

à son mari. Les parents ne peuvent reprendre leur autorité qu'à la condition d'acheter symboliquement leur ancien enfant. Mais même ainsi, dans le Nord le babalorixa peut infliger des punitions sévères à ceux qui transgressent ses ordres.

Cette séparation entre la vie religieuse et la vie sociale se traduit encore par l'absence de tabous de mariages. Dans le Nord, un fils de *Oxum* par exemple ne peut pas épouser une fille de *Oxum*, car ce serait un véritable inceste. On ne peut se marier qu'entre possesseurs d'*orixa* différents. Même les gens, comme par exemple la plupart des Blancs, qui ne savent pas le nom de leurs *orixa*, se voient punis de cet inceste mystique, qu'ils ont commis pourtant par ignorance. Tout ce qui reste de ce tabou à Porto-Alegre, c'est qu'il vaut mieux s'abstenir de tels mariages, mais la loi "de la religion" ne les défend pas expressément.

Economiquement et juridiquement, chaque secte est constituée, afin de se soumettre à la loi, en société de bienfaisance avec un directeur qui est en général le "responsable" devant la police. En réalité—et c'est pourquoi nous avons mêlé l'économique au juridique—la société de bienfaisance est chargée de l'organisation financière de la secte. Les "membres" (socios), qui ne sont pas initiés mais qui s'intéressent au culte, paient (nos chiffres datent de cinq ans) deux cruzeiros par mois et les initiés un cruzeiro seulement. De plus, l'entrée à chaque fête vaut 50 centavos et il y en a très souvent: une ou deux fois par mois, mais sans caractères religieux, elles consistent en bals profanes, destinés à l'amusement des jeunes et à resserrer les liens entre les membres de la secte. Les animaux pour les sacrifices coûtent cher, et les fidèles sont pauvres. Les Pères et les Mères ne vivent pas de la religion, ils ou elles ont pour vivre, un métier à côté. On flétrit tous ceux qui vivent en faisant des "services," c. à d. de la magie noir pour gagner de l'argent, portant ainsi tort à la véritable religion.

Que deviendra le batuque? Toute liaison avec l'Afrique est coupée. Il y a une vingtaine d'années, des bateaux venus d'Afrique apportaient parfois des objets africains, et il est même possible que des liaisons plus étroites aient existé autrefois. Mais justement parce qu'actuellement les rapports ont cessé, le noir de Porto-Alegre est d'autant plus attaché à la tradition. Certes sa prolétarianisation l'oblige à chercher des compromis entre la mythologie, ou le rituel, et la dureté des temps actuels, mais il forme cependant, dans une population blanche et fortement pénétrée de sang allemand ou italien, un flût de civilisation africaine digne de tout notre respect.

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AFRICAN INFLUENCE ON THE MUSIC OF THE AMERICAS

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There are two reasons why African musical elements have influenced the musical styles of the Americas. In the first place, American Negro groups have remained relatively homogeneous with regard to culture patterns and remarkably so with respect to in-group solidarity. This has almost guaranteed the retention of any values not in conflict with the prevailing Euro-American culture pattern. Second, there is enough similarity between African and European music to permit musical syncretism. This has put some aspects of African musical style in the category of traditions not destined to be forced out of existence because of their deviation from accepted norms. The first factor has been dealt with adequately by Herskovits (115; 112; 118; 119; 120). The second, less well known because of the lack, until recently, of reliable data concerning the music of Africa, will be given consideration here.

In some respects, the western one-third of the Old World land mass is musically homogeneous, for it is set off from the other major musical areas by the extent of its reliance on the diatonic scale and by its use of harmony. Although the former appears sporadically elsewhere, as, for example, in China, it has not, except in the West, been used as the basis for musical development, and is to be distinguished sharply from the microtonal scalar system of the Indo-Arabic area. Harmony, on the other hand, appears in aboriginal music nowhere but in the western one-third of the Old World, where it is common in European folk music and African tribal music. Three points must be made here in amplification and clarification of this statement. In the first place, no reference is intended to the European school of literate music and musical theory; this has developed many aspects of music, and harmony in particular, to a point of complexity where it can scarcely be compared to either European folk music or African tribal music. Second, there exists a broad intrusive belt of Arabic and Arabic-influenced music which stretches across the middle of the western area along both shores of the Mediterranean. Since the times of ancient history this alien musical outcropping has masked the fact of the previous existence of a continuous harmony-using bloc of cultures established earlier in the area.

1. The writer gratefully acknowledges the aid of the Carnegie Corporation of New York in providing a field grant for ethnomusicological study among African-derived religious cults in Cuba during the summers of 1946 and 1948, from which stemmed many of the insights documented in this paper. He is even more deeply indebted to the Social Science Research Council of Northwestern University and to the Graduate School of that institution for their financial support over a period of years of a program of research which has resulted in the establishment of the Laboratory of Comparative Musicology and in most of the work in the field of Afro-American music which is summarized here.

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The third point concerns the oft repeated assertion that Africans, except those who have been in contact with European music, use harmony only as the accidental result of polyphonic overlapping of leader and chorus phrases. This last fact merits closer examination, since it contradicts—by fiat, as it were—the evidence now available in many recordings of African music. It seems to have stemmed from certain preconceptions concerning the evolution of music which have proved inapplicable to the present case. The argument, in terms of these preconceptions, is simply that Africans had not developed enough culturally to be expected to have harmony. Given this bias, it is easy to see, in view of some factors immediately to be adduced, how an ethnomusicologist of a decade or two ago could have listened to African music, and even have transcribed African music, without ever hearing harmony used, even though harmony may actually have been present.

Let us first consider the nature of the machines used in gathering early recordings of African music. These necessarily were acoustical rather than electrical. A singer whose voice was being recorded had usually to be carefully placed in front of the horn: He had to sing loudly, and, even so, a deviation of any magnitude from the correct position might serve to put his voice out of collecting range. Since the usual field musicological task is looked upon simply as the collection of melodies, it is not difficult to comprehend how choral backgrounds, possibly harmonized, could elude the ear of the laboratory musicologist who heard only the recorded result, although he might be making use of the best equipment available at the time. Coupled to this consideration is the circumstance that most studies of African music were done by trained music analysts using phonographic materials provided by other, perhaps even “non-musical” researchers. Purely as a practical matter this division of labor between the collector in the field and the analyst in the laboratory, so unfortunate for the development of ethnomusicology as a branch of cultural anthropology, has been, until recently, a standard arrangement for the conducting of research in this discipline and is, of course, very effective in those rare cases in which true collaboration has been achieved between collector and analyst.

The fact that many African tribal styles actually do not use harmony to any great extent bolstered the accepted position. “Negro Africa” encompasses a number of peoples, and while, as will be seen presently, certain generalizations may be made concerning the musical style of the whole area, the great variety of styles actually present must never be lost sight of. The peoples of a large section of Dahomey, for example, manage to do almost entirely without harmony, while the Ashanti, in the neighboring West African territory of the Gold Coast, seem to employ at least two-part, and frequently three- and four-part, harmony for almost all of their music. It may be, therefore, that the notion of the absence of harmony in African music was connected initially with the fact that early samples came from non-harmonizing areas. Also, although this can by no means be used as a valid explanation of African harmony, it is true that

the ubiquitous “overlapping call-and-response” pattern provides many instances of a sort of sporadic, although accidental, harmony when the beginning notes of the chorus refrain happen to harmonize with the simultaneously sounded terminal tones of the soloist’s phrase.

That a hypothesis concerning the absence of harmony in African music could have been framed on the basis of early data presented, then, is completely understandable; how the hypothesis came to be accepted as fact and how it managed to persist to this day are less readily understood. Yet we must realize that not only in ethnomusicology does it occur that an authoritatively stated, although invalid, generalization comes to have considerable inertia of its own. Nevertheless, facts, in the form of phonographic recordings, indicate that singing in harmony is common among African tribesmen. The presumption that the development of African music must of necessity be following the same evolutionary path blazed by European academic music is, furthermore, seriously undermined by recorded examples of the facile use by non-Europeanized African tribesmen of intervals considered extremely “modern” when encountered in European harmony.² African harmony, while it has remained simple, as has that of most European folk songs, nevertheless seems in some areas to have had certain striking autonomous developments.

The presence of the same basic concept of scale and the use of harmony in both Europe and Africa have made easy and inevitable the many varieties of Euro-African musical syncretism to be observed in the New World. It is, for example, easy to understand how, to a member of an early American Negro group steeped in the value and behavior patterns of West African musical tradition, the European music which came to his attention must have appeared mainly as a source of new musical ideas to be worked out in terms of African concepts and techniques. Almost nothing in European folk music, to phrase the matter cautiously, is incompatible with African musical style, and much of the European material fits readily into the generalized African musical mold. An indicator of the fact that this is not true of any two styles of music taken at random is afforded by the rarity of examples of genuine syncretization between American Indian music and the music of either Europe or Africa.

Thus, in the United States as in other New World areas controlled by English-speaking Europeans, folk tunes and hymns stemming from the British Isles were often seized upon by African slaves and their descendants and, after suitable remodeling, adopted as American Negro tunes. The remodeling process was one of Africanization, and the tunes which emerged are best to be interpreted as European-inspired African music. In the Iberian-controlled areas of the New World, an additional factor facilitated the process of syncretization. The fact that the music of Spain and Portugal had already, over a period of several generations before the beginning of the slave trade with the Americas,

2. Observe, for example, the use of parallel seconds in the choral music of the Babira of the Belgian Congo (23, side No. 2).

been influenced by African musical traits imported along with West African slaves, was something that gave Euro-African musical syncretization in Latin America a head start, so to speak.

Both of the criteria offered above for the persistence of a tradition in an acculturative situation are thus seen to have been fulfilled in the case of the African musical style in the Americas. There has been sufficient density of Negro population, sufficient Negro group-consciousness, and sufficient homogeneity with respect to African musical values in most of the Negro areas of the New World to permit the transmission of these values to the young in consistent fashion. The sociological isolation of some of these Negro groups without relation to the actual proportions of African ancestry in the genealogies of members of the groups, as is the case in the United States, must not be overlooked as an important factor in maintaining relatively inviolate the African musical values in spite of a considerable infusion of non-African genetic strains. The ease with which many European musical traits could be incorporated into the African patterns simply permitted, through the processes of reinterpretation and syncretization, a retention of African musical formulae in bodies of New World Negro music which have become, if we start with African music, more and more European with each generation as the blending progressed.

This statement has been intended to show how African musical tradition, or at least, certain aspects of it, could persist in the New World. There would be no reason for the explanation, since such persistences of tradition are commonplace in acculturative situations, were it not for the fact that a sort of *academic* tradition has been in force which, placing emphasis on the many changes in the lives of the American Negroes brought about first by slavery, and later by the exigencies of life as a member of a minority underprivileged group, has systematically denied both the fact and the possibility of such persistence of African tradition.

This is not to say, of course, that American Negro music must be derived entirely from Europe or entirely from Africa. Since the music actually is, for the most part, a blend of both African and European idioms, the answer to the question of derivation may well depend largely on the initial direction of approach to the problem. Thus, Negro spirituals have been pronounced by some scholars to be derived solely from Europe because they contain a great many Euro-American elements; the problem of the provenience of jazz, on the other hand, has been muddled by the proclamations of certain writers who, discerning Africanisms in that form of music, insist that jazz is purely African.

Attention thus far has been concentrated upon the aspects of African music which coincide with European; however, African music, obviously, is not European music. The European folk song is typically more complex harmonically and simpler rhythmically than African tribal song. Modulation from key to key, for example, is virtually unknown in African tribal music, while the consistent use of multiple meter—two or three time-signatures at once, as it were—is

equally unknown in European songs. Melodic structure, however, seems to be at about the same level of complexity in both areas, although different forms are utilized.

The outstanding feature of African music which sets it most apart from that of Europe is the rhythm, a focal value which is implemented in a great number of ways. As Herskovits (114, p. 3) has written, "for the African, the important thing about rhythm is to have it, regardless of how it is produced." African rhythms have been spoken of (128, p. 61) as "incredible and incomprehensible to us." While this may be rejected as the counsel of defeat, it is undoubtedly true that the appreciation of African rhythms requires the development of a musical sense that, in the individual conditioned only to the norms of European music, usually lies somewhat dormant.

This may be spoken of as the *metronome sense*. Until it is developed, much of the aspect of African music most important to the African may well remain incomprehensible to the most careful investigator. From the point of view of the listener, it entails habits of conceiving any music as structured along a theoretical framework of beats regularly spaced in time and of co-operating in terms of overt or inhibited motor behavior with the pulses of this metric pattern whether or not the beats are expressed in actual melodic or percussion tones. Essentially, this simply means that African music, with few exceptions, is to be regarded as music for the dance, although the "dance" involved may be entirely a mental one. Since this *metronome sense* is of such basic importance, it is obvious that the music is conceived and executed in terms of it; it is assumed without question or consideration to be part of the perceptual equipment of both musicians and listeners and is, in the most complete way, taken for granted. When the beat is actually sounded, it serves as a confirmation of this subjective beat. And because it amounts to an un verbalized point of view concerning all music, this traditional value which differentiates African from "pure" European systems of musical appreciation is a typical example of the variety of subliminal culture pattern most immune to the pressures of an acculturative situation.

The metronome sense is not limited to the African; one variety of it is necessary in playing or listening to Hindu music, for example. But complete reliance on it, as a part of the standard musical equipment of every individual in making music, is an exclusively African musical trait. The metronome sense, in an extremely limited way, is also necessary in appreciating European music, particularly European social dance music and marching tunes. The rhythmic music of Europe, however, is so structured as to emphasize the very metric elements which African music is most likely to take for granted—the up-beat and the down-beat. The assumption by an African musician that his audience is supplying these fundamental beats permits him to elaborate his rhythms with these as a base, whereas the European tradition requires such close attention to their concrete expressions that rhythmic elaboration is limited for the most part to

mere ornament. From the point of view of European music, African music introduces a new rhythmic dimension.

Additional features of African music which set it off markedly from that of Europe may be summarized as follows:

Dominance of percussion.—Most African music includes, and depends upon, percussion instruments. Indeed, most African musical instruments are of this type, including a bewildering array of drums, rattles, and gongs. These are the necessary implements for the peculiarly African elaboration of rhythmic and metric constellations. Melodic instruments, also, are utilized for their percussive values, as in the case of "thumb pianos," xylophones, and, for the last three centuries or so, the European guitar. Conversely, the gongs and drums frequently have melodic and harmonic importance. The percussive effect of hand-clapping, often in intricate rhythmic patterns, is also utilized constantly in African music.

Polymeter.—European rhythms are typically based on single metrical schemes, more or less elaborated according to the types of music the rhythms are used to reinforce. In European folk and popular music, particularly that used as accompaniment to the dance, the tempo is steady; in academic forms, the tempo may be varied greatly. African music, on the other hand—based, as we have seen, on the invariant or accelerated tempo consistent with the metronome sense—uses the interplay of two or more metrical frameworks as the primary material out of which the music is built. While the individual components may be quite simple, the combination is likely to sound to European-trained ears completely puzzling, particularly when, as often happens, rhythmic emphasis shifts back and forth from meter to meter. Anyone who cares to attempt to perform a $\frac{6}{8}$ beat with one hand, a $\frac{4}{4}$ beat with the other, and a $\frac{3}{4}$ tap with the toe of one foot will be convinced of the complexity, and will learn something about the character, of African multiple meter. This particular relationship of time signatures is a common pattern in African musical rhythm. The various rhythms are usually expressed by drums or other percussion instruments, but they need not be. Signs that these complex patterns pervade all of the African feeling for music are to be read in the accent patterns of melodies both instrumental and vocal and are likewise evident in the motor behavior of participants in African dance.

Off-beat phrasing of melodic accents.—From the African tradition of taking for granted the presence of a basic musical beat in the mind of the performer and auditor alike has stemmed not only the elaboration of meters just discussed, but also a quite different artistic technique completely dependent for its effect on the metronome sense. Syncopation, as utilized in European music, is in a way the simplest form of this technique, but in the absence of the metronome sense further development could hardly occur. In popular writings on the subject of jazz, the term "syncopation" has been used to characterize the technique as it appears in that form of music. However, in terms of total musical effect this

label is felt to be misleading, and the more cumbersome but more general designation, offbeat phrasing of melodic accents, is preferred by the author.

In transcriptions of African music this pattern appears in the form of notes tied together across bar lines or across other main beats. Melodic tones, and particularly accented ones, occur between the sounded or implied beats of the measure with great frequency. The beat is, so to speak, temporarily suspended, i.e., delayed or advanced in melodic execution, sometimes for single notes (syncopation), sometimes for long series of notes. The displacement is by no means a random one, however, for the melodic notes not coinciding with the beat are invariably sounded, with great nicety, precisely on one of the points of either a duple or a triple division of the beat. Viewed a different way, this may be seen as a placement of tones *on* the beat of an implied meter at a tempo twice or thrice that of the controlling rhythm.

Certain psychological aspects of African off-beat phrasing must be considered if the pattern is to be fully understood. The maintenance of a subjective meter, in terms of the metronome sense, requires effort and, more particularly, a series of efforts regularly spaced in time. The regular recurrence of these "rhythmic awarenesses" involves the expectancy, at the moment of any beat, that the next beat will occur precisely at some succeeding moment determined by the tempo. Subjectively, the beat does occur. If it is reinforced by an objective stimulus in the form of a percussive or melodic tone, the metronome sense is reassured, and the effort involved in the subjective beat is masked by the effort of perceiving the objective pulse. If the objective beat is omitted, however, the co-operating auditor becomes very much aware of the subjective beat, which thus attains for him greatly increased significance. If the objective beat occurs ahead of time, the auditor, unprepared for it, perceives it and assigns to it the additional importance always accorded the unexpected, further reinforcing it with his subjective pulse which occurs at the "proper" time in terms of his experience. If the objective beat is delayed, the period of suspense between subjective and objective beats likewise increases the auditor's awareness of the rhythm. When the objective, audible beat occurs halfway between two subjective pulsations, as is frequently the case, both mechanisms operate to give the off-beat tone heightened significance.

On the other hand, it is apparent that if a whole tune were to be sung in such a way that each note occurred a half-beat ahead of a corresponding beat established by the subjective metronome on the basis of cues from, say, the initial beats of a percussion instrument, the subjective beats would sooner or later, depending on the degree of intransigence of the metronome sense of the auditor, come to be interpreted as off-beats, and hence would be realigned so as to coincide with the new beat pattern. In other words, complete "off-beating" has the same effect as complete lack of off-beat patterns; it is, in these terms, meaningless.

The off-beat phrasing of accents, then, must threaten, but never quite de-

stroy, the orientation of the listener's subjective metronome. In practice, this means that a sufficient number of notes of varying degrees of importance in the structure of the melody must coincide with the auditor's rhythmic set to validate the gestalt through reinforcement of key points. A very few notes so placed will suffice for a listener whose metronome sense is highly developed, particularly since at least one percussion instrument is likely to reinforce the main beat. Occasions where melodic notes are on the beat, and percussion notes are off, are more trying to the metronome sense than the usual situation just sketched, and, of course, melodic notes may be in an off-beat relationship to one meter in such a way as to suggest even more complex relationships with other simultaneous meters. Theoretically, elaborations of the combination of polymeter with off-beat phrasing are almost endless. In practice, however, limits are set to this development by the fact that, regardless of conditioning, no musician's and no listener's metronome sense operates beyond a certain point of complexity. This point, however, is likely to be far beyond anything the European tradition would consider rhythmically intelligible.

Overlapping call-and-response patterns.—While antiphonal song-patterning, whereby a leader sings phrases which alternate with phrases sung by a chorus, is known all over the world, nowhere else is this form so important as in Africa, where almost all songs are constructed in this manner. A peculiarity of the African call-and-response pattern, found but infrequently elsewhere, is that the chorus phrase regularly commences while the soloist is still singing; the leader, on his part, begins his phrase before the chorus has finished. This phenomenon is quite simply explained in terms of the African musical tradition of the primacy of rhythm. The entrance of the solo or the chorus part on the proper beat of the measure is the important thing, not the effects attained through antiphony of polyphony. Examples of call-and-response music in which the solo part, for one reason or another, drops out for a time, indicate clearly that the chorus part, rhythmical and repetitive, is the mainstay of the songs and the one really inexorable component of their rhythmic structure. The leader, receiving solid rhythmic support from the metrically accurate, rolling repetition of phrases by the chorus, is free to embroider as he will.

The metronome sense, then, together with these four basic characteristics related to or derived from it, accounts for the major differences between tribal African and European folk and popular music. In attempting to trace the influence of African musical ideas on the music of the Americas, we must, therefore, pay particular attention to these features. The extension of purely rhythmic aspects of African musical style to Western Hemisphere music has already been discussed at some length (247). Certain additional musical and allied practices of that area may, however, be mentioned here, and the fact of their appearance in the Americas simply indicated. While, as has been mentioned, the African scale is diatonic like that of Europe, the tendency toward variable intonation of the third and seventh of the scale has occasionally been noted in West

African music.³ This is the "blues" scale. West African song often utilizes the device of contrapuntal duet, with or without an additional recurrent chorus phrase (250, Album II, record 6). This pattern is important in the religious singing of southern United States Negroes. The use of song as a device for social control and for the venting of aggression and the traditional contests of virtuosity in singing and playing are functioning elements of West African culture today, as they are of such musical styles as the Trinidad "calypso" in the New World. The counterclockwise circle dance, in which the dancers make up a part of the singing chorus, is common both in West Africa and in the New World, as is the custom of singing in falsetto. Finally, there is, in West Africa, little difference, in purely musical terms, between sacred and secular usage; this is mirrored in all the areas of Negro settlement in the Americas.

There are two aspects of the problem of African influence on the music of the Americas. One concerns the music of predominantly Negro populations, the other the spread of stylistic elements from American Negro music to the music of New World populations in general. Also, two distinct geographical areas—roughly, North American and Latin American—must be considered separately, since they have had different acculturation histories.

In the Negro population of Brazil all traits⁴ of African music have been retained, and many songs are sung in West African languages.⁵ Negro songs of Dutch Guiana exhibit all the listed traits of West African music; they are, however, sung in a creolized language compounded, for the most part, of English vocabulary and West African phonetics and grammar (119; 130). In Haiti, songs of the *Vodun* cult show all traits of African music, as do many secular songs (53; 52). In Jamaica, both sacred and secular music of the Negroes of the Port Morant district frequently show the five "basic" African traits.⁶ Found here also is the use of a large African vocabulary, both in songs and in actual conversation. Negro music of the Island of Trinidad ranges from the religious songs of the Shango Cult of Port-of-Spain, conceived in purely African style, through the various urban secular styles, including the "calypso," in which all the basic African traits are to be observed, to the "reels," "quadrilles," "bongos," and "beles" of the rural districts, in which European and African traits are commingled, although all the basic African traits are likely to appear (245). Most of the folk music of Puerto Rico is derived from Spain, although the style called "la bomba" is of purely African conception, while the popular

3. For a typical example of this, hear 250, Album I, song 5C.

4. "All traits" of African music, in the present list, must be taken to mean those basic traits discussed above as distinguishing tribal African from European folk music: the metronome sense, dominance of percussion, polymeter, off-beat phrasing, and overlapping call-and-response patterns.

5. See 121. Research now being conducted by A. P. Merriam, using a larger sample of Afro-Bahian cult music, confirms these findings (personal communication).

6. Recorded 1950, by Joseph G. Moore. To be deposited with the Laboratory of Comparative Musicology, Department of Anthropology, Northwestern University.

urban Negro style, the *plena* (Puerto Rican equivalent of the calypso) sometimes shows all the African traits (246). Percussion instruments of African origin are used in connection with all the above styles.

In United States Negro musical styles, one of the main African components, polymeter, is usually absent except by implication, and there is a dearth of African-type musical instruments.⁷ Metronomism, however, is present in all Negro sacred and secular styles, as is the importance of percussion (wherever percussion instruments or effects are not proscribed by circumstances) and the overlapping call-and-response pattern.

In modern American Negro spirituals and, to a greater degree, in the urban gospel hymns, percussion effects are stressed even in the absence of actual instruments, and the instruments (sometimes, but rarely, the pipe-organ, usually the piano, and frequently the guitar and tambourine) used are, in general, exploited to the full extent of their percussive possibilities (248). The overlapping call-and-response and the off-beat phrasing of melodic accents are important features of the religious music of the United States Negro, and a well-developed metronome sense is required for its appreciation.

It is evident, then, that in the regions mentioned, which span the habitat of the Negro in the Americas, music associated with Negroes is, in terms of the five dominant values listed, predominantly African. There are, even in the United States, cases of Negro songs with melodies almost identical to recorded African songs.⁸ These identities must be laid to the fact that the songs have sprung from similar roots.

The music of these same areas which is *not* specifically identified with Negro populations likewise shows, in many instances, the same African traits. The diagnostic rhythm schemes of the Brazilian *samba* and the Cuban *rumba* and *conga*, to mention only three examples, are common in West African music. In general, most styles of popular dance music in these Latin American countries where the Negro population is at all dense have been strongly influenced by the basic African musical patterns listed, and many African musical instruments, such as drums, calabashes, etc., are used.

The areas referred to are those in which research has been done specifically from the point of view of African acculturation. There are undoubtedly many other instances of African musical influence in Latin America. For example, the Guatemalan "national instrument" is the *marimba*—an instrument certainly derived from Africa. In Mexico, especially in the region of the former slave port of Vera Cruz, African elements appear strongly in the rhythms of the folk music. The Argentine *maxixe*, to mention another example, probably can be considered as of partly African origin.

7. See, however, Courlander's convincing derivation of the United States Negro "tub" from the West African "earth bow" (54, p. 5).

8. Hear, for example, "Run Old Jeremiah" (150), and compare with "Bahutu Dance" (23). Also compare the "Mossi Chant" (250, Album I) with "Long John" (149).

A major artistic product of the United States is the music called "jazz." Jazz is an intricate blend of musical idioms and has also had its own evolution as an art form. It is, of course, no one thing; yet any attempt to frame an all-inclusive definition points up the fact that those elements that mark off any kind of jazz from the rest of the popular music of the United States are precisely those we have cited as diagnostic of West African music.

For example, jazz depends, for its effect, largely on the metronome sense of its listeners and its players. Jazz terminology makes constant reference to this metronome sense. Musical terms like "rock" and "swing" express ideas of rhythm foreign to European folk tradition, and stem from African concepts, as does the extremely basic idea of the application of the word "hot" to musical rhythms. The development of a "feeling for the beat," so important in jazz musicianship, is neither more nor less than the development of the metronome sense.

The tremendous importance accorded to complex percussion patterns is another basic trait of African music to appear in jazz. An appreciable proportion of African dance music is entirely drum music; the tradition of long drum solos appears in all jazz styles, and, in the United States, only in the jazz styles.

The overlapping call-and-response pattern has, in jazz, been reworked in accordance with jazz instrumentation and orchestration. Typically, a soloist plays the call phrases as an improvised variation on the melody, while an appropriate section of instruments plays the chorus pattern, repeated with only those minimal changes forced by the changing harmonies, as a "riff." Most jazz band records contain examples of this use of the riff; since it is a pattern which gives a good deal of "rock" to the music, it is frequently reserved for the last, hottest chorus.

The off-beat phrasing of melodic accents is a stylistic trait which functions in jazz in unusually clear-cut fashion perhaps because of the absence of polymetric formations, which tend to make the off-beats equivocal. Syncopation has often been spoken of as an earmark of jazz melodies; of importance here is the fact that, in addition, jazz makes constant use of the more extended off-beat phrasing patterns. It is these, rather than syncopation per se, which give to the melodic line of jazz its characteristic impelling rhythmic quality.

In this short paper it has been possible to illustrate in only the most general way the character of African influences on the music of the Americas. To summarize: in areas (e.g., in Brazil, Haiti, and Cuba) where the official European religion permitted the syncretism of deities with the saints of the Church, African religious music has persisted almost unchanged, and African influence upon secular music has been strong. In Protestant areas where such syncretism has not been possible, the influence of African musical patterns on both religious and secular music has hinged upon a more extensive process of reinterpretation but is nonetheless considerable, in that fundamental characteristics of West African music have been retained.

In the case of the music of the Negro in the New World, we have an ideal situation for the study of musical change. We know, in general, the African side of the equation, although much field work must be done before specific tribal styles—the real raw data for our study—can be described. We also know the European side, and we are in a position to study the American results of musical acculturation. We also know enough about the general cultural contexts of the various American Negro musical styles to be able to assess both historical and contemporary factors bearing on change. Furthermore, among the less tangible aspects of culture, music is unique in that it can readily be quantified and submitted to rigid statistical analysis, although nothing of this sort has been attempted in this paper. The objective demonstration of the retention and reworking of West African tribal musical styles in the Americas, which seems likely to follow the collection of sufficient field data from specific African groups, may be expected to have relevance for the study of other cultural intangibles which, while not so easily subjected to quantitative treatment, are, like musical patterns, carried largely below the level of consciousness.

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MODERN INDIAN, MIXED, AND CREOLE CULTURES