these movements (by the Dabbler group) consist of brief gestures that are often transitions between Movements A, B, C or D. In contrast, only 8.1% of JPM artists make "other gestures." As noted earlier, the figure for (F) No Movement (11.1% of Dabbler performers who are basically still, 4.9% of Expert performers who are likewise and 8% of JPM artists who don't move) rarely means that performers are still for an entire performance/song. Rather, it means that they are most often still only for brief periods, as pauses in-between other types of gestures.

The final category (G) Mixture of Movements is similar for all Outsider Artists: 28.2% of Expert performers and 25.2% of Dabbler performers mix movement types within a song (vs. 16.3% of JPM performers who do the same). As mentioned earlier, this higher figure appears to be either the result of, or a manifestation of the inconsistency of the JPM groove in OA performances, especially by Dabbler artists. (The reason for an even higher figure for Expert artists is more complex — and is addressed below.) The fact that Dabbler performers change their choreographic rhythms so often appears to be linked to their not "settling-in" to the groove with repetitive movements the same way that most JPM artists do, which also explains why their sonic patterns are also in

consistent with different sonic emphases than those by JPM artists.

The performers in the Expert group favour choreographic rhythms which are noticeably different from the rest of other Outsider Artists in five out of seven categories (see **FIGURE 7.3**). Only 28% of Experts make Movement A, vs. 66% of 2 Tone+ groups and 53.3% of Dabblers who do the same. The reason for this difference is due to the higher percentage of Movement B, which is made by 44.3% of the members of Clash and the Police, vs. 15.4% of the members of the 2 Tone+ groups and 17.7% of the Dabbler performers. This is primarily because these two bands use the rockers groove (with an eighth note bass drum) more often than other OA bands, with a slower tempo which is most compatible with Movement B. The 2 Tone+ bands play much more ska and rocksteady, which is sometimes twice as fast as the tempi of the Clash's and Police's JPM. The use of slower tempi allows for a movement style that is more rapid and complex than Movement B, which accounts for the significantly higher percentage of (E) Other Movements in the Clash's and Police's performances. 22.8% of their movements consists of 'other movements' vs. only 4% of the movements of the 2 Tone+ performers and 11.1% of the movements by the members of the Dabbler groups. The higher frequency of the Clash's and Police's Movements C and E, and the greater percentage of Mixed Movements (G) are related to two factors linked to differences in these bands' musical and performance styles vs. other Outsider Artists. As mentioned earlier, both the Clash and the Police were much more adventurous and creative with regard to their use of JPM in their music. Rather than replicating or creating "authentic" JPM grooves (which describes the approach of the 2 Tone+ bands), they absorbed (i.e., "mastered") the characteristics of JPM styles and incorporated them into the structures of their music with an

emphasis upon flexibility and variation throughout most songs. When Clash and Police songs used a JPM groove for a phrase or section, they often shifted into some other groove (often a hybrid incorporating punk, rock or R&B ingredients) in other parts of song. These hybrids were therefore JPM hybrids that were often unique to particular songs. This groove/style shift was usually accompanied by appropriate corporeal shifts: i.e., moving in a Jamaican manner for JPM-oriented sections and moving in non-Jamaican ways for rock, R&B or punk inflections. This accounts for the high percentage of Movement C and Other Movements E by the Clash and the Police, during times when the groove was in a stylistic “grey zone.” It must be stressed that, in contrast to the awkwardness of Dabbler artists, these shifts sounded perfectly natural and under control, in comparison with the inconsistent grooves of Dabblers that stemmed from their lack of control of JPM technique.³³

The higher percentage of the Clash’s and the Police’s (E) Other Movements and their extremely high percentage of (G) Mixed Movements (45.6%) — basically double the figures for 2 Tone+ groups (22.7%) and Dabbler groups (25.2%) — is related to the Clash’s and the Police’s exuberant performing style. Both leaped around the stage a great deal — much more than the 2 Tone+ bands (with the exception of Madness who often lived up to their name), and appeared to incorporate many more movements “for the purposes of entertainment” than other OA musicians. (Unfortunately, there is minimal footage of OA in informal, rehearsal-type performances to analyze the degree to which other movements and mixtures of movements were integral to each artists’

³³ This difference is most likely also linked to a different aesthetic sense shaped primarily from their particular backgrounds that is not always compatible with the structures and choreographic tendencies of JPM.

performance style or which were employed primarily "for entertainment.")

7.3 ANALYSIS OF OUTSIDER ARTIST STATISTICS FROM AN ENACTIVIST PERSPECTIVE

In Chapters Two and Three, the role of motor patterns as perceptual schema for musical performance was discussed. Researchers like Kubik, Wilson, Sudnow, Keil and Baily have all examined the ways that musical experiences shape expectations about particular sound and movement couplings, i.e., choreographic rhythms, and how the performance of sound patterns without the appropriate movement patterns changes the details of musical patterns — especially those related to groove (see discussion on groove by Iyer in section 3.4.3). Most Outsider Artists in the Dabbler group were only exposed to JPM through recordings with no interaction with JPM artists. Most of the Expert artists, on the other hand, attended JPM events in the British Jamaican community, in clubs, at dances and concerts, and also experienced recordings in the company of Jamaicans (at British Sound System-style dances) who responded with appropriate indigenous dance movements and corporeal orientations. Some performed with other Jamaican artists living in Britain (such as trombonist Rico Rodriguez³⁴). Members of UB40 and the Specials grew up in communities where there was a great deal of interaction between Jamaicans and non-Jamaicans. Most of the Two Tone groups also had Jamaican musicians as members,³⁵ which helped to get the "right" musical nuances.

Neurobiological enactivist research provides evidence and theories that explain the effect of prior experiences upon one's capacity to learn JPM from recordings and/or

³⁴ Rodriguez played on many proto-ska and early ska recordings in Jamaica before moving to England in late 1961.

³⁵ Madness was an exception in that they had had no Jamaican musicians and they also featured many more non-JPM-styled songs in their repertoire than the other Two Tone groups.

from witnessing or participating in live performances. Bradd Shore (1996) cites a theory by George Lakoff that we possess mental models, called ICMs, that allow cultural insiders to recognize patterns of movement from auditory sources alone after they have performed these sounds.

Lakoff proposed a typology of various kinds of mental models (he calls them idealized cognitive models, or ICMs). ... These ICMs are often empirically motivated ... by either basic-level (gestalt) perception or structures of bodily experience (kinesthetic image schemas). (332-3)

When musicians have little or no prior experience with a particular musical practice's choreographic rhythms, their idealized cognitive models (ICMs) don't include these sound and movement couplings. This suggests that Outsider Artists (especially those in the Dabbler group) may frequently have difficulty performing JPM fluently (especially replicating its rhythmic nuances) is because they lack the necessary idealized cognitive models/ICMs to conceptualize and perceive the corporeal component of JPM rhythms. Jamaican musicians, on the other hand, have acquired ICMs ecologically, intuitively and corporeally, from their experiences of indigenous cultural traditions in their environment, especially when they were growing up.

Damasio's concept of dispositional representations³⁶ (discussed in Chapters Three and Six) also explains how one develops competency for understanding and creating complex cultural forms (like JPM). For people with long-acquired Jamaican cultural experiences, their conception of musical performance combines the sonic and non-

³⁶ Dispositional representations are the gestalts that are part of our memory system, which are always blends of everything we experience in a given moment. Dispositional representations combine all physical details, sensations, musculoskeletal information and one's emotional and cognitive states during a particular event or stimulus (Damasio 1994: 88, 97, 100; 1999: 317-8).

sonic factors discussed in Chapters One and Four into complex gestalts, imbuing JPM sounds with spiritual, emotional, associative and corporeal layers. It isn't surprising that musicians without experience with Jamaican choreographic rhythms create something different from JPM artists when they perform JPM based upon idealized cognitive models/ICMs and dispositional representations without the necessary information to create/replicate its complex gestalts. In other words, based upon their limited prior experience with JPM, what Outsider Artists *think* is going on in JPM will quite different from what is actually happening, resulting in performances that have a good chance of being incomplete, inaccurate and distorted versions of the sound and movement patterns actually being made. It is also quite likely that they will refashion patterns that don't make sense into a variation of something that they already know; i.e., they may conceptualize and/or perform JPM patterns as a variation of some non-JPM musical form which have enough similarities to be a loose fit.³⁷ That being said, the end result — i.e., OA JPM — can be quite successful, artistically rich and become hybrids of JPM, *if* the artists incorporate the Jamaican characteristics as part of their compositions/ performances and don't simply sprinkle Jamaican musical techniques on top of an already baked dish.

In Chapter Three, research was also presented by Todd et al (and others³⁸) about the way that one's perception of musical beat (aka "beat induction") is not simply the

³⁷ I recall that my impression the first few times that I heard ska music was that it sounded like a polka or country music with half-time drums. A number of seventies country artists obviously heard this in a similar way and created some original songs with half-time drums and afterbeat accents on guitars and/or keyboards; e.g., Kenny Rogers' "The Gambler" (1979) (in the chorus), and Crystal Gayle's "Somebody Loves You" (1976).

³⁸ E.g., Mitchell & Gallaher (2001), Ramnani & Passingham (2001), Shove & Repp (1995).

identification of an objective characteristic of a sound signal, but rather, is always *an interpretation* of the data of sound patterns based upon the kinesthetic and visual imagery that arises from the sensorimotor and auditory aspects of one's prior musical experiences (1999: 7-9, 2002: 46). Based upon Wilson's (1986) theory³⁹ that "muscle memory *is* musical memory" (140), this explains how one's cultural experiences develop one's beat induction ability. Thus, Outsider Artists without Jamaican idealized cognitive models/ ICMs and dispositional representations, have ICMs and dispositional representations linked to their own indigenous traditions, which have developed different beat induction abilities. Todd et al's research provides a neurobiological explanation why the non-Jamaican musicians described by Bovell in section 7.1 heard, counted and performed JPM differently from JPM artists. Our cultural experiences shape not only our aesthetic conceptions and preferences, but literally wire our perceptual and cognitive apparatus to expect these patterns. As a result of these ongoing influences, over time we develop culturally rooted skills for performing particular musical patterns. Thus, "Western listeners' ... habits of metrical understanding tend to privilege onbeats over offbeats, sound over silence, and longer notes over shorter ones" (Agawu 2006: 26) because of continued exposure to these sonic patterns. Western sonic expectations are linked with indigenous movement patterns that also privilege accented movements on these sounded beats. These expectations account for Western music's main characteristics. As Arom puts it, "[Western music] mostly consists of a regular alternation of strong and weak beats, ... with the assumption that beat one is accented more than the other

³⁹ This "theory" (back in 1986) has since been supported by significant empirical evidence; see Chapter Three for enactivists who have conducted research in this area.

beats in a measure ... [and] that beats ... [are usually] accented [with sounds]" (Arom 1991: 180, 187, 185). This assumption would likely be the main one held by most musicians with a European background when they would attempt to play Jamaican offbeat accents. Another important difference between Jamaican and Western conceptions of beat, offbeat and accents (and of course, their respective choreographic rhythms) is that in Jamaican music and dance, each phase of the down-up cycle (i.e., Movements A & B,⁴⁰ which are the two main Jamaican movement orientations⁴¹) doesn't always receive the same type of sonic and corporeal emphasis the way that it tends to receive in a great deal of Western popular music. In Jamaican songs, often the beats are weak, with strong offbeat accents, but with strong corporeal pulsations on the beats. In rockers-type grooves, there is a fairly *equal* amount of energy and emphasis on beats and offbeats (although the second and the fourth beats will have a stronger accent than the first and third beats). This is in contrast to Western music and dance traditions which consistently incorporate both corporeal and sonic energy and weight on beats alone; i.e., in Western traditions sounds on offbeats are regarded and felt as lighter than those on the beat.⁴² Given these sound-and-body predispositions and expectations shaped by one's prior cultural experiences, it is not surprising that most non-Jamaicans struggle to get the right groove and feel in their first encounters with the Jamaican "Slinky Toy" rhythm (as Thomas put it on pg. 512), whereas someone who has experienced the complexities

⁴⁰ Movement A = moving down on beats and upward on off-beats in an eighth-note pulse, usually the result of stepping or bobbing down on the beat. Movement B = Movement A, but twice as fast, i.e., in a sixteenth-note pulsation.

⁴¹ See **FIGURE 7.2**, and discussion in Chapter Six.

⁴² Ryman, personal communication with author (2003); see also Appendix A.

of Jamaican options would feel quite comfortable in what, to most Western-influenced cultural practices, sound/feel “illogical”, “reversed” or simply very difficult to sort out.

Another difference between the basic orientation of neo-African Jamaican traditions and Western musical aesthetics is that the majority of Western musical traditions create expectations in its listeners that main musical ideas are usually sustained and flowing, vs. the neo-African percussive aesthetic which prioritizes short rhythms and creates expectations (for Jamaicans) to expect short units more often (as per Agawu 2006). Jamaican musics often embrace both Western and neo-African traits, but in JPM, musical ideas are often dominated by neo-African aesthetics, especially in performance (discussed in section 1.3). Especially in reggae, sounds are often highly fragmented in hocketed relationships to each other. Short sounds or phrases produced by individuals are not conceptualized or perceived as separate, isolated synchronous ideas, but as components intertwined with short sounds made by others which are regulated and held together by corporeal patterns that strongly articulate beats and offbeats.

The centrality of idealized cognitive models/ICMs and dispositional representations in shaping our perceptual and cognitive systems also explains why Jamaican musicians primarily communicate concepts and notions of groove by mimesis and feel, since the subtleties that characterize the neo-African features of JPM grooves are virtually impossible to describe, notate or quantify with any precision (as per Iyer 2002: 387; Lewin 1983: 34, 42). Contemporary neurobiological research has revealed that this type of complex communication occurs effortlessly because the multisensory, crossmodal nature of perception and processing allows us to recognize and imitate complex sub-

pulses and nuances qualitatively in a virtually immediate gestalt perception.⁴³ But as Lakoff's theory of ICMs indicates, this only happens *if* we have sufficient (or the right type of) cultural experience to equip us to meet the needs of this task. Thus, in the absence of sufficient or appropriate Jamaican cultural experiences, most Outsider Artists lack the experience and perceptual skills to perceive, analyze and perform JPM in the same manner as JPM artists.

These environmentally rooted neurobiological differences are the reason why many Jamaicans have observed that they move to their music differently from people who have minimal experience with their culture. Lewin (2000) has observed (with reference to tourists) that mento rhythm impels most Jamaicans to move differently than non-Jamaicans. Lewin's observation also applies to other Jamaican rhythms. As she puts it, Jamaican rhythms "seem to present problems to non-Jamaicans" (111). Bob Marley made the same observation about the way Americans have difficulty moving to reggae in a 1975 interview. He also describes Jamaican movements in spiritual terms and the roots of reggae movement in traditional Jamaican musics. Marley said,

[Americans] don't know how to dance reggae, you know. Them don't know where the beat drop. ... Reggae music is one of the greatest musics, you know. ... But see, if them can dance it, ... no dance look pretty as reggae dance! Me know that, 'cause you can dance the whole night and it keep you in a mood. ... You love yourself when you dance reggae music. You proud of yourself, that you come like you *born again*! A feeling come in the music like you baptized. ... Why reggae music so nice is because it's a proud music. It can be a very, very proud music. ... This type of rhythm, it's earth rhythm, roots! ... Pocomania [sic] type of music, Rasta, the whole thing together. ... When you get up in the morning, you have to be proud. ... You have to be a sufferer who say to yourself, 'Feeling all right.'

(Whitney & Hussey 1984: 90, 92, 93)

⁴³ This occurs primarily because of mirror neurons, discussed in section 3.2.

Americans (and other cultural outsiders) have difficulty understanding the reggae beat because they lack the proper idealized cognitive models/ICMs and dispositional representations to be competent in Jamaican beat induction.⁴⁴ These conceptual omissions make it difficult for them to even *find* the beat, let alone know how to move to it in a fluid manner.

Mulvaney (1985) has analyzed this interview and notes that “Marley implies that an audience member must know how to dance reggae in order to appreciate the significance of the form. [Its] atypicality in rhythmic structure compared to other popular music forms can cause something like a breakdown in the communication process. ... That is, if the audience member [or musician] does not ‘understand’ the [musical] code, he or she will have problems instantiating the message in dance” (156). When Marley talks about the way that Jamaicans experience reggae music he says that they just “dance it” — he doesn’t say that they “dances *to* it” — an important phenomenological distinction. “Dancing the music” indicates a mental/physical/spiritual unity of the music/ movement gestalt that underlies not only reggae, but all Jamaican movement patterns. Jamaican music has traditionally never maintained a strong separation between spiritual/religious music and secular forms. Jonkonnu began as West African harvest rituals to thank the gods for their crops and to celebrate the fruits of the earth, but was transformed, absorbed and blended with English masquerade and Mumming traditions, thus becoming a secular form (discussed in section 1.3.2.9). In a similar blending of sacred and secular, dance movements in Jamaican neo-African religious rituals have often been shared

⁴⁴ Marley’s comments about the difficulties that non-Jamaicans have in moving to JPM are quite similar to those by Dennis Bovell in section 7.1.

with those in the dancehall. This lack of division between sacred and secular, corporeal and spiritual come from the African sound/movement/religious traditions in which all are part of the same gestalt. Marley shows awareness of this unity when he links reggae to the two most influential indigenous neo-African religious influences on JPM: “[Reggae is] Pocomania type of music, Rasta, the whole thing together.” In reggae (in particular, of all JPM forms), one encounters a unity of basically every fact of Jamaican culture — neo-African, European, foreign and modern influences— mixed together in a delicious stew into which new ingredients were constantly added throughout the seventies (and beyond). The end of Marley’s statement also identifies the essential feature of Jamaican cultural traditions (and the heart of indigenous religious beliefs) — the attitude of triumphing over adversity, which has been a key aesthetic factor in all Jamaican musics since the slavery era. As discussed in section 1.3.2.4, Jamaican funeral ceremonies exemplify this aesthetic. In the face of Death — the ultimate “disaster” — the Jamaican response is to have a nine-night celebration, dancing the Dinki Mini, supported by friends, family and one’s community, engaging in games, food, stories and both tears and laughter. Thus, as Marley puts it, this worldview is there from the moment a Jamaican gets up in the morning. “When you get up in the morning, you have to be proud. You have to be a sufferer who say [sic] to yourself, ‘Feeling all right.’” In other words, it’s *great* to be alive and have the opportunity to enjoy a new day, especially when one can look forward to dancing JPM (not dancing *to* JPM).

7.4 CONCLUSION

In Chapter Two, I presented Kubik's research about problems that occur when musicians attempt to play African music solely by listening to recordings. His analysis of the problems that ensue apply to most Outsider Artists' attempts to reproduce JPM using the same process. Because "only the sound is reproduced, ... [the] motional ... [factors] which produces this sound [are] often not included. The movement patterns are seldom recognized" (Kubik 1979: 229). The omission of movement patterns and their replacement by different ones derived from Outsider Artists' own idealized cognitive models/ICMs modifies the sounds in ways that impact significantly not only upon an individual's rhythmic grooves, but also upon their interaction (or lack thereof⁴⁵) with others' grooves. The timing of the notes — which is crucial for correct placement of offbeats and for accurate execution of rhythms that either omit the regulative beat or place the accent elsewhere — is often altered slightly (but significantly): notes are de-

⁴⁵ As noted in section 7.3, one of the most noticeable omissions in OA's JPM is the same type of hocketing and complex rhythmical polyphony found in indigenous JPM. Few OA arrangements contain emergent beats or rhythms; they are sometimes present in the music of the Clash and the Police. The absence of emergent beats and rhythms in other OA's music is primarily due to drumming patterns which usually leave no beat unsounded or weakly played. In particular, when the bass drum sounds on Beats 1 & 3 in most OA arrangements, it is often played with the same weight and emphasis as in rock and R&B drumming. It is interesting to compare Sly Dunbar's sounded downbeats — either when he plays in a rockers' style with the bass drum in straight eighths, or with single quarter notes on beats 1 & 3 — with the bass drum style of an OA drummer. For example, the drum parts in Black Uhuru's "What Is Life" (1983) (drums played by Sly Dunbar) and UB40's "I Got You Babe" (1985) are similar (basically $\frac{4}{4}$ , with the bass drum on beats 1 & 3 and snare drum on beats 2 & 4: essentially a rock pattern). Dunbar's sound is a thin, clipped bass drum and a deep, heavily accented, resonant snare, with the snare much louder than the bass drum, creating a Jamaican (i.e., neo-African) metric emphasis. UB40's drummer's delivery (and sound): a deep, resonant bass drum and a deep, heavily accented, resonant snare, with both at essentially the same volume; the deep-sounding bass drum creates a Western metric emphasis, i.e., with heavier, more pronounced 1st & 3rd beats: a rock or R&B feel. (Both of these recordings are on *The Best Reggae Album in the world ... ever!* — a 2001 compilation by EMI.)

layed, lengthened, shortened, rushed or anticipated. The tempo can also fluctuate and the sense of drive can be diminished. The change in corporeal weight and orientation often changes the timbre of sounds in ways that are noticeable to somebody who is well-versed in JPM. Because Outsider Artists often move with the reverse orientation to most JPM artists (i.e., using Movements C or D instead of A or B⁴⁶), this reversal creates a “backwards emphasis” in the musical accents that makes offbeats feel (and sound) like syncopations rather than normative offbeats or afterbeats. In addition to moving downward on offbeats, when Outsider Artists overemphasize accents on second and fourth beats (especially when one-drop drumming is used⁴⁷), this can give offbeats or backbeats the corporeal feel of downbeats (from a Western perspective, where downbeats = a strong sonic and corporeal emphasis). This often results in Outsider Artists’ performances with emphases, accents or timing between parts and harmonic shifts that are different to those of JPM artists:⁴⁸ a lack of synchronization and integrated/

⁴⁶ Movement A = moving down on beats and upward on off-beats in an eighth-note pulse, usually the result of stepping or bobbing down on the beat.

Movement B = Movement A, but twice as fast, i.e., in a sixteenth-note pulsation.

Movement C = the reverse of ‘A,’ i.e., starting with an upward movement on the beat.

Movement D = the reverse of ‘B,’ i.e., starting with an upward movement on the beat.

⁴⁷ i.e., when the bass drum is played only on backbeats (2nd & 4th beats).

⁴⁸ This leads Chang & Chen (1998) to make a bizarre claim about the way JPM artists conceptualize and perceive downbeats: “In almost all post-1960 Jamaican music the strongly felt “downbeats” are not 1 & 3, but 2 & 4” (43). Chang & Chen are correct to note that “this [emphasis] is why reggae has had difficulty gaining acceptance among many Americans and Europeans, who are used to feeling the downbeat emphasis on 1 & 3 and commonly complain, ‘I just don’t know how to dance to reggae’ ” (ibid.), but none of the musicians interviewed in Katz (2003) describe the Jamaican conception of downbeat occurring on the second and fourth beat. (I have also never encountered this idea anywhere else, either in print or in conversation with any Jamaican musicians or dancers that I have met.) If Chang & Chen’s initial statement substitutes the words “primary metric accent” for “downbeat,” then their claim

consistent Jamaican (i.e., neo-African) metric accents; discussed in section 1.3. Together, these changes are analogous to what happens when non-native speakers use correct words (in the right order) and get grammatical/ syntactical relationships correct, but misplace accents, mispronounce vowels or add/omit inflections. Native speakers recognize such speakers as “foreigners” or “novice speakers.” JPM artists can recognize movement patterns from recordings “from the way the auditory complexes make their appearances ... and can then execute them, for example by casting them into the mold of dance movements, or by ... reproducing the music [perfectly by ear]⁴⁹” (Kubik 1979: 30). Thus, in relation to Marley’s observations (cited in the Introduction of this study) that outsiders often copy JPM sounds, but not their “feel,” although missing or altered nuances are often difficult to verbalize and identify, insiders can *feel* and identify the difference. Their mirror neurons allow them to read other people intuitively and to understand their movements and sound patterns (and their combination in choreographic rhythms) empathetically and nonverbally, and their idealized cognitive models/ICMs and dispositional representations allow them to make a qualitative gestalt perception of the movements they see and the sounds they hear. Finally, their somatic markers⁵⁰ (i.e., their gut feelings and intuitions) instantly compare these gestalt perceptions to their

makes sense and is accurate. Otherwise, it appears that Chang & Chen (who are both of Caribbean descent, but appear to have grown up outside of Jamaica) may not be “perceptual insiders” when it comes to perceiving JPM from a Jamaican cultural perspective.

⁴⁹ Kubik’s comments refer to African music, but they also apply to Jamaican music.

⁵⁰ “Somatic markers” is Damasio’s term (discussed in detail in section 3.3.1) to refer to our neurological system for automated qualification of predictions on the basis of our memories (i.e., as stored in idealized cognitive models/ICMs and dispositional representations). Somatic markers evaluate extremely diverse experiences and scenarios and suggest the best course of action or response based upon our previous experiences, successes and failures. They can operate unconsciously or overtly.

memories of JPM image schemata.⁵¹ Although the perception of a JPM feel/groove might be difficult to verbalize, once a person has acquired these idealized cognitive models/ICMs and dispositional representations as part of their own personal kinesthetic memory, as noted by Merleau-Ponty (1942/1962) — discussed in section 3.1.2 — the recognition and understanding of another's gestures usually comes "in a kind of blind recognition which precedes the intellectual working out and clarification of the meaning. ... It is the motor grasping of a motor significance" (185, 143). In other words, our perception and understanding of choreographic rhythms is primarily a *feeling* — a combination of a physical sensation and an intuitive sense of correctness (based upon positive qualification by our somatic markers). Thus, as per Sudnow's (1979) phenomenological research into musical performance (discussed in section 3.1.4.1), musical thought, creativity and memory reside as much in our bodies as in our minds (21-35), and "[musical] meaning is intrinsically of the sounds and the body as a whole" (46). The successes and 'failures' of Outsider Artists in their attempts to play JPM demonstrates all of these enactivist theories and findings quite clearly.

⁵¹ Although my description of this perceptual/cognitive process is linear, the sequence of neurobiological processing is so incredibly fast that all of these "steps" basically occur simultaneously, so any implication of sequence here is strictly due to the limitations of expressing simultaneity in written form. Damasio's (and other researchers discussed in Chapter Three) findings indicate that idealized cognitive models ICMs, dispositional representations and somatic markers can (and usually do) send "messages"/information to centres of our brain prior to the onset of sensory stimulation, and therefore predispose our perceptual organs to expect particular patterns/ events and to either prioritize information that meets these expectations and/or can actually alter the information. Thus, we truly do "see/hear what we want (or expect) to see/hear" on the basis of our prior histories.

8. SUMMARY / CONCORDANCE AND CONCLUSION

8.1 INTRODUCTION

Musical systems and techniques have been invented and developed by people with basically the same bodies, but cultural and individual idiosyncrasies have influenced the ways in which they have used and extended those bodies. Thus what may have come easily to one person may have to be acquired with difficulty by others, not only because of physical barriers or facility, but also because good musicians do not play with their bodies so much as through their bodies. ... Whatever view is taken of the relative influences of cultural and biological factors in musical performance and response, some music-making, it appears, requires that various parts of the brain and body work together in particular ways. (Blacking 1992: 308-309)

John Blacking's general observations about the relationship between culture, biology and musical experiences identify the central focus of this study: that the particular cultural experiences of both Jamaican and non-Jamaican artists account for the findings presented in Chapters Five and Seven. These findings indicate the significant role played by corporeal factors in the history and development of all Jamaican musics. Jamaican popular musicians have developed their conception of music and how to perform it as the result of their lifelong experiences with traditional Jamaican musics (i.e., Jamaican Folk and Religious Musics — JFRM) which have been strongly rooted in neo-African practices since the slavery era of the 1500s.¹ These experiences with JFRM (which, like their West/Central African cultural counterparts, consist of music and movement gestalts) resulted in, to paraphrase Blacking, "various parts of the brain and body working together in particular ways in musical performance and response," i.e.,

¹ There have also been influences from European and other foreign cultures (see sections 1.3.3 and 1.3.4), but experts in JFRM are unanimous that the influence of these traditions has mostly been superficial. The most significant, long-lasting and emotionally deep influence upon JFRM has been the African component, especially in performance, when many neo-African sonic techniques and corporeal orientations are added; see citations noted in section 8.2 c).

producing unique Jamaican “choreographic rhythms.” As illustrated by the findings presented in Chapter Seven, “Outsider Artists” (OA)² have approached Jamaican Popular Music (JPM) from the perspective of their own lifelong experiences dominated primarily by European-rooted musical traditions which have their own choreographic rhythms. When these non-Jamaican choreographic rhythms are combined with JPM sonic patterns, the resulting differences in sonic characteristics — especially in the rhythmic groove³ — provide evidence of the way that corporeal factors impact upon the performance of sound patterns in all cultural traditions. Of course, differences in sonic patterns between OA’s and indigenous Jamaican musicians’ performance of JPM can sometimes be the result of distorted, incomplete or simply incorrect perception, conception and execution of these patterns due to technical limitations (i.e., weak musical facility and fluency⁴). Even with technically competent Outsider Artists,⁵ however, their expectations of strongly sounded beats and other Western harmonic-metric conventions generate frequent syntactical “errors” and inconsistencies in comparison with JPM performed by indigenous Jamaican artists. The enactivist research presented in Chapter Three explains how and why one’s culturally acquired musical experiences shape

² “Outsider Artists” is my label for non-Jamaican performers whose primary experiences have been outside of Jamaican cultural environments.

³ See sections 2.3.5, 3.4.3 and 7.3 for discussion of “groove” as per Iyer’s (1998, 2002) approach to analysis and how this pertains to OA’s JPM performances.

⁴ That being said, the enactivist research presented in Chapter Three makes it clear that “basic musical facility and fluency” are always interlinked with one’s prior cultural traditions, which will always include a particular corporeal orientation and some type of choreographic rhythm.

⁵ E.g., Steely Dan, Stevie Wonder and studio guitarist Wayne Perkins.

musical perception, conception and performance skills,⁶ i.e., reasons for the “flaws” or inconsistencies of OA performances of JPM.⁷ The opposite is also true: for those Outsider Artists who are particularly successful at replicating the Jamaican rhythmic feel (e.g., OA which I classify as “Experts”⁸), their choreographic rhythms are more like those of indigenous JPM artists than those of other Outsider Artists — those I dub the “Dabbler” group⁹ — whose choreographic rhythms are either totally different, erratic or inconsistent. Thus, in the end, both Jamaican and non-Jamaican approaches to JPM support Blacking’s ideas (quoted a few pages back) and Agawu’s explanation of choreographic rhythms¹⁰: that in musical experiences, our bodies are always shaped by our culturally specific, primarily innately acquired ways of linking sound patterns with particular corporeal orientations.

⁶ This research also shows that music is a multimodal phenomenon in which sound patterns are merely one ingredient out of many. Of the non-sonic factors, corporeal reactions and body movement in combination with emotional states figure prominently. One of the main enactivist (from the word “enact”, i.e., “en-act”, to invoke an action) principles is that our mind, brain, body and environment are dialogically intertwined and shape every aspect of our consciousness, not just musical experience. Given that music involves many non-sonic components, the influence of one’s sociocultural environment in particular is far-reaching. Enactivist principles are addressed throughout this study, but most thoroughly and prominently in Chapters Three, Six and Seven.

⁷ One could argue that differences between OA JPM and indigenous versions are hybrids or creolizations, which is undoubtedly true in some instances — see discussion in Chapter Seven — but in other instances, it appears that OA’s versions of JPM are either unsuccessful attempts at imitation or replication, or merely the nuancing of some other style by adding Jamaican musical characteristics.

⁸ The category of “Expert” artists includes the British Two Tone groups (the Specials, Madness and the Selector), UB40, the Clash and the Police.

⁹ The Dabbler group includes artists like Abba, Eric Clapton, the Eagles, 10cc, Led Zeppelin, Paul McCartney and Linda Ronstadt, who approached JPM very superficially and primarily as either an exotic experiment or as a set of musical ingredients that were added to their existing styles as an embellishment.

¹⁰ See Chapter Two for a detailed analysis of Agawu’s ideas.

This study has utilized the neurophenomenological musicological methodology outlined in Chapter Three, a holistic approach to the study of musical experiences and systems based upon enactivist findings and principles. The goal has been to consider JPM in terms of both outer (i.e., “objective”/empirical/quantitative/ biological/environmental) and inner (i.e., “subjective”/qualitative/phenomenological) factors, which enactivist research indicates are in intertwined, dialogical and non-hierarchical relationships. By seeking converging evidence (i.e., triangulation) from a variety of perspectives¹¹ to explore and support this study’s theories and conclusions, it is hoped that the skewing effects of any one method have been cancelled, offset or supplemented by the others (as per Lakoff & Johnson 1999: 79). It is also hoped that this study presents an account of JPM that is phenomenologically accurate from the perspective of its makers and in the context of its indigenous cultural environment.

This final chapter has five remaining sections: 8.2 Summary of Study/ Concor-
dance (by topic), 8.3 Significant Questions Raised in This Study, 8.4 Significance and Im-
plications of This Study, 8.5 Areas for Future Research and 8.6 Final Thoughts.

¹¹ This study has utilized musicology, movement analysis, phenomenology, neurobiological analysis, ethnography and sociocultural historical analysis.

8.2 SUMMARY OF STUDY / CONCORDANCE

The following ten main topics have been explored in this study¹²:

1) **MUSICOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF WEST / CENTRAL AFRICAN AND JAMAICAN SOUND**

PATTERNS, in Chapter One (in sections 1.3.2.1 and 1.3.2.2 to 1.3.5.6, respectively). In section 1.3.2.1, Waterman's list of five sub-Saharan musical characteristics (which are frequently cited in the JPM literature as applicable to Jamaican musics) is examined in detail. Six additional characteristics are presented, most of which are minimally discussed in the literature, in spite of their significance to Jamaican music. This section also analyzes Jamaican music's rhythmic organization,¹³ with an analysis of the applicability of "offbeats" vs. other terminology to label Jamaican music's most characteristic feature; also see sections 1.3.3.7 and 2.1.1 for additional discussion; e.g., Courtenay's (1954) analysis of mento offbeats, and Jamaican musicians' delaying of afterbeats. Jamaican and Ghanaian offbeat patterns are compared in sections 1.3.2.7, 1.3.2.9 and 1.3.4.2.

- **The significance of Rastafarianism with regard to the birth and development of JPM** is discussed in sections 1.3.4.6, 1.3.5.4, 1.3.5.5, 1.3.5.6, 4.8, 4.9 and 5.4.
- **The overall performance style of all Jamaican musics is dominated by African and neo-African sonic and movement patterns and aesthetics**; discussed in sections 1.3.2.9 and 1.3.3.8 (e.g., transformation of European elements using neo-African performance practices and aesthetics re: Singing Games), 1.3.4.2 (Revival adaptations of European hymns), 1.3.4.6 (Nyabingi adaptations of Revival hymns), 1.3.5.1, 1.3.5.4 (ska), 1.3.5.6 (reggae) and 1.4.
- **A comparison between American R&B and JPM** in sections 1.3.4.6, 1.3.4.7 and 1.3.5.3.

¹² The items in the following list are non-hierarchical in terms of priority / importance.

¹³ See section 3.4.3 for enactivist evidence about neurobiology of "grooves," i.e., the manipulation of timing, timbral, durational, accentual and dynamic factors at micro-levels, and their perception, production and assimilation primarily by intuitive, mimetic means.

- 2) **THE INFLUENCE OF JAMAICA'S SOCIOCULTURAL TRADITIONS UPON JPM** (especially folk and religious musics, which themselves are primarily rooted in, and a creolization of, neo-African and European influences) in Chapters One and Four.
- **The significance of Anansi stories upon JPM and the Jamaican conception of identity** is examined in sections 1.3.2.8 and 1.3.3. Related to the Jamaican conception of identity is the Quashie concept, examined in section 1.3.3.
- 3) **JAMAICAN CULTURE IS STRONGLY INFLUENCED BY BOTH AFRICAN AND EUROPEAN CULTURAL TRADITIONS**, although many analysts argue that European influences have often been superficial, with the African worldview and aesthetics providing the underlying deep structures; discussed in sections 1.2.5.2, 1.3.3, 1.3.3.2, 1.3.3.3 and 1.3.5.5. Particular relationships between these cultures and Jamaican musical practices are examined in sections 1.3.2, 1.3.3.1 and 1.3.3.2.
- **Similarities between West/Central African and Jamaican body movement orientations** are examined in sections 1.3.2.2, 1.3.2.6, 1.3.2.7, 1.3.2.9, 1.3.5.1, 1.4, 1.4.1, 1.4.2.4 and 1.5.
 - **The similarity between West/Central African and Jamaican religions (especially with regard to two-part worship structures)** is examined in sections 1.3.2.2, 1.3.2.7 and 1.3.4.2.
- 4) **THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CORPOREAL FACTORS AND ORIENTATIONS UPON JAMAICAN MUSICAL CONCEPTS, PERCEPTION, COGNITION AND PERFORMANCE** is discussed in sections 1.3.3.8 (significance of neo-African corporeal orientations in Singing Games), 1.4, 1.4.3, Chapters Two, Five, Six and Seven. In section 1.4.2.2, O'Gorman identifies three essential features of all Jamaican sound-movement couplings: i) heavy, hypnotic offbeat accents, ii) blending of secular and religious, iii) particular ways of moving are encoded in the rhythmic style of the music.
- 5) **THE ROLE OF CHOREOGRAPHIC RHYTHMS IN JAMAICAN MUSICAL STRUCTURES** is examined in Chapters One (sections 1.4, 1.5), Two, Five, Six and Seven. Since Jamaican movement patterns and choreographic rhythms are rooted in West and

Central African practices, these African movement patterns and orientations are examined in sections 1.3.1, 1.3.2.1, 1.3.2.2, 1.4, 1.4.1, 2.2.1, 2.2.2. Researchers (see sections 2.2.1, 2.2.2 and 2.2.4) note the gestalt unity of music and dance (from an African aesthetic perspective), and how the experience of one automatically gives rise to the other (for cultural insiders). This phenomenon is confirmed by the enactivist research presented in section 3.3.1 which indicates that musical experience is always multimodal and consistently linked to motor activity.¹⁴ Research findings of this study (i.e., analysis of 878 performances by over 299 Jamaican artists) are presented in Chapter Five and analyzed from an enactivist perspective in Chapter Six. These findings indicate that most Jamaican musicians (i.e., as represented by those examined in this study) share the same choreographic rhythms and corporeal orientation.

6) KEY CONCLUSIONS ABOUT JAMAICAN CHOREOGRAPHIC RHYTHMS

- **Agawu's observations** with regard to West African musics (section 1.3.1) apply to Jamaican musics (based upon the empirical evidence presented in Chapters Five and Seven): **without considering the appropriate movement component of African (and Jamaican) performances "it is not possible to arrive at a correct, culturally sanctioned understanding. ... [A]nalysts [need] to draw insight from ... [relationships between] sound [and] movement"** (Agawu 2006: 18).
- **The findings of this study** (presented in Chapters Five, Six and Seven) **strongly suggest that corporeal factors have played a fundamental role in the characteristics of Jamaican music from the slavery era to JPM, especially in live performance.**¹⁵ Although enactivists haven't examined JPM (or Jamaican artists per

¹⁴ This link sometimes only occurs at a neuronal level, involving the triggering of motor centers in the brain with little or no actual physical movement; see section 3.3.1.

¹⁵ Analysts who have considered the performance of Jamaican music and dance (examined in sections 1.3.3, 1.3.3.6, 1.3.3.7, 1.3.4, 1.3.5 and 1.4) also identify many significant corporeal aspects of Jamaican music: Alleyne, Barnett, Baxter, Beckwith, Bennett, Bradley, Brathwaite, Campbell, Carty, Dunham, Gottschild, Hopkin, Jekyll, Lewin, Mulvaney, Nettleford, Pinnock, Pitts, Roberts, Rouse, Ryman, Savishinsky, Simpson & Moore, Sloat, Tanna, D.

se), they have examined the nature of musical perception and its relationship to environmental factors (see Chapters Three and Six). This research is correlated to JPM throughout this study, but particularly in Chapters Four, Five, Six and Seven. **These findings strongly suggest that Jamaican choreographic rhythms are central to the Jamaican conception, perception and performance of indigenous musical forms;**¹⁶ see discussion in sections 1.5 and 6.2.

- **The majority of corporeal movements and orientations that constitute choreographic rhythms** are not ‘responses’ to sound patterns nor are they merely synchronous activity. Rather, they **are highly intertwined with musical creativity, perception and performance activities to such a degree that they are virtually impossible to separate and exist simultaneously in terms of both a conceptual and neurobiological perspective.**¹⁷ Discussed in section 1.4, Chapters Two, Three, Six and Seven.

7) **EXPERTS IN JAMAICAN MUSIC** (especially those who have studied Jamaican Folk and Religious Musics (JFRM)) **AGREE THAT CREOLIZATION IS JAMAICAN CULTURE’S MOST DISTINCTIVE FEATURE;**¹⁸ see section 1.2.5.2. A number of analysts (e.g., Baxter, Broadwood, Carty, Lewin, Myers and Ryman) use **the term “Jamai-**

Thomas, G. White, Whitney & Hussey and Wynter.

¹⁶ Dance analyst Hanna (1979: 29-31) notes that movement styles develop through “psychomotor socialization patterns;” see discussion in section 1.4. Enactivist researcher Donald presents empirical evidence of the way that cultural models (like music/movement gestalts) become embedded in our neural structures in a process he calls “deep enculturation” whereby they usually disappear from our conscious awareness and are difficult to describe or demonstrate; see discussion in section 3.3.2.

¹⁷ Our memories of experiences are always an inseparable blend of abstract and physical neural links, which Damasio calls “dispositional representations;” see sections 3.3.1 and 6.4. He (along with other enactivist researchers) identifies special memory structures, called “somatic markers,” which store sensory data, including motor and emotional information and our reactions which become available for future retrieval. Somatic markers allow us to reenact a prior experience by simply thinking about it, producing the same neurobiological activity generated by the experience itself; see sections 3.3.2 and 6.4.

¹⁸ e.g., Alleyne, Baxter, Brathwaite, Carty, Lewin, Nettleford, O’Gorman, Ryman, Stolzoff and G.White, although not all of them use the term “creolization” per se.

canization" to identify particular alterations to musical and movement elements that are borrowed or adapted from foreign cultures; see sections 1.3.5.1 and 1.4.3. Additional discussion of Jamaicanization occurs in sections 1.3.3.6 (re: Quadrille), 1.3.3.8 (re: Singing Games), 1.3.4.2 (re: Revival adaptations of European hymns), 1.3.4.7 (re: deejay alteration of R&B recordings at Sound System dances), 1.3.5.3 (re: Jamaican musicians' innate cultural preferences leading to proto-ska and ska), 1.3.5.4 (in ska), 1.3.5.5 (in rocksteady), 1.3.5.6 (in reggae) and 6.2.

8) ANALYSIS OF JPM AS PERFORMED BY 65 OUTSIDER ARTISTS (OA) IN 177 PERFORMANCES (i.e., musicians who have either limited or marginal experience with JPM prior to these particular performance efforts) in Chapter Seven. OA are further subdivided into two groups, "Experts" and "Dabblers." Experts either specialize in JPM or use it as a creative ingredient in hybrids which parallel Jamaican creolization. Dabblers only perform JPM occasionally, mostly as "another style" in their repertoire. Experts' choreographic rhythms are closer to those of JPM artists than those of the Dabbler group, although, **as a whole, OA's choreographic rhythms are significantly different from those of JPM artists, strongly suggesting that these differences are related to the absence of many rhythmic nuances in OA JPM, and an overall rhythmic sensibility that is dominated by non-Jamaican styles** (see Chapter Seven for details). In section 7.3, these findings are also analyzed from an enactivist perspective, with a particular focus upon which aspects of JPM are altered by OA artists. This leads to observations about the relationship between JPM performances by Jamaican artists and their environment in section 7.4.¹⁹ See section 1.3.5.4 for discussion of commercialized ska by indigenous JPM artists.

¹⁹ Enactivist findings reveal that our prior experiences shape our perceptual/cognitivist acts and processes to such a degree that we truly do see and hear what we expect to perceive on the basis of our cultural conditioning; see section 3.2.

9) THE NEUROBIOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF SOUND PROCESSING²⁰ AND THEIR INTERRELATIONSHIP TO THE JAMAICAN CULTURAL ENVIRONMENT, I.E., JAMAICANS' "HABITUS"²¹ AND THE SOCIOCULTURAL RELATIONSHIPS AND SIGNIFICANT EVENTS DURING THE LIFETIMES OF JPM ARTISTS, AS WELL AS THOSE OF THEIR PARENTS (i.e., from the early twentieth century to the 1970s) are examined in Chapters One, Three, Four, Six and Seven. This analysis discovers a predominance of neo-African cultural traditions in the sociocultural environment of these artists, in the form of JFRM, with many sonic and corporeal traits (especially choreographic rhythms) that come to characterize JPM. See section 1.3.2 and Chapter Four for information about Jamaican neo-African traditions and section 3.6 for seven enactivist conclusions about music perception, cognition, processing and performance skills.

10) DIFFICULTIES FOR NON-JAMAICANS UNDERSTANDING JAMAICAN RHYTHMS is examined in sections 1.3.2.8 (re: problems with transcriptions in Jekyll 1907), 1.4.2.4

²⁰ This study embraces the enactivist position, a relatively new approach to the study of perception and cognition (that first surfaced in the late seventies, and has blossomed since the early 1990s, due to advancements in imaging technology that allow scientists to examine the locations and interrelationships between various areas of the brain during various tasks). A brief overview of enactivism is presented in the Introduction; the most detailed analysis is in Chapter Three. The traditional view of the brain/mind and how it processes information is called cognitivism and is examined in Appendix B. Key enactivist findings about music are that musical processing is always a multisensory, multimodal process with a sound-movement unity that occurs automatically, regardless of whether or not any overt physical movement is apparent. The "meaning" of musical experience is therefore never just a matter of sonic processing, but is rather polysemic, with few of the "objective" characteristics traditionally claimed by cognitivists. These findings also indicate that most musical skills and aptitudes are developed and acquired under the influence of one's prior experiences with the sociocultural traditions. Many "characteristics" of sound signals are actually cultural constructions, rather than objective features; e.g., beat induction (i.e., the perception of pulse/beat) is entirely contingent upon culturally sanctioned conventions as to what constitutes pulse/beat and how they are coded in sound patterns; (see discussion in sections 3.4.1, 3.4.2, 3.6 and 6.4).

²¹ Drawing upon Pierre Bourdieu's (1977) concepts, Tomasello defines "habitus" as "a particular socio-cultural space in which a person lives and develops" (1999: 79); discussed in section 3.3.2. See Chapter Four for a detailed account of the sociocultural environment in which JPM artists grew up and developed their conceptions of music.

(problems with Americans²² dancing to reggae), section 6.4 and in Chapter Seven (difficulties with performance of JPM).

8.3 SIGNIFICANT QUESTIONS ADDRESSED IN THIS STUDY:

Some significant questions are raised about JPM, mostly in the Introduction and in Chapter One. The answers to these are often fairly extensive and sometimes discussed in a number of places. This section presents a brief summary of each “answer,” along with citations of the sections where discussion takes place.

• Why did JPM emerge in the late fifties (and not earlier)?

The fifties was an exceptional period in Jamaican history, with many exciting developments involving social, economic, educational, religious, philosophical, political and musical factors occurring synchronously and often dialogically. Of all of these factors, Rastafarianism was a major influence upon the artists who developed JPM. In 1954 the majority of Rastas relocated to the Kingston area after the Police destroyed their main camp, which was in the countryside outside of Kingston. Rastafarianism attracted many young people who were to become central figures in JPM; they consistently cite the musical experiments by Rasta percussionist Count Ossie²³ as the primary catalyst which “set off,” but most importantly *nurtured*, the musical shifts that led to JPM. Many other factors also account for the emergence of JPM at this time, especially the rise of the

²² This reference to “Americans” isn’t meant to suggest that their experience dancing to reggae is any different than that of any other non-Jamaican cultural group. The particular reference here is from an interview with Bob Marley in which he comments about Americans’ response to his music (during a U.S. tour).

²³ Ossie developed Nyabinghi, the Rastafarian musical style, which blended traditional indigenous and contemporary musical ideas. See discussion on Count Ossie and Rastafarianism in section 1.3.5.6 and Chapter Four.

Sound System phenomenon; see discussion in sections 1.3.4.7 and 4.9. For possible reasons for the emergence of rocksteady and reggae, see sections 1.3.5.5 and 1.3.5.6

• **Why was JPM embraced by most Jamaicans with such intensity?**

Like the birth of JPM, the timing of JPM's emergence was interlinked with both sonic and non-sonic factors, of which Jamaica's independence in August 1962 was particularly significant. Impending nationhood involved government-promoted presentations of Jamaican neo-African roots that created a climate in which people were enthusiastic to hear music that reflected their feelings of national pride and celebration of their African roots.²⁴ JPM combined 1940s/1950s American R&B with indigenous traits in a manner that was extremely popular in the dancehall. The reasons for these musical experiments are many: a change in American musical taste and a diminishing of "old-style" R&B, the growth of Rastafarianism (and Count Ossie's jam sessions which blended modern and traditional musics), technological advancements (re: sound equipment for dancehalls, recording and radio broadcasting) providing the tools to disseminate local creations, and more. When presented with the alternative of homegrown Jamaicanized R&B and the original American recordings, many Jamaicans preferred dancing to local music, because of its stronger neo-African musical orientations²⁵ (with

²⁴ It must be stressed, however, that the enthusiasm of the 1950s about impending nationhood had been steadily building since the 1920s and 1930s. In other words, for the young people who both created and consumed JPM, they had been surrounded by these expectations their entire lives. People like Marcus Garvey, Claude McKay, Leonard Howell, Norma and Edna Manley and Alexander Bustamante played central roles in changing Jamaican politics, religion, social institutions and indigenous traditions in the 1920s and 1930s, seeds which came to fruition in 1962. See Chapter Four for details.

²⁵ In comparison to JPM, American R&B has a more pronounced Western metric orientation:

corresponding indigenous choreographic rhythms). See discussion in sections 1.3.5.3, 1.3.5.4, 1.3.5.5, 1.3.5.6, 4.7, 4.8, 4.9, 6.2 and 6.4.

Two interrelated questions:

- **Why have so many non-Jamaicans who have tried to either replicate JPM or create their own JPM-styled music had such consistent problems executing JPM's rhythmic nuances with the same consistency and complexity as JPM artists?**
- **What is it about the Jamaican rhythmic approach that makes it so difficult to reproduce by people who have not grown up in a Jamaican environment?**

As noted in section 8.1, musicians and audiences always approach new (and old) musical experiences under the influence of their prior musical encounters, and understandings and expectations derived from these encounters. Since most non-Jamaican artists (examined in this study) have approached JPM as a set of sonic patterns learned from listening to recordings, their analysis of JPM has been dominated by their former musical experiences in their respective indigenous musical cultures, rather than those of Jamaican traditions. The research findings examined in Chapters Five, Six and Seven seem to suggest that differences between JPM artists' and OA's performances of JPM are almost exclusively due to these prior cultural experiences, especially those involving corporeal orientations, which, in most non-Jamaican (i.e., European-rooted) practices utilize choreographic rhythms that operate under very different (sometimes reversed) relationships; see section 1.3.2.8 and Chapter Seven.

ongoing emphasis upon a steady, sounded pulse, generating choreographic rhythms that are often only marginally different from those of traditional European musical traditions.

8.4 SIGNIFICANCE AND IMPLICATIONS OF THIS STUDY

The significance and implications of this study are both local and global. By integrating the material surveyed in Part One with the findings in Part Two, the following “conclusions” have emerged:

- 1) JPM and JFRM performers share similar, uniquely Jamaican choreographic rhythms (CRs), which appear to account for the idiosyncratic rhythmic feel of most Jamaican music.
- 2) Jamaican CRs are rooted in neo-African musical traditions, which are themselves rooted in West and Central African musics.
- 3) Jamaican musical traditions (including CRs) are transmitted and acquired primarily via mimesis.²⁶
- 4) Enactivist research about the relationship between music perception/cognition and cultural environments explains how growing up in particular cultures develops CRs which shape their members’ musical understanding and performance practices. This research also explains why people often have difficulty perceiving and performing foreign CRs because they intuitively utilize their own CRs instead. If one’s native and foreign CRs are too different from one another, perceptual and conceptual difficulties

²⁶ The concept of “mimesis” utilized in this chapter stems from the work of Merlin Donald (2001: 263-70), examined in detail in section 3.3.2 for more discussion on mimesis. Donald sees the mimetic process involving five different variant approaches: 1) *Mime*: imaginative re-enactment of an event; 2) *imitation*: the replication of another’s actions, with full understanding of the other’s perspective and objectives; 3) *mimickry*: similar to imitation, but without its deep understanding, i.e., only parrot-like copying imitation; 4) *skill*: the result of rehearsed imitative actions that become consistently replicable and ultimately unconscious, automatic actions; and 5) gestures: explicitly communicative and/or intentional acts. Music can involve all five types, although it is at the level of true imitation (not mimickry) where true understanding is manifest. JFRM and JPM are basically oral musics. (In the twentieth-century there have been professional, primarily Western-trained musicians who have utilized notation for either composition or arrangement, but they constitute a minority amongst the musicians overall, and do not figure at all in this study.) The primary means for musicians to learn their craft is by observation and participation, often guided by mentors in an informal relationship.

can become severe enough to introduce significant distortions and problems with execution.

Points 1), 2) and 4) have no precedence in the JPM literature, so it is hoped that the information in this study not only fills in a gap in the JPM story, but also provides even more solid evidence of the links between JPM and its deep and distinctive cultural well-springs (as per Bilby 1995: 145). Although point 3) has been noted by a number of researchers (mostly dance scholars and folklorists²⁷), any links in the literature between corporeal aspects of Jamaican traditions and musical patterns or performance practice have been minimal or nonexistent.²⁸

In terms of particular implications for the study of Jamaican music, these findings also lead to the following three recommendations/principles, which also apply to other musical styles (especially those in which unsounded gestures play a prominent role).²⁹ The reader could/should substitute the names of other styles into any of the following statements that are directed specifically to Jamaican music; in each instance,

²⁷ e.g., Alleyne, Baxter, Bennett, Carty, Lewin, Mulvaney, Ryman, Nettleford, Stolzoff and G. White, as discussed in Chapters One, Five and Seven.

²⁸ The "conclusiveness" of these four points is strongly linked to the sample of artists examined in this study, i.e., point 1) is really a description of these artists. That being said, however, this sample is sufficiently large that this "claim" appears to be very strong. Point 2) is strongly supported by dance and movement analysts examined in section 1.5, and point 3) is also supported by many Jamaican folklorists examined throughout Chapter One. Enactivist claims are supported by over two decades worth of empirical evidence; the number of proponents of these claims (and the amount of corroboration) has grown by leaps and bounds within the last decade. Given that so many cognitivist claims are simply untenable in the face of this evidence, it seems quite likely that the enactivist view will continue to grow and become more mainstream in the face of additional new research that continues to emerge.

²⁹ That being said, however, even in musical experiences (such as in a Western classical concert hall) where participants move very little, choreographic rhythms *are* operative, since the absence of overt movement is not always an indicator of the absence of corporeal en-

these three recommendations/principles suggest ways to analyze any musical styles from a broader perspective than traditional Western sound-based analysis.

i) Since most Jamaican musical practices are consistently intertwined with many other non-sonic components (especially unsounded gestures), holistic methodologies are clearly the most suitable ones to study Jamaican music that considers the perspective of indigenous practitioners.

The enactivist approach of analyzing complex experiences (like music) by triangulating “objective” measurements and data concerning sound patterns with the phenomenological analysis of feelings, corporeal reactions and socioculturally rooted expectations and experiences) can strengthen both qualitative and quantitative data that should ultimately enrich overall conclusions.

Mimesis has played a significant role in the way that JPM artists have learned their craft and passed on these skills to others.³⁰ Most musical principles (i.e., types of musical ideas and the possibilities for manipulation, interaction and development) and especially performance practices have been primarily conveyed and absorbed implicitly through participation, rather than via any formal instruction.³¹ Most Jamaican musicians

agement with the musical experience. As noted in Chapter Three, Five and Six, corporeal activity can include changes of internal states, metabolism and feelings of tension, relaxation, anticipation, etc. that can feel as intense as more overt movement. After all, being very still and engaging in quiet contemplation still creates links between the sounds experienced and these particular movements (or lack thereof).

³⁰ The oral tradition of both JPM and JFRM is reiterated by the majority of scholars: e.g., Alleyne, Barrett, Baxter, Beckwith, Bennett, Bilby, Ehrlich, Hopkin, Jekyll, Johnson & Pine, JPM artists in Katz (2003), Lewin, Murray, O’Gorman, Reckford, Seaga, Stolzoff, G. White, Wynter and Wynter.

³¹ E.g., see Hopkin’s (1984) discussion of how “[Jamaican] children ... absorb the grammar and lexicon of the music they hear around them in the same manner that they learn to talk” (1) in section 1.3.3.8. See also discussion in sections 3.3.2, 3.4.3, 6.3 and 6.4.

(and analysts) concur that the perception, creation and maintenance of a regulative beat with one's body is the most important skill for the perception and execution of Jamaican sonic patterns. Given Jamaican music's strong roots in West African musical practices, Agawu's views on choreographic rhythms are particularly applicable; discussed throughout Chapter Two and in section 1.3.2.1, #11. Another significant skill for fully understanding Jamaican music is the perception and performance of different beat subdivisions and accents, often with accompaniment patterns that are frequently much faster and more complex (in terms of offbeat accents and phrasing) than what appear in the main melody or rhythm;³² see sections 1.3.2.1 and 1.3.4.2

ii) Given the enactivist research presented in Chapter Three which indicates that the processing of musical experience always involves corporeal engagement,³³ JPM researchers need to consider how "the creation of musical structures is shaped by sensorimotor factors" (Baily 1985: 237); discussed in section 2.2.1.

Many other researchers (with enactivist leanings) concur with Baily. With reference to musics such as blues and polka, which also display choreographic rhythms that significantly shape their musical processes and products, Keil argues that "analyst[s] need to] look as well as listen; the physical motions of music makers give important information, and the behavioral responses of people (for example, dancing) are a bridge to the audiovisual space-time tropes of a culture" (in Keil & Feld 1994: 101). Kubik (1977:

³² The use of appropriate unsounded and sounded gestures and are essential to the development of this skill.

³³ This empirical evidences indicates that it is not possible to perceive or even to conceptualize music without the body being involved. Sometimes this engagement is only at a neural level, i.e., motor neurons in the brain can be engaged without giving rise to any visible or overt movements (although there are usually also internal changes which are measurable with contemporary medical equipment); see section 6.2.

329) also suggests that analysts need to discover the muscular patterns and the motor structures of styles. Similarly, Richard Middleton (1990) notes that the non-notatable aspects of musical performance (such as body movements) train and induce perception and “particular forms of listening” (105), guiding and shaping the mind’s habits and prioritizations;³⁴ these comments apply equally to OA’s JPM performances. Echard (1997) also notes that different musical styles are “in part a particular kind of body experience: the body does not express the style but partly constitutes it” (44); see section 2.3.

Since musical processing is always intertwined with corporeal process, often involving overt movement patterns,³⁵ JPM researchers need to prioritize corporeal factors in their consideration of not only JPM, but every type of musical event (especially those in which choreographic rhythms play a central role in their structure and performance practices, e.g., in West/Central African musics). These complex musical systems require a holistic approach that includes both syntactical and the processual dimensions, i.e.,

[analysis] which is about experience, about what people hear and how people hear it, ... worked through the socialized, biographical, the historical process of lives and of people living and relating [to each other and to the world around them]. ... [T]he music's dance or motor element ... may ... be essential to an adequate analysis. ... [What is needed are] a body-based aesthetics [and methodology] adequate to the task. (Keil in Keil & Feld 1994: 165, 57)

The neurophenomenological musicology utilized in this study (and by other researchers

³⁴ With reference to inner hearing, Middleton notes that since “what is ‘heard’ is strongly guided by what has been really — predominantly — heard in the past, [notation-centric training can determine and] privilege acts of aural abstraction, ... blending and arranging in [a] hierarchy [that does not reflect the priorities and techniques as practiced in musics with significantly overt choreographic rhythms]” (Middleton 1990: 105). (*Note:* Middleton doesn’t use the term “choreographic rhythms,” although his descriptions of sound and movement patterns are congruent with Agawu’s concepts.)

³⁵ See section 3.4.1 for neurobiological evidence of sound and body movement links.

examined primarily in Chapter Three) is particularly suitable for this purpose, since it not only prioritizes musical analysis from the perspective of musical cultures' makers and participants, but it is also rooted in empirical neurobiological evidence about the characteristics of musical perception, cognition and the acquisition and execution of performance skills. As Agawu (in section 2.1.1), Kubik (in section 2.2.1), Wilson (in section 2.3.2) and Varela, Thompson & Rosch (in section 3.2) have pointed out, however, when musicians become proficient performers, choreographic patterns basically disappear from their conscious mind and become "invisible" to not only practitioners, but to other cultural insiders, because of their ubiquity (discussed in section 2.2.1).³⁶ This "invisibility" poses considerable challenges to researchers, since the performers and participants involved in a study are often totally unaware of their own sound and movement patterns, even though they might appear obvious to "outside" observers. The use of video (especially using DVD) to study choreographic rhythms becomes an ideal methodology to study the choreographic rhythms of live performances; see discussion in section 5.1

iii) When studying music from outside of one's indigenous culture, one needs to develop awareness of how one's prior experiences with the musical traditions of one's culture have shaped one's expectations about musical content and aesthetics and the role of

³⁶ Agawu (2003) notes that these movements become instinctive and spontaneous (73). Kubik (1977: 329) calls them "overlearned movements," which become automatic and innate responses. Olly Wilson (in Kubik 1994: 37) calls the sound and movement patterns of African music a form of embodied knowledge, a viewpoint similar to the ideas of Mark Johnson (1987), Sheets-Johnstone (1979, 1990, 1999a, 1999b) and Sudnow (1978, 1979). Thompson calls this phenomenon "the absent body;" see section 3.2. During all repeated tasks (especially complex ones like playing an instrument, operating farm machinery or tools, driving a car, using a typewriter keyboard), our lived body recedes from us and moves outside of our conscious awareness (Thompson 1999: 6). In addition to these specialized, culturally acquired tasks, most of our daily corporeal experiences, e.g., our posture, breathing, walking, getting dressed, eating, etc., are part of our absent bodies.

corporeal factors in performance.

Chapter Three presents empirical research findings of the relationship between one's prior experiences and musical perception, cognition and performance. Phenomenological "bracketing" techniques can help analysts to focus upon the experience at hand, considering the perspective of performers from the *performers' perspectives*, with a view to understanding relationships and priorities that are shaped and nurtured within a particular sociocultural setting. In other words, to let the musical experience "speak for itself," with a minimum of pre-planning and interference. Bracketing also allows research to examine their own responses in a similar fashion, and to ultimately consider how their responses are interlinked with their own culturally shaped presumptions, beliefs and expectations which might interfere with their ability to simply attend to musical phenomena with a minimum of pre-categorization and values which might result in significant misperceptions and interfere with researchers' attempts to replicate performances themselves — not unlike OA's difficulties in grappling with Jamaican music with insufficient cultural background to attend to Jamaican priorities (especially choreographic rhythms); see section Chapter Two and 3.1.1.

South African ethnomusicologist Andrew Tracey and American musicologist Charles Seeger (who both researched African music) offer useful advice regarding the study of musical systems that are significantly different from one's own native traditions. "[I]t does help if we know how to start with what we are up against, and what *this* is, is the musical conditioning which we all absorb from tiny [sic], and is probably finished by age 5 or 6. None of this is taught at music school; it is all basic assumption

which lies behind our adult music, and we normally don't question it. But it gets badly in the way when we are faced with appreciating a strange music" (Tracey 1980: 32).

Charles Seeger acknowledges the same problem. "The particulars of one's own music [often] become world-wide universals and, as an almost automatic reflex, those world-wide universals distort one's understanding of [not only] one's own music [but others as well]" (Seeger 1971: 398).

As discussed in section 1.3.2, Agawu (2003: 153-171) also cautions about the way that one's own musical universals can, if unacknowledged, also lead to essentializing cultural characteristics with the ethnicity of their makers — which has frequently happened in the past with the study of African music. He urges researchers to avoid this impulse, which might even stem from, or lead to, the type of stereotyping which fuels racism.

Most analysts who have studied musics from outside their native culture (e.g., Keil, Blacking, Chernoff, Kubik and Sudnow, see section 2.2.3) emphasize that the skills to perceive and perform music outside of one's expertise can usually be acquired if one adopts the same instructional sequence and performance practices experienced by practitioners in these new cultures. This view is supported by neurobiological research, which indicates that our perceptual and cognitive brain structures and capacity for learning new skills remain pliable throughout our lives; see section 3.1.3, 3.2 and my own experiences recounted in Appendix B. In the mimetically dominated performance practices of Africa or Jamaica, this means that researchers should acquire sound/move-

ment gestalts through indigenously appropriate mimetic means.³⁷ It is also important for analysts to study musical patterns in the same (or similar) sociocultural contexts in which they exist and are experienced. Most importantly, they also need to take their cues from participants as to what actually constitutes a musical experience with as few preconceptions as possible — this is where bracketing is invaluable to identify one's biases and expectations, and hopefully either eliminate them, or at least keep them in check. For as Patria Roman-Velazquez (1999:116-7) has noted, musical skills are not simply objective tasks, but always "social constructions." Enactivist research provides empirical evidence which supports this perspective and also provides tools with which to dissect the complexities of musical practices in such a manner as to end up with culturally valid observations and conclusions.³⁸

³⁷ See section 3.2 for a discussion of how mirror neurons allow us to understand and copy others' actions and corporeal orientations, and section 3.3.2 for a discussion of the five types of mimesis (as outlined by Donald 2001: 263-70).

³⁸ As discussed in Chapter Three and section 6.4, perception and cognition are never objective portrayals or analyses of "the world out there." They are *always* creative acts constituted within and through our environments. Our prior experiences are especially significant, for they create expectations that can and do shape perceptual and cognitive processes. See section 3.2 for empirical evidence that only 20% of the information that enters our perceptual organs actually comes from outside stimuli; the remaining 80% come from other brain regions, either prior to the reception/processing of stimuli or generated within milliseconds of a perceptual/cognitive event. This 80% is a blend of memories, associations, emotional responses, physical sensations either directly related to the stimuli or from something else that is occurring at the same time.

8.5 AREAS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Because this study breaks new ground in the study of Jamaican music, it only scratches the surface of what might be accomplished in future work in this area. Given that many of the originators of JPM are still alive, interviews and/or ethnographic work to examine their reaction to the theories in this study might provide a goldmine of information. Particularly interesting would be to show performers films of themselves (or of other musicians) and ask for their commentary about the performances from the perspective of how the experience felt from their corporeal perspective. The use of narrative analysis with these same individuals, whereby they might perform something and have it filmed, along with some sort of journal or commentary about what they experienced could also yield rich information.

Aside from well-known JPM artists, it would also be valuable to interview older Jamaicans who had experienced the birth and development of JPM first-hand. It would also be interesting to talk about their experiences with JFRM during the same period to gain additional insights and perhaps film them singing or dancing to this music.

There is also the possibility that the snippets of JPM or JFRM film footage that have surfaced in the documentary footage examined in this study might exist in their complete form somewhere on the island, perhaps in the hands of collectors, teachers, musicians or aficionados of Jamaican culture. There might also be recordings, photographs and other archival information available to fill in gaps of those periods of JPM history (like the 1950s and 1960s) for which so little is available. With regard to JFRM films, given that many practices still continue today in rural Jamaica, often with little

change – based upon accounts and descriptions in the literature – filming contemporary footage for most of the JFRM styles examined in this study would be useful, since almost all of the examples that have surfaced have been one minute or less, with many cuts, edits and narration.³⁹

Another area for study that would provide interesting comparative results would be to replicate this study for Jamaican music post-1981 and see which choreographic rhythms have continued and which new ones have been introduced. Although many aspects of both music and dance have shifted further away from indigenously rooted styles, there has been a return to roots-style music in the past dozen or so years.

Of course, any other scholars who might replicate the approach or focus of this particular study would certainly provide useful additional data, and broaden the findings presented here. Having a study conducted by scholars with more extensive dance experience would also provide additional nuances to the work in this study.

Finally, the replication of this study with other musical styles would identify the choreographic rhythms of other musical cultures and would also provide data to compare the role and function of corporeal factors in different musics. Points of intersection and divergence would be fascinating and enrich the research presented here.

³⁹ It would also be great to get together with Cheryl Ryman to have her show me the many things she was trying to describe in her emails (see Appendix A).

8.5 FINAL THOUGHTS

In closing, I refer to John Blacking's thoughts about the importance of corporeal factors when learning music from a culture different from one's own.⁴⁰ Blacking spent several decades studying the music of the Venda people from South Africa. His views are also the same as those analysts noted above who prioritize the need for researchers to explore new musical cultures by becoming actively involved as performers, for in so doing they will not only understand the sonic patterns more fully, but they can also better understand the minds, feelings and spirit of their makers.

Perhaps there is a *hope of cross-cultural understanding* after all. I do not say that we can experience exactly the same thoughts associated with bodily experience; but *to feel with the body is probably as close as anyone can ever get to resonating with another person. ... If music begins ... as a stirring of the body, we can recall the state in which it was conceived by getting into the body movement of the music and so feeling it very nearly as the composer felt it.* Some may be fortunate enough to be able to do this intuitively; but for most people it will be *easier if the notes of music are regarded as the product of cognitive, physical, and social processes.* (Blacking 1973: 110-112, italics added)

The findings of this study indicate that anyone who wishes to fully understand *any* musics should heed Blacking's advice and approach them from the perspective of a participant-observer, and try to feel the music the way its makers do. Although this particular study has examined a culture in which overt body movements are characteristic of many of its indigenous practices, enactivist research findings also indicate that corpo-

⁴⁰ The need for researchers to examine sound-movement gestalts in the study of music has been stressed by many ethnomusicologists. e.g., Anku (1997), Baily (1977, 1985, 1991, 1992, 1995), Baily & Driver (1992), Berger (1999), Blacking (1955, 1977a, 1977b, 1979, 1992, 1995), Brownell (1994), Chernoff (1979), Echard (1997), Evans (1981), Friedland (1995), Jones (1959), Kaufman (1979), Keil (1995), Keil & Feld (1994), Kubik (1962, 1977, 1979, 1994, 1999), Locke (1982), Lomax (1968, 1971), Lucia (1987), Maultsby (1985), McGinty (1993), Nketia (1974, 1977), Oehrle (1993), Progler (1995), Rice (1994), Roman-Velazquez (1990), Stone (1994), Tracey (1980, 1994), Waterman, C.A. (1991), Waterman, R. (1952) and Wilson (1974, 1981, 1993, 1985).

real engagement can be every bit as integrated with musical patterns that involve very little movement during performance. As Blacking has written, music can be a powerful way of learning about the bodies that created it, especially if we try to imagine and feel the music “very nearly as the composer felt it.” This view is synchronous with Donald’s (2001: 263-270) analysis of mimesis (discussed in section 3.3.2). Donald notes that the complete/precise imitation of other people’s purposeful movements requires more than simply copying their gestures — it requires the *full understanding of the others’ perspectives and objectives* (264). Or as Bob Marley said, when talking to a reporter as to how to best respond to the sounds of reggae, you just have to “*dance them*” (Whitney & Hussey 1984: 92⁴¹).

⁴¹ See pg. 544 for Marley’s comment in full.

APPENDIX A: REFLECTIONS OF A FORMER DABBLER

1. INTRODUCTION

This appendix is in two parts. Part One provides additional information about my previous experiences with JPM, along with reflections about the changes in my analytical and performance skills over the past three decades, from my first encounters with Jamaican Popular Music (JPM) up until 2002.¹ What I find striking today is the way so many aspects of my understanding of JPM have shifted as a result of this study, which formally began about seven years ago, but are actually the culmination of preliminary analysis conducted in the seventies. I hope that this information not only contextualizes the observations and conclusions of this study, but also serves as an example of the challenges of musical analysis by a “cultural outsider.” Part Two consists of excerpts of email correspondence with Jamaican dance scholar Cheryl Ryman (plus commentary). This dialogue provides an account of the shift in my perception and perspective (much of which was a direct result of these exchanges which began in June 2002). Ryman hasn’t published a great deal on Jamaican culture in the past decade, so I am delighted that she has agreed to their inclusion. Because her perspective is rooted in not only being a Jamaican who has passionately been involved as a dancer / teacher / researcher specializing in neo-African indigenous Jamaican forms, but also as a scholar of their roots and relationship to both African and foreign traditions and influences,

¹ This section is essentially a bracketing of these experiences — a phenomenological technique developed by Husserl (see section 3.1.1) to examine one’s own biases, belief systems, and culturally rooted presuppositions that are usually so ingrained as to feel like universals. By analyzing my presuppositions and beliefs, the hope is to diminish any distortions, restrictions or prejudices that may have arisen from my expectations and intentions and interfered with the analysis in this study.

Ryman's perspective has been invaluable in my personal growth and understanding of JPM from a Jamaican perspective. Rex Nettleford, the founder and artistic director of Jamaica's National Dance Theatre Company, and a world-renowned expert on Jamaican culture, praises Ryman's research and influence upon the NDTC since the late sixties (Nettleford 2002: 90-1). Since many of Ryman's observations in these emails have not appeared in her other writings, these conversations are a valuable addition to the JPM literature about the role and significance of corporeal factors in Jamaican traditions.²

PART ONE: MY PERSONAL JPM EXPERIENCES (1964-2002)

As noted in the Introduction to this study, my earliest encounter with JPM was listening to international hits on Canadian Top 40 radio in the sixties, and then as a performer in my Toronto area high school steel band in the early seventies. (I also performed JPM in a number of other ensembles in the following twenty years; more on this later in this section.) I was born into a middle-class, urban Canadian family (of a French Canadian mother and a father from Newfoundland), and grew up in the sixties and seventies in suburbs of Montreal (until 1969) and Toronto. Between 1964-1970, other than the music of Harry Belafonte (which did feature many Jamaican folk songs, albeit in mostly more generic West Indian styles than their original versions), the only JPM that I heard were the chart hits by Millie Small, Desmond Dekker, Jimmy Cliff and Johnny Nash,³ and live performances (by both local Caribbean and foreign artists whose

² Ryman's most extensive analysis of Jamaican cultural forms is her 1983 dissertation, which is primarily about traditional Jamaican dance, of which only a small portion has been adapted into more widely disseminated/available articles; see bibliography. More information about her background is also presented in Part Two.

³ Although Nash was an African American soul singer, his 1968 reggae hits (e.g., "Cupid" and "Hold Me Tight") were recorded in Jamaica with Kingston session musicians with a

names I mostly don't remember) at Toronto's Caribana Festival, held each summer since 1967.⁴ In almost every respect, these early encounters were like those of the Outsider Artists (OA) examined in Chapter Seven, especially those whom I label "Dabblers."⁵ Like these artists, who specialized in non-Jamaican styles (e.g., pop, rock, R&B, country and sometimes jazz), my musical tastes ran along similar lines,⁶ and my understanding of JPM was primarily from recordings, rather than seeing or experiencing JPM live on a regular basis (with the exception of my three-year stint in the steel band⁷). JPM was

very authentic rhythmic approach. His vocal style was primarily non-Jamaican in terms of rhythm and timbre, with a sound and style similar to that of Sam Cooke.

⁴ The only "big name" artist I recall seeing at Caribana was "The Mighty Sparrow," a Trinidadian who specialized in calypso, but I *do* remember hearing many acts play reggae.

⁵ "Outsider Artists" are performers whose upbringing and field of expertise has been outside of Jamaican cultural environments. I divide these artists in two groups. "Experts" are those artists who either specialized in JPM-styled music (e.g., the Specials and UB40) or blended JPM traits with other styles in a creolized manner (e.g., the Clash and the Police). OA's versions of JPM are often quite close to indigenous artists' JPM, but often are missing rhythmic nuances and the same degree of polyrhythmic complexity. "Dabblers" are performers who only occasionally incorporated Jamaican-styled songs into their repertoire (e.g., the Eagles, Abba, Paul McCartney and Led Zeppelin). Their versions of JPM were often significantly different from indigenous artists' JPM, most often only incorporating isolated JPM traits; the feel and overall groove are rarely maintained consistently or accurately. See Chapter Seven.

⁶ As to my earlier musical experiences, my mother taught me to play pop and folk songs on piano and ukulele (by ear) when I was around 4 yrs old. I had formal private piano lessons from age 7-9, strictly "classical" repertoire. Between ages 11-14 I studied with a professional jazz pianist in Montreal from whom I learned boogie-woogie, ragtime, swing (with an emphasis on stride piano), jazz, popular music, rock, and a smattering of classical repertoire. When I was around 12, I acquired an acoustic guitar which I played with friends; we taught each other the popular folk and rock songs of the day. At school, I played the recorder in the early grades, and took up the saxophone in grade 8. In high school, I also learned clarinet and flute, and played Sousa marches, classical repertoire, show tunes and a few token pop/rock songs. I also played piano in my high school jazz combo and keyboard/sax with a few rock bands which were popular at local high school dances and some local bars/pubs, where we opened for Canadian bands like Liverpool, Chester, the Stampeders and Mainline.

⁷ The steel band rehearsed once a week (from late September to early June), and performed 3-4 times per year. Its repertoire was a mixture of Caribbean and Latin styles: mento, reggae, calypso, montuno, son, samba, rumba and some North American popular music.

simply one style out of many in my life and in my performing repertoire. Because my conceptions of JPM (and how to perform it) were strongly influenced by my prior musical experiences dominated by other (non-Jamaican) styles, my analysis and performance efforts were characterized by the same conceptual errors and syntactical weaknesses as OA's versions of JPM (described in Chapter Seven). Marley's comments about non-Jamaican musicians who fail to get the feel right (quoted in the Introduction) certainly fit my performance style when I wasn't surrounded or led by more experienced Caribbean musicians. My steel band teacher, Selwyn Gomes, was a Trinidadian who also played with Syncona, a local band of Caribbean musicians led by Jamaican percussionist Dick Smith, with whom I occasionally sat in (on piano).

From an enactivist perspective — see chapter Three — it seems likely that the times my performance was more authentically Jamaican was always linked to the people with whom I was playing.⁸ When I was with Syncona, I locked-in to their performance approach and absorbed nuances which allowed me to maintain stylistic consistency and accuracy.⁹ In the steel band, Gomes taught us by rote, and insisted that we "dance our parts," following his example. Thus, the "instructions" that I received in each situation were entirely mimetic.¹⁰ When I tried performing JPM with the rock bands that I was playing with at the time, there were always problems. Even when we figured out

⁸ This type of learning technique is called "scaffolding," which involves learning from others' experiences; see discussion in sections 3.3.2, 6.3 and 6.4.

⁹ This would have included adopting their choreographic rhythms, although without any conclusive evidence (i.e., films), I can't state this with absolute certainty, although I do remember that these other performers always danced while they played and encouraged me to do the same.

¹⁰ This study adopts Donald's account of the mimetic process; see sections 2.3.6, 3.3.2, 3.4.3, 6.3 and 6.4.

individual parts and rhythms, our collective performances were often strained and lacking the same nuances as those on JPM recordings. (None of these other musicians had played JPM before, and were only familiar with Top 40 JPM hits, mostly those by Outsider Artists.) Thus, our accented offbeats and other non-metric accents usually sounded and felt like syncopations, i.e., like disruptions to the main beats which either received strong accents (if there were sounded), or no corporeal emphasis (if they were silent). I have no recollection of our specific body movements at the time, but I do remember a general awkwardness. I also recall playing a number of “reggaefied” versions of then-current pop and rock songs at gigs and either clearing the dance floor or seeing people also move awkwardly to what we produced. I’m sure that the overall physical awkwardness and our sonic difficulties/weaknesses were cut from the same cloth. When I saw Bob Marley & the Wailers perform in Toronto in 1975 and 1976¹¹ and danced along with the predominantly Jamaican audiences, the band and audience moved exactly the same way; it also struck me that the musical nuances which had previously felt awkward and complex were now logical, fluent, obvious and simple. That being said, I was unable to recreate this fluency afterward. To quote Bob Dylan: “Something is happening, but you don’t know what it is.”¹²

In 1977 and 1978, I wrote three research papers¹³ about JPM while an under-

¹¹ They were at Massey Hall in 1975 and at University of Toronto’s Convocation Hall in 1976, both small, intimate venues.

¹² From “Ballad of a Thin Man,” by Bob Dylan, on *Highway 61 Revisited* (1965).

¹³ These papers were based exclusively upon analysis of recordings, and supported by a handful of JPM writings available commercially at the time (see citations in following footnote). Although not intensive, they preserved my point of view at the time, which essentially remained unchanged until I began this present study.

graduate music student at University of Toronto. Two were musicological analyses that traced JPM development; the third examined the perception and cognition of JPM, with a primary focus upon the difficulties that non-Jamaican musicians have performing JPM. Although many aspects of these studies certainly foreshadow this present work, these resemblances are mostly superficial, not only in terms of the things that I prioritized and omitted, but especially in their conclusions. I had only a superficial knowledge of Jamaican sociocultural history at this time, other than what was available in the popular press in the first half of the seventies, from the liner notes of a few albums of Jamaican Folk and Religious Music (JFRM) and general newspaper and magazine articles / reviews.¹⁴

In these early papers, although I noted (from information in Bilby 1975, Dalrymple & Kallynder 1974, Simon & Davis 1977 and Simpson 1954) that the JPM rhythmic characteristics were rooted in those of "Jamaican folk and cult music,"¹⁵ I concluded that "Jamaican music is essentially a synthesis of African and European elements," and I argued that the contribution of each cultural tradition was basically an equal one (without providing many details, especially the significant contribution of the non-sonic factors discussed in Chapters One and Four, in particular the role of neo-African corporeal orientations.)

In terms of factors that I *did* accurately observe were the predominance of

¹⁴ E.g., Bilby (1975), Dalrymple & Kallyndyr (1974), Lewin (1976), Simon & Davis (1977), Simpson (1954), Thomas (1973), Tulloch (1971) and T. White (1976).

¹⁵ Other than a few very superficial similarities noted between a few rhythms of Rastafarian and Revival songs with those of JPM, I make no other links to any other JFRM styles, because I was only familiar with a handful of JFRM pieces and simply unaware of many stylistic similarities with these earlier styles in JPM recordings.

offbeat accents and emphasis upon backbeats and the non-Western metric emphasis, with silent downbeats and the non-synchronous metric and harmonic accents, although my language is dominated by Western biases and assumptions. Counter-rhythms are “contrary accents” that “negate or confuse the expectations and implications of each other. The strong offbeat accents dislocate the metric feel and produce a lop-sided effect.” From Nketia’s (1963) analysis of West African music, I note the following similarities to Ghanaian folk music: “1) consistently strong upbeat¹⁶ accents; 2) lack of Western metric feel (i.e., strong sense of downbeat); 3) high sounding ostinati parts; and 4) predominance of low sounds as main parts.” I also make general claims that the African emphasis upon participation and dancing in music is the same as in JPM, without providing specific examples of, or links between, movement and sound patterns. Like most JPM analysts examined in this study, I describe body movements as either accompaniments to music patterns, “responses” to them, or merely synchronous activity, without consideration of the relationship between body movements, their generative or creative function, or their effect upon musical structures in performance. I do note that Jamaicans often stepped on beats and rose up with offbeat accents (without any reference to my sources for this observation¹⁷), but my conclusions are the opposite of what this study has ascertained. “The accentuation of the offbeat emphasizes the rising of the body in preparation for the next beat, i.e., the upward motion of the body utilizes a *stronger motor response* than the downward motion of the body (on the beat).

¹⁶ In these early works, I use “offbeat” interchangeably with “upbeat,” with no awareness of the latter term’s variety of problematic meanings, examined in section 1.3.2.1.

¹⁷ This observation was most likely from my experiences in Syncona.

Jamaican music is more climactic on the upbeat than on the beat.” I can now see how these observations were the result of my cultural environment, which trained me to expect certain sound and movement couplings (i.e., choreographic rhythms).¹⁸ In my prior musical experiences silent or weak beats rarely, if ever, received strong physical gestures the way they do in JPM — i.e., the opposite was true: in most non-Jamaican styles accented sounds are usually articulated with strong downward physical gestures. These reversed sound and movement couplings probably explain Thomas’ (1973: 339) description of Jamaican rhythm as having a “back to front” feel.

Although I described a few “African” qualities of sonic patterns (mostly rhythmic organization), most of my conclusions reinforce the colonial attitudes which Agawu (2003) has observed have dominated most Western analyses of African musical practices. Strongly influenced by Thomas (1973), which at that time was the most detailed account of JPM published in North America, I described early JPM artists as “illiterate” and claimed that JPM was probably due to Jamaican musicians’ ineptitude and inability to copy R&B records. I cited four factors as evidence: 1) Since “the quality of fifties recordings was poor (with weak bass),” Jamaican musicians simply misinterpreted or misheard what was going on. I was totally unaware of the way that Jamaican Sound

¹⁸ Mulvaney’s (1985) comparison between Jamaicans and Americans moving to reggae (discussed in section 1.4.2.4) illustrates how each sociocultural environment trained its inhabitants to perceive and respond to JPM patterns differently. “[Jamaican] reggae dancers [always] emphasize the moments at which the beat drops. ... [U]pbeats ... pull the dancer out of downward movement ... in preparation for the next drop. ... [The] emphasis is on the downward movements ... [with a] deliberate contact with the ground. ... The Jamaican does not perform these steps in the light, airy, skipping style common to Americans, who often concentrate on the staccato ‘clip’ in the upbeat. ... [Jamaican dancers] focus on the dipping motion which brings the foot in contact with the ground” (157-8). Her observations of the way that American dancers concentrate on the upbeat also describes my perception and corporeal reaction to JPM until recently; this is examined in detail in Part Two.

System deejays' re-equalization of recordings more than made up for any sonic "deficiencies" of fifties recording technology. I also didn't know that many Jamaican musicians were able to read music and often played either with musicians who had been abroad or with foreign musicians (as discussed in sections 1.2.5.3, 1.3.2.1, 1.3.4.7, 1.3.5.3).

2) Based upon the information in Thomas' article, I also argued that "Most Trenchtown musicians had never seen American artists perform, so they had no real idea of how the instruments were played by professionals." (Of course, this is also unfounded, as discussed in sections 1.2.5.3, 1.3.4.5, 1.3.4.7 and 1.3.5.4.) 3) I also suggested that the hocketting style which dominated JPM artists' style was perhaps due to weak musical abilities, since "it is technically easier to only play part of a rhythm than the whole of it,"¹⁹ a claim which ignores the roots of hocketting in neo-African JFRM. 4) Lastly, I cited Thomas' interview with Paul McCartney,²⁰ who suggests (based upon #3) that the one-drop feel may have developed because Jamaican drummers simply didn't know how R&B and rock drummers used the kit; i.e., they thought that R&B backbeats were played with the bass drum and snare together. (Of course, this is also unfounded.) As to reasons for the development of rocksteady and reggae, I really had no idea why this happened, other than musicians' preference for a style and sound that was more distinctively "theirs," instead of copying other popular music.

Over the next fifteen years, JPM became a mainstream musical style, as Bob Marley & the Wailers and other JPM artists became popular around the world. The non-Jamaican acts (i.e., the Outsider Artists discussed in Chapter Seven), whose JPM-derived

¹⁹ This was my own inference, based upon Thomas' descriptions.

²⁰ McCartney's theories seem to be highly speculative, i.e., without any real evidence.

music was closer in style to popular music of the day, also played an important role in the acceptance of JPM by non-Jamaican audiences. Artists like the Specials, UB40, the Clash and the Police exposed many non-Jamaicans to JPM orientation who were not otherwise ready or willing to understand music that was too far removed from their usual preferences.

From the mid-seventies to the mid-nineties, I was the leader of several bands that played for private parties (for associations, big holiday parties for companies, trade shows, weddings, birthdays, school dances, etc.) and I also did freelance work as a performer, arranger and composer in the Toronto area. I arranged and performed many Outsider Artists' JPM, some indigenous JPM and wrote a few of my own reggae-styled songs. I found that most of the problems I experienced in the seventies were still evident when collaborating with other non-Jamaican musicians to create a JPM groove, however: inconsistent grooves lacking in indigenous nuances, although OA's JPM was usually easy to replicate "as is." The musicians that I worked with who were specialists in other styles usually reverted to rhythmic preferences from their specialties, especially during solos and improvised sections, where automatic habits would automatically "kick in." Although many more books had been published about JPM since the mid-seventies, the ones I had read were mostly geared toward the North American market, so most of the additional sociohistorical details I encountered simply fleshed out my prior conceptions and understanding of what I thought JPM was all about.²¹

²¹ The one exception was Johnson & Pines (1982) *Deep Roots Music*, which was based upon a 1981 BBC TV series. The book went into great detail about the links between JPM and JFRM, and is still one of the most authoritative accounts in the literature.

While working on my master's degree in 1994, I discovered the enactivist research discussed in Chapter Three — empirical evidence of how cultural experiences shaped and constrained perception and cognition. It seemed to me that examining JPM in light of this research might explain what made this music unique and why non-Jamaicans were usually not successful performing or creating it. In 1999 I began my PhD studies at York University in Toronto. Everything fell into place the following year when I acquired the collection of Wailers videos of live performance described in Chapter Five and started to explore these links.

PART TWO: CORRESPONDENCE WITH CHERYL RYMAN (2002-2007)

By mid-2002, I had analyzed most of the Wailers' performances examined in Phase One (see Chapter Five) using movement analysis strategies and concepts favoured by people like Laban, Bartenieff, Moore & Yamamoto, Dell and Goodridge (see bibliography for citations). I also had examined a handful of performances by other JPM artists, JFRM artists and Outsider Artists. Because my sample size for the other groups was small, I wasn't able to draw definitive conclusions, but the consistency of movement and sound patterns suggested strong relationships between the two. My interpretation of the qualities of these movements was essentially unchanged from my 1977 perception, however: it still appeared to me that the upward movements were stronger and more intense than the ones on the beat. This then, was my take on JPM choreographic patterns when I contacted Cheryl Ryman in June 2002. I first encountered Ryman in print about two years before, when I found her 1979 article on traditional Jamaican dance in the *Jamaica Journal*, while searching for analyses of the corporeal

component of Jamaican culture. The bio in the article noted that she had obtained a degree in dance from York University in the early 1970s.

2.1 JUNE 2002: EMAILS AND RESPONSES²²

As my work intensified, I thought it would be terrific to discuss my ideas with somebody like Ryman, and find out what she thought about my findings and theory about choreographic rhythms.²³ In early June 2002, using a few Internet search engines, I tried to track her down and discovered a “Cheryl Ryman” working for a company in Kingston, JA, with an email address. She was “the one.”

After a couple of introductory emails, I was delighted to find out that Ryman’s expertise made her the ideal person to speak about Jamaican cultural traditions from the twin perspective of both an academic and as an indigenous artist. Her degree from York University was a BA (Hons) with Dance as the major and had included a year spent in Ghana, West Africa, pursuing independent field work and study. A master’s degree from Antioch University, Ohio followed (in 1983). Her thesis explored the way that African cultural traditions were conveyed and acquired (not only in Jamaica but throughout the diaspora) through dance and other cultural forms, with her primary focus upon neo-African traditions in Jamaican dance. As to her artistic career, she had been a principal dancer with the National Dance Theatre Company of Jamaica between 1965-1983, and had also worked as a dance teacher, in course/ curriculum development and as an adjudicator up to the 1990s. In addition, she was a former and founding

²² (Note: I’ve edited out asides and casual comments in our emails that have no bearing on the thrust of our arguments, for more succinct reading.)

²³ I wasn’t using Agawu’s terminology in 2003, although my concept was basically the same; I acquired his book in 2004.

Research Fellow of the African Caribbean Institute of Jamaica and had conducted extensive research, documentation and local publications and presentations on Jamaican traditional folk forms, African retentions in all genres of dance in Jamaica and the Caribbean as well as work on related areas found in the dance-music arena. In the last decade she had been working in the Jamaican and Caribbean film and television industry in the areas of marketing, project development and administration. She was currently pursuing a PhD in Cultural Studies at the University of the West Indies, Mona, Jamaica.

On 7 June 02, I sent an email to Cheryl, explaining my observations and ideas. I summarized my research thus far, and stated my hypothesis:

I have observed that indigenous performers of JPM all move quite similarly, and that these movements seem to be consistently linked to particular sonic elements, especially the rhythmic feel of the music. These movements seem intrinsically linked to African conceptions of movement to music, in which the (often silent) beat is usually accompanied by downward movements, but with a stronger emphasis upon the (usually sounded and accented upbeats²⁴) that are most often accompanied with vigorous and highly charged upward movements. Whereas the European orientation to the beat (as characterized by folk dancing such as gigue, reels and polkas) emphasizes a total relaxation of the body and a significant placement of weight on each beat (i.e., DOWN-up, with a very slight pause after the "down" portion), in the Jamaican (i.e., African) orientation (as present in both JPM and JFRM, the approach is essentially the reverse of European corporeal traditions: although the beat also receives a downward pulsation, the emphasis and energy is primarily directed towards the upward motion, (i.e., down-UP, with the upward motion flowing directly out of each downward step or movement, with a circular feeling of continuation, *without any pause*). For those Jamaicans that I've observed in the videos I've watched, each downbeat becomes a preparation, like a springboard, for the propelling of the body upward, vs. the European orientation of downward jumping to the ground with accompanying relaxation of the body on the ground.

Because the corporeal movements in JPM are strikingly similar to those of indigenous

²⁴ At this point, I had not settled upon "offbeat," and was using "upbeat" to mean the same thing. See discussion in section 1.3.2.1 about the rationale behind my preference for "offbeat."

performers of JFRM, this suggests to me a hypothesis that there is a particular corporeal orientation derived from Jamaican culture (specifically the interrelationships between music, dance and body movements) that might very well be one of the most significant factors of JPM, which should be included in its musical analysis. ... These movements seem to be intrinsically related to authentic execution and generating subtleties in the rhythmic content of the music. Conversely, attempts to perform JPM without such corporeal movements seem to consistently fail to achieve the same sonic results. (McCarthy)

Cheryl responded on June 20. (I've set her comments in a different font, and I've highlighted those observations which pertain directly to choreographic rhythms, Jamaican body movement types and her perception of movement styles.)

In the main, I agree with the contextual premise in which you couch your thesis - "I have observed that indigenous performers of JPM all move quite similarly..." and "... in the Jamaican (i.e. African) orientation.... the approach is essentially the reverse of European corporeal traditions" but **unfortunately, I disagree with the observations and conclusions that you draw regarding the emphasis and overall aesthetic of African and African-derived movement in JPM and JFM versus European.**

In short, **if you were to REVERSE YOUR DESCRIPTIONS of African and African-derived movement versus European in relation to the beat, we would be on virtually the same page.** Time and space do not permit me to elaborate any more at this point. Suffice to say, that **this subject has been central to my research analysis, and writing on African retentions in dance in the Caribbean and the rest of the African diaspora. Importantly, I have relied on both the intellectual and kinetic understanding or appreciation and testing of my thesis since I was also a dancer... with the National Dance Theatre Company of Jamaica (and of course having graduated from York U and studied also in Ghana).** I [will] look up and refer you to some of my publications in which I have discussed this and in fact, have put forward a set of "principles" or an African aesthetic — i.e. Principles of African and African-derived movement.

I agree that "the interrelationship between music and dance and corporeal movement" is central or "intrinsically related to authentic execution and generating subtleties in the rhythmic content of the music." More [to come] on that also. See... we are not so far apart. Garth White's ideas would be excellent for this discourse. (Ryman)

Although I was delighted to receive Cheryl's feedback, especially given that she agreed with my premise that sound and movement patterns were central to JPM, I was shocked to see that my interpretation of the body movement patterns was so different from hers.

My reply was quite long; I explained how I'd arrived at this conclusion,

providing many citations to support my observations. I concluded those observations with the following shift in my thinking, based upon what Cheryl's comments (also written on 20 June 02):

I suspect that the problem with how I've described the movement is in my stating it as down-UP, which could suggest that the upbeat is the only part being accented — which is *not* what I mean. What I'm trying to get across is that the upbeat receives a much greater emphasis in African musical practices than it receives in European musical ones. Would it be better to state the African orientation as DOWN-UP, which would suggest that BOTH downbeats AND upbeats receive strong emphases, and that for Europeans it is merely DOWN-up? (ASIDE: Isn't it so difficult to speak of movements in words?) (McCarthy)

Cheryl's response (also written on 20 June 02):

Just a quick clarification. Perhaps it is the way that I am interpreting your "emphases" in the movement response to African and African derived music that led me to suggest that the description of African versus European music-dance relationship or response should be reversed. You are right, words do get in the way. ... Basically, I was reacting to the fact that **the emphasis of the African and African-derived movement response to what I call the "basic" beat (which anchors the dance and the music performance) is usually directed DOWNward. And, with increasing intensity or climax of the dance-music performance, the movement — on the beat, usually "gets DOWN" even more! As in a well timed split on the ground or a downward directed "break" following an increasingly lowered spin as the music intensifies. By contrast, I visualise a dart, leap or lift — on the beat — as the European response to a climactic or intensified musical lead. ... By the way, I refer to your "+" as the "and" beat... as in one "and" two "and" three "and."..etc...**

Finally, all people do create and dance in very similar ways — hey there is just so much that you can do with a drum, a string and air instrument not to mention the body BUT what we are really talking about are the "general unique" principles that distinguish different cultures right? More later. (Ryman)

After this initial round of exchanges, Cheryl suggested I read her dissertation, which took me a few months to obtain. She also attempted to get me in touch with a few other Jamaican scholars that she knew, but unfortunately, they either responded that they were too busy at this time, or didn't respond at all.

2.2 MARCH 2003: EMAILS AND RESPONSES

I didn't acquire Cheryl's dissertation until March 2003. It was a complex document with several supplementary sections, separate Appendices and a videotape of examples. I had also obtained Carty's (1988) *Folk dances of Jamaica – An insight*, a book which analyzed traditional Jamaican folk dances from a perspective similar to Ryman's 1979 outline of traditional Jamaican dances. As I read through Cheryl's dissertation, I noticed that both she and Carty described Jamaican movement as "bounced." I wondered if what I saw as an upward accent or emphasis was perceived (from a Jamaican perspective, especially by a dancing body) as a bounced movement. I asked Cheryl about these similarities and to clarify the meaning of "bounce quality" on 18 Mar 03:

Your dissertation and video tape arrived yesterday! I've been studying it in detail, viewed the video (which has the two super 8 films on it²⁵), and I have a bunch of questions. As I was reading it, it felt like what I was doing was an extension of your work in a number of ways. Mainly, **your emphasis upon the importance of teaching dance using multisensory approaches is exactly what I feel is missing in the study and teaching of Jamaican Popular Music.** Virtually everything that I've encountered only discusses notes and rhythms, and has nothing to say about what musicians' bodies should be doing while performing. Based upon what I've seen on film, my conversations with musicians, and my own experiences playing JPM, it seems to me that musicians need to "dance" in order to play JPM properly. Not so much in a choreographed manner, but with a Jamaican orientation to body movement, especially in terms of weight displacement relative to the beat. Without these movements, it's next to impossible to get the accent and the rhythmic feel to sound right.

(1) My first question is with regard to a term that occurs in Carty's book *Folk Dances of Jamaica* and in your thesis: "bounce quality."

First you:

"The emphasis (and modifications) involved in developing the Black dance technique include bent knees, BOUNCE QUALITY, parallel and flexed versus the point foot and

²⁵ Both of these films are included on the accompanying DVD: 4.3 "Legs" dancing, 4.5 Children dancing to reggae.

turned out position, variations in levels of the upper torso (primarily tipped forward) versus a basic rigid and upright torso, isolations and a strict emphasis on the relationship between dance and music, between dancer and musician" (35).

"Body parts: both knees bent (with BOUNCE QUALITY and parallel or turned-in feet)" (36).

Under Yanga step's Black dance principles – "BOUNCE QUALITY" (37).

Now Carty:

"In reference to the Camp Style Quadrille²⁶: "The 'bounce' quality, a very distinctive characteristic of Jamaican, and indeed, Caribbean dance, is retained and emphasized both in the knees and in the torso and arms, which bounce up and down as the steps are executed. ... In the Camp ... Style the African performance norm is used – the dancer never stands still but retains the bounce quality even while dancing on the spot" (48-9).

Exactly what do you (and Carty) mean by "bounce quality"? (I'm assuming it's the same thing.)

(2) Do you agree with Carty's assessment that "bounce quality" is "a distinctive characteristic of Jamaican, and indeed, Caribbean dance"?

Based upon what I perceive as "bounce quality" in the video footage I've studied, "bounce quality" seems to be a suitable term to describe what I see as being an upward emphasis in Jamaican dance movements (and in musicians' performing body orientation) that is NOT present in European derived dances (nor in non-Jamaican musicians' body orientation when they attempt to play reggae.) Do you think that this should be the term that I should use to describe what I'm seeing? If I were to emphasize that Jamaican movement prioritizes a strong downward pulse on the beat, usually with bent knees, accompanied by a bounce on the upbeat, does this description seem to fit better with your experience and perception of what is an "across the board" feature of Jamaican movement (rather than the way I phrased it before)? (McCarthy)

Cheryl's Response, on 18 Mar 03:

Many modern dance teachers use the term **bounce quality to mean "a light bending of the knees in time with the music" — that is [also] the Jamaican reference that you would be reading in my work.** If you think of what a ball does once it hits the ground and is left to do its thing... it bounces. ... A "bounce" is a standard (universal) type of movement... like "step," "hop," "jump," "leap," "run," "march" etc... **My reference to the "bounce quality" as a typical "Jamaican" movement refers to the frequency with which this movement is used and the fact that it underpins almost everything that we do from traditional to popular dance/movement.** For example, Quadrille movements are transformed by the "bounce quality" creating a marked difference in the

²⁶ *An example of Camp Style quadrille dancing is on the accompanying DVD, #3.8.*

movement quality and execution because it is an added "movement component" of the various Quadrille steps.

I plan to get back to you and try to respond point (question) by point to everything that you have raised. Everything would be so much easier if I could demonstrate and analyse the movement(s) and break it down in relation to the music for you and with you. Anyway, I am going to try to use words to do the trick. (Ryman)

While awaiting Cheryl's response, and pondering the difficulty of describing movement subtleties in words, I encountered a passage in Mulvaney's (1985) dissertation which applied to what Cheryl and I were discussing. On March 22, I wrote:

Today I found what appears to be the perfect description that corresponds to what I've observed in reggae movement, written by Becky Michelle Mulvaney, in her (1985) Ph.D. dissertation *Rhythms of resistance: on rhetoric and reggae music*. I thought I'd share it with you. Perhaps her terminology fits the bill and resolves the way to describe this most accurately from both the perspective of participant and observer

"[In reggae], the beats clearly emphasized by the treble instruments of rhythm guitar and keyboard occur on the upbeat. Yet, the most astute reggae dancers emphasize the moments at which the 'beat drops.' [Here a footnote clarifies that 'drops' means when the beat is unsounded, in reggae this is commonly beat one.] The upbeats are performed in the treble signature, delivering high frequency sounds which function to pull the dancer out of the downward movement, bringing the foot off the ground and raising the opposite arm in front of the dancer in preparation for the next 'drop.'... Essentially the movements take the following order, with emphasis on the downward movements on beat one, the dancer bends the left knee and lowers the whole body a few inches to bring the left foot in contact with the ground in a deliberate manner. At this point the arms remain relaxed at the dancer's side. On the first upbeat (beat one and one-half), the rhythm coaxes the dancer to move upward. The right knee is now bent, raising the right foot off the floor, and drawing the left arm in front of the dancer while the right arm is raised behind the body. On beat two the same deliberate contact with the ground which occurred in beat one is repeated, but this time with the right foot. The same pattern of movements is repeated throughout the rest of the bar. The dance is simple, fluid, and allows for individual variation within the rhythmic structure provided" (Mulvaney 1985: 157-8).

If one considers that the upward movements are "bounced," this accounts for my perception that the upbeats are being accented more forcefully than the downbeats, but as you've emphasized (obviously from a dancer's perspective of someone who's grown up and actively practiced Jamaican dancing) it is the downbeat that actually FEELS STRONGER than the upbeats when one is doing this movement. It seems to me that perhaps my perceiving things differently is because I lack as much active experience in making Jamaican movements as someone like yourself, who has been immersed in

movement orientation all of her life. (In contrast, I was a 15 yr. old kid when I first even heard of [reggae], let alone moved to it, so my perception is obviously influenced by my (i.e., a non-Jamaican, North American Canadian) set of experiences.)

And perhaps my different perception is actually part of the reason why someone who tries to perform reggae without a sufficient orientation in Jamaican movement has so much difficulty feeling the proper groove. Although I believe I've [finally] acquired the skills and movement orientation, I know that most of this experience has been performing music, rather than moving to it while others are making it.

What do you think? Does Mulvaney's description, in combination with describing the upbeat movements as "bounced" sound like a good way to verbalize all of this? (McCarthy)

Cheryl's response was the most detailed one yet. Obviously Mulvaney's description was a catalyst that crystallized several key concepts. She wrote on March 24:

Mulvaney's description is accurate in the main. I am still not clear or comfortable with your interpretation especially where you bring in the notion of the "upward movements are bounced."

First of all, let me translate (as per the terms that I tend to use) my understanding of Mulvaney's description.

1. The "upbeat" is equivalent to the "offbeat"²⁷ as in "and" 1, "and" 2 etc per bar. That is the unique emphasis in reggae where the "and" beat is sounded by the rhythm guitar and keyboard (as Mulvaney asserts) while the "main beat" or "on the beat" is "dropped" usually by the drummer and yes it is, BY CONTRAST, "unsounded" or very subtle.

2. The "drop" is equivalent to the "beat" as in "1, 2, 3, 4" etc per bar. It is called "drop" or "one drop" in Jonkonnu, Quadrille etc as well as in popular music.

3. [Mulvaney] clearly describes the dancer's MOVEMENT EMPHASIS as being on the "drop" or main beat - with emphasis on the downward movement on beat one and beat 2 etc - "... foot in contact with the ground in a DELIBERATE MANNER." In other words: "reggae dancers emphasize the moments at which the 'beat drops' ." Correct.

If that is the case, then Mulvaney is right on the button. However, you have to remember that EVERY MOVEMENT has at least 2 components musically, if not physically, in terms of the music in relation to the use of the body or parts of the body. So, if there is a DOWNWARD movement there has to be an UPWARD movement. Therefore, the bounce has two components... up and down. From the

²⁷ It's worth noting that Ryman's preferred term is "offbeat," and not "upbeat."

Jamaican dance and in particular, a reggae point of view (and Mulvaney's), the DOWN component of the "bounce" is what is emphasized. For the dancer in the traditional or popular mode, it is important to "keep time" — time being "stepping" "down" "on the beat." Therefore, your attempt to draw some correlation between the bounce (two movements comprising one step) and the upward movements associated with the upbeat ("If one considers that upward movements are "bounced") - will not wash - since the downward movements are ALSO "bounced." To make the point about the two or more components associated with movement - if you "release" then you must "contract," if you jump then you must land (and before that you must prepare "to jump"), if you "stretch" then you must "relax" (or "contract") etc, etc. **It is all about WHERE the emphasis is placed and WHEN each component takes place in a time-space continuum.**

Note also, Mulvaney's reference to the relaxation of the arms and to the fluid (also suggesting a generally relaxed mode) quality of the movement in reggae. You see why I was at variance with you at the offset when you described and contrasted European-derived dance and African-derived dance in terms that seemed to be the exact opposite to my understanding of the two - both in theory and in practice.

I tell you, one session to DO (or have done in a methodical, detailed way) what you think you see and hear in reggae performances would definitely resolve this - one way or the other! (Ryman)

And as the underlined sentence makes clear, my prior perception/conception that JPM movements emphasize both offbeats and upward movements "will not wash," i.e., this is not how they feel or are perceived in terms of Jamaican phenomenological experience.

A few days later, I discovered another evocative description of Jamaican body movement, by Ivy Baxter (1970). Baxter describes different types of movements in Jamaican folk songs, and compares the movements that occur in mento and calypso dancing. Unfortunately, when I emailed the quote to Cheryl, I forgot to include the reference to mento and calypso, but, not surprisingly, Cheryl recognized these movements anyway. (Sent March 28.)

I ran across an interesting description of the upward movement in Jamaican dance, by Ivy Baxter in *The Arts of an Island* (1970:175).

"The basic step consists of stepping forward, backward, sideways or on the spot, on alternate flatly placed feet. It is as if each foot in turn had received a sharp current from

the ground, which must then be transmitted vertically upward through the body by means of a quick serpentine thrust, until head and chest are successively reached."

Whatcha think? (McCarthy)

Cheryl's response, also on March 28:

I am not sure which step she is referring to. **However, the description could match any number of basic steps in Jamaican dance — both traditional and popular, and is akin to Mulvaney's description of the basic reggae step that I commented on the last time.**

Instinctively, it sounds like what I refer to as the "pulse" on the "offbeat" or on the "and" beat. It can be seen as an ongoing feature of any given movement in which the "and" beat is experienced and expressed subtly before the step on the main beat - like a punctuation mark before a word. An example of this is easily demonstrated in a dance like Dinki Mini²⁸ in which the characteristic turned-in-knees, drop on standing leg with an accompanying brush of the other leg is preceded by a distinct — albeit SUBTLE — initiating movement in the ribcage — like a suspension of movement on the "and" beat BEFORE the drop on the standing leg (with brush of the working leg). It can have an electric shock feel (and look) to the movement that follows. It can also be expressed quite DELIBERATELY as the "pulse" or "suspension" preceding a "break." A "break" - as the terminology suggests - is a marked break from an ongoing series of movements, usually marking a climax to a certain level of intensity in movement. A break can be expressed as a low wheel ending in the deliberate break on the beat, sharply sounded if live or simply giving greater emphasis to the recorded sound. A break can also be expressed — especially in Jamaican pop (and American pop in James Brown style) as a "suspension" before dropping to the ground in a split or some other acrobatic movement that ends on the beat. Significantly, the intensity or climax is expressed in a lowering of the movement either in the knees or the body towards the ground or actually on the ground as in the split. Toots of Toots and the Maytals (as was/is James Brown and Prince) is still quite famous for this type of "split to the ground" movement.

We could be getting there Len...

I was extremely excited about this response. Cheryl's description that the offbeats were perceived and felt as a "pulse" seemed to a key descriptor that would account why the upward movements appeared so significant to my eye. Back in one of my June 20th emails, I had asked "Would it be better to state the African orientation as DOWN-UP, which would suggest that BOTH downbeats AND upbeats receive strong emphases?,"

²⁸ See DVD video 3.1 for a short example of Dinki Mini.

but Cheryl never got around to responding to that phrasing of my perception. It appeared, by this most recent description, that the "DOWN-UP" was alluding to the same thing: that both downward and upward aspects were basically equal corporeal sensations, although it is clear from Cheryl's other comments above that the downward phase is generally more deeply stressed. Here's my response (also on March 28):

I'm wondering if your using "pulse" to characterize what's happening on the offbeat is perhaps

- 1) the main characteristic that seems to permeate all of the Jamaican movement I've seen (and as you also stress, this applies to certain African American artists); I believe it would also apply to some West African, i.e., Ghanaian dancing
- 2) equally manifest in the movements of Jamaican popular musicians
- 3) so strongly linked to the production of Jamaican rhythmic patterns, that if musicians don't move that way while they play, the emphasis sounds wrong in the music. The motor image of the music requires moving in a specific relationship to the sounds.

With regard to 3), and your use of "pulse" to characterize the offbeat. It's as if a Jamaican movement/musical sense consists of TWO pulses: one strongly felt on the beat/drop, that is NOT linked with strongly articulated sounds and a second pulse (which Baxter says is akin to an electric shock-type of movement, and you stress has a slight suspension at its highest point) which IS accompanied by a strongly articulated sound.

When Jamaican musicians perform Jamaican popular music, the spaces that occur in the sounds (which are most pronounced in reggae) are always accompanied by emphatic downward movements on these spaces. The strong sounds receive this electric shock/suspended movement (which to my eyes has mistakenly appeared to be stronger than the downward motion). To people with a Euro upbringing, although watching Jamaican movement obviously looks fluid, moving in the same way, i.e., with strong downward movements on the weak sounds, and with the bounce upward, the strong sounds on the offbeats usually feel wrong or awkward to them, because it goes against their experiences of sound/movement gestalts as found in Euro folk practices i.e., the emphasis on the beat in waltzes, marches, gigs, tarantellas, polkas, etc., in which the strongest sounds and the strongest movements always occur together (on the beat). When someone with a Euro background hears reggae, the strong offbeat sounds are instinctively matched with strong downward movements, (i.e., the opposite movement response that a Jamaican would adopt) which starts to colour the feel and timing of the music if they try to play it. For most Euro-trained musicians that I've worked with, most describe reggae grooves as feeling reversed/backward, that I believe has everything to do with moving reversed/backward to the way Jamaican musicians move.

In summation, it sounds like Jamaican movement/music corporeality is founded on

TWO PULSES, TWO BREAKS per beat, one down and one up. The downward first beat feels strongest in terms of energy, but the upward one isn't merely part of a fluid down-up-down-up sequence in which down flows into up which drops back into down, etc. There is a slight hesitation at the top of the upward movement, which is felt as a preparation for the downward fall; it's also accompanied by what is often the strongest sound in a measure, on the offbeat.

This is in contrast to Euro conceptions of movement/music, which has ONE pulse per beat, all in the downward part of the beat.

Does this summary work for you? (McCarthy)

Although this seemed to encapsulate everything that we had discussed, and accounted for my misperceptions while blending in Cheryl's explanations, I wasn't sure if I'd expressed the complexities correctly. Her short response (the next day) confirmed that I'd succeeded (although it also stressed the problems of describing movements with words).

We are definitely getting there. I myself would like to analyse this (the movement of musicians in performance) even further and test, if you will, the assumptions we both seem to have made. But, **it does sound and look (in my mind) right**. I or someone still need to demonstrate and break down the various movement components in a "bounce," the "pulse" (the off beat one that is) and the "break" for or with you. (Ryman)

2.3 APRIL 2003: EMAILS AND RESPONSES

Having finally sorted everything out satisfactorily to both my and Cheryl's criteria, I re-analyzed all of the footage that I had examined to date, and transformed this information into the first public presentation of these ideas. Early in 2003 I had sent a preliminary draft of a paper summing up my research thus far for a conference based upon the work of John Blacking that was to be held in Perth, at the University of Western Australia, in July 2003.²⁹ In late March I received notice that my paper was accepted. I worked in the ideas that Cheryl and I had developed together (after asking

²⁹ Conference title: Music • Culture • Society: The Work and Legacy of John Blacking.

Cheryl if I could do so) and also asked her if she would read my paper and offer any commentary or suggestions. She agreed to both. This next (and final) response by Cheryl consists of excerpts from the next to last version of this paper, followed by her comments (using the same two typefaces as above).

From McCarthy paper: "Cheryl Ryman notes that Jamaican dancers feel *two* pulses and *two* "breaks" *per beat*; the break is a slight hesitation/ pause before movement resumes 'usually marking a climax to a certain level of intensity in movement' (Ryman 2003). Downward pulses have strongest movements; upward pulses are perceived as preparation for the downward fall."

Ryman response: **For greater clarity may I suggest:**

Cheryl Ryman notes that Jamaican dancers feel *two* pulses *per beat* and **can employ or interpret these pulses as a 'break;'** **the break occurs in two segments: first, a slight hesitation/pause/suspension on the offbeat followed by an immediate (or delayed) dramatic and very strong downward movement on the beat.** Breaks occur before movement resumes 'usually marking a climax to a certain level of intensity in movement' (Ryman 2003). Downward pulses have strongest movements; upward pulses are perceived as preparation for the downward fall. (Ryman changes in bold)

From McCarthy paper: "The basic movement orientation of Jamaican folk and religious musicians is primarily the same as that of Bob Marley & the Wailers and other Jamaican popular musicians."

Ryman response: Point taken and agree. **Most JPM movement (and music) is rooted in JFRM – yes!**

From McCarthy paper: "Enactivist research shows that *remembered* or *imagined movements* produce *exactly* the same neurobiological result as making the actual movements themselves."

Ryman response: **This point re: "remembered and imagined movements" influencing the execution and quality of performance of the music even if the movement is not actually executed is a key point (for me especially)** and a very interesting theory.

From McCarthy paper: "One of the most powerful means we possess to acquire knowledge from others is *mimesis*, consisting of *mime*, *imitation*, *mimicking*, *skill* and *gesture*."

Ryman response: Right on! **Imitation is the 'methodology' by which most JPM and JFRM and dance is learnt and practiced, until the skills are honed – becoming**

what can best be described as ‘muscle memory’ or the entrenchment of technique to the point where it is almost an involuntary act.

From McCarthy paper: “The findings of this study suggest that, since Jamaican music literally *is* dance, appropriate learning/performance/analysis of JPM/JFRM requires no less than the acquisition of appropriate motor experiences as a starting point.”

Ryman response: **This is a big point! And, I happen to agree. Of course, the case can be made for other dances created by ‘Africans’ in the diaspora — the indigenous, creole forms. There is a lot of empirical evidence to support this. As far as JPM is concerned — historically much of the non-Bob Marley & the Wailers music is directly related to specific dance movements drawn from the Jamaican folk traditions.**

I am out of here! **This will work for sure.**

Good luck in Australia!!

The paper was very well received at the conference: many good questions and positive comments afterwards. I was fortunate that John Bailly³⁰ came to hear it and told me afterward that he thought it was an interesting extension of the links between neurobiology and musical performance that he had conducted in the eighties (prior to the brain imaging technology used by enactivists). Although unfamiliar with enactivism, he agreed that it was a good fit for this type of analysis, and wished me well in bringing my research to a close.

³⁰ Bailly’s research is discussed in Chapter Two and sections 3.4.1 and 3.4.2

3. CONCLUSION

It should be abundantly clear that, without Ryman's assistance I would have inevitably simply held on to my mistaken perceptions about the emphasis upon the upward component of Jamaican movement patterns, given that this perception was fuelled by my prior experiences with Western sound and movement patterns. What the emails above represent (and they are only about one quarter of the emails that we exchanged between June 2002 and June 2003) is the type of scrutiny represented by Husserl's bracketing process (discussed in section 3.1.1), whereby both she and I examined our presumptions and biases and sifted through many layers of meanings in order to fashion an accurate description of the corporeal aspect of Jamaican musical experience. In critiquing my observations and identifying which points didn't correspond with her experience (especially her explaining what it was about my observations that didn't correspond with her phenomenological experience of Jamaican music), Cheryl helped me to fashion a description of the nuances about Jamaican movement patterns and realize how my own presumptions were preventing me from perceiving things the way Jamaican insiders do. Thanks to her patience and diligence, I was finally able to move beyond my initial misperceptions and understand how these movements felt to a Jamaican dancer/musician. Cheryl's vivid descriptions, not only in her emails but in her other writings (especially her dissertation) allowed me to visualize the movement patterns quite clearly and much more accurately than when I had first communicated with her. All of this was confirmed with

her affirmations of the paper I produced for the Blacking conference.³¹

Cheryl and I have remained email correspondents since July 2003, with only a few minor theoretical questions and points of clarifications passing between us since that time. It would not be an overstatement to say that her help and friendship in the production of this dissertation has been a major blessing and testament to the communal, embracing spirit of Jamaican culture that is reflected in its music.

³¹ She also gave me permission to adapt drawings from her dissertation for my portrayal of Movement A, presented in Chapter Five.

APPENDIX B: COGNITIVISM

1. INTRODUCTION

Cognitive science emerged in the 1950s, as a new paradigm in reaction to behaviourist psychology, which had dominated the study of human experience since the 1920s.¹ Behaviourists claimed that mental states were reducible to observable behaviour, and that all behaviour is learned from our environment.² In other words, "behaviourism allowed no reference to the internal states of the organism in the explanation of behaviour" (Thompson 1999: 3). To cognitivists, the structures and characteristics of mental processing are homologous to those of digital computers; i.e., they have similar structures, processes, functions and hierarchical/linear/modular interrelationships between their component parts. Today, cognitivism is still the dominant paradigm for the study of mental processes, and the main theoretical paradigm for the study of musical perception and cognition.³ That being said, however, the latest neurobiological research (based upon brain scanning and imaging technology) has inspired an alternative view to cognitivism, called enactivism. Enactivists either counter many cognitivist claims, or strongly suggest that the cognitivist view of perception and cognition is highly selective, incomplete or distorted. Chapter Three examines enactivism, its main principles (especially as they apply to this study) and provides citations to support its

¹ This sketch of cognitivist history is adapted from Thompson (1999: 3-4) and Gardner (1985a: 10-27, 191-3).

² B.F. Skinner is the quintessential behaviourist. Gardner calls him "the arch-behaviorist" (Gardner 1985a: 191).

³ See section 2.6 for evidence of this in five recent neuroscience journals with studies that examine music perception and cognition with a predominantly cognitivist emphasis.

claims. As explained in Chapter Three, this present study aligns itself with the enactivist view, but many enactivist principles are best understood in terms of their relationship to cognitivist beliefs. This appendix outlines cognitivist principles and beliefs with reference to the main proponents of this view since the 1960s, with the primary purpose of contextualizing and better understanding the enactivist position and claims discussed in Chapters Three, Six and Seven.

2.1 BASIC COGNITIVIST PRINCIPLES AND BELIEFS ABOUT MENTAL PROCESSING

At its most extreme form, cognitivism leads to a functionalistic view of the mind, where the physical structures of the brain are essentially irrelevant. As Thompson puts it, "it is the software, not the hardware, that matters" (Thompson 1999: 3). Functionalism, which was introduced in the 1960s by Hilary Putnam, has dominated cognitive science from the 1960s to the present (Gardner 1985a: 81-2, Guttenplan 1995: 323, Harley 2004: 7). For functionalists, the brain/body is "computer hardware" and mind is its "software."⁴ "The mind is essentially disembodied" (Lakoff & Johnson 1999: 78). Thinking is described with the same symbolic language used to describe computer programs (Gardner 1985a: 31), as "syntactic operations defined on mental representa-

⁴ Cognitivists often discuss mind and brain/body as two/three separate things, although most do acknowledge some interrelationships between the two/three. Enactivists, on the other hand, consider mind and brain to be intertwined and also include the body and an organism's physical, social and cultural environments as significant components of mental processing. Enactivists view all of these components in non-hierarchical, non-linear, overlapping, dialogic interrelationships and usually only "separate" them for convenience of discussion or analysis; i.e., in the end "separate" factors are always examined and interpreted in context, as parts of wholes. Cognitivists' overall methodological preference and conceptual approach to the study of mental perceptual/cognitive parts is atomistic. Enactivists, on the other hand, favour holistic approaches that examine multi-faceted experiences/ situations as phenomenologically experienced gestalts.

tions" (Fodor 2000: 1).⁵

Another defining characteristic of the cognitivist view of the mind is modularity, also derived from the computer metaphor. Cognitivists claim that the mind and brain are separated into different functions and regions, in terms of both information processing and physical structure. Mental processing is considered to be a logical, linear, syntactic and highly constrained manipulation of abstract symbols. Jerry Fodor's *The Modularity of Mind* (1983) (*MOM*) is regarded as the first monograph about the modularity of mental structure (Karmiloff-Smith 2002), which Fodor calls 'the Modularity Thesis,' (*MT*).⁶ *MOM* is also considered the most influential work in terms of outlining cognitivist principles between 1960-1980. *MT* has been described as "the cornerstone of [contemporary] evolutionary psychology" and is still highly influential today (Quartz 1999: 48, Coltheart 1999). Cognitivists consider mental symbols to be copy-like representations of our experiences and the external world (Lakoff in Baumgartner & Payr 1995: 122-3; Gardner 1985a: 38-41, 361, 383-4). *MT* proposes that the mind is a collection of hierarchical, domain-specific, autonomous modules.

Fodor was influenced by other modularists. Putnam was his teacher and mentor, and a strong proponent of the computer view of mind. Other modularists⁷ "construe[d

⁵ "Sometimes cognitivism is described as the 'symbolic paradigm' or the 'computational approach.' We take these designations as synonyms" (Varela et al 1991: 261).

⁶ Fodor also discusses *MT* in Fodor (1981, 1984, 1985, 1987, 1998a, 1998b, 1999, 2000), Loewer & Rey (1991), Baumgartner, P. and S. Payr (1995: 84-100), Mantere (2001) and Preti & Velarde-Mayol (2001).

⁷ Gall (in the late 1700s) prioritized brain physiology (Fodor 1983: 14) and proposed that "the mind is structured into functionally distinguishable subsystems," called "faculties." Spearman (1937) believed that with the mind "it is either faculties or chaos" (Fodor 1983: 26).

the mind] as ... largely separate [and independent] information-processing devices” (Gardner 1985a: 132), i.e., as “modules” or “vertical” processes, which use only part of sensory information and respond reflexively (Fodor 1983: 14). Some modularists believe the mind is massively modular, but Fodor believes that only basic, information-gathering and processing parts are modular.⁸ Other parts operate “horizontally,” crossing content domains and integrating sensory stimuli with memories, beliefs and expectations (Fodor 1983: 13).

Cognitive anthropologist Bradd Shore’s analysis of the modularity schema explains its ubiquitous influence upon modern scientific methodology in general, and cognitivism in particular.

[The modularity schema] is one of the most pervasive and powerful foundational schemas in modern American life ... [It is] a machine-driven logic that has ... affected the way in which much of our knowledge of the world has been coded. ... [By] break[ing] complex wholes into elementary units that are understood to be recombinable into a variety of different patterns, a modular orientation to reality views a wide range of phenomena as assemblages, subject to decomposition and recombination. [Its] most extreme [influence is] the assertion that modularity is a design principle of nature rather than a particular cultural or historical phenomenon. Certainly, modular forms can be found throughout nature as well as in human cultures. ... A more historically and economically oriented perspective

Simon (1962) viewed mental organization as a collection of “sub-assemblies” which are synonymous with most of Fodor’s beliefs (Marshall 1984: 209). Chomsky (1957, 1965, 1980, 1982), with whom Fodor worked in the 1960s and 1970s, refers to a “language module” which is a separate mental component that governs thought and speech (Fodor 2000: 59); he also speaks of the “modular character of grammar” (Marshall 1984: 211) and draws parallels between bodily and ‘mental’ organs (Marshall 1984: 211, Fodor 1983: 3-4). Marr (1976, 1977, 1980, 1982) used ‘modules’ to refer to “small sub-parts [of the mind] that are as nearly independent of one another as the overall task allows” (Marshall 1984: 210). In the 1970s, Marr’s principle of modular design was “widely accepted as logically sound and empirically valid” (ibid.). Shallice (1979, 1981) believed that “computational independence is made easier by [the] separability of physical processes in the brain” (ibid.).

⁸ Fodor dismisses all contemporary neurobiological evidence (especially enactivist findings and theories) as inconclusive, and is adamant that modularity is still the main characteristic of the mind (Fodor 2000, and in Baumgartner & Payr 1995).

links modularity with the rise of industrial technology and mass production [and] the pervasive atomism in American institutions. ... American modularity is distinctively different from European holism and organicism [and reflected in] a wide variety of institutions like education, religion, and architecture. (Shore 1996: 117-9, 130-2)

To enactivists, then, “modularity” is *not* prevalent in nature (which is what cognitivists claim), but rather, is rooted in particular sociohistorical events. Modularity has become so synonymous with modernity and scientific thinking (especially in North America) that its ubiquity is frequently invisible to even the most conscientious researchers.

“Modularity” (in general, and Fodor’s *MT* in particular) exemplifies Kuhn’s view that a paradigm functions as a “preformed and relatively inflexible box” which shapes and contains information, methodology and overall orientation and acts as a barrier which filters or blocks out other views as inappropriate, abnormal or deviant (Kuhn 1970: 24).

In keeping with their modular orientation, cognitivists also believe that scientific methodology needs “to be atomistic. ... [Scientists need to] pick ... complexit[ies] to pieces, [then] set up artificial (i.e., experimental) environments in which underlying causes can be studied one at a time” (Fodor in Loewer & Rey 1991: 278, 279-80).⁹ *MT*-oriented cognitivists divide experience into parts, which are analyzed individually in a hierarchical sequence. *MT* appeals to musicologists who view music as strictly a sonic phenomenon, a view rooted in nineteenth-century European musical aesthetics.¹⁰ For cognitive musicologists,¹¹ musical experience involves syntactic processing of sonic patterns, so “inner hearing” is considered to be the exemplar of superior/true musician

⁹ See also Fodor in Baumgartner & Payr (1995: 87).

¹⁰ For the Western aesthetic view, see Eduard Hanslick 1854/1986, Susanne Langer 1953 and Leonard Meyer (1956, 1967, 1973, 1987)

¹¹ Examined in Section 2.6 below.

ship. From these presumptions, it follows that the deepest musical understanding is a result of the mental contemplation of sonic structures. In true cognitivist fashion, many contemporary musicologists and neuromusicologists analyze music by separate sound patterns into parts, like pitch and rhythm, in order to analyze their interrelationships in terms of motivic and harmonic structure, using Western musical notation as a primary tool to study these relationships. Analysts exclude or minimize non-sonic factors related to musical sounds such as sociocultural/historical elements, feelings, memories and corporeal sensations/movements and activities such as drama, dance, etc. This type of analysis dominates contemporary musical cognitive science research and traditional Western musicology that prioritize sonic relationships over non-sonic ones.

2.2 FODOR'S MODULARITY THESIS (*MT*)

The basic premise of Fodor's Modularity Thesis (*MT*) is that the mind consists of two types of components (112): (i) *modules*— domain specific, non-overlapping "input systems" dedicated to particular tasks and, (ii) *central systems* that cut across domains and *do* overlap (Fodor in Preti & Verlarde-Mayol 2001: 47). Some modules are linked to the five senses¹² and others are intrinsically human (e.g., language, mathematics and music). Mental processing occurs in three sequential stages (Fodor 1983: 43-49):

- 1) *Sensory transducers* (i.e., bodies/senses) *are stimulated by environmental factors*;
- 2) *Modular "psychological mechanisms" encode stimuli into mental representations*

¹² Modules are *not* the same as traditional sensory modes, however. Different modules are responsible for particular facets of each sense. For example, regarding vision, there are separate modules for colour perception, shape perception, face recognition, etc.. Some modules are cross-perceptual; e.g., texture, which involves both sight and touch, or language, which combines sound perception, vocal production, gestures and facial expressions (Preti & Verlarde-Mayol 2001: 55).

(ibid.: 45, 42);

3) *Central systems further process representations* according to our beliefs, prior experiences and expectations.

In *Stage 1* of mental processing, Fodor asserts that transducers “represent the world as to make it accessible to thought” (ibid.: 38), and that our beliefs and memories do not affect perception.

[Beliefs] *do not affect the way the perceiver sees the world*. Specifically, perceivers who differ profoundly in their background theories ... might nevertheless see the world in *exactly* the same way, so long as the bodies of theory that they disagree about are inaccessible to their perceptual mechanisms. (Fodor 1984: 38, italics in original)

Fodor explains *Stage 2* of mental processing with minimal neurobiological evidence (Fodor 1985a:3).¹³

[T]he modularity of the input systems consists ... of *most or all* of the properties now to be enumerated. If there are other psychological systems which possess most or all of these properties then, of course, they are modular too. ... Given that a system has *any* of the properties in question, then the likelihood is *considerable* that it has all the rest. (Fodor 1983: 37, 47, 137, italics in original)

Modules have eleven properties, which fall into three groups (Bates 1994: 2). *The first property* stands alone, and identifies modular *content*. Modules are i) *domain specific* — restricted to a single information type — e.g., color, form, auditory information or grammatical analysis (Fodor 1983: 47, 48).¹⁴ *Group 2 properties* describe *how* modules

¹³ Many of Fodor's claims are supported with little empirical evidence; *Modularity of Mind's* (1983) narrow range of literature undermines many of its central arguments. Out of 138 references in *MOM*, 62 are to language studies, 18 examine vision, 5 involve memory, and only 1 concerns brain physiology — a 1979 *Scientific American* issue examining brain structure, which Fodor dismisses because it contains “nothing on the neuropsychology of thought” (119). The remaining 52 are philosophical works on cognitive science, knowledge and artificial intelligence.

¹⁴ Fodor (1983) notes that modules are “possibly” crossmodal (47), but elsewhere he only refers to a single modality.

process information. They are ii) *informationally encapsulated* — isolated from horizontal processes, i.e., they are unaffected by one's intentions. This property is "the essence of modularity" (ibid.: 37, 71, 101, 122). Modules are iii) *autonomous* — they don't exchange *any* information (ibid.: 85, Fodor 1998: 127). Their inputs are iv) *mandatory*, i.e., reflex-like, and v) *fast*¹⁵ (Fodor 1983: 54-55, 1985a: 2). Modular outputs are vi) "*shallow*," i.e., "deeply unintelligent" (Fodor 1983: 63), computationally simple (ibid.: 82) and only capable of basic categorization (ibid.: 97). *Group 3 properties* refer to modules' biological status. Their operation is *vii) innately specified* — their characteristics are primarily inherited.¹⁶ In Fodor 2000, he notes that

bodies of innate knowledge are typically processed by encapsulated cognitive mechanisms; and, vice versa, that encapsulated cognitive mechanisms are typically dedicated to the processing of innate databases (e.g., to the integration of innate information with sensory inputs early in the course of perceptual analysis). (Fodor 2000: 57)

Modules are viii) *hardwired* and restricted to particular brain regions. Their output is "largely affected" by neurobiological connections (Fodor 1983: 99) and Fodor claims "intimate association" between hardwiring and modular function/output (ibid.: 98) — but he provides no specifics to explain or support this claim. Modules are ix) "*non-*

¹⁵ Fodor 1983 cites that it takes 250 milliseconds from the receipt of visual stimuli until the encoded information generates subsequent action or activity (61-3). Contemporary enactivist research shows that neural communication is much faster than this. It only takes between 100 to 200 milliseconds for signals to pass between neurons, and when successive events are less than 200 milliseconds apart, they are perceived as simultaneous (Varela et al 1991: 76-9). Based upon this last finding, enactivists argue that cognitivist claims of linearity and successive stages are incorrect; see Chapter Three for discussion of enactivist findings and arguments.

¹⁶ Innateness (aka "nativism") is minimally discussed in *The Modularity of Mind* (Fodor 1983) (only pgs. 4, 10, 100), but is prominent in other Fodor writings (1984, 1987, 1998, 2000), Baumgartner & Payr (1995) and Mantere (2001). See Okasha (2003) for a detailed analysis of innateness in *MOM*.

assembled"¹⁷ — not "put together from ... simple and uniform ... psychological elements" (ibid: 30). The ontogeny of modules exhibits x) *characteristic, genetically determined pace and sequencing*, i.e., "Neural mechanisms ... develop according to specific, endogenously determined patterns under the impact of environmental releasers" (ibid.: 100), and xi) *characteristic and specific breakdown patterns*.

"Central systems" — *Stage 3* of mental processing — are responsible for thought, problem-solving, memories, judgment and beliefs (Fodor 1983: 103-4, 43, 81). Central systems properties are the inverse of modular ones: they are voluntary, integrated, non-domain specific, flexibly connected, global, complex, slow and simultaneous (vs. linear/sequential); they share information and are influenced by beliefs/inferences/expectations (ibid.: 103-119). Central systems are assembled/learned, post-perceptual, holistic and "shaped by experience" (Fodor 1985a: 38-9, 127, Fodor 2000: 95, 94).

2.3 INITIAL RESPONSES TO FODOR'S *MODULARITY OF MIND* (1983) (*MOM*) AND HIS MODULARITY THESIS (*MT*)

This section examines initial responses to *MOM/MT*, grouped into three categories. *Group A* consists of five *functionalists who enthusiastically support MOM/MT without reference to neurobiological factors*. Janet Fodor (Fodor 1985a: 7-8), Forster (ibid.: 9-11) and Scarr (ibid.: 29) do not address the omission of neurobiological factors in *MOM/MT*. Gallistel & Cheng (ibid.) argue that central systems are also modular (11-12).

¹⁷Although Fodor's discussion of this property spans pgs. 30-5 in *The Modularity of Mind* (Fodor 1983), he omits it in his list of properties on pg. 37. It is also absent in the remainder of *MOM*, and in any of Fodor's subsequent writings on the *Modularity Thesis (MT)*.

Group B consists of twelve *functionalists who do address neurobiological factors in MOM/MT*. Although *supportive of many of MOM/MT's principles, most of these writers have serious objections*. Carroll (Fodor 1985a: 7), Glymour (ibid.: 15-16), Gross (ibid.: 16-18), Hunt (ibid.: 19-20) and Seidenberg (ibid.: 31-32) criticize Fodor's lack of empirical evidence. Dennett (1984) is critical of Fodor's sketchy information about transducers. Marshall (1984) and Mattingly & Liberman (Fodor 1985a) criticize Fodor's omission of motor performance in accessing mental processing (24-26). Massaro (1986) cites empirical evidence which refutes *MT* claims of domain specificity and encapsulation. Putnam (1984) and Shallice (1984) argue that Fodor's claims of innateness and encapsulation are weakly supported. Shallice considers Fodor's unsupported conjectures "alarming, ... potentially dangerous" and distortive (1984: 244-6).

Group C consists of seventeen *researchers with constructivist, Darwinist, or holistic orientations who also address neurobiological factors in MOM/MT*. Although *most of these writers believe that some brain functions are modular, most disagree with MT's conceptualization of properties, function and relationships, and feel that Fodor's minimization of neurobiological factors distorts the interrelationships between brain functions, transducers and central systems*. Grossberg (Fodor 1985a: 18-19), Jusczyk & Cohen (ibid.: 20-21), Kagan (ibid.: 21-22), Killeen (ibid.: 22-23), Kinsbourne (ibid.: 23), Morton (ibid.: 26-27), Rey (ibid.: 27-28), Robinson (ibid.: 28-29), Schwartz (ibid.: 30-31) and Sternberg (ibid.: 32-33) believe that modular properties include i) *domain specificity*, v) *rapidity*, viii) *hardwiring*, x) *characteristic, genetically determined pace and sequencing*, and xi) *characteristic and specific breakdown patterns*, but not the rest.

Caplan (ibid.: 6-7) and Schank & Hunter (ibid.: 29-30) argue against encapsulation.

Churchland (1988) argues against the cognitivist conceptualization of the perceptual process as a hierarchical sequence, citing empirical evidence that cognitive processes are dominated by feedback loops (176-78). Gardner (Fodor 1985a: 12-14) criticizes Fodor's omission of cultural influences, and *MT*'s rigid structural divisions. Glucksberg (ibid.: 14-15) finds *MT* "hopelessly simplistic" and argues against encapsulation.

By the mid-1980s, *MT* was supported by many North American researchers, likely due to *MT*'s similarity to other contemporary theories about mental processes.

[In the mid-1980s], Chomskyan psycholinguistics argue[d] for the innately specified modularity of syntax ... developmentalists also supported a modular view of semantics,... of theory of mind ... or certain aspects of the infant's knowledge of physics ... and of number in the form of a set of special-purpose, number-relevant principles. (Karmiloff-Smith 2002 unpaginated)

2.4 REASSESSMENTS OF FODOR'S *MODULARITY OF MIND* (1983) (*MOM*) AND HIS MODULARITY THESIS (*MT*)

MT is presented in *Human Cognitive Neuropsychology* (Ellis & Young 1988) as "one of the core assumptions of cognitive neuropsychology"¹⁸ (17) — but with many of the same problems noted by the writers in section 2.3. Although empirical evidence links particular neurobiological regions with particular cognitive processes (56-7, 61-2, 84-5, 139, 265-7), and domain specificity and informational encapsulation appear to be modular properties (14), this same evidence suggests that the other properties of *MT* are overstated or unverifiable (15, 188, 231).

¹⁸ It is rather ironic that Fodor has asserted that he "doesn't believe in neuropsychology as a method" and that he is "very dubious" of inferences about psychological processes drawn from brain pathology and physiology (Fodor in Mantere 2001 – unpaginated webpage).

Linguist Ray Jackendoff (1987) conducted the first in-depth reevaluation of *MOM/ MT*. He believes that Fodor's focus upon the "computational mind" not only trivializes the experiences¹⁹ of the "phenomenological mind," it "offers no explication of what a conscious experience is" (20). Jackendoff presents empirical evidence to support modularity (33-35, 103, 191, 262, 270), but notes that these findings also show that perception and cognition are less differentiated and more interactive than claimed in *MOM*. Mental processes are overlapping, parallel and multi-modal (32-36, 156-7), with bi-directional informational flows between modules and central systems (191, 251, 259, 262-72). Modules are also not informationally encapsulated or domain specific (251, 261, 265, 270).

Jackendoff suggests a new approach to cognitive science — a "coherent synthesis" — to account for *everything* experienced during a phenomenon or a cognitive act (Jackendoff 1987: 272). This suggestion is rich with possibilities, especially in his conviction that "language is not the source or cause of thought" (323) and that thought can involve non-syntactic structures such as "spatial thinking and musical thinking"²⁰ (ibid.), but it is restricted by his belief that "the goal of cognitive science [is] to study the mind in computational terms" (325). Because he is aware of no "scientific" method to analyze phenomenological experiences,²¹ Jackendoff concludes that the phenomenologi-

¹⁹ e.g., cultural influences (Jackendoff 1987: 267), emotions (237-8), corporeality (47, 238-9), and non-representational modes of thought (visual imagery, spatial and musical thinking, and corporeal patterns) (103, 135, 237, 322-5).

²⁰ Enactivist research shows that spatial and musical thinking can be both syntactic and non-syntactic. (See Chapter Three for citations.)

²¹ Jackendoff makes no reference to phenomenologists, such as Husserl or Merleau-Ponty, who *do* provide a systematic scientific approach to study phenomenological experience.

APPENDIX B: 2.4 REASSESSMENTS OF *MOM* / *MT* / 2.5 CONNECTIONIST ASSESSMENTS OF *MT* IN THE 90s 616

cal mind must therefore be projected from intermediate-level representations in the computational mind²² (23, 26, 276, 300-1), and that it follows that “causality [can run] only from the computational mind to the phenomenological mind, not the other way about” (ibid.: 276). This view of the mind as a computation device ultimately turns into a variation of Fodor’s view — albeit with the substantial differences noted above — and ultimately falls short of developing a new approach for cognitive science.

Philosopher Daniel Dennett (1993) also reappraised *MOM*/*MT*. He criticizes Fodor’s methodological weaknesses, lack of empirical evidence (89), insufficient examination of alternate views (90), and vague, ill-supported analysis of Central Systems (91).

2.5 TWO CONNECTIONIST ASSESSMENTS OF FODOR’S MODULARITY THESIS (*MT*) IN THE 1990s

Although connectionist findings reveal that some brain regions specialize in particular tasks (i.e., modular division), they *don’t* support core *MT* notions of encapsulation, linear flow, innateness, or fixed hardwiring.²³ In the 1990s, psychologist Annette Karmiloff-Smith and linguist Elizabeth Bates²⁴ reassessed *MOM*/*MT* in light of contemporary neurobiological research findings. Drawing from empirical research into children’s neural development as well as adult aphasia, they argue for a dynamic, plastic view of mental processes and brain structure shaped by constructive interactions with one’s environment (Karmiloff-Smith 1992: 172, Bates 1994: 2-3, Bates et al 1998: 3).

²² Jackendoff believes that our conscious awareness is “an externalization or projection of some subset elements of the computational mind” (23).

²³ For more on connectionism, see Chapter Three, section 3.1.3.

²⁴ Bates both alone (1994) and in collaboration with Elman, Johnson, Parisi & Plunkett (1998).

Because “genes do not act independently, [i.e.,] they can be turned on and off by environmental signals throughout the lifetime of the organism” (Bates et al 1998: 3), the brain becomes *modularized* as we grow (Karmiloff-Smith 1992: 122, 171).²⁵ Like Merleau-Ponty and Johnson,²⁶ Karmiloff-Smith believes that our perceptual inferences develop from corporeal experiences (Karmiloff-Smith 1992: 41, 69-79), and that knowledge encompasses a variety of non-linguistic modes, (e.g., spatial or kinesthetic) (Karmiloff-Smith 1992: 23). They conclude that most of *MT*’s tenets²⁷ “bypass all these lines of empirical evidence” (Bates et al 1998: 13) and present a view of perception and learning that is either inaccurate or distortive.²⁸

2.6 NEUROMUSICOLOGISTS IN FIVE RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Differences between the application of modularity and enactivism to the study of musical experience are exemplified by the content and orientation of five recent publications which highlight contemporary music processing research: four anthologies of neuromusicological studies²⁹ and an issue of *Nature Neuroscience* (July 2003, 6(7):

²⁵ Shore (1996) notes that all of the myelinization of the cortex takes place ... [during] the first five years of life (16). See also Quartz & Sejnowski (1997: 550), Quartz (1999: 51), Tomasello (1999: 205) and Donald (2001: 111, 174).

²⁶ See section 3.1.2 for discussion of Merleau-Ponty and 3.1.4 for discussion of Johnson.

²⁷ e.g., nativism, informational encapsulation, autonomy, domain specificity and hardwiring. Particularly problematic are Fodor’s distinctions between input and central systems and minimal consideration of cognitive development. Bates does note that this research partially supports Fodor’s views that language is innate and localized, but not that it is domain specific (Bates 1994).

²⁸ In Fodor 1998, Fodor reviews Karmiloff-Smith’s 1994 book, *Beyond Modularity*, an in-depth critique of *MOM/MT*. He ignores all of her main criticisms, and provides no empirical support to back up his adamant rebuttals that she is wrong.

²⁹ *The Origins of Music* (Wallin et al 2000); *The Biological Foundations of Music* (Zatorre &

661-95). 89.3% (i.e., 158) of the 177 studies³⁰ in these publications are guided by the paradigmatic assumption that music is strictly auditory information;³¹ most involve listening experiments (to Western music) under tightly controlled lab conditions.

Although few of these studies refer to Fodor's *The Modularity of Mind* (1983) (*MOM*) or his Modularity Thesis directly,³² most adopt its main tenets, which shape key concepts and their methodologies — a perfect example of paradigm ubiquity. As Peretz & Coltheart (2003) put it, "Research concerning musical ability now tends to adhere, more or less explicitly, to the concept of modularity of cognitive functions as formulated by Fodor [in *MOM*]" (688, See also Coltheart 1999, 2001, Peretz 2001b). e.g., Sound processing is viewed as follows: in three hierarchical stages, first as sound waves ("sensory input") received "as is" by our auditory system (an internal copy of the sound³³), which is then processed by domain-specific areas (modules with most of *MT*'s

Peretz 2001); *The Cognitive Neuroscience of Music* (Peretz & Zatorre 2003); *The Neurosciences and Music* (Avanzini et al 2003).

³⁰ The number of articles that discuss music either primarily or exclusively as sonic information: 19 out of 26 in Wallin et al (2000); 40 out of 47 in Zatorre & Peretz (2001); 26 out of 28 in Peretz & Zatorre (2003); 68 out of 70 in Avanzini et al (2003); 5 out of 6 in *Nature Neuroscience* 2003, 6(7): 661-95).

³¹ The fact that the term for neurological damage to musical processing, "amusia," refers primarily to a disorder of pitch recognition and processing is indicative of this. Although amu-siacs are sometimes able to process rhythmic information without problems, none of the researchers who study amusia consider how it relates to musical styles, genres or cultures in which pitch plays a minimal or nonexistent role; e.g., see Brust (in Zatorre & Peretz 2001: 143) and Peretz (ibid.: 156).

³² *MOM/MT* is only cited by Peretz & Coltheart (2003) and by Imberty (2000).

³³ Most of these analysts don't examine how prior experiences affect perceptions of sonic information, nor do they acknowledge Western biases (re: selected music and emphasis upon "listening" using headphones while sitting still). A few note that there might be culturally related perceptual differences, but don't prioritize this possibility in their research. e.g., Demorest & Morrison (in Avanzini et al 2003: 112-7) and Neuhaus (ibid.: 184-8) claim to compare cross-cultural perceptual/cognitive musical responses, but non-Western musics are

properties³⁴). “Higher level” processing of sound patterns by central processing systems (e.g., identification, links to other sound patterns, emotions, expectations, etc.) is the final stage. Most studies also address auditory processing in a manner that either suggests (or claims) that musical perception and cognition are universal skills (vs. the enactivist view, which argues, on the basis of empirical evidence, that they are highly integrated with, and shaped by, cultural environments).³⁵

Physiologist-musicologists Ekart Altenmuller and Michel Imberty, and semiologist Jean Molino have also observed that “[contemporary] neuromusicology has been profoundly influenced by the idea of the modularity of musical functions [based upon *MOM/MT*]” (Altenmuller 2001: 274). This is in contrast to Peretz & Coltheart’s uncritical support of *MT* (which ignores alternative / critical perspectives or contradictory evidence, such as feedback and feedforward networks). Altenmueller and Imberty

presented as laboratory listening activities, i.e., stripped from culture-specific contexts. Although Drake & Ben El Heni (ibid.: 429-37) examine the influence of cultures upon abilities to synchronize to rhythmic patterns, and conclude that differences appear to be linked to “passive acculturation or implicit learning” (436), they don’t specify or investigate either factor.

³⁴ It is frequently noted that speech and music processing share a number of auditory pathways, but such studies always emphasize that the pitch component distinguishes the former from the latter.

³⁵ Such claims of universality sometimes acknowledge that the participants and/or music in the studies in question are dominated by Western musical forms, but findings are usually presented in such a way as to suggest universality even when listening to only Western music is involved (e.g., see Drake & Bertrand (in Zatorre & Peretz 2001: 17-27), Huron (in ibid.: 43-61), Peretz (in ibid.: 153-65), Zatorre (in ibid.: 193-210), Tramo et al (in Peretz & Zatorre 2003: 127-51) and Hauser & McDermott (in *Nature Neuroscience* 2003: 6(7): 663-8)). Although some researchers do identify the issue of cross-cultural perception as something significant, non-Western factors rarely end up affecting research methodology and outcomes (e.g., see Brown et al (in Wallin et al 2000: 3-24), Mache (in ibid.: 473-80), Merker (in ibid.: 315-28), Besson & Schon (in Zatorre & Peretz 2001: 232-58), Trehub (in Peretz & Zatorre 2003: 3-20), Hauser & McDermott (2003) and Trehub (2003).

stress that music research that prioritizes or assumes modularity inevitably results in observations and conclusions that are incomplete, artificial, or simply inexact (Molino 2000: 168-73, Imberty 2000: 453-5). As Imberty puts it, “reality is much more complex [than modularity-based analysis suggests]” (454).

APPENDIX C: DVD LISTING AND COMMENTARY

1. DVD OVERVIEW AND TABLE OF CONTENTS

Given the difficulty of analyzing and discussing body movement patterns and styles in prose, this study comes with a DVD; see Introduction (pg. 21) for contact information to obtain it from York University if needed. It consists of over two and a half hours of excerpts of some of the videos analyzed in this study plus other films that have contributed significantly in its development (but were not included in the statistical data). All of the examples have been edited to present only the sections most relevant to this study. Some items have overdubbed audio by the author and a few have been resynchronized. *Note: this DVD is not to be copied without my written permission, nor is it for sale. (I authorize York University to make copies for study purposes; see pg. 21 for contact information.) All of the examples are within "fair use" guidelines for the inclusion of copyrighted materials in educational studies.*

This section lists the films on the DVD, identifies links to relevant sections in the dissertation that pertain to each example and provides a written commentary for each item. This commentary includes most of the text on the DVD. (Most of the DVD items are commercially available, or are viewable on youtube.com as of September 2007.)

There are 36 individual films on the DVD¹, grouped into five chapters:

1. PRAGMATICS (7 films), 2. AFRICAN MUSIC (5 films), 3. JAMAICAN FOLK & RELIGIOUS MUSICS (JFRM) (12 films), 4. JAMAICAN POPULAR MUSICS (JPM) (8 films) and 5. OUTSIDER ARTISTS (OA) (4 films).

¹ Most of these films are collages of two or more films, with sources noted in this section and on screen.

DVD TABLE OF CONTENTS (2HRS. 39 MIN.)

1. PRAGMATICS (29:47)

1.1 Dance and Human History (9:02)	(3:14)
1.2 Choreographic Rhythms (1:18)	1.5 Movement Exemplars (4:00)
1.3 Four Examples of Hocketting (5:10)	1.6 Looping Example (0:26)
1.4 (Comparison of) Ska/Rocksteady/Reggae	1.7 High-Speed Examples(6:25)

2. AFRICAN MUSIC (9:14)

2.1 Senegambian Dance (3:34)	2.4 Liberian Secret Society (1:28)
2.2 Ghanaian Music/Dance (1:52)	2.5 Ewe Funeral Dance (1:27)
2.3 Liberian Children's Games (0:52)	

3. JAMAICAN FOLK & RELIGIOUS MUSICS (JFRM) (49:49)

3.1 Dinki-Mini (1:35)	3.7 Work Songs (2:10)
3.2 Maroon Music/Dance (2:47)	3.8 Quadrille (5:12)
3.3 Burru Music (3:38)	3.9 Mento Music/Dance (5:01)
3.4 Kumina Rituals (5:26)	3.10 Singing Games (3:56)
3.5 Anansi Stories (4:33)	3.11 Revival Rituals (7:35)
3.6 Jonkonnu (2:13)	3.12 Nyabinghi Music/Dance (5:38)

4. JAMAICAN POPULAR MUSICS (JPM) (44:47)

4.1 JPM Medley (6:03)	4.6 Bob Marley & Wailers Collage (2:09)
4.2 Proto-Ska (7:14)	4.7 Bob Marley Sept 1980 Rehearsal (5:57)
4.3 Ska (10:21)	4.8 15 (Other) JPM Artists (6:15)
4.4 Rocksteady (3:53)	
4.5 Reggae Dancing (3:09)	

5. OUTSIDER ARTISTS (OA) (33:27)

5.1 Bob Marley – JPM Feel (0:42)	5.3 OA – 14 Dabbler Artists (15:42)
5.2 Wayne Perkins (1:59)	5.4 OA – 7 Expert Artists (15:04)

2. DVD GUIDE

The title of each video example is presented in a box. The pages of the study to which the example pertains is noted above the box in-between a set of double asterisks (i.e., ** Pg. #s **).

DVD CHAPTER 1 – PRAGMATICS (29:47)

**** Ch. 1: 91 – Re: Comparison of European vs. African body movement styles ****

1.1 DANCE AND HUMAN HISTORY (9:02)

- **MULTI- AND SINGLE-UNIT MOVEMENT STYLES; from *Dance and Human Movement: Choreometrics*, a 1974 film written and produced by Alan Lomax**

Lomax's film is based on the study of over 700 dance films from around the world,² analyzed by the Choreometrics system. Choreometrics was developed in the 1960s and 1970s by Alan Lomax and Forrestine Paulay in collaboration with dance/movement analyst Irmgard Bartenieff, whose contributions to the system and to the film are fundamental. Choreometrics was used to study the relationship of dance style to social structure and to environmental factors in a manner that would apply to all cultures.³

² The number of films is noted by Kealiinohomoku (1979: 170).

³ Choreometrics is not without its problems and critics. That being said, for the purposes of this study, the two choreometric measures selected for inclusion in this video excerpt are considered (even by Lomax's critics) to be the least contentious aspects of his work. As noted by Judith Alter (1979), one of the difficulties of the project was obtaining sufficient numbers and variety of filmed examples to be truly representative of the movement patterns, and the fact that Lomax "oversimplifies his long range goals of understanding dance in relation to culture and cultural history by drawing conclusions too soon" (502). Kealiinohomoku (1979) provides a detailed commentary about this film's strengths and weaknesses. As to the former, she notes that Lomax's claims that dance movement styles are culturally influenced and that distinctive movement styles can be systematically analyzed are particularly useful and well-demonstrated (170). Lomax runs into difficulties, however, when he tries to explain *why* differences in movement styles have emerged. One of

The excerpt on this DVD presents two Choreometric measures to analyze movement types/styles: 1. *Multi- vs. Single-Unit Styles*, and 2. *The addition of Curvilinear (curving/rounded) movements combined with Multi- or Single-Unit Styles*. A movement style is multi-unit when the chest, shoulders, belly and hips are *not* kept in alignment with each other. 90% of the dance styles in parts of the world with warm, tropical climates are multi-unit; this applies to all of Africa (as well as other geographic areas with the same climate). A movement style is single-unit when the torso is handled as one segment and moved as one piece. 87% of the dances in cold climates employ a block-like posture. This movement style is common with descendants of Siberians throughout the Artic, North America, Europe and northern Asia. 80% of Eastern European dances and 90% of Western European ones are dominated by single-unit torso movements.

The combination of these movement orientations with the musical characteristics

Lomax's primary theories is that different work and economic conditions have "caused" particular movement styles to develop, but Kealiinohomoku notes that, in this regard, Lomax's research design is inadequate and doesn't consider many other possibilities that might account for these differences. She notes that "Lomax fits the data to prove his deductive and limiting thesis" (ibid.). Lomax doesn't address many other potential factors that account for differences in dance and movement patterns (171-75): 1) how changes in work and economic patterns in particular regions often run counter to the traditional dance forms that are Lomax's focus; the influence of particular body types upon dance styles; 3) the consideration of floor patterns; and, 4) the relationships between corporeal and sonic rhythmic qualities. She also notes that this film is not concerned with dance structure or with symbols, and doesn't address individual creativity or innovation. Lomax suggests that there are links between spoken language and movement patterns, but Kealiinohomoku points out that this film doesn't provide any explanation about these links other than making this claim. After Lomax's preliminary work on choreometrics in the 1960s and 1970s, in the 1990s he included most of this research and these materials in his "Global Jukebox" project (a collection of music and dance from around the world), which unfortunately was never completed.

of European traditions (discussed in Chapter One, section 1.3.3) produce the choreographic rhythms that are most natural to most of the Outsider Artists examined in Chapter Seven. It is not surprising that the rhythmic characteristics of European music (mostly monorhythmic with simple beat subdivision, even phrasing and strongly stated beats) coincide with the restrained quality of single-unit movement styles and corporeal patterns found in these regions. On the other hand, the polyrhythmic orientation of African music, with complex beat subdivisions, irregular phrasings and a variety of approaches to the sounding and suppression of beats, along with accented offbeats coincides with the complex body movement patterns and orientations of the multi-unit movement style which dominates the movement patterns in West/Central Africa and the Caribbean region.

The Jamaicanization of European musics usually involves sonic *and* corporeal changes. As discussed by Hopkin (1984) with regard to the changes in European songs in children's games — discussed in Chapter One, section 1.3.3.8; see also DVD video 3.10 — one of the fundamental Jamaican orientations is to turn all songs and games into dance-type movement patterns.⁴ It is obvious that the performance of European musical characteristics along with an African multi-unit orientation alters the sonic patterns to correspond to the polyrhythmic orientation of this corporeal style.

**** Chapter Two: Choreographic Rhythms ****

1.2 CHOREOGRAPHIC RHYTHMS (1:18)

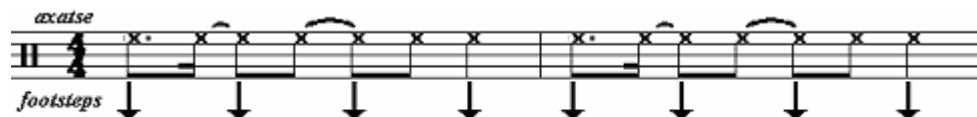
• WEST AFRICAN MASTER DRUMMER KWASI DUNYO DEMONSTRATING GHANIAN CHOREOGRAPHIC RHYTHMS; from film shot by Len McCarthy in 2006

This is from a workshop on Ghanaian drumming in Toronto (2006). After

⁴ Rouse (2000) also notes that most Jamaican dance "is usually accompanied by singing" (55).

introducing Ghanaian percussion instruments, Dunyo emphasizes the importance of playing style to get the right sound and groove. He doesn't use the term "choreographic rhythms," but he identifies the concept when he performs an axatse⁵ pattern with and without appropriate unsounded gestures. It is significant that Dunyo starts these unsounded gestures prior to playing the axatse pattern; they solidify the regulative beat and establish the feel of the music, which ensures an accurate and well-executed start.

KWASI DUNYO'S CHOREOGRAPHIC RHYTHM WHILE PERFORMING AXATSE PART



**** Chapter One, Sections 1.3.2.1, 1.3.5.6, Chapter Four, Section 4.9,
Chapter Five, Sections 5.2, 5.3.1, 5.3.2, 5.3.3 and 5.3.4 ****

1.3 FOUR EXAMPLES OF HOCKETTING (4:16)

- CONCERT IN SALISBURY, ZIMBABWE (19 APR 80)
- CONCERT IN SUNDOWN, EDMONTON, ENGLAND (27 MAY 73) (unreleased commercially)
- CONCERT IN LONDON, ENGLAND (1977) from *Time Will Tell* (1992)

These four songs by Bob Marley & the Wailers are examples of hocketted techniques, a common structural device in reggae and roots reggae styles: "Lively Up Yourself," "Get Up Stand Up," "Them Belly Full" and "Exodus." The distinctions between accompaniment and foreground parts, melodies and countermelodies, calls and responses are often minimal. All of these songs consist of overlaid cells and riffs, as the ostinati bass parts interweaving with percussively played keyboard and organ parts, as well as with the percussion parts themselves as the main musical ideas are transferred between the ensemble in a very fluid and organic manner. These performances are

⁵ An axatse is a traditional Ewe gourd rattle.

exemplify many of the movement types categorized in Chapter Five.

In the opening of “Lively Up Yourself,” Marley makes Nyabingi dance moves, alternating between rapid movements and freezing for a split-second. The keyboard player to his left makes Movement A (down-up in 8th notes). The I-Threes appear to be making choreographed movements (because they are similar to each other), but they are actually improvised, with all three simply well-attuned to each other’s style.⁶

This performance of “Get Up Stand Up” is also from the earliest Wailers concert on film,⁷ a 1973 appearance in England to promote their first international album, *Catch A Fire*, although this song appeared on their subsequent 1974 release, *Burnin’*. It features Bob Marley and Peter Tosh, without Bunny Livingstone/Wailer, who returned to Jamaica shortly before this concert because he hated the British winter climate. This performance is the most neo-African of the eight versions examined in this study, due to added polyrhythmic interplay between guitars, keyboard and drums. It also features extensive shots of Carlton Barrett (on drums) and close-ups of Aston Barrett’s bass playing. This performance is also an excellent example of the two-handed (i.e., hocketted) afterbeat organ playing style discussed in section 1.3.5.6. (The keyboard player also

⁶ This is based upon a comparison of ten different performances of “Lively Up Yourself,” four of which were also in 1980. The particular movements of this performance don’t appear in the same place in any of these other versions. Each version is also a different length, i.e., with a different song structure, involving a different sequence of sections and the number of repetitions. Upon close inspection, one of the I-Threes usually initiates a new movement pattern and the other two follow within a split second. The “leader” of these new movements constantly changes from song to song and from performance to performance.

⁷ Only three songs have surfaced from this concert, the others are “Slave Driver” and “Stop That Train.”

favours Movements D and C,⁸ the up-down pattern in 16th notes and 8th notes that is the reverse of Movements B and A.) This film is also an example of the effective use of multiple camera angles, with cuts that highlight particular instrumental parts, thus making it easier to pick out components of hocketed rhythm patterns.

At the end of "Them Belly Full," Marley and the I-Threes share the melody. Marley sings the opening phrase and the I-Threes complete it. This performance also features the I-Threes making Movement J, one of their favourite patterns.

"Exodus" is also from their 1980 Zimbabwe concert. The keyboard player (not the same one as in 1973) favours Movement A (down-up in 8th notes). The keyboard players in this song and "Get Up Stand Up" frequently utilize the two-handed afterbeat keyboard style discussed in 1.3.5.6. Aston Barrett's Movement A patterns are also clearly visible; he is standing to Marley's right. At the end of this excerpt two young boys (possibly Marley's children) dance onstage, an example of the African tradition of including young people in performances and how choreographic rhythms are acquired mimetically in communal settings.

**** Chapter Five, Section 5.2 ****

1.4 (COMPARISON OF) SKA/ROCKSTEADY / REGGAE (3:14)

- *Caribbean Nights* (1986) (16:33 to 16:50)
- THE SKATALITES *Live at the Paradise Rock Club, Boston* (1990)

In this segment, Bob Marley (1980) & Skatalites drummer Lloyd Knibb (1990) — acknowledged experts in ska, rocksteady and reggae — explain the relationship between these three styles and demonstrate each one. Their performances illustrate that each style is successively slower and that, in all three styles, offbeat accents remain constant

⁸ I list them in this order because this is the sequence visible in the film.

and that the bass drum drops are placed on the 2nd and 4th beats.⁹

**** Chapter Five Section 5.2 ****

1.5 MOVEMENT EXEMPLARS (4:00)

- SOUL SYNDICATE BAND – “JAH JAH MUSIC”
- EARL ZERO & SOUL SYNDICATE BAND – “NONE SHALL ESCAPE THE JUDGEMENT”
from *Word, Sound & Power* (2003)
- DENNIS BROWN – “WHIP THEM, JAH” from *Heartland Reggae* (1983)
- BOB MARLEY & THE WAILERS – “HEATHEN” from *Bob Marley: The Legend Live* (in 1979) (2003)

These four JPM videos contain examples of all of the movement types tracked in this study; (see Chapter Five, section 5. 2). Each movement is labeled on the screen.

**** Chapter Five ****

1.6 LOOPING EXAMPLE (0:26)

In DVD video 1.3, because Marley’s performances of ska, rocksteady and reggae are brief, looping each segment was used to analyze the choreographic rhythms accurately. This playback technique was effective to study other short segments with complex patterns and when there were many performers on the screen at once.

**** Chapter Five ****

1.7 HIGH-SPEED EXAMPLES (6:25)

Sometimes when performers appear still (i.e., not counting the gestures they make that are directly related to sound production), when the film is viewed at faster than normal speed very subtle rhythmic motions become visible. Here are two examples of this: 1) the Abyssinians’ “Satta Massagana” and 2) Theophilus Beckford’s “Easy

⁹ Knibb frequently embellishes his bass drum drops. When he plays reggae, he also combines the sounds of several percussion parts on his kit — i.e., he plays more rhythms and parts than most other JPM drummers. For example, in the excerpt in this demonstration, he combines Nyabinghi patterns with the roots style with the bass drum primarily on the first and third beats, although 2nd and 4th beats receive a heavier emphasis. Knibb’s performance of reggae in this example is more complex polyrhythmically, with more complex beat subdivisions (i.e., in a reggae style), but is basically at the same speed as his rocksteady example. That being said, they *do* sound like different rhythmic feels.

Snappin' ” (from DVD video 4.8).

DVD CHAPTER 2 – AFRICAN MUSIC (9:14)

**** Ch. 1: 209, Re: Figure 1.31 African Posture & Principles of Movement ****

2.1 SENEGAMBIAN DANCE (3:34)

• CHUCK DAVIS DANCE CO. LENJEN-GO MANDIANI (SENEGAMBIA);
from *Dance Black America*, filmed in 1984, released in 1990

The Senegambia region in West African (see Map 1.1, pg. 53) encompasses what is today Senegal and Gambia. The movement patterns in this modern recreation of West African dance styles illustrate the African corporeal style that scholars believe was transferred unchanged from this region to Jamaica and retained primarily unchanged; see discussion in Chapter One, section 1.4. This example shows many movement orientations and steps similar to those found in neo-African Jamaican song / dance / religious traditions.

**** Compare to Jamaican movement style (Chapter One, section 1.4) ****

2.2 GHANAIA MUSIC / DANCE (1:52)

from *The Drums of Dagbon* (1984)

These performances of Ghanaian music and dance are from a 1984 documentary about traditional practices, many of which were brought by slaves to Jamaica. Although there are many different Ghanaian movement styles, the examples shown here are those in which performers adopt similar down-up patterns to those found in Jamaican musics. One of the segments shows a fife and drum band, similar to the instrumentation and style of Jamaican Jonkonnu — see DVD video 3.6 — in which the performers also use the kongo step which is found in many Jamaican dances.

**** Ch. 1: 209, Re: Figure 1.31 African Posture & Principles of Movement ****

**** Comparison to Jamaican Singing Games (1.3.3.8); see DVD video 3.10 ****

2.3 LIBERIAN CHILDREN'S GAMES (0:52)

- *JVC/Smithsonian Folkways Video Anthology of Music & Dance of Africa, Tape 2*, examples from Liberia and Ghana) (1995)

Agawu (2006: 18) cites this particular video as an example of how West Africans acquire the skill of regulative beats at a young age, through games and song activities. The same process occurs in Jamaica, also using the same type of Song Games; see DVD video 3.10.

**** Ch. 1: 209, Re: Figure 1.31 African Posture & Principles of Movement ****

2.4 LIBERIAN SECRET SOCIETY (PROCESSION) (1:28)

- *JVC/Smithsonian Folkways Video Anthology of Music & Dance of Africa, Tape 2*, examples from Liberia and Ghana) (1995)

Agawu (2006:18) cites this particular video as an example of African musicians showing regulative beats in their body movements. Rituals from Poro secret societies were an influence upon Myal and Jonkonnu practices in Jamaica; (see discussion in Chapter One, section 1.3.2.3 for the former and 1.3.2.9 for the latter. See also DVD video 3.6.) The Poro stepping pattern has a similar down-up orientation to Jamaican Movement A. Near the end a yanga-type step appears. The music consists of a repetitive chant alternating with a solo leader/call phrase.

**** Chapter One: 209, Re: Figure 1.31 African Posture & Principles of Movement ****

**** Compare to Jamaican funeral practices (Chapter One, section 1.3.2.4) and Dinki Mini song/dance (Chapter One, section 1.4.1.3); see DVD video 3.1 ****

2.5 EWE BOBOOBO FUNERAL DANCE (1:27)

- *JVC/Smithsonian Folkways Video Anthology of Music & Dance of Africa, Tape 2*, examples from Liberia and Ghana) (1995)

This is another example of marking the regulative beat with body movements cited by Agawu (2006:18). The Ewe Boboobo dance is generally performed at funerals

and other social occasions. The Ewe people (from the Ghana region) were one of the main ethnic groups brought to Jamaica as slaves. Funerals are important events in West Africa (as they are in Jamaica); spirits of the dead are sent off to the spirit world in a celebratory manner. The liveliness of the Boboodo and its movement orientation are similar to that of the Jamaican Dinki Mini dance, also performed at funerals. In both dances, people make small steps in a counter-clockwise circle, with side to side upper body movement. The music for both consists of a cappella singing and polyrhythmic drumming.

DVD CHAPTER 3 – JAMAICAN FOLK & RELIGIOUS MUSICS (JFRM) (49:49)

Note: For all examples in this section, see Chapter 5, Section 5.5

**** Chapter One, Sections 1.3.2.4 and 1.4.1.3 ****

3.1 DINKI-MINI (FUNERAL SONG/DANCE) (1:35)

• *La Memoire du Peuple Noir: La Voix Jamaicaine* (1979)

This film of the Dinki Mini (funeral song/dance) appears to be the only one available. In form, style and content, the Dinki Mini is similar to the Ghanaian Ewe Boboobo Funeral Dance (see DVD video 2.5). Both utilize lively movements, counter-clockwise small steps and a capella singing with polyrhythmic drumming. The main purpose of the Dinki Mini is to comfort and energize the living and to pay honour to the spirits of the deceased. Funeral ceremonies are not restricted to close family members, but involve the neighbourhood. This tradition lets mourners know that they are not alone and can count on the support of their community in times of crisis.

Children were very much a part of Dinki Mini ceremonies, as can be seen in this film. Although there is no documentation of JPM artists attending funeral services

as children, one can reasonably assume that the majority would likely have been exposed to these traditions, given their background as members of the rural lower class. The drummers (seen at the end) are sitting on their drums, African-style, a playing style also used in neo-African Jamaican musics.

The editing style of this example is typical of most video examples of Jamaican Folk and Religious Music (JFRM). The majority are from documentary films, usually with narration over top of the performance. Thus, performances are rarely presented in full, and what is shown often has cutaway shots to other images, different performances and even other pieces of music. The Dinki Mini clip is also an example of why the statistics regarding Mixture of Movements (G) in this study are unreliable for most JFRM videos, as well as why it is often difficult to ascertain the number and identity of participants. Most participants are usually on screen only for a short time, making it impossible to determine whether they maintain or change their movement patterns later in the performance. And when they are filmed without showing their faces, it is also impossible to know if the same people appear in subsequent shots if participants are dressed similarly.

**** Chapter One, Sections 1.3.2.5 and 1.4.1.1****

3.2 MAROON MUSIC /DANCE (2:47)

- *Caribbean Crucible* (1984). Narration by Colonel C.G. Harris, leader of the Windward Maroons between 1964-1994

Maroon communities were isolated deep in the mountainous interior, so they retained many African traits. Three segues performing segments illustrate a highly polyrhythmic drumming and a movement style that combines neo-African and European folk movements. Unsounded gestures consist of Movement A (down-up in 8ths),

along with many offbeat accents. The final segment shows the Abeng horn — made from a cow horn — that has traditionally been used for signalling, rather than for musical purposes.

**** Chapter One, Sections 1.3.2.6 and 1.4.1.2****

3.3 BURRU MUSIC (3:38)

- *L.A. Reggae* (with Roger Steffens) (1987)
- *Deep Roots Music, Pt. 1* (1982)

Burru music has rarely been filmed. Only three examples were located for this study: two instrumental pieces similar to Maroon drumming, and a Burru adaptation of a Christian hymn. Burru shares similar drum patterns with Maroon, Kumina and Rastafarian music (Nyabinghi). Jamaican folklorist Olive Lewin has commented that “If you slow down Burru, you can sometimes hear Rasta music” (in Johnson & Pines 1982: 34-5). She also considers Burru to be a variation of Jonkonnu music (Lewin 2000: 128).

The first film is from Roger Steffens’ Los Angeles TV program, *L.A. Reggae*, filmed in 1987, featuring Nyabinghi musicians Ras Michael & the Sons of Negus. Michael discusses Burru, and the band play a short instrumental piece with a bit of chanting. The second and third examples are from a BBC documentary called *Deep Roots Music, Pt. 1* (1982). “Scully” Sims, the Skatalites’ percussionist remembers hearing Burru music when he was a child living in Trenchtown (which used to be called Trenchpen). He describes and demonstrates how Burru musicians played for the release of prisoners, performing a short instrumental piece. He also recounts how the Burru musicians used to sing hymns and performs “Clap Your Tiny Hands” as an example. Sims is accompanied by guitarist “Jah” Jerry Haines, also with the Skatalites. Both Sims and Haines also played on many proto-ska recordings. The drum pattern than Sims

plays for the hymn is similar to the Nyabingihi “heartical” pattern, with strongly

accented 2nd and 4th beats: . (All of the “rests” in this

pattern are filled-in with other rhythms.)

**** Chapter One, Sections 1.3.2.7 and 1.4.1.4 ****

3.4 KUMINA MUSIC /DANCE/RITUAL (5:26)

- *JVC/Smithsonian Folkways Video Anthology of Music & Dance of the Americas, Tape 4* (1995)
- *Deep Roots Music, Pt. 1* (1982)
- *Caribbean Crucible* (1984)

Kumina rose to prominence after the slaves were emancipated in 1838. Many West and Central Africans came to work as indentured labourers and brought their religion and culture with them. These Central African traditions were fused with indigenous Jamaican Myal and Burru practices and were called “Kumina.” Three examples are presented:

1. **A communal song**¹⁰ (from the JVC/Smithsonian film) which features prominent use of the kongo step: flat-footed on beats, with an upward push with toes on offbeats.

Dancers display many of the African movement characteristics outlined in Chapter One, Figure 1.31. Musicians straddle their drums, African-style, which are also used in Burru.

The drumming patterns are highly polyrhythmic. One of the low drums plays a pattern

found in many Kumina songs:  that is like a fast

Nyabingihi “churchical pattern”: . The shaker plays an offbeat

rhythm used in reggae: .

¹⁰ Bilby (1995: 261), a leading expert on Maroon culture, notes that this video of Kumina song/dance is misidentified in the JVC/Smithsonian collection as a Maroon song.

2. Another communal song (from *Deep Roots Music*), with a similar feel but with more dance movements than #1. Everyone moves in the down-up pattern common to all Jamaican musics.

3. The third segment (from *Caribbean Crucible*) shows Kumina rituals, including the Black and White ritual for the dead, involving a goat sacrifice, dancing and “possession” (i.e., embodiment of the spirit). Many words in Kumina songs are from West & Central African languages.

**** Chapter One, Section 1.3.2.8 ****

3.5 ANANSI STORIES (4:33)

• *Dis Long Time Gal — A Tribute to Miss Lou* (2004?)

Very few Anansis stories have been filmed. This one shows Turnell McCormack telling one at a 2003 tribute concert to Louise Bennett filmed in Kingston, Jamaica.

Although the volume of the audience responses haven’t been recorded at the same level as the McCormack’s voice, this performance contains all the ingredients of the classic Anansi approach: storytelling, acting, mime, dancing, chanting, singing and of course, a moral at the end.

**** Chapter One, Sections 1.3.2.9 and 1.4.1.2 ****

3.6 JONKONNU (2:13)

• *Caribbean Crucible* (1984)

• *JVC /Smithsonian Folkways Video Anthology of Music Dance of the Americas, Tape 4* (1995)

Jonkonnu is believed to have originated in West African harvest rituals, which were performed in Jamaica after the Middle Passage. These rituals coincided with the Christmas season, and became linked with it. Since the 19th century, however, Jonkonnu has included and creolized other musical and ritual influences from both British masquerade and Mummings traditions as well as from the Indian Hussay festival.

Jonkonnu combines music, song, dance, masquerade, mime, parading and panhandling (Witmer 1995: 26-7). The two films in this segment show outdoor performances. The instrumental ensemble utilizes fife, drums and other percussion instruments, similar to those found in ensembles of West African secret societies; (e.g., see DVD video 2.4 Liberian Secret Society.) In the 19th century, this instrumental approach was reinforced by similar British and American fife and drum ensembles.

**** Chapter One, Section 1.3.3.4 ****

3.7 WORK SONGS (2:10)

- *Caribbean Crucible* (1984)
- *Deep Roots Music, Pt. 1* (1982)

I was unable to locate any films of Work Songs performed in context, i.e., as a synchronous activity to manual labour or other chores. These examples show folklorist/entertainer Louise Bennett explaining and demonstrating the characteristics of this form, which often used European songs. All work songs were Jamaicanized through the use of call and response structures, body movements and improvisation.

**** Chapter One, Sections 1.3.3.6 and 1.4.1.5 ****

3.8 THE QUADRILLE (5:12)

- BRITISH QUADRILLE (EXAMPLE OF "BALLROOM STYLE", from *Dancetime! Dance Through Time, Vol 1: 15th to 19th Centuries*) (1998)
- JAMAICAN VERSION OF "BALLROOM STYLE" from *Deep Roots Music, Pt. 3* (1982)
 - JAMAICAN VERSION OF "BALLROOM STYLE" AND "CAMP STYLE" from *Dis Long Time Gal — A Tribute to Miss Lou* (2004?)
- JAMAICAN QUADRILLE-INFLUENCED FOLKDANCE (EXAMPLE OF "CAMP STYLE") from *Deep Roots Music, Pt. 1* (1982)

Since the Quadrille was brought to Jamaica by the British, this segment begins with an example of the European style, in a recreation by North American professional dancers from a film that demonstrates Western dance styles. The transformation of the British Quadrille (called Ballroom Style) into an indigenous version (called Camp Style)

involved a switch from Single-Unit to Multi-Unit movement style; (see DVD video 1.1 *Dance and Human History*). The film that follows is from the documentary *Deep Roots Music* (1982), showing the Jamaican version of this Ballroom Style, which includes a bit more hip movements than the British version. (This segment is very brief and includes narration for almost its entire length.) The next film appears to be the only extensive example of the Jamaican Quadrille that is available, from the DVD *Dis Long Time Gal—A Tribute to Miss Lou*. This film begins and with the Ballroom Style and ends with the Camp Style. The final film shows a Jamaican recreational folkdance showing the influence of Camp Style quadrille steps.

The Ballroom Style exemplifies the European Single-Unit movement style: an erect upper body and emphasis upon smoothness. Onbeats receive both corporeal and sonic accents. This is the dominant choreographic rhythm experienced by Europeans and North Americans, whose sociocultural environmental influences were dominated by European aesthetics and musical forms. The West African Kongo step often appears in the Jamaican Quadrille. In both Ballroom and Camp styles, the rigid European movement style is altered by adding an African bounce quality and multi-unit movements favouring hip and leg movements.

**** Chapter One, Sections 1.3.3.7 and 1.4.1.6 ****

3.9 MENTO MUSIC/DANCE (5:01)

- *Caribbean Crucible* (1984)
- *Deep Roots Music, Pt. 1* (1982),
- *Bop Girl Goes Calypso* (1957)
- *JVC /Smithsonian Folkways Video Anthology of Music & Dance of the Americas, Tape 4* (1995)

Given its supremacy as Jamaica's dominant song form since the early 1800s, it is surprising that there are no films of mento dancing in any of the documentaries on

Jamaican music (other than a few brief 1 or 2 second glimpses). The examples shown in this segment are therefore mostly performances by musicians.

1) Olive Lewin discusses the 4th beat accent that characterizes mento. Even though she makes a Work Song gesture when demonstrating this accent, she makes no connection between the two.¹¹ 2) A performance by the T. Miller Mento Band, in the original rural style which was established by the late 1800s and was Jamaica's main popular style until the advent of ska. 3) The earliest film of a mento performance, by Lord Flea from his 1957 Hollywood debut in *Bop Girl Goes Calypso*. Lord Flea sings three songs in this movie. This song has strange lyrics about Flea's "be-bop music," but it is the most representative one of his mento style. 4) A mento band that shows urban influences from the *JVC/Smithsonian Folkways Video Anthology*. The urban style emerged in the early 20th century under the influence of the American wind bands and African American musics.

The only movement to mento that I was able to locate on film is a performance of "Dis Long Time Gal" by the Jamaican Folksingers, also from the JVC collection. This is, as Witmer puts it, "an artful reconstruction by non-folk artists of folk materials for audiences accustomed to polished, staged presentations" (Witmer 1995: 29). The presentation uses over 2 dozen performers. Half of the group dance and sing with highly choreographed steps and gestures, and approximately 10 others sing off to the side, moving somewhat spontaneously, but these movements do not correspond to descriptions of mento dancing, discussed in Chapter One in section 1.4.1.6.

¹¹ She does make this connection in later writings, however (Lewin 1998, 2000).

The singer/dancers are tightly choreographed. The movements of the singing show a few more individualized gestures. The most interesting thing about this performance from a corporeal perspective is the maintenance of the basic down-up orientation by everyone, especially in some of their small, non-choreographed gestures.

**** Chapter One, Section 1.3.3.8 ****

3.10 SINGING GAMES (1:56)

- *Caribbean Crucible* (1984)
- *Dis Long Time Gal — A Tribute to Miss Lou* (2004?)

There are few examples of Jamaican Singing Games on film. Four examples are presented here. This practice is not restricted to children, however. Adults often initiate and partake in these recreations at social gatherings, but these examples involve only children. Some singing games use intoned, rhythmic speech with no significant use of pitch. All prioritize patterned body movements, and the beat is strongly articulated with sounded and unsounded gestures. The first three films show children at play, and the final one is a medley of a songs, choreographed and staged for a tribute performance to Lousie Bennett in 2003. After the final example, Louise Bennett explains the relationship between the rhythm of the Jamaican language and Jamaican music.

**** Chapter One, Sections 1.3.4.2 and 1.4.1.7 ****

3.11 REVIVAL RITUALS (7:35)

- *Pocomania: A Little Madness* (1968)
- *Deep Roots Music, Pt. 1* (1982)

Revival rituals are often described as a blend of Christian and neo-African practices, but the balance between the two is weighted towards the neo-African end. Corporeal factors are essential for musical performance and for prayer. Like Kumina, Revival services use a two-segment structure that comes from African religious traditions. Part 1 is slow and solemn, a mixture of call and response dialogue and songs,

without percussion. In Part 2, percussion and dancing are added, building in intensity with the goal of inducing ‘possession’ (embodiment of the sprit).

The first half of this film shows the two part structure of an indoor Pukkumina-style Revival service.¹² The second half shows the huge outdoor services which were common in rural communities between the 1920s and 1980s. These outdoor services were open to all ages and many non-Revivalists watched or joined in. The emotional and spiritual energy, corporeal orientation and musical feel of Revivalism were significant influences upon the first ska recordings (and the artists who made them).

**** Chapter One, Sections 1.3.4.6 and 1.4.1.8 ****

3.12 NYABINGHI MUSIC/DANCE (5:38)

- *Deep Roots Music, Pt. 4* (1982)
- *JVC/Smithsonian Folkways Video Anthology of Music & Dance of the Americas, Tape 4* (1995)
- *La Memoire du Peuple Noir: La Voix Jamaicaine* (1979)
- *Portrait of Jamaican Music* (1998)
- *Roots Rock Reggae* (1977)

This segment presents six performances of Nyabinghi music; the final one also shows Nyabinghi dancing. Three use the “churchical” groove, two use the “heartical” groove, and one combines the churchical groove with electronic instruments. The first two are excerpts of performances by Count Ossie and his group, the Mystical Revelation of Rastafari. The first is probably from 1962 — a vocal piece with a heartical groove. The second is from 1966 — an instrumental piece with Burru-like drumming and heartical patterns in the shakers. The third, “Fly Away Home,” is by an unnamed Rasta group and combines a European-influenced folk song with churchical patterns. The

¹² In their original form, both of these films edit the services out of sequence, mixing first and second part segments. This edit resequences them show the build from slow Part One elements to the climax of “possession” states at the end. (The outdoor services do not show any “possession,” however.)

fourth, by the Ras Michael Band & Friends, is a blend of a churchical percussion pattern with afterbeat guitar strumming. The fifth is an unnamed Rasta group (including Dizzy Moore, trumpeter with the Skatalites). Moore has rather insightful comments about the corporeal nature of reggae and how JPM artists' skills were nurtured as children. The Ras Michael Band ends with "Ethiopia," a song that blends churchical rhythms with a modern African-influenced groove featuring electronic instruments as well as the type of Nyabinghi dancing that Bob Marley made famous in his concerts.

DVD CHAPTER 4 – JAMAICAN POPULAR MUSICS (JPM) (44:46)

4.1 JAMAICAN POPULAR MUSIC MEDLEY (6:03)

This segment is a medley of significant proto-ska, ska, rocksteady and reggae songs with photos of artists, album covers and the characteristics of each style. This is the text on the DVD:

WHIRLWIND MEDLEY OF JAMAICAN POPULAR MUSIC 1957-1975

1957 TO 1961: JAMAICAN BOOGIE / PROTO-SKA

- indigenous copies of U.S. R&B
- produced primarily for sound system dances, as number of U.S. R&B records declines in late 1950s

DAVE BARTHOLOMEW: "THE SHUFFLIN' FOX"
U.S. 1957 R&B hit Popular in Jamaica

Features:

- walking bass • shuffle groove
- strong pulse and offbeat accents
- heavy backbeat (accents on 2+4)

LAUREL AITKEN: "BOOGIE IN MY BONES" (1959)

This was the first local record to ever appear on the JBC radio chart. It was #1 for 13

weeks. Most Jamaican records from this period sound almost identical to American R&B.

(JOE) HIGGS & (ROY) WILSON: "MANNY, OH" (1959)

This record is in a straight-8th note style, with a New Orleans Latin feel. Joe Higgs taught the Wailers how to harmonize.

THEO BECKFORD: "EASY SNAPPIN'" (RECORDED LATE 1956, RELEASED 1959)

Some musicians, like Beckford, copied most R&B features but added heavier, extended offbeats played louder than the basic pulse. Some analysts, like Garth White and Steve Barrow, call this proto-ska, since the feel is midway between R&B and Ska. Many Jamaican musicians experimented with indigenous variations of American R&B.

THE FOLKES BROTHERS (WITH COUNT OSSIE & HIS DRUMMERS): "OH CAROLINA" (1960)

This record was produced by Prince Buster, a DJ and vocalist who felt Jamaican records should sound more indigenous. This features the drumming of Rastafarian Count Ossie. Many of the key Jamaican musicians were Rastafarians who jammed with Count Ossie and his drummers at his camp in Kingston.

1960 to 1966: Ska (MM ♩ = 120-130)

- offbeat accents • walking bass
- very heavy backbeats often played with bass drum and snare
 - often no bass drum on beats 1 and 3
- mostly shuffle feel, sometimes straight 8ths

**DERRICK MORGAN: "FORWARD MARCH" (1962)
1 in August 1962 after Independence Day**

Offbeat accents in Ska are very heavy and often reinforced with horns.

BYRON LEE & THE DRAGONAIRES: "JAMAICA SKA" (1964)

MILLIE SMALL: "MY BOY LOLLIPOP" [1st JAMAICAN INTERNATIONAL # 1 HIT] (1964)

The Ska era was dominated by optimistic songs which mirrored the mood of the people. Ska became Jamaica's official national music and dance.

THE SKATALITES: "THE GUNS OF NAVARONE" (1964)

The Skatalites were a studio band who accompanied most of the Ska vocalists. They continually experimented with different arrangements and bass and drum patterns.

BOB MARLEY & THE WAILERS: "SIMMER DOWN" (1964) (WITH THE SKATALITES)

The Wailers modeled themselves after The Impressions, a U.S. R&B trio.

1966 to 1968: Rocksteady (MM ♩ = 85-120)

- fewer horns, more guitars & keyboards (esp. organ)
 - active ostinato bass parts (often short riffs)
- loud extended offbeat accents • straight 8th feel

DERRICK MORGAN: "TOUGHER THAN TOUGH" (1966)

This song became an anthem for the Rude Boy movement, a protest against rising unemployment in the mid-1960s.

ALTON ELLIS: "GIRL I'VE GOT A DATE" (1966)

The Rock Steady era was dominated by love songs.

HOPETON LEWIS: "TAKE IT EASY" (1967)

Bass parts are mostly short riffs that interlock with guitar & keyboard parts. Chord progressions often consist of just two alternating chords.

THE PARAGONS: "THE TIDE IS HIGH" (1967)

The bass drum often only plays on 2nd & 4th beats. This is called "one drop" drumming.

1968 to present: Reggae (MM ♩ = 60-85)

- combines features from Ska, Rock Steady and indigenous Jamaican folk musics
- different types of offbeat accent patterns
- both swing and straight 8th & 16ths

LEE (SCRATCH) PERRY: "PEOPLE FUNNY BOY" (1968)

This song was one of the first in a new, slower style which became known as Reggae. Perry was a highly creative producer, who worked with the Wailers 1970-1.

REGGAE ALSO FEATURES:

- hocket technique in instrumental parts
- circular and highly repetitive structures

TOOTS & THE MAYTALS: “DO THE REGGAY” (1968)

The Maytals’ vocal style was dominated by improvisatory call and response. This was the first song to use the word Reggay, later changed to Reggae.

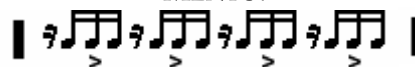
DESMOND DEKKER: “(POOR ME) ISRAELITES” (1969) This was the second Jamaican International # 1 hit.

The overall Reggae aesthetic is highly percussive and accented.

THE MELODIANS: “BY THE RIVERS OF BABYLON” (1970)

This song was a favourite in Rastafarian & Jamaican Revival (Afro- Christian) Churches. Reggae guitar and organ parts often use a mento (a Jamaican folk music) banjo rhythm or variations thereof:

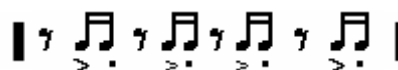
MENTO:



REGGAE VARIATIONS:



Used in this song



THE ABYSSINIANS: “SATTA MASSAGANA” (RECORDED 1969, RELEASED 1971)

Forerunners of the mid-1970s roots style that was dominated by Rastafarian philosophy and African aesthetics.

JIMMY CLIFF: “THE HARDER THEY COME” (1972)

Title song from Jamaica’s first feature film, which was also very successful abroad. The soundtrack introduced many non-Jamaicans to Ska, Rocksteady and Reggae. Cliff played a rude boy who became a reggae star.

THE MIGHTY DIAMONDS: “THE RIGHT TIME” (1975)

Marcus Garvey’s celebration of African identity and culture inspired roots Reggae musicians.

• repetitious bass riffs, circular harmonic progressions and one drop drumming dominate roots Reggae songs.

BOB MARLEY & THE WAILERS: “LIVELY UP YOURSELF” (1974)
The most influential of all Jamaican artists

- two-chord, circular structure
- highly active bass riff doubled by guitar
- one drop drumming • bluesy rock guitar
- improvisatory, call and response vocal style
- celebrating life in the face of adversity

Reggae’s slow beats are often subdivided into many parts, which creates a fast feel. People without indigenous experience often perceive the pulse as twice as fast.

**** Chapter One, Sections 1.3.5.3 and 1.4.2.1 ****

4.2 PROTO-SKA (7:14)

- *Stir It Up* (1996)
- *Portrait of Jamaican Music* (1998)
- *Get Up Stand Up* (1995)

There appear to be *no* films of Jamaican musicians (other than Lord Flea’s 1957 performances — see DVD video 3.9 — and Harry Belafonte) prior to 1962, but there are performances that can be used to examine the choreographic rhythms of four proto-ska era artists filmed in more recent years. This segment shows a 1996 performance by Theopholus Beckford (who had the first proto-ska hit with “Easy Snappin’ ” in 1957 in the dancehall and again in 1959 on the radio), 1998 performances by drummer Lloyd Knibb and bassist Lloyd Brevett, who accompanied Beckford, a 1961 appearance by Belafonte on *The Ed Sullivan Show*, and finally a 1995 performance by mento artist Count Owen (who had mento hits in the late 1950s and recorded some ska in the mid-1960s).

Prior to these performances, however, reggae singer Max Romeo and producer

Bunny Lee discuss how proto-ska was born, with a film clip of Louis Jordan singing “Caledonia” (filmed in 1996, from *Stir It Up*).

**** Sections Chapter One, 1.3.5.3 and 1.4.2.1 ****

4.3 SKA (10:21)

- *Rebel Music: The Bob Marley Story* (2001)
- *Stir It Up* (1996)
- *Portrait of Jamaican Music* (1998)
- Cheryl Ryman *Super 8 Film of 'Legs' Dancing* (1983)
- *This is Ska!* (1964)

Other than a few newsreel snippets from 1962, the only substantial visual record of the ska era is the 1964 film *This is Ska!*, produced by the Jamaican government for the NYC World's Fair. Minister of Culture Edward Seaga promoted ska as “the Jamaican music” to attract visitors and investors. There really was no “ska dance” with a particular group of steps, however, although dancers often moved similarly. Because ska’s accented afterbeats were similar to Revival music accents, most people adopted a Revival-derived corporeal style at Sound System dances. The most common movements were variations of trumping.

This segment shows two re-creations of the dancehall style, along with highlights from *This is Ska!* The first is a segment from *Rebel Music: The Bob Marley Story* by Jeremy Marr, a re-creation of the Wailers’ first record, “Simmer Down” played at a Sound System dance in 1963. The DJ shown here is King Stitt, who was a major figure in the dancehall scene in the 1950s and 1960s. Some of the dancers in this segment engage in a dance movement called “Legs,” in which the main focus is upon a variety of leg-oriented movements. The second segment — filmed in the early 1980s, from Cheryl Ryman’s master’s thesis demonstrates Legs dancing. It was shot on Super 8 film with no sound, so a suitable uptempo ska instrumental has been added that fits the tempo

and style of the dancing (“Nimble Foot Ska” by the Skatalites¹³). In comparison to the simplified, highly stylized and patterned commercial ska dancing featured in the 1964 film *This is Ska!*, “Legs” dancing is very spontaneous — with wild shaking, spins, breaks and fancy footwork. Shaking legs and intricate steps weave around the beat, and the pulse is articulated regularly with downward gestures. Dancers consistently accent 2nd and 4th beats, and follow each other’s lead as they improvise. Upper torso bends are adapted from Revival trumping movements.

The historical value of *This is Ska!* is immense. It shows this new style within a few years of its birth, with performances by a dozen artists in front of a live audience. There are a few drawbacks with regard to studying choreographic rhythms, however. Video editing sometimes shows people moving the opposite to the main down-up movement (starting on the upbeat instead), and audience shots are sometimes cut to different music without synchronization.¹⁴ The best parts show musicians and the dancers together in perfect synchronization. Because of the promotional nature of this film, most of the professional dancers are often shown on camera, but many non-professionals are also present. Watching the latter group’s dance movements are a truer

¹³ “Nimble Foot Ska” has the same frantic pace and relentless energy as the Legs style. It is an example of the creative, non-patterned rhythmic approach favoured by the Skatalites, who played on the majority of ska recordings made at Coxsone Dodd’s *Studio One* between 1963 and 1965. It features an eighth-note ostinato bass pattern (played by Lloyd Brevett) and Burru and Jonkonnu accents played by drummer Lloyd Knibb.

¹⁴ This DVD version has been resynched as follows, by matching the sounds to performers’ gestures. The audio for the following songs on the original film is late by a half-beat: “Jamaica Ska,” “Wash wash” and “Sammy Dead-o,” as well as the ska dance demonstration for steps #1 and #2. For these segments, the sound was advanced by a half-beat. The remaining songs and dance steps are in synch and required no adjustment.

indication of the range of possible options in ska dancing, rather than the stylized, repetitive movements of the pros. Edward Seaga hired a choreographer to standardize (and de-eroticize) the spontaneous indigenous dancehall movements, and make them fit alongside other dances of the time such as “The Twist,” “The Pony,” “The Hucklebuck,” etc.

The excerpt from *This is Ska!* shows a range of approaches to the ska style with performances by Byron Lee & the Dragonaires (“Jamaica Ska”), Prince Buster (“Wash, Wash,” with an R&B-style bass riff and gospel harmonies), Eric “Monty” Morris (“Sammy Dead-o,” a mento song in a ska style), the Maytals (“Treat Me Bad,” a bluesy, two-chord circular song with strong gospel overtones, in a slower tempo that is almost in the rocksteady range), and Jimmy Cliff (“King of Kings,” one of the earliest songs praising Haile Selassie). This segment ends with Millie Small’s promo video for “My Boy Lollipop,” which was the first international ska hit, which introduced JPM to the rest of the world.

**** Chapter One, Sections 1.3.5.5 and 1.4.2.3 ****

4.4 ROCKSTEADY (3:53)

- ALTON ELLIS – “Girl I’ve Got a Date” (Amateur-shot Video 1980s?)
- DELROY WILSON – “I’m in a Dancing Mood” from *Deep Roots Music, Pt. 3*
 - HOPETON LEWIS – “Take It Easy” from *Stir It Up* (1996)
- PATRICK GORDON & THE SKATALITES – “On the Beach” from *The Skatalites Live at the Paradise Rock Club, Boston* (1990)
- THE PYRAMIDS – “Pop Hi” from *REGGAE!* (1970)

There appear to be no videos of either rocksteady dancing or of artists filmed during the rocksteady era (1966-68). This segment presents later live versions of four major defining hits of the genre, Alton Ellis’ “Girl I’ve Got A Date” (1966) (filmed by a fan probably in the 1980s), Delroy Wilson’s “I’m in A Dancing Mood” (1966) (from *Deep*

Roots Music, Pt. 3, (1982)), an a cappella version of Hopeton Lewis' "Take It Easy" (1967) (from *Stir It Up* (1996)) and Patrick Gordon & the Skatalites' version of the Paragons' "On the Beach" (1967). The final song is a rocksteady instrumental by a U.K. band of Caribbean descent, The Pyramids' "Pop Hi," from the Horace Ove 1970 film *Reggae!* that documents the 1969 Wembley Reggae festival in London.

**** Chapter One, Section 1.4.2.4 ****

4.5 REGGAE DANCING (3:09)

JAMAICAN CHILDREN choreographed by Cheryl Ryman (1983), *The In-Crowd* — "Mango Walk"

This film is part of Ryman's 1983 master's thesis, and is the only bonafide demonstration of JPM dancing that appears to be available (other than *This is Ska!*). Ryman explained to me that she choreographed and filmed these children to document the popular reggae dance style of the late 1970s.¹⁵ Like the "Legs" dancing in DVD video 4.3, this was shot on silent Super 8 film, so a 1979 reggae hit was synchronized to the tempo and mood of the movements: "Mango Walk" by the In-Crowd.¹⁶ These movements often display an 8/8 feel with strong articulation of beats and offbeats. Movements used include the yanga step (bent knees with hips swaying side to side), reggae skanking (a confident walk with arm movements) and an adaptation of the Twist (which is itself an African American adaptation of an African dance step). When compared to the African examples on this DVD (2.1 to 2.5), most of these movements are clearly rooted in African corporeal orientations.

¹⁵ This information in an email to author in July 2007.

¹⁶ In Ryman's dissertation notes, she indicated that the children were dancing to "Mango Walk." Ryman has seen this overdubbed version and approved the results.

**** Chapter Five, Sections 5.3.1 to 5.3.5 ****

4.6 BOB MARLEY & THE WAILERS COLLAGE (2:09)

This segment presents a collage of 4 public and 2 private performances by BMW throughout their career:

- **“Stir It Up”** on BBC TV *Old Grey Whistle Test* (1973) (from *Legend* DVD) (with Peter Tosh and Bunny Wailer)
- **“I Shot The Sheriff”** concert at Rockpalast, Germany 23 Jun 80 (unreleased)
- **“Lively Up Yourself”** concert at Stardust Club, Exeter, England 24 May 76 (unreleased)
- **“Jah-Jah Children”** (?) in rehearsal studio, Down South Studios, Miami 13 or 14 Sep 80 (unreleased) (Bob Marley alone, with singing cameraman)
- **“Heathen”** concert at the Rainbow, London (1977) (from *Bob Marley & the Wailers Live!*) (shows Nyabingi movements)
- **“Midnight Raver”** rehearsal in Capitol Recording Studio (Oct 1973) (with Peter Tosh and Joe Higgs)

**** Chapter Five, Section 5.32 ****

4.7 BOB MARLEY SEPTEMBER 13 OR 14 1980 REHEARSAL (6:15)

This performance by Bob Marley is shot on amateur video equipment. It shows Marley singing a few songs with another guitarists and percussionist Seeco Patterson, waiting for the rest of the Wailers to arrive for a rehearsal. See Section 5.3.2 for a detailed description of this performance.

**** Chapter Five, Section 5.4 ****

4.8 15 (OTHER) JPM ARTISTS (6:15)

These 15 artists are representative of the 200 artists examined in this study:

- **The Skatalites** – **“Freedom Sounds”** 1980 (from *Deep Roots Music* BBC TV, on DVD)
- **Joe Higgs** – **“There’s a Reward For Me”** (1977 from *Roots Rock Reggae* VHS)
- **Junior Murvin & the Heptones** – **“Play On, Mr. Music”** (1977 from *Roots Rock Reggae* VHS)
- **Lee Perry** (as producer for Junior Murvin & the Heptones) (1977 from *Roots Rock Reggae* VHS)

- U-Roy – “Steppin’ Out of Babylon” (1977 from *Roots Rock Reggae* VHS)
- The Mighty Diamonds – “The Right Time” (1977 from *Roots Rock Reggae* VHS)
- Third World – “I See Jah Glory” (1977 from *Roots Rock Reggae* VHS)
- Desmond Dekker & the Aces – “(Poor Me) Israelites” (1969 from *Reggae!* Directed by Horace Ove – Unreleased commercially)
- Max Romeo – “Wet Dream” (1996 from *Stir It Up*)
- Jacob Miller & Inner Circle – “Tenement Yard” (1977 from *Rockers*)
- The Abyssinians – “Satta Massagana” (1977 from *Roots Rock Reggae* VHS)
- Unknown Vocal Trio – “It Soon Come”(?) (1977 from *Roots Rock Reggae* VHS)
- Gregory Isaac – “Slave Master” (1977 from *Rockers*)
- Dennis Brown – “Whip Them, Jah” (1983 from *Heartland Reggae* DVD)
- Althea & Donna – “Uptown Rankin’ ” (1983 from *Heartland Reggae* DVD)

DVD CHAPTER 5 – OUTSIDER ARTISTS (OA) (33:27)

** Introduction: 12 **

5.1 BOB MARLEY 1979 INTERVIEW RE: OUTSIDER ARTISTS PERFORMING JPM (0:42)

Complete interview unreleased, from *Comes A Long Way* [Unreleased TV Broadcast]
Partial interview released on *Legend* DVD (2003)

Interview with this comment: “The way I feel about the music [JPM], it *can* be copied, you know? But it’s not a *copy* that do it, it’s *the feel*, you know? It carry a *feel*, where if you explain it to a musician, them *know* it, but them can’t *do* it” (Bob Marley).

** Chapter Seven **

5.2 WAYNE PERKINS RE: RECORDING WITH BMW IN 1973 (1:59)

from *CLASSIC ALBUMS: CATCH A FIRE* (2000)

Bob Marley’s comments in DVD video 5.1 could easily refer to Wayne Perkins’ experience with the Wailers. In the 1960s and 1970s, Perkins worked as a studio musician in Muscle Shoals, Alabama playing on records and in shows by rock, country,

R&B and Gospel artists.¹⁷ In 1972, he overdubbed electric guitar on the Wailers' *Catch A Fire* — their first international album.¹⁸ In this video, Perkins talks about this experience. One thing he doesn't mention is that prior to these sessions, he'd never heard or played any reggae before.

Perkins' difficulties are a textbook example of how trying to understand and perform music (with idiosyncratic choreographic rhythms) from just the sounds can be difficult, if not impossible. The slide guitar part that he overdubs onto "Rock It Baby" is totally non-Jamaican in terms of rhythmic feel and phrasing. To be fair, he *was* chosen to inject a rock-oriented feel to the Wailers' music to help non-Jamaican audiences better understand reggae, which at this point was a fringe music outside of Jamaica. In this film, he explains how his difficulties were perceptual ones. He found the rhythms and groove so confusing that he couldn't even find the downbeat. Most significantly, we see in the video that when Perkins plays along with the Wailers, he doesn't make any Jamaican movement patterns. This is also true for most of the non-Jamaican 1970s artists who attempted to play this music.¹⁹

**** Chapter Seven, section 7.2 ****

5.3 14 "DABBLER" ARTISTS (15:04)

This segments presents 14 artists in the "Dabbler" category — i.e., those Outsider Artists (OA) who only recorded JPM-styled songs occasionally.

¹⁷ Perkins played on recordings by Percy Sledge, The Oak Ridge Boys, Lynyrd Skynyrd, The Gap Band, The Everly Brothers, Albert King, Joni Mitchell, and the Rolling Stones.

¹⁸ He overdubbed lead guitar on "Stir It Up," "Concrete Jungle" and "Rock It Baby."

¹⁹ Lewin has observed that non-Jamaicans have trouble moving to Jamaican music compared to people who have grown up in a Jamaican environment (Lewin 1998: 53).

• **Johnny Nash – “Hold Me Tight” – lip-synched TV appearance (1968).** This song appears to be earliest OA hit. It was recorded in Jamaica, with local session musicians, with an authentic rocksteady/reggae groove. Although Nash had a number of other similar hits in the late 1960s and early 1970s, this song has his most Jamaican-style vocal, in terms of rhythmic delivery and phrasing. His movement orientation is also a Jamaican one: Movement A - down-up in 8th notes, however near the end of the clip, Nash accents beats 1 and 3, a non-Jamaican metric emphasis. This switching from rhythmic emphasis and corporeal orientation to another is typical of the Dabbler group of Outsider Artists.

• **Marmalade – “Ob-La-Di, Ob-La-Da” (1969); two lip-synched TV appearances in late sixties and in 1973.** This was one of the earliest OA hits, a nearly identical cover version of the Beatles’ rocksteady-style 1968 song. Most of the band move down-up, although the keyboardist nods his head on offbeats: Movement C, up-down in 8th notes. Afterbeats are accented sonically, but onbeats receive the heaviest sonic and corporeal emphases.

• **Eric Clapton – “I Shot the Sheriff” (1974) – 4 live performances.** Eric Clapton’s cover version of BMW’s 1973 song was a particularly significant recording in JPM history. Because it went to #1 internationally, even in Jamaica, it opened the door for many non-Jamaicans into the world of its musics. For many people, Clapton’s song introduced them to the music of Bob Marley. Because of this influence it deserves close scrutiny. This is an edit of four performances over a 20-year period. 1) The earliest one is a 1977 appearance on BBC’s *Old Grey Whistle Test* with most of the musicians who performed on Clapton’s 1974 recording. Instrumental parts are in a bluesy rock/R&B/funk style with strong onbeats and irregular offbeat accents. Clapton’s guitar accents offbeats, but he uses an irregular funk approach, rather than the consistent offbeat accents of the Jamaican style. Many of his vocal phrases also emphasize onbeats. Neither Clapton nor his band move with a Jamaican orientation, and Clapton changes both his guitar rhythms and movement patterns constantly. 2) A 1986 performance at Montreux with Phil Collins on drums. First and third beats are strongly accented in a non-Jamaican style. 3) Clapton accompanied by a Jamaican band with Sly Dunbar on drums and

Robbie Shakespeare on bass; date unknown, probably late 1980s. In this version, the second and fourth beats are accented strongly by bass and drums, more strongly than beats one and three — i.e., in a Jamaican style. Surrounded by musicians who are doing the same, Clapton also moves in a consistent down-up in 8th notes pattern, i.e., Movement A: down-up in 8ths. Many of Clapton's vocal phrases accent offbeats. Clapton's afterbeat guitar is totally Jamaican, with consistent, strong accents. 4) A 1996 performance in Hyde Park. Even though Clapton provides a stronger, more consistent afterbeat pattern than in his 1977 and 1986 performances, the overall groove is no longer Jamaican. The rock/funk groove is back (with strong 1st and 3rd beats in bass/drums. Drummer Steve Gadd plays many offbeat accents, but because he accents beats one and three so strongly, his rhythmic patterns feel like a disruption to the main groove, i.e., they sound and feel like syncopations.

Clapton's more Jamaicanized late 1980s version exemplifies the enactivist findings discussed in Chapters Three and Six: how one's environment influences one's perception and execution of musical performances. In the company of a Jamaican band with a unified and highly integrated sonic and corporeal aesthetic (i.e., musicians who automatically produce Jamaican choreographic rhythms), Clapton alters his singing, playing and corporeal approach. The 1996 performance shows that this influence hasn't been sustained, however. Although his afterbeat guitar patterns are more Jamaican than before his performance with the Jamaican band (i.e., they are consistent, regular patterns in the 1996 version), the overall groove (and his corporeal style) revert to what Clapton has done the most (and the best) throughout his career: a rock/funk/R&B hybrid with a touch of JPM on top.²⁰ Space doesn't permit inclusion here, but in other more recent performances, Clapton's approach is similar to this 1996 version.

²⁰ It appears that the influence of this Jamaican band was a significant one, but it is necessary to examine more live performances before and after this one to ascertain whether the shift in Clapton's guitar playing was entirely because of this performance (and the inevitable rehearsals that must have taken place prior to it being filmed).

• **War – “Why Can’t We Be Friends” – promotional video (1975).** This is an original JPM-styled song that quite effectively combines funk and reggae grooves. The parts straddle the gap between the two in a manner that feels quite natural, displaying onbeat and offbeat characteristics at different times, rather than clashing the way they often do in OA JPM. Unfortunately the only available video performance is the promotional video, which only shows the band playing in short, intermittent segments. This edit brings all of these fragments together. Most of the band moves with Movement A. Because the editing here is very quick, this video was analyzed using the looping technique discussed/presented in DVD video 1.5, not included here for reasons of space.

• **The Eagles – “Hotel California” (1975) – live performance in 1976.** This is basically a folk-rock song with reggae inflections: offbeat guitar with a bass part that emphasizes offbeats. Because the drums emphasize onbeats and a rock metric feel, this bass part sounds “syncopated,” rather than Jamaican. Nobody in the band moves with a Jamaican orientation.

• **Abba – “Tropical Loveland” (1976) – lip-synched TV appearance in 1976.** The melody of this song is totally sustained without any Jamaican rhythmic characteristics. The most pronounced Jamaican styled part is the bass. The bass player is also the only one who moves with a Jamaican orientation.

• **Peter Tosh & Mick Jagger – “Walk & Don’t Look Back” – promotional video (1978).** In comparison to Tosh’s performance, Jagger’s vocal rhythms and phrasings fight the groove, as do his body movements. When he dances in the saxophone solo, he looks very awkward in comparison to movements by the rest of the band; he doesn’t settle upon any one corporeal orientation for more than a couple of seconds before changing to a different set of moves and accents.

• **10cc – “Dreadlock Holiday” – promo video (1978).** This song is a cross between reggae/funk/rock and an overall “Caribbean” groove that works effectively on its own terms. In comparison to indigenous JPM, however, the reggae groove is erratic at best, which is mirrored by the band’s body orientations which also slip in and out of Move-

ments A (down-up in 8ths) and C (up-down in 8ths) with many Other Movements E. Quick camera edits required the use of looping to analyze this performance.

- **Blondie – “The Tide is High” – (1980) – live performance in Toronto in 1983.** This is a cover version of the Paragons’ 1967 rocksteady hit with a similar feel to the Beatles’ / Marmalade’s “Ob-La-Di, Ob-La-Da,” i.e., with very strongly stated beats. Not surprisingly, the band moves in Movement A, i.e., with a down-up orientation, but the feel is a non-Jamaican one, since all of the beats are louder and heavier than afterbeat accents.

- **Culture Club – “Do You Really Want To Hurt Me?” – (1983) – live performance in 1983.** This is also similar to the style of “The Tide Is High” – a JPM groove with a strongly stated, disco-like bass drum on all 4 beats. The bass part has many more reggae characteristics, however: offbeat accents and an irregular phrasing that provides a strong countermelody throughout the song.

- **Tracy Chapman, Bruce Springsteen, Peter Gabriel and Youssou N’Dour – “Get Up, Stand Up” – (1998) – Amnesty International Concert.** Each of these singers gets a solo spot. Their uncomfortableness with finding the groove with their bodies is similar to Mick Jagger’s difficulties in “Walk and Don’t Look Back” (above), however, although their vocal performances are more effectively in sync with the groove than Jagger’s approach. That being said, in comparison to Bob Marley’s or Peter Tosh’s fluid delivery of “Get Up, Stand Up” (from the Wailers’ original version on their 1974 *Burnin’* album), the phrasing and rhythmic emphasis of these four dabblers is rhythmically square and constrained, i.e., more ‘precise’ and rehearsed. (*See DVD video 1.3 for BMW’s performance of this song.*)

**** Chapter Seven ****

5.4 7 “EXPERT” ARTISTS (15:04)

In contrast to the artists in the Dabbler group, who created, as Jones (1988) put it, mostly “one-off, popularized versions of reggae” (105), the artists in what I call the Expert group “[came] up with a more convincing and organic fusion of Jamaican music

and rock” (ibid.). The artists in this expert group are British, and this fusion was strongly shaped by these musicians’ environmental influences as they were growing up. By the late seventies, Caribbean immigrants in Britain had grown to substantial numbers in many communities, with Jamaicans often constituting the majority of this group. These immigrants brought many of their cultural traditions with them, especially musical ones. Although imported recordings were the primary source for Jamaican music, by the mid-seventies some British-made recordings started to appear.²¹ Many of the artists making these recordings had grown up in multiracial areas of Britain where there was a high degree of sociocultural mingling between British youth and those of Caribbean descent. In the late seventies a number of bands formed which “reflected the unprecedented degree of rapport that had been built up between black and white youth. ... [T]heir music [was] premised on the experience of a whole generation of young people who had been to school together and shared the same streets, communities and leisure activities” (ibid.). This segment examines seven groups of this period whose music showed the influences of multiracial environments upon homemade JPM designed to meet the needs of these musicians and their local audiences: The Specials, The Selector, The Beat, UB40, Madness, The Clash and The Police.

- **The Specials – “Gangster” (1979) – live performance from *Punk and Its Aftershocks* (1980).** This early performance of the Specials’ first single shows all of the members moving reverse to the Jamaican orientation, i.e., using Movement C: up-down in 8ths.

²¹ See Bradley (2000), de Koningh & Cane-Honeysett (2003), de Koningh & Griffiths (2003), Hebdige (1974, 1982, 1990), May (1982) and Jones (1988) for detailed studies of this period. There were also a number of British artists in the seventies comprised strictly of members of Caribbean descent, such as Matumbi, Aswad, The Pyramids and Steel Pulse.

The sonic emphasis shows a Jamaican influence (strong afterbeats), but onbeats are more heavily accented.

- **The Specials – “Message To You Rudy” (1979), promo video and 1980 (?) appearance on BBC TV’s *Old Grey Whistle Test*.** These performances also include Jamaican musician Rico Rodriguez on trombone.²² In this song, afterbeats are much louder, and most of the band adopts Movement A (down-up in 8ths), although Movement C (up-down in 8ths) sometimes appears.
- **The Specials – “Too Much Too Young” (1979) – live performance from *Punk and Its Aftershocks* (1980).**
- **The Specials – “Guns of Navarone” (1979) – live performance from *Punk and Its Aftershocks* (1980).**
- **Madness – “One Step Beyond” (1979) – performance on *Beat Club* (German TV) 1979.**
- **Madness – “Night Boat To Cairo” promotional video (1979).**
- **Madness – “The Harder They Come ” (1992) on BBC TV’s *Top of the Pops*.**

Videos of The Selector and The Beat are difficult to obtain. The following three songs are available only in fragments,²³ but long enough to see that both bands favour Movement A (at least in the sections shown).²⁴ Each clip is presented in its entirety (with overlapping narration) and looped to facilitate studying each band's choreographic rhythms.

- **The Selector – “Three Minute Hero” (1979) on BBC TV *Two Tone Britain* (2004).**
- **The Selector – “On My Radio” (1979) on BBC TV *Top of the Pops*.**
- **The Beat – “Tears of a Clown” (1980) on BBC TV *Two Tone Britain* (2004).**

²² Rodriguez moved to England in 1961.

²³ These fragments are from *Two Tone Britain*, a 2004 BBC documentary.

²⁴ Much longer clips are necessary to establish these bands’ movement preferences throughout a song and over time (which can be ascertained with the other Expert groups).

Whereas the preceding bands were most successful in Britain, the final three bands in the Expert category were very popular both at home and abroad. The first, UB40, specialized in remakes of classic JPM hits and original songs that maintained a JPM style throughout. The final two, the Clash and The Police, rarely covered JPM hits, but instead used JPM techniques throughout their repertoire, often for only part of a song. The songs presented here are their earliest performances.

- **UB40 – “Food For Thought” (1980) on BBC TV *Top of the Pops*.** A U.K. hit. All of the band members display Jamaican corporeal orientations in this authentic-sounding rockers groove.

- **UB40 – “One in Ten” (1981).** A U.K. Top 10 hit. Many of UB40’s early songs utilized a rockers groove. Because of its similarity to the 4 disco pattern (but in 8), this groove is very easy to dance to by non-Jamaicans.

- **UB40 – “Red, Red Wine” (1983).** Their first international hit. Although onbeats in the song are strong, offbeats and backbeats (beats 2 and 4) have a Jamaican emphasis.

- **The Clash – “London Calling” (1979/1980).** An edit of two performances, the first in 1979 from *Punk and Its Aftershocks* (1980), the second from a 1980 American TV appearance. The heavy guitar ska groove is synchronized to Movement A: down-up in 8th notes. When the groove switches to a rock feel, the movement style changes accordingly.

- **The Clash – “Armageddon Time” (1979) from *The Concert for Kampuchea*.** In this reggae-style song, guitarist Joe Strummer utilizes both Movements A (down-up in 8ths) and B (down-up in 16ths). (“A” is subtle, however, and easier to see at a faster speed.)

- **The Clash – “Guns of Brixton” (1980) from a U.S. TV appearance.** When this rock-style song shifts to an instrumental section with a reggae offbeat guitar pattern, the band also shifts to Movement A.

- **The Police – “The Bed’s Too Big Without You” (1979) from *Punk and Its Aftershocks***

(1980). This song's pronounced reggae groove also includes all band members favouring Movement A (down-up in 8th notes).

- **The Police – “Walking on the Moon” (1980) in Hamburg on German TV.** This song also has a strong reggae-influenced groove. Sting appears to be making Movement C (up-down in 8th notes), but he is actually stepping on each beat and dipping down on the afterbeats, which is seen more clearly in the middle of the segment.

- **The Police – “De do do do, De da da da” (1980) promo video** This song has reggae/rockers style verses with a fast rock style chorus (with the main beat in the chorus double the tempo of the beat in the verse²⁵). In the verses guitarist Andy Summers makes Movement A, and in the chorus the band switch to other movements.

²⁵ The Police's shift from half-time to regular time (or regular time to double time) grooves — a trademark feature of many of their songs — was a substantial influence upon other Outsider Artists perceiving the bass drum drops as occurring on the third beat of the bar.

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B) VIDEO MATERIALS (PROGRAMS, FILMS, VIDEOS)

Note: Items with a bullet were analyzed and included in the statistical data for this study. Other items were viewed and analyzed but not included in statistics.

- All Stars of Reggae (members of Culture, Maxi Priest, Steel Pulse and Third World). 1999. (4 songs). [Commercially unreleased TV Broadcast]
- All You Need Is Love: #17. New Directions.* 1978. [TV Ontario Commercially unreleased TV broadcast].
- Althia & Donna. 198? "Uptown Rankin." Live concert. [Commercially unreleased TV Broadcast]
- *Aquarius (Reggae in England).* 1976. (BBC TV documentary on JPM in Britain, produced by Jeremy Marr.) [Commercially unreleased BBC TV Documentary].
- Aswad. 2002. "Shy Guy." *Top of the Pops.* [Commercially unreleased TV Broadcast]
- _____. Date unknown. "Shine." Promo Video. [Commercially unreleased TV Broadcast]
- *Before reggae hit the town.* 1990. U of California Extension Center for Media and Independent Learning. (Documentary on JFRM).
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- _____. 1966. "Matilda." Operan, Stockholm. [Commercially unreleased TV Broadcast]
- _____. 198?. "Banana Boat Song." Unknown TV Broadcast. [Commercially unreleased TV Broadcast]
- _____. 199?. "Matilda." Unknown TV Broadcast. [Commercially unreleased TV Broadcast]
- Bennett, Louise. 1995. *Poetry, talk and ting: an evening with Louise Bennett.* VHS tape filmed at Founder's College, York University, March 14, 1995. [Commercially unreleased, in York University, Toronto, Ontario library collection].
- Big Youth. 1982. "Ten Against One." (Live) [Commercially unreleased]
- Black Uhuru. 1980. Reggae Sunsplash (8 songs) [Commercially unreleased TV Broadcast]
- _____. 1981? Live at Rockpalast. (11 songs) [Commercially unreleased TV Broadcast]
- Bob Marley: A&E Biography.* [Commercially unreleased TV Broadcast]
- *Bob Marley and the Wailers — Live at the Rainbow (1977).* 1991. Produced by Scott Millaney. Island Visual Arts, 082 971-3. VHS. Universal Music. UPC 602498235973. DVD.
- *Bob Marley and the Wailers — The Bob Marley Story: Caribbean Nights (A Documentary on the Life of Bob Marley).* 1986. Produced by Anthony Wall and Nigel Finch, Directors: Jo Mendell and Charles Chabot. Island Visual Arts, 440-082 373-3. (VHS)
- Bob Marley and the Wailers: *Commercially Unreleased Video Footage* (Mixture of TV Broadcasts, TV Outtakes, Soundchecks, Rehearsals, Interviews), Dates indicate date of performance. [Public vs. Non-Public noted].
1973 (May 27). *The Sundown, Edmonton, England* - Concert (1 song). [Public]
1973 (October). *Capitol Recording Studio, Hollywood* - TV Rehearsals (38 songs).

- [Non-Public]
- 1976 (May 12). *Smile Jamaica, Jamaica* - Concert (2 songs). [Public]
- 1976 (May 24). *Stardust Club, Exeter, England* - Concert (7 songs). [Public]
- 1976 (June). *German TV* - TV Performance (lip-synch) (1 song). [Public]
- 1976 (June). *German TV* - Concert (1 song). [Public]
- 1978 (April 12). *One Love Peace Concert* - Concert (1 song). [Public]
1979. *Reggae Sunsplash, Jamaica* - Concert (1 song). [Public]
- 1979 (July 21). *Harvard Stadium, Boston, MA* - Concert (7 songs). [Public]
- 1979 (Nov. 3). *Ottawa Civic Centre, Ottawa, Canada* - Soundcheck/Rehearsal (4 songs). [Non-Public]
- 1979 (Nov. 13). *Uptown Theatre, Chicago* - Concert (9 songs). [Public]
- 1979 (Nov. 25). *Santa Barbara County Bowl, Santa Barbara, CA* - Concert (12 songs). [Public] (released officially in 2003).
- 1979 (Nov. 30). *Oakland Coliseum, Oakland, CA* - Concert (24 songs). [Public]
1980. *Tuff Gong Recording Studio, Kingston, Jamaica* - Rehearsal (7 songs). [Non-Public]
1980. *JBC TV, Kingston, Jamaica* - TV Performance (1 song). [Public]
1980. *New Zealand* - Concert (1 song). [Public]
- 1980 (Apr. 17). *Salisbury, Zimbabwe* - Concert (5 songs). [Public]
- 1980 (June 23). *Rockpalast, Dortmund, Germany* - Concert (34 songs). [Public]
- 1980 (Sept. 13). *Down South Studios, Miami* - Rehearsal (36 songs). [Non-Public]
- 1980 (Sept. 20). *Essex House, NYC* - TV Performance (1 song). [Public]
- 1981 (May 22). *The Wailers at Bob Marley's Funeral, Jamaica*. (2 songs). [Public]
- *Bob Marley in Memoriam*. 1991. Produced by Much Music, Toronto. [Commercially unreleased TV Broadcast]
 - *Bob Marley: Time Will Tell*. 1992. (Documentary available as Bonus Extra Feature on *Legend – The Best of Bob Marley and the Wailers*).
 - *Bop Girl Goes Calypso*. 1957. Features three songs by Lord Flea & His Calypsonians. [Unreleased commercially].
 - Brown, Dennis. 1974. "Money In My Pocket." On *Top of The Pops*. BBC TV [Commercially unreleased TV Broadcast]
 - _____. 1994. Unknown song. Reggae Japansplash. [Commercially unreleased TV Broadcast]
 - _____. 2004. *Dennis Brown & Friends – Inseparable*. (9 songs), with performances by John Holt, Gregory Isaacs, Freddie McGregor and Karen Smith). Music Video Distribution. UPC 805764009340. DVD.
 - _____. 1996. *Sunsplash* (2 songs). [Commercially unreleased TV Broadcast]
 - Burning Spear. 1981. *Live in Canada*. (2 songs) [Commercially unreleased]
 - _____. 2001. "African Postman." Reggae Summerjam.
 - _____. Date unknown. "Creation." *Chiemsee*. [Commercially unreleased TV Broadcast]
 - *Caribbean Crucible*. 1984. Produced by Penny Clarke, Directed by Dennis Marks, Third Eye Productions Ltd. for Channel Four in association with RM Arts. VHS.
 - *Caribbean Eye: Community Celebrations*. 1991. Banyan Television Ltd. (Documentary

- on Caribbean festivals, including Jamaican Jonkonnu and the Hussay festivals.)
- *Caribbean Nights* — see *Bob Marley and the Wailers — The Bob Marley Story: Caribbean Nights*.
- Classic Albums: Bob Marley & The Wailers — Catch a Fire. 2000. Eagle Rock. UPC 801213016693. DVD.
- Cliff, Jimmy. 1980s. "Reggae Nights." Promo Video. [Commercially unreleased]
- *Come A Long Way*. 1979. Documentary on Bob Marley and the Wailers 1979 tour of New Zealand. [Commercially unreleased TV Broadcast]
- Culture. Date unknown. "Addis Ababa." [Commercially unreleased TV Broadcast]
- *Dance and Human History – Choreometrics*. 1974. Written & Produced by Alan Lomax. University Park, PA: PennState Media Sales. VHS
- *Dancetime! 500 years of social dance. Vol 1: 15th to 19th Centuries*. Kentfield, CA: Dance time Publications, c. 1998. VHS
- *Deep Roots Music*. 1982. BBC Channel 4 six-part TV documentary. (featuring performances by The Skatalites, Scully Sims, National Dance Theatre of Jamaica, Louise Bennett, Jah Jerry Haines, Aston Thomas, Scully Robinson, Toots & the Maytals, Byron Lee & the Dragonaires, Jimmy Cliff, U-Roy, Mickey Simpson, Sir Lord Comic, Tommy McCook, Prince Buster, Millie Small, Count Machouki, Delroy Wilson, Little Wayne Smith, Delroy Wilson, Jackie Edwards, Stranger Cole, Johnnie Clarke, Jasper, Eric 'Monty' Morris, Count Ossie & the Mystical Revelation of Rastafari, Lee Perry, The Mighty Diamonds, Bob Marley & the Wailers, Sheila Hilton, Marcia Griffiths, Robert Wilson, Dennis Brown, Black Kush). Miribus Production. [Version used for study was an commercially unreleased TV broadcast, but due to be released in August 2007 by Music Video Distribution/ Channel 4 DVD]
- Dekker, Desmond. "Israelites" 'Live' in 1969. [Commercially unreleased TV broadcast]
- _____. 199? "Israelites" (Dance mix). [Commercially unreleased TV broadcast]
- _____. 1980. "Please Don't Bend." Promo video. [Commercially unreleased]
- *Dis Long Time Gal — A Tribute to Miss Lou*. 2004?. Creative Production and Training Centre, Kingston JA.
- *Drums of Dagbon, The*. 1984. Produced by Penny Clarke, Directed by Dennis Marks, Third Eye Productions Ltd. for Channel Four in association with RM Arts. VHS.
- Eek-a-mouse. 1982. "Ghetto Living" live at Reggae Sunsplash. [Commercially unreleased]
- _____. 1981. "Me Virgin Girl" Reggae Sunsplash. [Commercially unreleased]
- _____. Date unknown. 1 song live in the park (Amateur recording). [Commercially unreleased]
- _____. 2002. Live at Chiemsee (2 songs). [Commercially unreleased TV Broadcast]
- Ellis, Alton. 198?. Seven Live Songs. Amateur Videorecording. [Commercially unreleased]
- *Get Up Stand Up*. 1995. French Documentary on JPM by Bruno Blum. (53 minutes). Commercially unreleased TV Broadcast]
- *Harder they come, The*. 1973/2000. Island Visual Arts/Polygram Video, Rereleased on the Criterion Collection UPC 715515010825.
- Heartland Reggae. 1989. Palm Beach Entertainment. Music Video Distribution. UPC

784178853827. DVD. (Documentary of Concert in Jamaica with performances by Bob Marley & the Wailers, the I-Threes, Inner Circle, Peter Tosh, Judy Mowatt, Dennis Brown, U-Roy, Junior Tucker and Lloyd Parks.)
- Hibbert, Toots. Date unknown. "54-46." (live) [Commercially unreleased TV Broadcast]
 - _____. Date unknown. "Reggae got soul." [Commercially unreleased TV Broadcast]
 - _____. 1982. *Live at Rockpalast*. (9 songs) [Commercially unreleased TV Broadcast]
 - *History of Ska, The*. 199?. Produced by Much Music, Toronto. [Commercially unreleased TV Broadcast]
 - Inner Circle. 198? 2 songs on Arsenio Hall Show. [Commercially unreleased TV Broadcast]
 - _____. 1980s. 4 promo videos. [Commercially unreleased]
 - Isaacs, Gregory. 2003. *Live at The Rocket*. (16 songs). Music Video Distribution. UPC 649035101995. DVD.
 - _____. 2003. *Live in San Francisco*. (20 songs) Music Video Distribution. UPC 826258200357. DVD.
 - Israel Vibration. 1993. Israel Vibration in the Holyland. (15 songs). Music Video Distribution. UPC 022891013495 DVD.
 - _____. 2002. *Live at Chiemsee (Germany)*. (9 songs) [Commercially unreleased TV Broadcast]
 - *Jamaika Rum & Rocksteady*. 1998. (German language version of *Portrait of Jamaican Music*, without bonus tracks.) [Commercially unreleased TV Broadcast]
 - Jamaican Sunrise. 2003. Amateur live video. Performances by Johnny Clarke, Barrington Levy and Michael Rose.
 - *JVC/Smithsonian Folkways Video Anthology of Music & Dance of the Americas: Vol. 4 — The Caribbean*. 1995. Victor Company of Japan, Ltd. VHS.
 - *JVC/Smithsonian Folkways Video Anthology of Music & Dance of Africa, Tape 2. Liberia and Ghana* 1995. Victor Company of Japan, Ltd. VHS.
 - *Kwasi Dunyo Ghanaian Drumming Workshop*. 2006. from film shot by Len McCarthy of workshop presented at Carl Orff Canada National Conference 29 Apr 06.
 - *L.A. Reggae*. 1987. Episode featuring Ras Michael Band. Roger Steffens' TV Show. [Commercially unreleased TV Broadcast]
 - *Land of look behind, The*. 1982. Solo Man, Inc. / Subversive Cinema UPC 858964001157. DVD. (90 minute documentary on JPM in Jamaica, with reference to JPM; also covers Bob Marley's funeral in 1981 with performances by the Wailers band.)
 - *Legend – The Best of Bob Marley and the Wailers*. 2003. Island Def Jam Music Group / Universal Music. UPC 602498081082. DVD.
 - Levy, Barrington. Date unknown. "Everyday I love her just a little bit more" (live). [Commercially unreleased]
 - *Memoire du Peuple Noir, La: La Voix Jamaicaine*. 1979. [Commercially unreleased TV Broadcast] (French TV documentary, English audio with overdubbed French translation. History of JPM solely in terms of its roots in JFRM, Nyabinghi and Revival. Only footage of Dinki Mini (funeral) dance and complete two-segment Revival/Pukkumina ceremony.)

- Misty in Roots. 2001. 3 songs live at Chiemsee (Germany). [Commercially unreleased TV Broadcast]
- Mowatt, Judy. Date unknown. 2 songs. Reggae Sunsplash. [Commercially unreleased TV Broadcast]
- Mutabaruka. 1994. "Killin' " Reggae Sunsplash. [Commercially unreleased TV Broadcast]
- O'Connor, Sinead. 2005. 2 songs. *The Tonight Show*. [Commercially unreleased TV Broadcast]
- *One Love: The Bob Marley All-Star Tribute*. 2000. Palm Pictures. UPC 660200301620. DVD.
- Penn, Dawn. 2001. "Don't You Know." Reggae Summerjam.
- Perry, Lee. 2002. *In Concert – The Ultimate Alien*. (8 songs). Music Video Distributors. DVD.
- _____. 2005. Amateur video. (7 songs) [Commercially unreleased]
- Police, The. 1984. *Synchronicity Concert*. A&M Video/I.R.S. Video. VHS. Universal Music. UPC 602498310472. DVD.
- _____. 2003. *Every Breath You Take: The DVD*. A&M Records. Universal Music. UPC 606949364090. DVD.
- *Pocomania: A Little Madness*. London : BBC, 1968. VHS.
- *Portrait of Jamaican Music*. 1998. RFO Passage Productions. DVD (Documentary on Jamaican music, with a wide range of JFRM and JPM examples. Includes 1 hour of bonus uncut performances from a variety of JFRM and JPM artists.)
- *Punk and Its Aftershocks*. 1980. GRF, Munich: Studio K7 Video Release. VHS. (Documentary of the British rock/punk scene in the late seventies, featuring performances by the Sex Pistols, The Clash, Boomtown Rats, Spizzenergi, The Jam, Secret Affair, The Police, The Specials, The Selecter, Madness, Ian Dury, The Pretenders, Gary Numan and The Kinks.)
- Ranglin, Ernest. 2002. New Morning TV, Paris. (45 minute performance, 7 songs). [Commercially unreleased TV Broadcast]
- *Rebel Music: The Bob Marley Story*. 2001. Produced & Directed by Jeremy Marr. Island Def Jam Music Group. Palm Music. UPC 660200303723. DVD.
- *Reggae by Bus – Reggae Sunsplash II*. 1979. Performances by Burning Spear, Clancy Eccles, Bob Marley & the Wailers, Third World, Peter Tosh, [Commercially unreleased?]
- *Reggae In A Babylon*. 1978, released 2005. Odeon Entertainment. DVD.
- *Reggae! 1970*. (60 minute documentary by Horace Ove on the 1969 Wembley Reggae Festival, with performances by Black Faith, Bob & Marcia, Desmond Dekker, John Holt, the Maytals, Count Prince Miller, The Pioneers, The Pyramids and Millie Small.)
- *Reggae: The Story of Jamaican Music*. 2002. (3 x 60 minute series) BBC-TV. [Commercially unreleased TV Broadcast]
- *Reggae Movie, The*. 1978. DVD. Performances by Inner Circle and Third World.
- *Reggae Rockers*. 1990. Reggae Sunsplash. Music Video Distribution. UPC 026617950392. DVD. Performances by Dennis Brown, Marcia Griffiths, John Holt, Gregory Isaacs, Barrington Levy and Freddie McGregor.

- *Rockers*. 1977. Music Video Distributors. UPC 022891010821. DVD.
- *Rockschool*. 1984. WNET/New York in association with BBC-TV. [Commercially unreleased TV Broadcast] with performances by Black Uhuru, Dennis Bovell, Deirdre Cartwright, Sly Dunbar, Geoff Nicholls, Robbie Shakespeare and Henry Thomas.
- Romeo, Max. 198? Two live songs. [Commercially unreleased TV Broadcast]
- *Roots, rock, reggae: Inside the Jamaican Music Scene*. 1977. Produced & directed by Jeremy Marre. Harcourt Films. VHS./ Schanachie UPC 016351120298. DVD. Documentary on JPM scene in Jamaica in the mid-1970s.
- Rose, Michael. 198? *Live at Chiemsee (Germany)*. (4 songs) [Commercially unreleased TV Broadcast]
- *Session '88*. 1988. [Commercially unreleased TV Broadcast] (performances by Jimmy Cliff, Chrissie Hynde, Toots Hibbert, Ziggy Marley & the Melody Makers, Santana and Bunny Wailer.)
- Sister Carol. Date unknown. "Wild Thing." Promo Video. [Commercially unreleased TV Broadcast]
- The Skatalites. 1990. *Live at the Paradise Rock Club, Boston*. (50 minutes, 10 songs.) [Commercially unreleased TV Broadcast]
- _____. 1994. Unknown song. Conan O'Brian Show. [Commercially unreleased TV Broadcast]
- _____. 2003. 2 songs Live at Glastonbury. [Commercially unreleased TV Broadcast]
- Sly & Robbie. 198? Boops (here to go). 2 versions. [Commercially unreleased TV Broadcast]
- _____. 1985. "Hot You Hot Dub."
- Small, Millie. 198? "My Boy Lollipop." Internet source amateur video recording of live concert. [Commercially unreleased]
- *Splashin' the Palace*. 1984. Concert film of 1984 Reggae Sunsplash, with performances by King Sunny Ade, Aswad, Dennis Brown, Prince Buster, Musical Youth, Lloyd Parkes & We Are the People Band, Leroy Sibbles and the Skatalites. [Commercially unreleased TV Broadcast]
- *Spotlight on The Marleys*. 199?. (Bob Marley and the Wailers videos alternating with Ziggy Marley & The Melody Makers). Produced by Much Music, Toronto. [Commercially unreleased TV Broadcast]
- *Stand Up and Be Counted*. 2000. [Commercially unreleased TV Broadcast] (A history of protest music, focusing mostly upon folk and rock. Includes a performance of "Get Up, Stand Up" by Tracy Chapman, Peter Gabriel, Sting, Bruce Springsteen and Youssa D'Nour.)
- Steel Pulse. 1997. "Role Model." Keenan Wayans Show. [Commercially unreleased TV Broadcast]
- _____. Date unknown. *Live from the Archives*. (11 songs). DVD.
- *Stepping Razor Red X: The Peter Tosh Story*. 1992. Seville Pictures.
- *Stir It Up*. 1996. BBC TV. (Documentary on the history of JPM with a few rare performances by Theophilus Beckford, Lloyd Knibb, Lloyd Brevett and Hopeton Lewis).
- *Stonelove Sound System*. Unknown date. (Discovery Channel documentary on Jamaican Sound Systems, with performances by Horace Andy and Lone Ranger.

- *Studio One Story (DVD, CD & Book)*. 2002. London: Soul Jazz Records SJR CD/DVD68. Soul Jazz Records. Performances by Enid Cumberland, Alton Ellis and Lone Ranger.
 - Third World. Dates unknown. 2 songs. [Commercially unreleased TV Broadcast]
 - _____. Date unknown. 2 songs. Reggae Sunsplash. [Commercially unreleased TV Broadcast]
 - *This Is Ska!* 1964. Music Video Distributors. (Government-produced promotional film made for the 1964 World's Fair to promote ska. Features dance demonstration and over a dozen live performances.) VHS.
 - *Time Will Tell*. 1992 on *Legend – The Best of Bob Marley and the Wailers*. 2003. DVD. (Biography of Bob Marley.)
 - Toots & the Maytals. Date unknown. "Get Ready." [Commercially unreleased TV Broadcast]
 - Tosh, Peter (with Sly & Robbie). 1987. "Bush Doctor." Saturday Night Live. [Commercially unreleased TV Broadcast]
 - _____. 1976. *Live at Beacon Theater, NYC*. (6 songs). [Commercially unreleased]
 - *Two-Tone Britain*. 2004. BBC-TV. (Documentary on Two Tone bands in England in the late 1970s/early 1980s.) [Commercially unreleased TV Broadcast]
 - Wailer, Bunny. 2002? *Live at Chiemsee (Germany)*. [Commercially unreleased TV Broadcast]
 - Wailing Souls. Date unknown. "Shark Attack." (live) [Commercially unreleased TV Broadcast]
- Word, Sound and Power*. 1980, released 200?. Focused Audio. DVD. (Documentary on the Soul Survivor band, who were the premier Jamaican studio band in the 1970s.)

C) BOB MARLEY & WAILERS VIDEO MATERIALS

Non-Commercially Released Video Footage [Mixture of TV Broadcasts, TV Outtakes, Soundchecks, Rehearsals, Interviews]: (Dates indicate date of performance)

- 1973 (May 27). *The Sundown, Edmonton, England* - Concert (1 song). [Public]
- 1973 (October). *Capitol Recording Studio, Hollywood* - TV Rehearsals (38 songs). [Non-Public]
- 1976 (May 12). *Smile Jamaica, Jamaica* - Concert (2 songs). [Public]
- 1976 (May 24). *Stardust Club, Exeter, England* - Concert (7 songs). [Public]
- 1976 (June). *German TV* - TV Performance (lip-synch) (1 song). [Public]
- 1976 (June). *German TV* - Concert (1 song). [Public]
- 1978 (April 12). *One Love Peace Concert* - Concert (1 song). [Public]
1979. *Reggae Sunsplash, Jamaica* - Concert (1 song). [Public]
- 1979 (July 21). *Harvard Stadium, Boston, MA* - Concert (7 songs). [Public]
- 1979 (Nov. 3). *Ottawa Civic Centre, Ottawa, Canada* - Soundcheck/Rehearsal (4 songs). [Non-Public]
- 1979 (Nov. 13). *Uptown Theatre, Chicago* - Concert (9 songs). [Public]

- 1979 (Nov. 25). *Santa Barbara County Bowl, Santa Barbara, CA* - Concert (12 songs). [Public]
 1979 (Nov. 30). *Oakland Coliseum, Oakland, CA*. - Concert (24 songs). [Public]
 1980. *Tuff Gong Recording Studio, Kingston, Jamaica* - Rehearsal (7 songs). [Non-Public]
 1980. *JBC TV, Kingston, Jamaica* - TV Performance (1 song). [Public]
 1980. *New Zealand* - Concert (1 song). [Public]
 1980 (Apr. 17). *Salisbury, Zimbabwe* - Concert (5 songs). [Public]
 1980 (June 23). *Rockpalast, Dortmund, Germany* - Concert (34 songs). [Public]
 1980 (Sept. 13). *Down South Studios, Miami*. - Rehearsal (36 songs). [Non-Public]
 1980 (Sept. 20). *Essex House, NYC* - TV Performance (1 song). [Public]
 1981 (May 22). *The Wailers at Bob Marley's Funeral, Jamaica*. (2 songs). [Public]

Chronology of Commercially-Released Video Performances **(Dates indicate date of performance)**

- 1972 (possibly 1973). *The Sundown, Edmonton, England* - Concert (1 song) (from *Bob Marley and the Wailers — The Bob Marley Story: Caribbean Nights*). [Public]
 1973. BBC TV Show (live vocals with mimed tracks): *Grey Whistle Test*. - TV Performance (2 songs) (from *Bob Marley and the Wailers — The Bob Marley Story: Caribbean Nights*). [Public]
 1974. Recording "Lively Up Yourself" in Studio (from *Bob Marley and the Wailers — The Bob Marley Story: Caribbean Nights*). [Non-Public]
 mid-1970s (?). *Want More* - unknown concert (from *Legend — The Best of Bob Marley and the Wailers*). [Public]
 mid-1970s. *No More Trouble* - Studio (from *Time Will Tell*). [Non-Public]
 1976 (May 12). 1 song from *Smile Jamaica, Jamaica* - Concert (from *Bob Marley and the Wailers — The Bob Marley Story: Caribbean Nights*). [Public]
 1977. *Rainbow Theatre* (13 songs) - Concert (*Bob Marley and the Wailers — Live at the Rainbow*). [Public]
 1978. 1 song from *One Love Peace Concert* - Concert (from *Bob Marley in Memoriam*). [Public]
 late-1970s. *Satisfy my soul* - TV Lip synch (from *Legend — The Best of Bob Marley and the Wailers*). [Public]
 late-1970s. *I Shot the Sheriff* - California Concert (from *Time Will Tell*). [Public]
 late-1970s. *Lively up Yourself* - New Zealand Concert (from *Time Will Tell*). [Public]
 1979 (?). *Is this love?* (1 song) - Recording Studio Video (from *Bob Marley and the Wailers — The Bob Marley Story: Caribbean Nights*) & (from *Legend — The Best of Bob Marley and the Wailers*). [Public]
 1979 (?). *Could you be loved?* (1 song) - Recording Studio Vocal overdub (from *Legend — The Best of Bob Marley and the Wailers*). [Non-Public]
 1979 (?). *No woman no cry* Unknown Outdoor Concert (from *Bob Marley and the Wailers — The Bob Marley Story: Caribbean Nights*). [Public]
 1980 (?). *Redemption Song* - TV Performance (from *Time Will Tell*). [Public]
 1980 (Apr. 17). *Salisbury, Zimbabwe* - Concert (2 songs) (from *Bob Marley and the*

REFERENCE LIST: D) BMW SONGS ANALYZED E) 111 NON-BMW JPM ARTISTS & SONGS ANALYZED 698

Wailers — The Bob Marley Story: Caribbean Nights) & (from *Time Will Tell*). [Public]
1980. *Comin' in from the cold* - Marley solo - Performed for film (from *Time Will Tell*). [Public]
1980 (Sept). *New York City*. (2 songs)- Concert (from *Time Will Tell*). [Public]

D) BOB MARLEY & WAILERS 66 SONGS ANALYZED IN 227 PERFORMANCES

Africa Unite (4 vsns)	Is this love? (3 vsns)	Running away (8 vsns)
All on board, Jah-Jah children	Jah live (2 vsns)	Satisfy my soul
Ambush in the night (2 vsns)	Jammin' (9 vsns)	Slave Driver (2 vsns)
Bad Card (3 vsns)	Kaya	So Jah she
Burnin' & Lootin' (3 vsns)	Kinky Reggae (2 vsns)	So much trouble (3 vsns)
Comin' in from the cold (4 vsns)	Lively up yourself (10 vsns)	Stir it up (3 vsns)
Concrete Jungle (5 vsns)	Marley chant (4 vsns)	Stop that train
Could you be loved (5 vsns)	Midnight Ravers (6 vsns)	Sun is shining (2 vsns)
Crazy Baldhead (6 vsns)	Minor riff Jam (untitled)	Them belly full (3 vsns)
Duppy Conqueror (8 vsns)	Natty Dread (4 vsns)	Trenchtown Rock (4 vsns)
Exodus (8 vsns)	Natty Dread rides again	Unknown song #1
Fly away home	Natural Mystic (4 vsns)	Unknown song #2
Forever loving Jah (2 vsns)	Night shift	Unknown song #3
Get up stand up (8 vsns)	No more trouble (6 vsns)	Unknown song #4
Heathen (4 vsns)	No Woman no Cry (9 vsns)	Unknown song #5
High society (You have no friends in)	One drop (2 vsns)	Wake up and live (3 vsns)
How quick they have to cry (?)	Pimper's Paradise	Want more (3 vsns)
I shot the sherrif (8 vsns)	Positive Vibration (7 vsns)	War (7 vsns)
I'm steppin' out of Babylon in New Jerusalem (reggae)	Put it On	Work (3 vsns)
	Rastaman Chant (5 vsns)	You can't blame the youth
	Real Good Time (3 vsns)	Zimbabwe (6 vsns)
	Rebel Music (3 vsns)	Zion Train (3 vsns)
	Redemption song (4 vsns)	
	Revolution	
	Roots, rock, reggae (3 vsns)	

E) 111 NON-BMW JPM ARTISTS AND SONGS ANALYZED

Absyssinians – “Satta amassagana,” “He rules us all”	Belafonte, Harry – “Banana Boat Song,” “Jamaica Farewell,” “Matilda” (2 vsn)
Althea & Donna – “Uptown top rankin”	Bennett, Louise – “Chi-chi Bud O,” “Dis long time gal,” “I man banya,” “Judy Drowned” (2 vsns), “Oh mana hebe Lord,” “Rocky, Rocky Road”
Andy, Bob – “Young, Gifted & Black”	Big Youth – “Ten against one,” 2 Unknown Songs, “S90 Skank”
Andy, Horace – “Cuss, cuss “	Black Kush – “If you can't you won't”
Aswad – “Jah Wonderful,” “Roots Rockin,” “Shine,” “Unknown Song,” “Shy Guy,”	
Barrett, Aston – “No more trouble”	

Black Uhuru – "Abortion" (2 vsns), "Don't show I a T," "General Penitentiary" (2 vsns), "Guess who's coming to dinner" (4 vsns), "Happiness," "I Love King Selassie," "Plastic Smile" (2 vsns), "Puff She Puff," "Push, push" (4 vsns), "Shine eye Gal," "Sinsemilla," "Sponji Reggae," "The whole world is Africa" (3 vsns), "What I'm longing for is some happiness," "You gotta," "Youth of Eglinton"

Blues Busters, The – "I don't know"

Boothe, Ken – "The Train is coming"

Bovell, Dennis – 2 Bass patterns, 2 Drum patterns, Guitar pattern

Brevett, Lloyd – "Easy Snappin' ," Latin groove

Brown, Dennis – "Another chance," "Autumn Leaves," "Don't make me blue," "Go back in Africa," "I can't stand it," "I love this little girl of mine," "If you wanna live," "Inseparable," Intro music, "Love has found its way," "Love's got a hold on me," "Money in my pocket" (2 vsns), "No man's an island," "Papa John," "Promised Land" (3 vsns), "Raggamuffin," "Revolution," "Sea of love," "Should I put my trust in you," "Silhouettes," "Stop fighting," "The way we were," 2 Unknown Songs, "Whip them Jah," "Wild Fire," "Will you give it all up for me?," "Wine & Roses ," "Wolf & Leopard," "You don't know what it means to be loved"

Brown, Hugh – Unknown Song

Burning Spear – "African Postman," "Creation," "Great Men," "I will call," "Jah is my driver," "Jah no dead," "Jah-Jah is I eyesight," "Slavery," "Slavery days," 3 Unknown Songs

Charmers, The – "So Marie"

Cimaroon – Unknown Song

Clarke, Johnnie – "Abby can cook" (?), "Crazy Baldheads," "Jah, Jah," "On that day when Jah-jah come," "Shalemalea,"

"Simmer Down"

Cliff, Jimmy – "Fire," "Love me," "Many Rivers To Cross," "Reggae night," "The harder they come" (3 vsns), "Wanted man," "You can get it if you really want," "From the beginning," "King of kings," "One-eyed Jacks," "You are so wrong," "Forward we go"

Cole, Stranger – "Rough 'n' Tough"

Collins, Dave & Ansell – "Double Barrell"

Count Machouki – 3 Unknown Songs

Count Ossie & the Mystical Revelation of Rastafari – Drum piece, Unknown Song

Count Owen – "Matilda" (2 vsns)

Culture – "Addis Abbaba," "Exodus," "Get up stand up," "Jammin' ," "Lively up yourself," "When the two sevens Collide"

Cumberland, Enid – "If you didn't love me dear"

Dekker, Desmond – "(Poor Me) Israelites" (3 vsns), "Please don't bend," "You can get it if you really want"

Dowe, Brent – "Girl I've got a date," Reggae bass pattern

Dr. Alimantado – "You're disturbing my life"

Dunbar, Sly – "Heart made of stone" (3 vsns)

Eccles, Clancy – "Freedom" (2 vsns)

Edwards, Jackie – "See Your Face," "Whenever I'm near you," "You're a bad bad boy"

Eek-a-mouse – "Ghetto living," Improvisations, "Me virgin girl" (?), "Rude Boy Jamaican," Unknown Song, "Wild like a tiger"

Ellis, Alton – "Baby I love ya," "Breaking up is hard to do," "Girl I've Got a date," "I feel stronger, stronger than the day before," "I'm just a guy," "I'm Still in love with you, girl" (2 vsns), Rocksteady offbeat & bass part, Ska bass line & piano part, "You've made me so very happy"

Gladiators – "Jah hear me when I cry"

- Gordon, Patrick** – "I'm in a dancin' mood," "On the beach," "Simmer down," "Turn your lamps down low"
- Griffiths, Marcia** – "Steppin' out of Babylon" (2 vsns)
- Haines, Jay Jerry** – "Hold 'em Joe," "Babylon gone," "Clap your tiny hands," "Jersey Bounce," "Rasta my soul"
- Heptones** – "Play on, Mr. Music"
- Hibbert, Toots** – "54-46," "Careless Ethiopians," "Country Roads," "Get up, Stand up (?) (It's growing)," "I know we can make it," "Lively up yourself," "Missing you," "Monkey Man," "Never get weary," "No difference here," "Pressure Drop," "Reggae got soul," "Send a weekend"
- Higgs, Joe** – "There's a reward for me" (2 vsns)
- Hilton, Sheila** – "The wise man build his houses on the rock"
- Hinds, Justin** – "The higher the monkey climbs"
- Holt, John** – "Ali Baba," "I want a love I can feel," "If I were a carpenter" (2 vsns), "Sea of love," "Wine & Roses," "Wild Fire"
- Inner Circle** – "Bad boys" (2 vsns), Bass groove, "Forward ever" (2 vsns), "Games people play," "I'm a natty," "It was all night," "Love is a drug," "Peace Treaty," "Summer Jammin' ," "Sweat" (4 vns), "Tired fe lick week," Unknown Song, "What ever happened to my garden of black roses?"
- Isaacs, Gregory** – "A rich man's heaven," "All I've had is love" (2 vsns), "I can't live my life alone," "I don't wanna be lonely tonight" (2 vsns), "I love the way you move me, I love ya (?)", "If you want to be my number one" (2 vsns), "I'm a leaving out of Babylon" (2 vsns), 3 Instrumentals, "Meet me at the corner," "Mr. Brown," "New love," "Night nurse," "Now that my love is overdue" (2 vsns), "Oh what a feeling," "Party in the slum," "Private Beach party," "Raggamuffin," "Rumours of war" (2 vsns), "Sad to know," "She's the only remedy" (?), "Slave Master," "Thank you" (3 vsns), "The more them get it," "Turn me on" (2 vsns), 4 Unknown Songs, "Wine & Roses," "You're my lover," "Will you give it all up for me?"
- Israel Vibration** – "Ball of fire," "Exploitation," "Frontier" (?), "Get up & go," "I know we naugh go bow down low," "Jah-jah warrior, what you gonna do?," "Jailhouse Rockin' ," "New wave," "One day got to be payday," "Racial discrimination," "Red eyes," "Standing on the corner," "Time to pay the piper," Unknown Song, "Vulture," "We all gonna sing the same song," "We de rasta," "What you gonna do" (?), "Why Worry?"
- I-Threes** – "Slave Greed," "Steppin' on to Babylon"
- Jasper** – "Life in a jailhouse"
- Johnson, Linton Kwesi** – "Great Insohrechshan," Unknown Song
- Kay, Janet** – Unknown Song
- Kiddus-I** – "Graduation in Zion"
- King Jammy** – Mixing a dub version
- King Stitt** – "Fire Corner"
- Knibb, Lloyd** – "Easy Snappin' ," Latin groove, Reggae groove, Rocksteady groove, Ska groove
- Lee, Byron & Dragonaires** – "One-eyed Jacks," "From the beginning," "I don't know," "Jamaica Ska," "King of kings," "Rough 'n' Tough," "Sammy Dead-O," "She will never let you down," "So Marie," "Wash, Wash," "You are so wrong"
- Legends Mento Band, The** – Unknown Song
- Lepke, Lui** – Unknown Song
- Levy, Barrington** – "Everyday I love her just a little bit more," "I'm too experienced," "Prison Oval," "Teach the Youth," 3 Unknown Songs

- Lewin, Olive** – “Come back Liza,” “Hill & Gully”
- Lewis, Alva** – “No more trouble”
- Lindo, Wire** – “No more trouble”
- Lloyd Parkes & the We People Band** – “Redemption song”
- Lone Ranger** – “Cuss, cuss,” Unknown Song
- Lord Flea & his Calypsonians** – “Go Calypso,” “This Be-Bop music,” Unknown Song
- Magnus** – “Weya Wheel and Turn Me” (2 vsns)
- Marley, Rita** – “Precious World,” “That's the way Jah-Jah planned it”
- Matumbi** – “After tonight”
- McCook, Tommy** – 2 Unknown Songs
- McGregor, Freddie** – “Come a long way” (?), “Don't go (Please stay),” “I'll wait for you” (2 vsns), “Love has found its way,” “Loving papa,” “Prophecy,” “Raggamuffin,” “Sea of love,” “So many people want to see me stop loving you,” “Wine & Roses,”
- Mighty Diamonds** – “I will pray unto thee O Jah,” “It's been a long time,” “When the right time comes”
- Miller, Jacob** – “Tenement Yard”
- Minnott, Sugar** – Unknown Song, “We've got a good thing goin' ”
- Misty in Roots** – “Musi u Tunya,” “Music Suite,” “Slavery days”
- Morgan, Derrick** – “Forward March”
- Morris, Eric 'Monty'** – “Sammy Dead-O”
- Mowatt, Judy** – “Black woman” (2 vsns), “Many are called, few are chosen”
- Murvin, Junior** – “Play on, Mr. Music”
- Mutabaruka** – “Killin' ,” Unknown Song
- Nettleford, Rex** – Trumping movement
- Penn, Dawn** – “Don't you know”
- Perry, Lee** – “Come Go With Lee,” “Doctor Dick,” Dub Intro, “French Connection,” “From My Secret Laboratory,” “Heads Of Government,” “I am a madman” (2 vsns), “I am the Ganja man,” “Introducing Myself,” “Jungle Lion,” “Jungle Safari,” “People Funny Boy,” “Rub And Squeeze,” “Station Underground News,” “Talkin' about.....,” “The Thanks We Get,” “Tighten Up,”
- Prince Buster** – “Wash, Wash,” “Al Capone”
- Ranglin, Ernest** – “54-46,” “Ball of fire,” “Below the Baseline,” “Gotcha,” “Pass the Kutchie,” “Rock it With Me / Way Back When,” “Surfin' ,” “The Bubbler,” “My Boy Lollipop,” Unknown Song
- Ras Michael Band** – “Ethiopia,” “Satta amassagana”
- Rodriguez, Rico** – “Rocksteady,” Unknown song
- Romeo, Max** – “Jamaican Ska,” “Sammy Dead Oh”
- Rose, Michael** – “Abortion,” “Guess who's coming to dinner,” “How you fi do that,” “Solidarity,” “Too short temper”
- Roy & Yvonne** – “Two Roads Before Me”
- Shakespeare, Robbie** – 2 Bass patterns
- Shirley, Roy** – “Rocksteady”
- Sibbles, Leroy** – “Rock & Come on,” “Rock steady party”
- Simpson, Mickey** – “Unknown Song”
- Sims, Scully** – “Hold 'em Joe,” “Babylon gone,” Buru drumming, “Clap your tiny hands,” Drum groove, “Jersey Bounce,” “My baby has left me,” “Rasta my soul”
- Sir Lord Comic** – 3 Unknown Songs
- Sister Carol** – “Wild Thing”
- Skatalites** – “Good gravy” (?), “Guns of Navaronne” (2 vsns), “I' in a dancin' mood” (2 vsns), “Man in the street” (4 vsns), “On the beach,” “Peanut Vendor,” “Rockfort Rock,” “Simmer down,” “Ska goes Latin,” “Ska-boss/ Ska-Ba,” “Turn your lamps down low,”
- 6 Unknown Songs

Sly & Robbie – “Boops (here to go)” (2 vsns), “General Penitentiary,” “Guess who’s coming to dinner,” “Hot you hot dub”
Small, Millie – “My boy Lollipop” (2 vsns), Unknown Song
Smith, Karen – “Sea of love”
Smith, Little Wayne – “I don’t wanna be the one”
Steel Pulse – “Angel/Fire” (?), “Blues Dance Raid” (2 vsns), “Exodus,” “Get up stand up,” “I found a girlfriend,” “Jammin’,” “Ku Klux Klan,” “Life without music,” “Lively up yourself,” “New Star,” “Role model,” “Slow dance” (?), “State of emergency,” “Steppin’ up, here comes Rastaman,” “Taxi driver,” Unknown song,
T. Miller Band, The – “Linstead Market,” Unknown Song
Talisman – “Never give up”
Third World – “96 degrees in the shade” (3 vsns), “Clown in a circus,” “Exodus,” “Gentle Summer Day,” “Get up stand up,” “I see Jah glory,” Instrumental, “Irie love,” “Jammin’,” “Lively up yourself,” “Now that we’ve found love” (2 vsns), “Rastaman chant (instrumental),” “Reggae Ambassador,” “Talk To me,” “Tee-lay” (??), “Third world man,” Unknown Song
Thomas, Nicky – “We who are young” (?)
Thompson, Carroll – Unknown Song
Thornton, Eddie ‘Tan Tan’ – “Little Miss Muffett”
Toots & the Maytals – “54-46,” “Treat me

bad,” “She will never let you down,” “Get ready,” “Sweet & Dandy”
Tosh, Peter – “400 years” (2 vsns), “African” (3 vsns), “African Postman,” “Buckingham Palace,” “Burial,” “Get up stand up” (3 vsns), “Igziabeher,” “It’s time I start all over,” “Legalize it” (3 vsns), “Not gonna give it up,” “Start all over,” “Stepping Razor” (2 vsns), “Bush doctor,” “Equal rights,” “Fire & fire,” “Jah is my keeper,” “Johnny B. Goode,” “Light up your spliff” (2 vsns), “Rap about Jah,” “Walk and don’t look back” (2 vsns), “You are not lame,” “You can’t blame the youth”
Tucker, Junior – “Enjoy yourself”
U-Roy – “I am a Rastaman,” “Natty don’t fear,” “Our new-found love” (?), “Soul rebel,” 2 Unknown Songs, “Wake the town,” “Wear you to the ball”
Wailer, Bunny – “Ball Room Floor,” “Concrete Jungle,” “Hypocrites,” “Jailhouse,” “Keep on movin’,” “One Love,” “Predominate,” “Rise & Shine,” “Rude Boy,” “Simmer down,” “Toughest,” Unknown song, “Your roots, your roots,” “Slave driver”
Wailers Band – “Fly away home,” “Natty Dread”
Wailing Souls – “Shark Attack”
Washington, Delroy – “Jah Wonderful”
Wilson, Delroy – “Ain’t that peculiar,” “Have you ever been in love?,” “I’m in a dancin’ mood”

F) 65 OUTSIDER ARTISTS AND SONGS ANALYZED

10 cc – “Dreadlock holiday” (3 vsns)
Abba – “Tropical Loveland”
Adams, Bryan – “Reggae Christmas”
Africa Unite – Unknown song
Badu, Erykah – “No woman, no cry,” “One love” (2 vsns), “No more trouble/Them Belly Full,” “No woman, no cry”

Beat, The – “Tears of a clown”
Bellamy Brothers – “Reggae cowboy”
Big Mountain – “Baby I love your way”
Big Sugar – “Turn the lights”
Blondie – “The Tide Is high” (3 vsns)
Browne, Jackson – “When the wind is singing freedom”

- Bundrick, John** – Organ groove, guitar part, "Stir it up"
- Busta Rhymes** – "One love," "Rastaman chant" (2 vsns)
- Chapman, Tracy** – "One love" (2 vsns), "Get up, Stand up" (2 vsns), "Three Little Birds," "Trenchtown Rock"
- Clapton, Eric** – "Get up, Stand up," "I shot the sheriff" (4 vsns)
- D'Nour, Youssa** – "Get up, Stand up" (2 vsns)
- Dr. John** – "One love" (2 vsns)
- Drury, Ian** – "Drip Fed Fred"
- Eagles, The** – "Hotel California" (4 vsns)
- Eve** – "Rat Race" (2 vsns), "One love"
- Fat Boys** – "Hardcore Reggae"
- Gabriel, Peter** – "Get up, Stand up" (2 vsns)
- Gouldman, Graham** (of 10 cc) – "Dreadlock holiday"
- Hagen, Nina** – "African Reggae" (2 vsns)
- Harper, Ben** – "Get up Stand up" (2 vsns), "One love" (2 vsns)
- Hill, Lauryn** – "One love," "Redemption song" (2 vsns), "Turn your lights down low"
- Hynde, Chrissie** – "One love" (2 vsns), "Stepping Razor," "The harder they come" (2 vsns), "Wait in vain"
- Jagger, Mick** – "Walk and don't look back" (2 vsns)
- Jardine, Al** – "Master Blaster"
- Johnstone, Bruce** – "Master Blaster"
- Jones, Grace** – "The harder they come"
- Laid Back** – "Sunshine reggae"
- Madness** – "Baggy Trousers," "Grey day," "My girl," "Night boat to Cairo," "One step beyond," "Prince" (2 vsns), "Swan Lake," "The harder they come," "Drip Fed Fred"
- Marmalade** – "Ob-la-di, Ob-la-da" (2 vsns)
- Mason, Nick** – "Get up, Stand up"
- McCartney, Paul & Wings** – "C Moon" (5 vsns), "Live & Let Die" (5 vsns)
- Clash, The** – "Armagideon Time," "Guns of Brixton" (3 vsns), "London Calling" (5 vsns), "Police & Thieves" (4 vsns), 2 Unknown Songs
- Collins, Phil** – "I shot the sheriff"
- Costello, Elvis** – "Watching the detectives" (3 vsns)
- Culture Club** – "Do you really want to hurt me?" (6 vsn)
- Men At Work** – "Down Under" (3 vsns), "It's a mistake" (3 vsns)
- Mungo Jerry** – "In the summertime" (3 vsns)
- Nash, Johnny** – "Hold me tight," "I can see clearly now" (2 vsns), "Stir it up," "Tears on my pillow"
- Neville brother (unknown)** – "The harder they come"
- Neville, Aaron** – "The harder they come"
- Palmer, Robert** – "I'll be your baby tonight"
- Perkins, Wayne** – Reggae groove, "Rock it baby" (slide part)
- Police, The** – "The Bed's too big without you" (2 vsns), "Message in a bottle," "Walking on the moon" (4 vsns)
- Preston, Billy** – "Master Blaster"
- Queen Latifah** – "One love" (2 vsns)
- Robinson, Chris** – "Kinky Reggae," "One love"
- Ronstadt, Linda** – "Give One Heart"
- Rucker, Darius** – "One love" (2 vsns), "War"
- Selector** – "Murder," "On my radio," "3 minute hero," "Too much pressure"
- Specials, The** – "Gangster" (2 vsns), "Guns of Navaronne," "Hey little rich girl," "It's up to you," "Message to you Rudy," "Rude boys out of jail," Rudies," "Too hot," "Too much too young" (2 vsns)
- Springsteen, Bruce** – "Get up, Stand up" (3 vsns)
- Staple Singers, The** – "I'll take you there"
- Steely Dan** – "Haitian Divorce"

Sting – “Get up, Stand up”

Sublime – “40 oz to freedom”

UB 40 – “Out of tin,” “Don't do the crime,” “Dubmobile,” “I've got mine,” “Love is all alright,” “One in Ten,” “Politician,” “Present arms,” “Red red wine” (3 vsns), “Tyler,” “Roots & Culture”

War – “Why can't we be friends?”

Waters, Roger – “Get up, Stand up”

Wonder, Stevie – “Master Blaster” (3 vsns)

Wood, Ron – “Get up stand up,” “Is this love?,” “Jammin’,” “Natty dread,” “Natty Dread rides again,” “Roots, rock, reggae”