dyad of author/reader or the imitative pattern of record/listener or television program/viewer. The technical revolution now provides us with possibilities for communication moving every which way all around the world, enormously extending the potential for truly meaningful and significant conversations. We may thus find ourselves able to join hands with previously unsuspected allies: most particularly and most happily, the musicians themselves. But there is much to do.

At the 1992 Festival of the Pacific Arts on the island of Rarotonga in the Cook Islands there was a pre-festival conference that I was allowed to attend as observer. One of the participants was an elegant, dignified, and gentle-spoken senior woman from American Samoa who spoke more or less as follows (this is not verbatim, but a summary from my notes of what she said):

> I was born and brought up in American Samoa, but I went to the United States for my advanced education, and I am now back home working as an educator in my turn. During my undergraduate and graduate career in several American universities, I took many art appreciation courses, some in visual and some in the musical arts, and I loved them. But now that I am back home, I realize that I never once heard any music other than European in any one of my classes. And now I am president of the Community College in American Samoa, the only institution of higher education there, and I hope that someday I will find a way to learn about the music of the Pacific Islands.

And I found myself both embarrassed and ashamed. I hardly knew where to look, especially since I don't think things are the least bit better now than when she was receiving her aesthetic "education." Think back to those devastating budget figures—88 percent for European music, 12 percent for the rest of the world—and this in a time when "multi-culturalism" is the watchword and hardly anybody knows what it means. Can't we take hold of that multi-cultural idea and make a real commitment to it, bring it to life, get it moving? As a discipline? As an organization? Suppose we took as a simple common purpose to try to see to it that no American can ever again go through their education without hearing just *one* piece of music from a Pacific Island, or China—Africa—Alaska—the other places of the world we all live in together? Could we not work up a nationwide plan for doing that very simple thing, so that nobody ever again can say what that college president said? Or could we not just do it, each one of us seeing to our own part in our own place? I think a lot of people would like that idea and would support it. Couldn't we at least give it a try? It would be a beginning—and quite possibly a lot more.

Rhythm, Rhyme, and Rhetoric in the Music of Public Enemy

ROBERT WALSER   UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
                                         AT LOS ANGELES

"My job is to write shocking lyrics that will wake people up," said Chuck D, when asked about his goals as leader of the rap group Public Enemy (Dery 1990:94).[1] In less than fifteen years, rap music has grown from the local performance practices of a Bronx subculture to a multi-billion-dollar industry which mediates a music made and heard around the world. And since 1988, Chuck D's lyrics have been at the center of many of the controversies surrounding hip hop culture, awakening, energizing, and unsettling fans and critics. They have helped to make Public Enemy one of the most successful and influential groups in the history of rap, and Chuck D has been accepted by many people as an important spokesperson for the hip hop community, and even for African Americans more generally.[2]

Chuck D's message exceeds the literal meaning of his lyrics, however; only the musical aspects of rap can invest his words with the affective force that will make people want to wake up or get them upset enough to call for censorship. Yet despite widespread debates over the meanings and significance of rap, its musical elements have largely escaped all but the most superficial discussion. The infamous *Newsweek* travesty of hip hop culture, for example (Adler et al. 1990), took it for granted that rap couldn't be discussed as music and mentioned only the thumping power of the bass and the noisiness of everything else.[3] More sympathetic and sophisticated analysts typically concentrate on demonstrating rap's verbal complexity and the cultural significance of its lyrics (see, for example, Wheeler 1991; Keyes 1984). But the lyrics and reception of rap cannot be detached from the music. Even though many rappers and fans stress the primacy of the message delivered by the lyrics, some, like pioneering rapper Melle Mel, argue that the instrumental parts are actually more important than the rap because they

create the mood, set the beat, and prompt the engagement (Keyes 1991:199). Chuck D's words would not have reached millions of people as poetry or political commentary; it is the music of Public Enemy that gains them access to channels of mass distribution and underpins their power and credibility. Yet that music has scarcely been mentioned in critical debates over the meanings and importance of hip hop culture.[4]

A number of fine ethnographic and cultural studies have begun to map the social meanings of rap music, stressing its effectiveness in encouraging self-esteem (Berry 1990), in building "a sense of community" and serving as "cultural glue" (Rose 1994), in promoting "interactive dynamics" and participation (Slovenz 1988, Keyes 1991). Tricia Rose, in particular, has combined ethnographic methods with the theoretical perspectives of cultural studies to produce sophisticated readings of rap as a set of cultural practices (1989, 1990, 1991, 1994). These studies highlight the fact that ethnography in industrial societies poses special difficulties: there is no single "local" to be studied; audiences are diverse and linked by mass mediation; the ethnographer may be included in the target audience of a popular form; the ethnographer's "subjects" may already, as in the case of hip hop, be cultural critics themselves, speaking through rap lyrics, published interviews, and commentary in books (such as Eure and Spady 1991) and magazines (such as *The Source: The Magazine of Hip-Hop Music, Culture, and Politics*).

The most successful ethnographies of hip hop music have been conducted by African American women. As Cheryl Keyes explains, when interviewing the participants in what is primarily a black, male, commercially mediated expressive culture, there are considerable advantages to being an insider with respect to race and an outsider with respect to gender and the music industry (1991:19–20). Thus these studies show how inadequate an etic/emic distinction is to the task of theorizing ethnography in contemporary societies. Their primary achievement, however, is to explain various aspects of a richly nuanced and powerfully coherent hip hop culture. My concern will be with building upon this work in order to analyze the music of hip hop in more depth. To a certain extent, my goal is to contribute specific discussion of musical details in order to corroborate and amplify their arguments. Public Enemy's status in the hip hop community makes their music especially suitable for a case study.

Yes, but *is* it Music?

If music is missing from most discussions of rap, it is partly because so many people do not recognize rap *as* music. John Blacking could casually report that "in Venda, rhythmically recited verse is music, and classed as

'song'" (1982:18), but similar performances within a more diverse and contestatory society such as the United States may serve as grounds for tense, revealing debates over categories and definitions. Classical musicians and critics often see themselves as guardians of musical culture, and for most of them hip hop is beneath notice, barely worth dismissing. But popular musicians, too—from heavy metal (Lita Ford, Ozzy Osbourne) to jazz (Wynton Marsalis, Henry Threadgill, Al DiMeola)—have characterized rap as simply not constituting "music" (Considine 1992:41).[5]

The musicians who have wanted to deny rap the status of "music" differ greatly in the sounds they produce, yet all share certain fundamental assumptions about what music is: it is based on melody and harmony; it depends on a laborious process of learning to sing or to use a "musical instrument"; it is produced when human beings cause objects to vibrate. People who believe deeply in these premises are sometimes offended by the very idea of rap. For rappers don't "sing" in the usual sense of that word, and hip hop's reliance on sampling, whereby producers extract, manipulate, and reassemble bits of music from many sources, means that the people who make it don't play "musical instruments," in the usual sense of that term; instead, they use sophisticated studio equipment to manipulate sound, often the sounds of others playing traditional instruments.

In many ways, there is nothing new about criticisms of rap that spring from such assumptions, and the debate over rap's status as music should be seen in the light of a centuries-old tradition of cultural authorities and rival musicians missing the point of black music, popular music, rhythmic music, or timbrally complex music, and concluding that such musics are "primitive." The situation is complicated by the recent classicization of jazz, which marks a moment when many African American musicians themselves work to interpret and legitimate their music in terms adopted from the musical and analytical priorities of European concert music (see Walser 1993a and Tomlinsen 1992). Arguments over definitions may seem pedantic and trivial, but in the case of cultural practices as influential as jazz or hip hop, such debates are of great importance because they shape public and official perception of cultural prestige, which in turn affects social prestige, upon which struggles over resources often depend.[6] If we regard a group of people as possessing "music" or, more broadly, "culture," we are more likely to see them as human beings like ourselves and to think them worthy of respect and fair treatment. At issue is the power to define and represent, upon which most social contestation hinges. Widespread debates over rap's status as music thus circumscribe a consequential set of issues.

Objections to including rap in the category "music" typically fall into three categories: hip hop music is not original, it is not melodious, and it doesn't require "musical" skills. The first of these reflects the assumption that

composers who use previously recorded sounds as their raw materials are parasitic; sampling has even been described as "the musical equivalent of shoplifting" (Dery 1990:84). Not only is the issue of theft at stake, but also the notion that appropriation is not creative. Yet such accusations seem to take at face value the claims made by Romantics and Modernists (and echoed by some jazz musicians and critics) that artists are autonomous creators rather than participants in communal speech acts. Hank Shocklee, head of the production team that assembles rhythm tracks for Public Enemy, disputes this perception: "Let's be realistic here. There are only so many chords you can come up with. Everybody's copying variations anyway. The difference is we're taking it from the record and manipulating it into something else. That's another type of musicianship" (Moon 1991:69).

Rap is no more parasitic than other styles of music that quote and vary, and there is in fact a term which is often used to describe the "other type of musicianship" to which Shocklee refers: orality. As Walter Ong has shown, originality in oral cultures—whether represented by Homer's Iliad or the blues—arises from the "reshuffling" and inflection of formulas and themes held in common (1982). Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (1988) and Dick Hebdige (1987) have given us histories of this sort of creativity, sometimes called "signifying" or "versioning," in black music and language, and Tricia Rose (1994) and Venise Berry (1990:40–55) have traced how rap operates within black traditions of verbal virtuosity. Like them, Shocklee is arguing for a view of music as something discursive and social, created out of dialogue with other people in the past and the present rather than through some sort of parthogenesis. Shocklee's compositional method is to combine pre-recorded sounds, drawing on his collection of over nineteen thousand recordings. Like other producers, he must find just the right sounds for each piece, which sometimes requires layering, for example, four different bass drum sounds from different records to make one new sound. The samples must be delicately balanced, and the sequences are carefully fine-tuned to simulate the nuances of live performance. All of this means that it is often more work to build tracks out of samples than it would be to compose and arrange for live musicians (see Dery 1988, 1990; Moon 1991; Young 1993).

Shocklee's relationship to dominant discourses about "music"—even African American music—is complex and conflicted. On the one hand, it is important for him to reject a categorization of rap that would deny it the prestige of "music." On the other hand, he does not hesitate to differentiate the creators of rap music from other kinds of composers and performers: "We don't like musicians. We don't respect musicians. The reason why is because they look at people who do rap as people who don't have any knowledge. As a matter of fact, it's quite the opposite. We have a better sense of music, of what it can do" (Dery 1990:82). Technology is the main issue here, and

not for the first time. In blues music, for example, technologies of amplification made available new timbral possibilities and greater volume. But rap's very mode of composition—sampling, sequencing, and so on—marks it off in significant ways from the previous history of black music. Tricia Rose (1989) has drawn upon Ong's work to show that hip hop is best seen as a kind of "post-literate orality;" thus, it would be a mistake to regard rap as simply a natural outgrowth of African American oral traditions, for it is deeply technological and it embodies the specificity of its historical and political context.

Another reason for the denial of musical status to hip hop is its noisiness—some listeners perceive only strange sounds piled up into a chaotic, assaultive texture. The noisiness is certainly there—Public Enemy's production crew isn't called "the Bomb Squad" for nothing—but it is important to examine how and why such noise is crafted, for dissonance and consonance can never be evaluated abstractly, apart from their purposes and meanings. Noisiness is always relative to whatever articulates order in a discourse or a culture, and the noisiness of hip hop contributes to its ability to express dissent and critique, and to articulate the identity of a community that is defined as, or that defines itself as, noise (see Attali 1985).

Thus the intentionality of hip hop's "noise" is crucial. Gritty timbres have been valued in many kinds of African American music, of course, from Blind Willie Johnson's voice to Miles Davis's Harmon mute. But the significance of such timbres in different contexts requires explanation. "Noisiness" is important in most rap, but Public Enemy became influential and successful in part because of what fans perceived as the extra intensity of their noise and its significance within the context of their lyrics and other aspects of performance. In the high-tech environment of their production studio, the producers of the Bomb Squad often turn their equipment against itself, in search of the rawness that is essential to Public Enemy's conflicted urban soundscape, where sirens and drills punctuate the polytextured layers of modernity. They "misuse" their samplers, hobbling them at very low sampling rates and sometimes resampling samples in order to get a gritty sound, just as grainy photographs are often shot purposely with expensive cameras (Dery 1990:86). And while audio engineers have been working for decades at eliminating tape hiss, considering it an irritating reminder of the artificiality and mediatedness of recorded sound, the Bomb Squad may deliberately add extra hiss to a track. "Hiss acts as glue," Shocklee says; "it fills in cracks and crevices so you get this constant wooooooffff" (Moon 1991:76).

Public Enemy's producers deliberately place Chuck D's fluid vocals to clash with the key of the backing tracks, to create abrasion. And Flavor Flav's vocals are similarly positioned so they sound out of key, to keep them from

being "syrupy," from blending too harmoniously with the backing tracks (Dery 1990:83 and Moon 1991:72).[7] In a statement that is reminiscent of John Cage and Edgard Varèse, Hank Shocklee proposed an unconventional definition of music in order to justify his work, suggesting that to marginalize melody and harmony is not to abandon music: "We believed that music is nothing but organized noise. You can take anything—street sounds, us talking, whatever you want—and make it music by organizing it" (Dery 1990:83). Shocklee's argument evokes the long history of "non-musical" sounds eventually coming to be accepted as musical, from polyphony to synthesizers, even as it also resonates with previous defenses of techniques that are perfectly normal within black and popular traditions.

The third common attack on rap's status as music is based on the observation that almost no one involved with hip hop plays a musical instrument or sings, in the usual sense of those terms. Instrumental virtuosity is prized in jazz and classical music alike, and many listeners who are invested in those traditions regard melodic clarity and harmonic coherence as essential to music. Public Enemy's music, as Shocklee argued, is founded on a different kind of musicianship, with its virtuosity dependent on different tools, exercized on a different field, and motivated by different musical and cultural priorities. Its craft shows up not in harmonic complexities, but in how every sample is carefully selected and positioned to complement the vocals and contribute to the construction of a specific mood, in how percussive sounds are placed slightly ahead or behind the beat to create uneasiness or relaxation (see Moon 1991:70).

A clash of musicalities is evident in jazz saxophonist Branford Marsalis's account of being hired by Public Enemy to record a solo used in "Fight the Power": "They're not musicians, and don't claim to be—which makes it easier to be around them. Like, the song's in A minor or something, then it goes to D7, and I think, if I remember, they put some of the A minor solo on the D7, or some of the D7 stuff on the A minor chord at the end. So it sounds really different. And the more unconventional it sounds, the more they like it" (Considine 1992:42). Even though he is a "real" musician, Marsalis gets the chords wrong, for the song actually moves between D minor and B♭7. Of course, this is only a slip of memory, but the casualness and condescension of his account are revealing. Marsalis understands that the Bomb Squad is deliberately being unconventional, but he doesn't seem fully to comprehend that sampling is a strategy for producing music outside the logic of "trained" musicians. In fact, decontextualization and recontextualization are so fundamental to the compositional process of Shocklee and his associates that even when they commission live perfor-mance, they sample and rearrange *that*, layering some of Marsalis's D minor improvisations over the B♭7 groove, and vice versa. The solo in "Fight the

Power" has been carefully reworked into something that Marsalis would never think to play, because Shocklee's goals and premises are different from his. Harmonic coherence is not simply a characteristic of "musicality"; it signifies, and it doesn't fit with what Shocklee wanted to signify here.

"Fight the Power" was one of Public Enemy's biggest hits, especially after it was featured in Spike Lee's film, *Do the Right Thing,* and the hard-hitting indictment of racism offered by its lyrics has been much discussed.[9] Thus it has been easy to overlook the music of Public Enemy—if they don't have melody or harmony, if they don't play musical instruments or sing, what is there to discuss? Even some of rap's defenders would resist close scrutiny of musical details; Bruce Tucker warns that "rap, like so many other black musical genres, suffers at the hands of the deeply held formalist assumption that the notes themselves are meaningful" (Tucker 1992:497). Tucker is right to warn against ahistorical and acultural interpretations of musical discourse. Yet despite the discouraging example of so many formalist analyses of popular music, it is possible to interpret notes as abstractions of perfor-mances with social meanings, and the terms and stakes of current debates over rap suggest that there are important reasons for doing so.

I want to turn to a closer reading of "Fight the Power" in order to draw attention to two neglected aspects of rap music: the rhythmic declamation and rhetorical strategies that make up the performative aspect of rapping, and the rhythm track or groove which underpins the delivery of the lyrics. I hope to explain to some extent the power and meanings of this music, but the analysis should also have the more basic effect of demonstrating the coherence and complexity of music which has been so widely dismissed as monotonous and impoverished. This is itself no small accomplishment, given the shape of recent debates over rap music, which have too often seemed mired in what Paul Gilroy calls "the struggle to have blacks perceived as agents with cognitive capacity and historicity" (Gilroy 1992:187–88; see also Gilroy 1991).

Mapping the Groove

Examples 1 through 6 are excerpts from "Fight the Power," transcribed into standard Western musical notation, a tactic that requires some justifica-tion. Many things cannot be represented in such notation, of course; timbre is largely invisible, as are many of the rhetorical nuances that make performances powerful. Yet if notation conceals, it also reveals. Rhythms and certain other kinds of relationships can be sketched with some amount of accuracy, if we keep in mind that we are looking at static representations of dynamic relationships. Transcription is particularly useful in this case because coherence and complexity are precisely what have been denied to

hip hop, and those are the qualities that notation is best at illuminating. Moreover, the stacked array of parts in this visual map parallels the hip hop compositional process of laborious assemblage of separate voices through sampling, drum machines, and sequencing.

A few writers have transcribed hip hop music before: Keyes (1991) used notation in order to demonstrate the existence in rap music of certain techniques, such as word stresses, hocket, "trading phrases," and interlocking rhythms, and Costello and Wallace's (1990) transcription of Eric B. and Rakim's "Paid in Full" labels the samples that were used to construct the piece. Here, I will use notation as a means of presenting evidence for interpretations of affect and social meanings—as a beginning, not an end. I see transcription as a way of opening up for discussion the musical details of a style that many people do not think *has* musical details.

Figure 1 is my transcription of the two-measure groove that begins "Fight the Power" (actually, a brief introduction, based on a sample of the band Trouble Funk, precedes the establishment of the groove). With a few minor changes, this two-bar unit underpins the entire song, except for the choruses, which switch to a different tonal center and use a somewhat different beat, and a few sections at the end that strip down and chop up the fundamental groove. Composed wholly of samples, the music is based on a combination of drum patterns taken from songs by Funkadelic, Sly Stone, and the Jacksons (Dery 1990:92). On top of this Hank Shocklee and the Bomb Squad have layered additional sounds from a drum machine, along with sampled vocals, guitar, bass, and synthesizer. The resulting groove, then, for all its complexity, provides a stable platform for the rapping.

The line labelled "kick" at the bottom of my transcription, the bass drum, is in itself a good introduction to how the producers use rhythm to construct an affect of urgency for this tune.[10] The eighth-notes at the beginning of each measure clearly define the beat, and the pickup to the second bar helps articulate the two-bar pattern. But in the middle of each measure, what might have been a literal repetition of the eighth-note pattern is set with the first note placed one sixteenth-note notch ahead of the beat. Within every bar, the metric pattern is established and then pushed against, creating a dynamic tension even within the line of a single instrument.

The snare drum appears to provide a standard backbeat on beats two and four; however, there are several different snare drum sounds being utilized, and they vary in pitch, placement, and position in the stereo field. On beat two of each measure we hear a strong, stereo-centered backbeat. On four of the first measure, we hear a lower-pitched drum off to the right; on four of the second measure, the same drum along with another, even lower drum, panned to the left. Beat four is prepared in each measure by a different snare's pickup, and a higher-pitched snare in the center answers

Figure 1: "Fight the Power," opening groove

each backbeat on four, one sixteenth-note later. Timbres, volumes, and placements vary, so that this line too has its own dynamic pattern of interaction, even as these backbeats serve to anchor the entire rhythm track. The cymbals and shaker sounds also steady the groove at the eighth-note level, with additional accents that result from the layering of several drum samples.

The bass plays a repeated pattern that can be heard either as syncopated—it pushes against the metric framework just as the kick drum does— or as polyrhythmic, a layering on of the 3-3-2 pulse (here, in eighth notes) that is known as one version of the "standard pattern" of African and African American music (see Johnson and Chernoff 1991:67; Kauffman 1980). The bass defines a tonal center on D; its drop to the lower octave on beat four sets the stage for a more emphatic articulation of the downbeat of each measure, grounding the start of each rhythmic cycle regardless of the tensions and ambiguities enacted within the groove. Some sort of sampled noise or scratching (the next line on the score) answers each utterance of the bass in the first measure of the pattern, providing a grungy counterpoint. The synthesizer note is one of only two sustaining, non-percussive sounds in the groove, and its drawn-out B clashes with the D established by the bass. It can be heard as pulling at the tonal orientation, redefining the D as its own third degree, but its fade in each measure weakens this tendency, and the B ends up perched uneasily above, as the unresolved sixth of D.

The guitar sample is so scratchy and percussive that its exact pitches are difficult to discern. Moreover, funk guitar players often lift their fretting fingers just enough to dampen the strings while continuing to pick, creating a bright scratch, an additional sound between pitch and silence; I have notated these moments with x's in place of the note heads. The guitar's pitches are typical of funk harmony, sustaining the minor third of D while playing with the alternation of major sixth and minor seventh degrees; this is a favorite riff because it confirms the mode but creates and releases the tension of the tritone. Rhythmically, the guitar adds to the polyrhythmic mix with a 3-3-3-3-4 pattern at the sixteenth-note level. We begin to see that a variety of musical lines operates at different rhythmic levels, remaining within the overall organization of the meter and the two-measure unit, but filling the groove with complex tensions.

The vocal samples drop out when the rapping begins, but during the opening vamp they add further layers of rhythmic direction. The top line marked "voice" articulates nearly the same pattern as the guitar, but placed one eighth-note out of phase. Fragments of the phrase "give it" add urgency to the first measure of each cycle. The second voice answers the first with the syncopated imperative "come on, and get down." And just after the downbeat of the second bar, the third voice's rising line contradicts its text

("down") and anticipates the end of the second voice's phrase. The last line of vocal samples, marked "J.B.," shows the placement of two different samples of James Brown's trademark percussive grunt. One, higher pitched, anchors the downbeat of each two-measure cycle, while the lower-pitched one punctuates the last eight note of each measure, pushing against metric balance. (There is no better demonstration of the poverty of transcription than the reduction of this famous sound to "uh!")

Careful attention to the music of even these two measures of "Fight the Power" reveals a solid but richly conflicted polyrhythmic environment in which the rappers operate. If the analytical category of melody seems peripheral, and that of harmony is represented by the sort of static vamp often found in James Brown's music and some earlier blues, the complex interrelationships of rhythm and timbre are paramount. I will return to further discussion of the significance of this musical complexity after discussing the rhythmic performances of the rappers, Chuck D and Flavor Flav.

Mapping the Rapping

In his rapping, Chuck D creates the same kind of polyrhythmic flexibility that energizes the rhythm track. Although he is supported by the groove, he refuses to be constrained by it. His phrasing signifies on its regular repetition as he spills over its boundaries, imposes his own patterns over it, or pulls up short to confirm it.[11] In Figure 2, the last eight measures of the first verse, he begins with a repeated pattern marked by rhyme and alliteration. James Snead (1984:70) has analyzed the rhetorical figures most commonly used in black

Figure 2: "Fight the Power," verse 1, mm. 5–12

listen   if   you're   missin'   y'all   swingin'   while   I'm   singin'   givin'whatcha gettin'

know what I'm knowin'   while   the   black band's   sweatin'   and the rhythm rhyme rollin'

got   to   give   us   what we want   gotta   give us what we need   our

freedom of speech   is   freedom or death   we got to   fight   the po - wers that   be

preaching; he would call this "epanalepsis," repetition at the beginning and the end of a clause ("Listen if you're missin', swingin' while I'm singin'").[12] But just as important, the rhythmic placement of the phrases creates polyrhythmic tension up against the groove. The repeated pattern takes up three beats, while the meter measures out a four-beat framework: 1 2 (rest) 4 | 1 (rest) 3 4. Chuck's rapping not only overlays a conflicting rhythm at the quarter-note level, but because the pattern internally accents eighth-notes in alternating groups of three articulated and three silent, he creates another layer of rhythmic tension at the same time, a superimposed triple meter: 1&2 (&3&) 4&1 (&2&) 3&4 (&).[13] Similarly, in the chorus of the song (Figure 3) Public Enemy avoids flat repetition by displacing every other "Fight the power!" by one beat. The emphatic repetition of the title serves as a rallying cry for collective struggle, but even here there is flexibility and rhythmic clash, as a different part of the phrase is energized each time: *Fight* the power! Fight the *power! Fight* the power!

This is what makes rap so different from predecessors such as Gil-Scott Heron or the Last Poets. The music is not an accompaniment to textual delivery; rather, voice and instrumental tracks are placed in a more dynamic relationship in hip hop, as the rapper interacts with the rest of the music. Without the framework of the groove, Chuck D's phrases would simply be parallel utterances. But his rhythmic engagement produces a dialectic of shifting tensions. Because the groove itself is non-teleological, it situates the listener in a complex present, one containing enough energy and richness that progress seems moot. Form and direction are imposed on the song by the rapper through rhetorical fiat, by means of rhythmic patterns, rhyme schemes, the ideas and exhortations of the lyrics, and the verse/chorus alternation.

The second verse begins with more polyrhythms (Figure 4), this time triple patterns at the sixteenth-note level. Rhyme, assonance, and precise rhythmic placement keep Chuck D sounding smooth and coherent, even as the rhythms of his speech are in constant tension with the beat. After the first measure, he moves beyond this strict sixteenth-note pattern into a more complicated rhythmic virtuosity, deftly shifting among syncopation, triplets, and alignment with the meter. In the last two measures of this example, he sticks more closely to the beat, first presenting an idea, "People, people, all the same," then rejecting it: "no, we're not the same cause we don't know

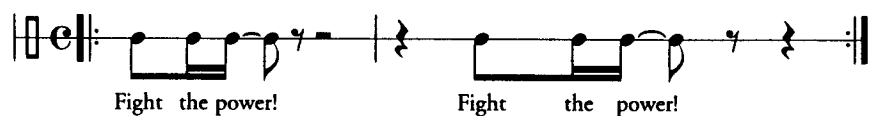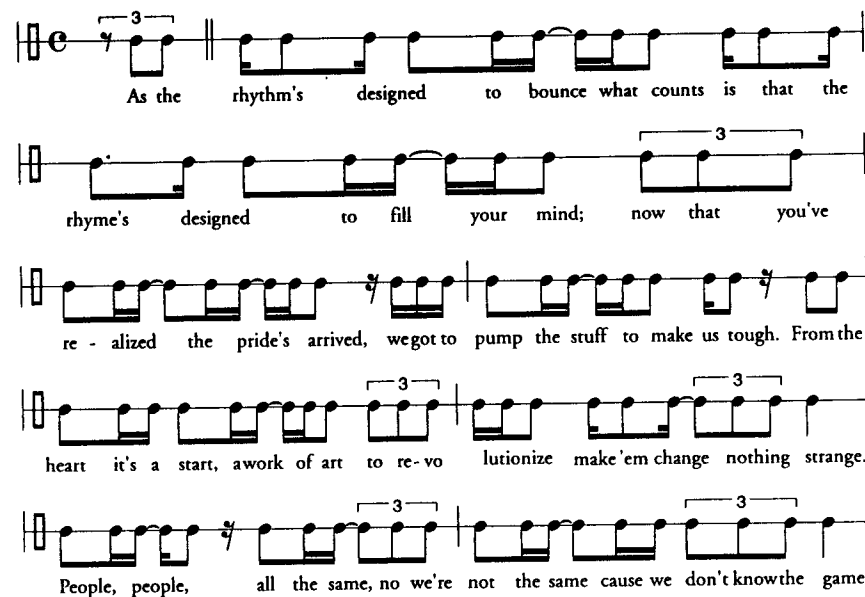**Figure 3: "Fight the Power," chorus, mm. 1–6**

Fight the power!   Fight   the power!

Figure 4: "Fight the Power," verse 2, mm. 1–8

As the rhythm's designed to bounce what counts is that the

rhyme's designed to fill your mind; now that you've

re - alized the pride's arrived, we got to pump the stuff to make us tough. From the

heart it's a start, a work of art to re- vo lutionize make 'em change nothing strange.

People, people, all the same, no we're not the same cause we don't know the game.

the game." The emphasis on the beat in these measures helps portray the first idea as a simplistic platitude and makes Chuck's dismissal seem inevitable. The rhythms thus support his textual argument: pretending that difference doesn't exist won't make injustice go away.
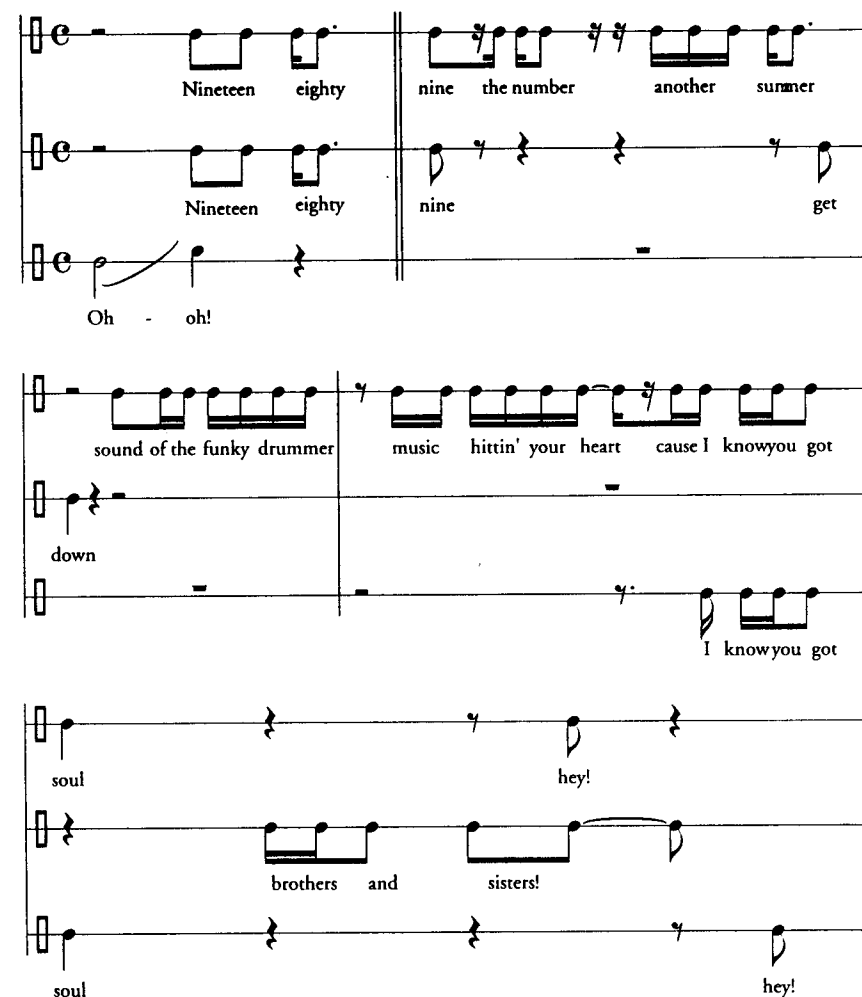
In the third verse (Figure 5), Chuck D works less with the intricacies of each beat or with polyrhythmic tensions, and more with larger-scale rhetorical flow. In measures seven and eight, he directs each phrase toward a landing on beat four, intensifying the eighth measure by shifting to duple rhythms and including more syllables. Black pride and energy in the first phrase parallel a critique of the politics of public representation in the second phrase ("most of my heroes don't appear on no stamps"). Having established a sequence and led us to expect arrivals on beat four, Chuck D then raps straight through measure nine, not cadencing until the fourth beat of measure ten. His precise, undeviating triplets—"Sample a look back you look and find nothing but rednecks for four hundred years if you check"—articulate an anger that draws upon the power of every beat but relentlessly clashes with every subdivision of the groove. Exploiting the rhetorical power of parallelisms, he rolls past the stopping point he had implied in order to deliver a longer, weightier line of text: an indictment of four hundred years of racism.

Figure 5: "Fight the Power," verse 3, mm. 6–10

Cause I'm black and I'm proud I'm ready and hyped plus I'm amped;

most of my heroes don't ap- pear on no stamps. Sample a look back you look and find nothing but

rednecks for four hundred years if you check.
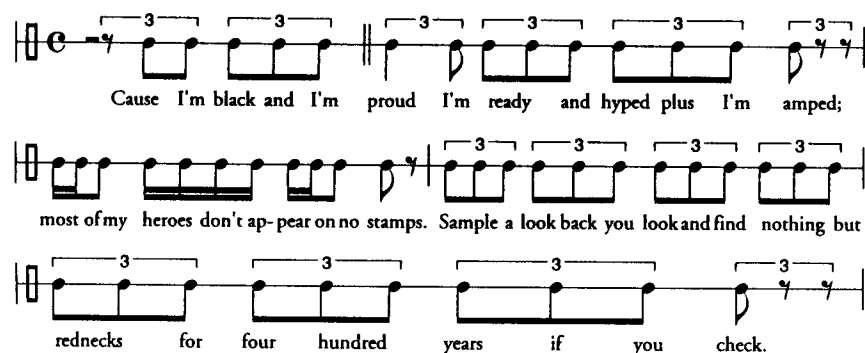
At the very beginning of his rap (Figure 6), Chuck had already been playing with such rhetorical patterns. In the first measure of the first verse, accent, rhythmic pattern, and overlapping rhymes combine to emphasize the backbeats, beats two and four ("*num*ber," "*sum*mer"). But in the next measure, Chuck skips beat two, hitting three hard ("*sound* of the funky drummer") and accelerating into a sixteenth-note sequence that lands on the downbeat of measure four. He establishes a pattern through repetition, drops in a surprising gap, and then comes upside your head with the answer. By playing with expectations and shifting among rhythmic subdivisions, Chuck presents himself as a wilfull virtuoso, negotiating the complex groove with ease.[14]

Repetition also creates the horizons of expectation that enable dialogue and participation (see Snead 1984). The interaction of Chuck D and Flavor Flav makes the rapping dialogic at strategic places in the song, and in this excerpt their exchanges are supplemented by a third voice, which confirms Chuck's downbeat while leaving Flavor Flav free to make his interjection, "brothers and sisters."[15] The end of Flav's comment is overlapped by Chuck's "hey!," which is itself answered by the third voice's "hey!" at the end of the measure. Chuck then goes on to solo for a while, but Flavor contributes both collective affirmation and dialogic counterpoint throughout the song. His interjections support and amplify Chuck's line of thought, but they also constitute a diegetic representation of a broader communal endorsement.

Dialogue and other aspects of rhythmic rhetoric demand social explanations, for notes produce meaning only as they unfold in communities. In the last section of this article, I want to examine certain larger implications of this technical analysis. For as Christopher Small has pointed out, an analytical focus on internal relationships too often displaces attention from external (social) relationships; the closer we analyze, the more impoverished

Figure 6: "Fight the Power," verse 1, mm. 1–4

Nineteen   eighty   nine   the number   another   summer

Nineteen   eighty   nine   get

Oh - oh!

sound of the funky drummer   music   hittin' your heart   cause I know you got

down

I know you got

soul   hey!

brothers   and   sisters!

soul   hey!

our sense of what it all means (1987:289). It is difficult indeed to put "Fight the Power" back together after having so dissected it; it is not easy to account for its coherence and cumulative effect after having isolated its components, for the interactions of groove, rapping, lyrics, and formal trajectory all happen at once, in a real time upon which verbal commentary necessarily drags. But our scrutiny of the musical details of "Fight the Power" does prepare us to ask: What is the attraction of these musical strategies? Upon what sorts of values and experiences does their efficacy depend?

Rhythm and Sensibility

Historians of rap like David Toop, along with many hip hop musicians themselves, explicitly link the verbal and musical styles of rap not only to an African American cultural tradition but, ultimately, to African music itself (Toop 1991).[16] This lineage seems all the clearer after a close look at the music of hip hop, for its percussive sounds, polyrhythmic texture, timbral richness, and call-and-response patterns link it solidly to these antecedents. Moreover, rhythm tracks built up of samples of earlier African American music conjure up collective black experience, past and present, while the rapping combines, as Cornel West argues, "the two major organic artistic traditions in black America," the rhetoric of black preaching and the rhythms of black music (1988:186).[17] One certainly hears in the music of Public Enemy the "clash of rhythms" that A. M. Jones once singled out as the "cardinal principle" of African music (1954:27). The polyrhythms in hip hop, like the popularity of James Brown in Africa, demonstrate what Paul Gilroy calls the "diasporic intimacy" and "recombinant qualities" of black culture (Gilroy 1992:193, 197; see also Wilson 1974 and Collins 1987). But while the ongoing power of African rhythmic concepts to animate many forms of contemporary music is clear, this genealogy does not explain the specific value of such techniques in the present. That is, to trace the origins of a stylistic feature is not to account for its attractions and functions in later contexts, which requires attention to specific uses and performances.

Scholarship of African music is nonetheless a useful beginning, especially work which furnishes analysis of how rhythmic structures are linked to social values and tensions, such as that of John Miller Chernoff (1979, 1991).[18] Chernoff emphasizes that in the African drumming traditions he studied, polyrhythms are heard as multiple rhythmic lines defined with reference to each other; if the listener lacks cultural competence and cannot distinguish these lines and relationships, the result is an experience of monotony or cacophony—terms often used in denunciations of rap. Thus we can begin to understand how rap produces such extremely varied responses among listeners. For example, Tricia Rose has analyzed the characteristic dilemma of a rock critic who personally hears rap as rhythmically "monotonous" and "numbing," but who is frightened and bewildered by the music's demonstrated power to energize and empower youthful black audiences (Rose 1990:276–90). And David Locke has made much the same point about the reception of Ewe drumming in Ghana (Locke 1982:244).

Polyrhythms make conflicting claims on our attention, since each part is distinct but in tension with the others, and African music exploits this ambiguity: "musicians put pressure on people's perception by playing with

time, by promoting rhythmic dialogue . . . , even by challenging their ability to maintain perspective" (Chernoff 1991:1101). Like Small (1987), Blacking (1969, 1973), and others, Chernoff emphasizes the socializing functions of music in African societies, and he links the music's challenge to unitary perspective to the flexibility valued in African social relationships. In practice, it is bodily motion that establishes the coherence of conflicting polyrhythms, making the music essentially participatory: "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 community is established through the interaction of individual rhythms and the people who embody them" (Chernoff 1991:1095). Small's concept of "musicking" highlights a similar attitude about the power of musical performance (1987).

My argument is not that polyrhythms mean the same thing in African and hip hop contexts simply because the same technique is employed, but rather that a variety of factors connects these cases and makes them comparable, and that the comparison is useful for beginning to understand the meaningfulness of rap music. For those who see rap as characteristically "postmodern," the product of a postindustrial society far removed from African contexts, another of Chernoff's observations is provocative: he finds "life in African societies, possibly even more than our own, to be marked by a discontinuity of experience in the encounters and status dramas of daily life" (1979:156).[19] Polyrhythms are one of the ways in which Africans cultivate adaptability and tolerance in the face of a potentially disorienting and alienating world, and the "diasporic intimacy" of black musical traditions suggests that the polyrhythms of Public Enemy deserve parallel explication despite the many differences between these contexts of reception.[20]

For one thing, the varied reception of hip hop grooves is affected by modern Western attitudes toward the repetition of rhythmic patterns. As James Snead has noted, discomfort with repetition has led modern orchestral performers to omit, as a rule, the repeat of the exposition demanded by eighteenth-century symphonists such as Haydn and Mozart. More invested in dynamic progression through time than were they, we hate to be told the same thing twice (Snead 1984:72).[21] In contrast, much African music and African American music celebrates what Prince calls the "joy in repetition," by sustaining rhythmic tensions indefinitely (1991). Prince challenges a variety of cultural master narratives when he sings about nonteleological sex: the implication of many songs is that progress and development are not always necessary, and that some things are worth doing over and over again. To be sure, sexuality is not the only dimension of human experience that is engaged by Prince, though it is one of the most complex and important (see McClary and Walser 1994). In much music of Africa and the diaspora,

repetition cushions fragmentation and helps establish coherence, while polyrhythms articulate a multi-stranded web of social relationships.[22]

In the music of Public Enemy, repetition is polysemous, suggesting both noise and order, dancing bodies and technological mechanism, resistance and containment: is there joy in this repetition, or only boredom? Is the deliberate noisiness of Hank Shocklee's production to be heard as nihilistic, or as a credible representation of a world filled with struggle and violence? Hip hop's appeal to a variety of audiences, its cultural legitimacy, and its vulnerability to censorship all depend upon reactions to the music: whether its repetition enervates or animates, whether its noisiness alienates or accreditates, whether its complexity disorients or situates.

As Chernoff notes, there is vitality in rhythmic conflict, and polyrhythmic music offers opportunities to experience power and diversity in ways that are not overwhelming but rather uplifting and strengthening. I have made similar arguments elsewhere about heavy metal (1993b), and when I interviewed metal fans I found that significant numbers of them knew former fans who had defected to rap, finding in it compatible experiences of power and freedom.[23] For while Public Enemy often addresses specifically black experiences, the group has cultivated and secured a fan base that is half white. So while analysis of rap music must be grounded in the African American context of its creation, its reception is more complex and multicultural.[24]

To be sure, the intensity of the music may provide some listeners with an avenue for reasserting male power or for energizing the defense or claim of some other privilege. That is, for some fans, "Fight the Power" might not mean much more than "Annoy Your Parents." But differences in reception cannot simply be drawn along racial lines. Declining expectations, the injuries of deindustrialization, the growing disparity of wealth, the disruption of communities, and the dismantling of social support programs are not limited to black communities, although they have been hit hardest; Public Enemy's lyrics articulate anger and protest that many other people find resonant with their own experiences. Rap has both achieved widespread popularity among white fans and "Africanized" many white musical traditions because the values it embodies have been found so attractive by so many. In this respect it participates in an ongoing process: Amiri Baraka recently criticized his own book *Blues People* because it insufficiently registered the fact that African American culture has been so influential that it is not neatly separable from American culture (Baraka 1991:109). And as George Lipsitz points out, in a world where more and more people feel dislocated and disenfranchised, the culture of people who have historically lived with the contradictions of being outsiders becomes increasingly relevant to everyone (1990). While the pro-black rhetoric of rap is often

perceived as promoting separatism, in fact many white youth develop black friends and reject their parents' racism because of the respect they have developed for black rappers (Tate 1990).

The music of Public Enemy enacts survival in a complex, dangerous world; however oppressive and dissonant that world, it is made to seem negotiable through dialogue and rhythmic virtuosity. The dancing or gesturing body seems able to seize and rearticulate the power of the music, in contexts of reception that are communal even when they depend upon mass mediation. Many fans seem to be attracted to the flexibility and multiple perspectives of hip hop, to its embrace of contradictory values, such as an emphasis on building community which coexists in tension with individualism. In the groove and the rhythmic virtuosity of the rapping, perhaps even more than in the lyrics, they find experiences that are available nowhere else yet seem highly relevant to the lives they lead. Although the importance of Public Enemy's verbal critiques and other messages should not be minimized, their success with black and white audiences depends just as much upon the kinds of musical experiences they offer their fans.

In the 1931 movie *Public Enemy*, James Cagney starred as a young gangster for whom music and verse are perfect symbols of social impotence. No one succeeds in the greed-driven world of *Public Enemy*—the women are utterly dependent on the men, and the men are either criminals, who end up dead, or menial workers, who end up in dead ends. But involvement with poetry (Cagney's older brother) or music (the ill-fated "Putty-nose") is an especially sure sign of weakness. Rappers are often accused of articulating a similarly bleak social vision, and their music has figured in the "culture of poverty" discourse that conservatives have used to shape debates about the lives and problems of urban black people. But as heirs to a cultural tradition that prizes verbal eloquence and rhythmic rhetoric, rappers' means and ends clash with this model of dispair and rebellion, even when they adopt a "gansta" image. Despite the history of injustice that fuels their anger—as Naughty By Nature puts it, "Say something positive? Well, positive ain' where I live" (1991)—what rappers create is more important than what they critique. Public Enemy 1989 = *Public Enemy* 1931 + affirmation, celebration political critique, and a call to arms, evoking the "double consciousness" of the blues and other minority culture.[25]

Public Enemy's lyrics became the subject of so much controversy in par because some listeners find Public Enemy's music assaultive and alien, the figuration of experiences they do not want to have or understand. They hea complexity as chaos, noise and power as the signs of a nihilistic threat; fo them, polyrhythms are disturbing because they inscribe multiple pattern that refuse the discipline of an overriding rhythmic hierarchy. Others hea such rhythms as their own, as part of a cultural history they value or as a soci

model to which they are attracted, particularly since the samples hip hop musicians use are overwhelmingly drawn from previous African American music and thus bring a sedimented history into their new contexts. But at the same time that such grooves offer a dialogic, polyphonic environment, they also present these possibilities in noisy, technological, urban terms, making this social ideal seem relevant to the specific historical situation of many fans. In the terms of Tricia Rose's analysis (1994), the polyphonic layering and repetitive flow create continuity, while rhythmic ruptures teach participants to find pleasure in and develop creative responses to social ruptures.

Music, as Christopher Small has argued eloquently (1987:46), is one of the most important media through which social relationships are explored, affirmed, and celebrated, through which identities and subjectivities can be altered, shored up, or tried on for size. Hip hop contains many raps, many grooves, and many meanings.[26] Its musicians compose rich, complex music that makes rap more than protest—makes it, as Cornel West says, a "paradoxical cry of desperation and celebration" (West 1988:186). If we are to understand why rap is so important to millions of people and why it stands at the center of debates over culture and affects struggles over resources, analyzing lyrics is not enough—any more than is formalist musical analysis, or sociological analysis that accepts the music industry's dehumanizing assumptions about its "product." We need to begin to hear not only what these rappers are saying, but also what these musicians are composing— how they are using rhythm, rhyme, and rhetoric to enact survival and celebration, clamor and community.[27]

Notes

1. In another interview, Chuck D argued that the purpose of all music is to raise dialogue (ABC News 1992:4).

2. Following normal usage within the hip hop community, I use "rap" as a general term which refers to a kind of music, and more specifically to designate a style of vocal performance, "rapping." "Hip hop" embraces more cultural terrain, including styles of clothing, dance, and grafitti art, among other things (see Toop 1991; Rose 1994). Public Enemy includes several members with a variety of functions: on their recording of "Fight the Power," which will be discussed below, Chuck D and Flavor Flav are the rappers; Terminator X is the DJ, who mixes and scratches records; Hank Shocklee, Eric "Vietnam" Sadler, Carl Ryder, and Keith Shocklee are members of the Bomb Squad, the production crew that assembles the instrumental tracks. At the time of the recording, Professor Griff was considered a member of the group, with the function of "Minister of Information," but he is not heard on record.

3. See also a less virulent article in the same issue, which is no less vague about the music (Gates et al. 1990). Many similar examples could be cited, including *The New Yorker*'s genial assurance to its readers that "rap isn't music" (Mordden 1991:113).

4. John Blacking made a similar point in a different context: "The effectiveness of the South African Freedom songs has been discussed chiefly in terms of their words, but it was their music which made the deepest impact, especially on those who did not speak the language in which

the sentiments of the songs were expressed. The combination of the triads and cadences of European hymn-tunes and the rhythms and parallel movement of traditional African music expressed the new solidarity and values of urban groups: the sound of the music conveyed as clear a message as the words of the songs" (Blacking 1969:36).

5. In an interview with Cheryl Keyes (1991:2), Wynton Marsalis asserted that rap represents a "decadent and degenerate culture" and that it therefore does not qualify as legitimate music. On the other hand, a few jazz musicians, notably Max Roach and Miles Davis, have publicly hailed hip hop as a worthy heir to jazz's legacy of virtuosity and rhythmic complexity. Overall, though, rap has had few defenders outside of the hip hop community.

6. On the politics of cultural prestige, see, for example, Bourdieu 1984.

7. A new production crew worked with Public Enemy on *Apocalypse 91...The Enemy Strikes Black* (1991); I will be writing throughout about the sounds created for the earlier three albums, as exemplified by "Fight the Power," which was released as a single in 1989, and as part of the album *Fear of a Black Planet* in 1990.

8. The sax solo appears on the single release of "Fight the Power," but not on the album cut.

9. Some of Public Enemy's lyrics have been much more controversial, and Chuck D has sparked a great deal of dialogue about whether sexism, homophobia, anti-semitism, and black racism are useful responses to white racism (see, for example, Tate 1988, Owen 1990, Allen and Chuck D 1990). While anti-semitic statements cannot be defended or excused, it is important to note that such statements tend to receive much more media coverage when uttered by black rappers than when attributable to white rock musicians or Christian fundamentalists (see *Rock and Roll Confidential* 90 [July-August, 1991]:4). Public Enemy wrestles with problems that are among the most serious and pressing in contemporary politics, and their responses are affected by the ways in which those problems are commonly framed. For example, Chuck D accurately diagnoses the links between racism and economic exploitation: "The Chinese over here, the whites over here, Jews here, you know it's broken up like that. Capitalism does that. They'll tell you capitalism sees no color, but at the same time the ones that all feel they have something in common with each other become the most powerful block right there, and it stomps upon those that don't fit that mold. And the only way that you can exist within that mold is that you have to put together a 'posse,' or a team to be able to penetrate that structure, that block, that strong as steel structure that no individual can break. . . . Public Enemy, number one, tries to tell the black man and woman in America that we as a constituency have to stick together and realize that we all have something in common with each other" (Eure and Spady 1991:330–31). Public Enemy has indeed been successful in raising dialogue, and to his credit, Chuck D has been willing to reverse himself and admit he was wrong in response to public controversies over his lyrics.

10. References to the "kick" drum are common among musicians, so as to avoid confusion between bass guitar and bass drum.

11. Dwight Andrews (1989) has analyzed a similar kind of virtuosic self-empowerment in Ray Charles's performances, as he plays around with the beat, affirming or subverting it at will. For discussions of two very different kinds of willful virtuosity in popular music, see Walser 1992 and 1993a. I use the word "signify" here in the sense attributed to it by Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (1988).

12. Compare also Davis (1985). Measures 9–11 of this example utilize the rhetorical strategy of anaphora, repetition at the beginning of a clause.

13. The lyrics printed with the musical examples are taken primarily from the printed version which accompanied the album release. However, in two places where the actual delivery of the lyrics varied from what was printed, I have made minor changes in the text to match what appeared on the recording.

14. Few rappers work at Chuck D's level of rhythmic virtuosity, but the rhetorical practices he uses are ubiquitous. Queen Latifah is another rapper who has an especially powerful and ingenious rhythmic delivery.

15. For further discussion of the dialogic aspects of rap music, see Wheeler 1991.

16. For an overview of discussions of African retentions in African-American music, see Maultsby 1990; see also Wilson 1974 and Cronbach 1981–82. As important as such work is, it seems imperative to begin to take up newer critical projects, such as explaining how people of diverse origins come together and find cultural common ground (see Johnson and Chernoff 1991:63 and Martin 1991).

17. On collective memory in popular culture, see Lipsitz 1990.

18. While it is important to recognize differences among African musical traditions, analytical recognition of significant pan-African similarities can be productive; see Kauffman 1980. On the general problem of the relationship of sound structures to cultural logics, see the symposium in *Ethnomusicology* 28(3), featuring papers by Steven Feld (1984) and Marina Roseman (1984).

19. Compare Richard Shusterman's attempt to connect rap with postmodernism and American pragmatism—in the process reducing rap's African-American dimension to "roots"—in order to invigorate an attack on modernist aesthetics (1991).

20. This is, of course, very different from how musicologists and music theorists tend to discuss rhythm. Not only is it customarily assumed to be cognitive and disembodied, but Western music theory's traditional emphasis on harmony has led many music theorists to conceive of rhythm through harmonic metaphors. Terms like "metric dissonance" and "dissonant strata" suggest that rhythmic conflicts must always be resolved, whether in performance or analysis. There seems to be no place for tensions that remain unresolved, differences that can coexist. See, for example, Barbara R. Barry's relentlessly cognitive model in *Musical Time: The Sense of Order* (1990); her title signals the foregone conclusion which underpins much of what is done in the name of "music theory." For "rhythmic dissonance," see Yeston 1976 and Cooper and Meyer 1960; the latter credited Curt Sachs with having originated the concept of "metric dissonance" (p. 108). Wye Jamison Allanbrook achieved a significant advance by linking rhythm with bodily postures and human character (1983). But generally, uneasiness about rhythm has caused musicologists and other devotees to etherealize canonic musicians such as J. S. Bach, whose physical engagement with his music is well-documented. See, for example, a letter of 1738 by Johann Matthias Gesner which describes Bach as "full of rhythm in every part of his body" as he conducted (David and Mendel 1966:231). Such distortions of music history enable the mind/body split to be mapped onto the high/low cultural split, or the Western/non-Western dichotomy, remaking the past in order to stabilize the hierarchies of the present (see McClary forthcoming).

21. Critics of minimalist composers such as Philip Glass echo this sentiment. For a critical dismissal of "Fight the Power" as repetitious, see Reynolds 1989.

22. See Frances R. Aparicio's forthcoming work on salsa, and Veit Erlmann's forthcoming *Nightsong: A Performance Tradition of Zulu Migrants in South Africa.*

23. Further evidence for this compatibility is provided by the collaborations of Public Enemy with the metal band Anthrax, and by Ice-T's band, Body Count. However, in heavy metal, power and freedom are usually articulated through a dialectic between the rhythm section and the solo guitar or vocal, rather than through polyrhythms (see Walser 1993b).

24. See Crombach (1981–82), who argues for a more general recognition of this fact in the study of African American music.

25. Compare Murray 1982, Floyd 1991, and Lutz 1991, who extend W. E. B. Du Bois's notion of "double consciousness" to account for the complex mixture of sorrow and celebration in the blues.

26. The specific techniques I have discussed in the music of Public Enemy are deployed by other rap musicians to other ends, although a shared discursive system keeps their meanings related. For example, Queen Latifah's style of performance is very similar to that of Chuck D, but she is much more interested than he in speaking to and for women, about issues of gender and power. Sister Soulja's concerns are closer to those of Public Enemy, yet her rapping style

features nearly arhythmic declamation, utterly unlike the rhythmic rhetoric of Queen Latifah and Chuck D.

27. I am grateful for the invigorating criticism and support I have received from hip hop music's preeminent scholar, Tricia Rose, and for challenging and helpful comments offered by Reebee Garofalo, Jeff Titon, Larry Polansky, Susan McClary, and the anonymous reviewers for *Ethnomusicology.* I was fortunate to have had opportunities to present versions of this essay at the Center for the Study of Black Literature and Culture at the University of Pennsylvania, the Center for Twentieth-Century Studies at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, and the InterArts Consortium at the University of California, San Diego. I thank Houston Baker, Jr., Ron Radano, Carol Tennessen, Kathleen Woodward, and Jann Pasler for those invitations and the dialogue that resulted.

References

ABC News. 1992. "Nightline." Transcript #2781, January 20.

Adler, Jerry, et al. 1990. "The Rap Attitude." *Newsweek,* March 19:56–59.

Allanbrook, Wye Jamison. 1983. *Rhythmic Gesture in Mozart.* Chicago: University of Chicago.

Allen, Harry, and Chuck D. 1990. "Black II Black." *Spin,* October:67.

Andrews, Dwight D. 1989. "From Black to Blues." In *The Blues Aesthetic: Black Culture and Modernism,* edited by Richard J. Powell, 37–41. Washington, D. C.: Washington Project for the Arts.

Attali, Jacques. 1985. *Noise: The Political Economy of Music.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota.

Baraka, Amiri. 1991. "The 'Blues Aesthetic' and the 'Black Aesthetic': Aesthetics as the Continuing Political History of a Culture." *Black Music Research Journal* 11(2):101–9.

Barry, Barbara R. 1990. *Musical Time: The Sense of Order.* Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon.

Berry, Venise. 1990. "Rap Music, Self Concept and Low Income Black Adolescents." *Popular Music and Society* 14(3):89–107.

Blacking, John. 1969. "The Value of Music in Human Experience." *Yearbook of the International Folk Music Council,* 33–71.

———. 1973. *How Musical Is Man?* Seattle: University of Washington.

———. 1982. "The Structure of Musical Discourse: The Problem of the Song Text." *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 14:15–23.

Blum, Joseph. 1978. "Problems of Salsa Research." *Ethnomusicology* 22(1):137–49.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1984. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste.* Cambridge: Harvard University.

Chernoff, John Miller. 1979. *African Rhythm and African Sensibility.* Chicago: University of Chicago.

———. 1991. "The Rhythmic Medium in African Music." *New Literary History* 22(4):1093–1102.

Collins, Edmund John. 1987. "Jazz Feedback to Africa." *American Music* 5(2):176–93.

Considine, J. D. 1992. "Fear of a Rap Planet." *Musician* (February):34–43, 92.

Cooper, Grosvenor W., and Leonard B. Meyer. 1960. *The Rhythmic Structure of Music.* Chicago: University of Chicago.

Costello, Mark, and David Foster Wallace. 1990. *Signifying Rappers: Rap and Race in the Urban Present.* New York: Ecco.

Cronbach, Lee. 1981–82. "Structural Polytonality in Contemporary Afro-American Music." *Black Music Research Journal,* 15–33.

David, Hans T., and Arthur Mendel, eds. 1966. *The Bach Reader,* revised edition. New York: Norton.

Davis, Gerald L. 1985. *I Got the Word in Me and I Can Sing It, You Know: A Study of the Performed African-American Sermon.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.

Dery, Mark. 1988. "Rap." *Keyboard* (November):32–56.
———. 1990. "Public Enemy: Confrontation." *Keyboard* (September):81–96.
Erlmann, Veit. Forthcoming. "Nightsong: A Performance Tradition of Zulu Migrants in South Africa."
Eure, Joseph D., and James G. Spady, eds. 1991. *Nation Conscious Rap.* New York: PC International.
Feld, Steven. 1984. "Sound Structure as Social Structure." *Ethnomusicology* 28(3):383–409.
Floyd, Samuel A. 1991. "Ring Shout! Literary Studies, Historical Studies, and Black Music Inquiry." *Black Music Research Journal* 11(2):265–87.
Gates, David, et al. 1990. "Decoding Rap Music." *Newsweek* (March 19):60–63.
Gates, Henry Louis Jr. 1988. *The Signifying Monkey: A Theory of African-American Literary Criticism.* New York: Oxford University.
Gilroy, Paul. 1991. There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack: The Cultural Politics of Race and Nation. Chicago: University of Chicago.
———. 1992. "Cultural Studies and Ethnic Absolutism." In *Cultural Studies,* edited by Lawrence Grossberg, Cary Nelson, and Paula Treichler, 187–98. New York: Routledge.
Hebdige, Dick. 1987. *Cut 'n' Mix: Culture, Identity, and Caribbean Music.* New York: Methuen.
Johnson, Hafiz Shabazz Farel, and John M. Chernoff. 1991. "Basic Conga Drum Rhythms in African-American Musical Styles." *Black Music Research Journal* 11(1):55–73.
Jones, A. M. 1954. "African Rhythm." *Africa* 24:26–47.
Kauffman, Robert. 1980. "African Rhythm: A Reassessment." *Ethnomusicology* 24(3):393–415.
Keyes, Cheryl L. 1984. "Verbal Art Performance in Rap Music: The Conversation of the 80's." *Folklore Forum* 17(2):143–52.
———. 1991. "Rappin to the Beat: Rap Music as Street Culture Among African Americans." Ph.D. diss., Indiana University.
Lipsitz, George. 1990. *Time Passages: Collective Memory and American Popular Culture.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota.
Locke, David. 1982. "Principles of Offbeat Timing and Cross-Rhythm in Southern Ewe Dance Drumming." *Ethnomusicology* 26(2):217–46.
Lutz, Tom. 1991. "Curing the Blues: W. E. B. Du Bois, Fashionable Diseases, and Degraded Music." *Black Music Research Journal* 11(2):137–56.
Martin, Denis-Constant. 1991. "Filiation or Innovation? Some Hypotheses to Overcome the Dilemma of Afro-American Music's Origins." *Black Music Research Journal* 11(1):19–38.
Maultsby, Portia K. 1990. "Africanisms in African-American Music." In *Africanisms in American Culture,* edited by Joseph E. Holloway, 185–210. Bloomington: Indiana University.
McClary, Susan. forthcoming. "Music, The Pythagoreans, and The Body." In *Choreographing History,* edited by Susan Foster. Bloomington: Indiana University.
McClary, Susan, and Robert Walser. 1994. "Theorizing the Body in African-American Music." *Black Music Research Journal* 14(1):75–84.
Moon, Tom. 1991. "Public Enemy's Bomb Squad." *Musician* (October):69–72, 76.
Mordden, Ethan. 1991. "A Critic At Large: Rock and Cole." *The New Yorker* (October 28):91–113.
Murray, Albert. 1982. *Stomping the Blues.* New York: Vintage Books [originally pub. 1976].
Naughty by Nature. 1991. "Ghetto Bastard." *Naughty by Nature.* Tommy Boy. TBCD 1044.
Ong, Walter. 1982. *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word.* New York: Methuen.
Owen, Frank. 1990. "Public Service." *Spin* (March):57.
Prince. 1991. "Joy in Repetition." *Diamonds and Pearls.* Warner Bros. 9 25379-2.
Public Enemy. 1989. "Fight the Power," extended version. Motown MOT-4647.
———. 1990. *Fear of a Black Planet.* Def Jam/Columbia CK 45413.
———. 1991. *Apocalypse 91 . . . The Enemy Strikes Black.* Def Jam/Columbia CK 47374.
Reynolds, Simon. 1989. "Review of 'Fight the Power' by Public Enemy." *Melody Maker* (June 17)28.
Rose, Tricia. 1989. "Orality and Technology: Rap Music and Afro-American Cultural Resistance." *Popular Music and Society* 13(4):35–44.

———. 1990. "'Fear of a Black Planet': Rap Music and Black Cultural Politics in the 1990s." *Journal of Negro Education* 60(3):276–90.
———. 1991. "Never Trust a Big Butt and a Smile." *Camera Obscura* (May):108–31.
———. 1994. *Black Noise.* Hanover, N. H.: Wesleyan University.
Roseman, Marina. 1984. "The Social Structuring of Sound: The Temiar of Peninsular Malaysia." *Ethnomusicology* 28(3):411–45.
Shusterman, Richard. 1991. "The Fine Art of Rap." *New Literary History* 22(3):613–32.
Slovenz, Madeline. 1988. "'Rock the House': The Aesthetic Dimensions of Rap Music in New York City." *New York Folklore* 14(3–4):151–63.
Small, Christopher. 1987. *Music of the Common Tongue: Survival and Celebration in Afro-American Music.* New York: Riverrun.
Snead, James. 1984. "Repetition as a Figure of Black Culture." In *Black Literature and Literary Theory,* edited by Henry Louis Gates, Jr., 59–79. New York: Methuen.
Tate, Greg. 1988. "Public Enemy: The Devil Made Them Do It." *Village Voice,* (July 19):71.
———. 1990. "Manchild at Large." *Village Voice* (September 11):77.
Tomlinsen, Gary. 1992. "Cultural Dialogues and Jazz: A White Historian Signifies." In *Disciplining Music: Musicology and Its Canons,* edited by Katherine Bergeron and Philip V. Bohlman, 64–94. Chicago: University of Chicago.
Toop, David. 1991. *Rap Attack 2: African Rap to Global Hip Hop.* New York: Serpent's Tail.
Tucker, Bruce. 1992. "Review of Public Enemy, *It Takes a Nation of Millions to Hold Us Back* and De La Soul, *3 Feet High and Rising.*" *American Music* 10(4):496–99.
Walser, Robert. 1992. "Eruptions: Heavy Metal Appropriations of Classical Virtuosity." *Popular Music* 11(3):263–308.
———. 1993a. "Out of Notes: Signification, Interpretation, and the Problem of Miles Davis." *Musical Quarterly* (Summer):343–65.
———. 1993b. *Running With The Devil: Power, Gender, and Madness in Heavy Metal Music.* Hanover, N.H.: Wesleyan University.
West, Cornel. 1988. *Prophetic Fragments.* Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans.
Wheeler, Elizabeth A. 1991. "'Most of My Heroes Don't Appear on No Stamps': The Dialogics of Rap Music." *Black Music Research Journal* 11(2):193–216.
Wilson, Olly. 1974. "The Significance of the Relationship Between Afro-American Music and West African Music." *The Black Perspective in Music* 2(1):3–22.
Yeston, Maury. 1976. *The Stratification of Musical Rhythm.* New Haven: Yale University.
Young, Jon. 1993. "P. M. Dawn Sample Reality." *Musician* 176 (June):23–24.