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## INTRODUCTION

Because mutiny on the bounty's what we're all about.

—THE BEASTIE BOYS, “RHYMIN’ AND STEALIN’” (1986)

*Rhymin’ and Stealin’* begins with a crucial premise: the fundamental element of hip-hop culture and aesthetics is the overt use of preexisting material to new ends. Whether it is taking an old dance move for a breakdancing battle, using spray paint to create street art, quoting from a famous speech, or sampling a rapper or 1970s funk song, hip-hop aesthetics involve borrowing from the past. When these elements are appropriated and reappropriated, they become transformed into something new, something different, something *hip-hop*.

Although all music genres use and adapt preexisting material in different ways, hip-hop music celebrates and flaunts its “open source” culture through highly varied means. It is this interest in the web of references, borrowed material, and digitally sampled sounds that forms the basis of this book—sampling and other types of borrowing becomes a framework with which to analyze hip-hop music and wider cultural trends.

From its onset, hip-hop music was founded on the manipulation of preexisting material; DJs were borrowing instrumental excerpts from records (known as “breaks” or “breakbeats”) to craft their sets, either looping passages with two copies of the same record or stringing passages together from different records. (See chap. 1 for a longer description of hip-hop music’s origins.) Joseph Schloss writes that “the looping aesthetic . . . combined a traditional African American approach to composition with new technology to create a radically new way of making music.”<sup>1</sup> As digital sampling technology improved and became more affordable in the mid- to late 1980s, many hip-hop DJ practices (such

as “crate digging,” looping, and collage techniques) shifted to the “hip-hop producer.” As digital sampling emerged in hip-hop culture, it has been said, it aligned itself with the early days of the hip-hop aesthetic: “Indeed, the story of sampling is a tale of technology catching up with the DJ, of equipment being created that could do faster, more accurately and more easily what a DJ had long been able to.”<sup>2</sup> Bill Brewster and Frank Broughton argue convincingly that sampling was just a faster, more complex and permanent way of recreating what the DJs had been doing all along.<sup>3</sup>

Because of the tightening of copyright legislation for sampling in the late 1980s and early 1990s, collage-style albums like those from Public Enemy and De La Soul would be too expensive to make commercially in the mid-1990s and after.<sup>4</sup> Hip-hop music production post-mid-1990s is too varied to define comprehensively, but it often includes a mix of technology such as samplers, sequencers (machines that put samples together), synthesizers, drum machines, and more traditionally “live” instruments. Above all, the most unifying sonic thread within hip-hop is the particular drum timbres that have their origins in 1970s funk.<sup>5</sup>

The openness of the funk break allows hip-hop producers to sample and borrow from myriad types of music and other sounds, thus permitting a high degree of tempo manipulation in general. This is how a breakbeat like the introduction from the Honeydrippers’ “Impeach the President” (1973) can be looped with Beethoven’s “Für Elise” for Nas’s “I Can” and can also be used on the synthesizer-heavy “Chronic (Intro),” produced by Dr. Dre. Both examples fit neatly in the hip-hop music genre yet utilize strikingly disparate material.<sup>6</sup> These rhythmic structures act as the anchor, often looped as part of a “basic beat” as the structural foundation of a track.<sup>7</sup> The foundational role of the drum and its specific timbres, as in many African-based musics, is what gives hip-hop its identity as a genre. Even when the drums are not present (such as in an a cappella rap), I would argue that particular drum sounds are implied as counterpoint to the rapper’s delivery. As its primary defining feature, then, the funk break seems to yield limitless possibilities for the varieties of musical borrowing in hip-hop and other breakbeat-based musics.

## Musical Borrowing, Digital Sampling, and Signifyin(g)

In academic studies of hip-hop's musical appropriations, "sampling" has been the dominant term, usually without any in-depth or critical description.<sup>8</sup> For example, Joanna Demers's article on the lineage between gangsta rap and 1970s blaxploitation film begins: "Musical borrowings, or samples, have long been a means of creating lineage between hip-hop and older genres of African-American music such as funk, soul, and rhythm and blues."<sup>9</sup> I find it more productive, however, to create a distinction between musical borrowing and digital sampling as a special case of musical borrowing. In contrast, I have chosen to use the terms *autosonic quotation* and *allosonic quotation*, from Serge Lacasse, to differentiate between sampled and nonsampled quotations, respectively. Autosonic quotation is quotation of a recording by digitally sampling it (digital or analogue), as opposed to allosonic quotation, which quotes the previous material by way of rerecording or performing it live (like a quote in jazz performance), rather than sampling from the original recording.<sup>10</sup>

A number of metaphors have been used to discuss sampling in hip-hop. For example, Russell Potter describes sampling as raids, politically subverting traditional author functions, as well as traditional roles of production and consumption.<sup>11</sup> His reading of hip-hop is largely through a postmodern lens, one that sees the play of postmodernism, in this case, to be highly political, as a form of resistance and a strategy for solidifying communities and traditions.<sup>12</sup>

Potter also describes sampling as a form of Signifyin(g), a concept theorized by Henry Louis Gates Jr. in African American literary studies and adapted to black musics by Samuel A. Floyd Jr.<sup>13</sup> To quote Potter:

Simply put, Signifyin(g) is repetition *with a difference*; the same and yet not the same. When, in a jazz riff, a horn player substitutes one arpeggio for a harmony note, or "cuts up" a well-known solo by altering its tempo, phrasing, or accents, s/he is Signifyin(g) on all previous versions. When a blues singer, like Blind Willie McTell, "borrows" a cut known as the "Wabash Rag" and re-cuts it as the "Georgia Rag," he is Signifyin(g) on a rival's recording.<sup>14</sup>

Like ragtime, swing music, bebop, hard bop, cool, reggae, dub, dance remixes, and mash-ups, hip-hop is a musical form that was Signfyin(g) on what came before. Furthermore, musical texts Signify upon one another, troping and revising particular musical ideas. These musical "conversations" can therefore occur between the present and the past or synchronically within a particular genre.

To Signify is to foreground the signifier, to give it importance for its own sake. The language of the Signifying Monkey from African folklore is playful yet intelligent and can be found in hipster talk and radio DJs of the 1950s, comedians such as Redd Foxx, 1970s blaxploitation characters such as Dolemite, and countless rap lyrics. In addition to Signifying as masterful revision and repetition of tropes, it also includes double-voiced or multivoiced utterances that complicate any simple semiotic interpretation.<sup>15</sup>

In his 2004 ethnographic study *Making Beats*, Joseph Schloss is largely concerned with the practices and "ethics" of a relatively small, albeit tight-knit and influential, hip-hop producer community. I choose to cast my net wider than he does, focusing largely on reception rather than production, as well as accounting for the entire hip-hop recording rather than just the production of the beats. Schloss's interviews and insights have been undoubtedly important in forwarding the study of sample-based hip-hop and crucial to the study of hip-hop compositional process, particularly emphasizing the role that aesthetics has in the motivation to sample from a particular record.<sup>16</sup>

It is worth considering what sets digital sampling apart from other forms of borrowing, as it arguably has radicalized music making and listening. Chris Cutler provides a definition:

Digital sampling is a purely electronic digital recording system which takes samples or "vertical slices" of sound and converts them into binary information, into data, which tells a sound producing system how to *reconstruct*, rather than *reproduce* it. Instantly . . . it is stored rather as discrete data, which act as *instructions* for the eventual reconstruction of a sound (as a visual object when electronically scanned is translated only into a binary code).<sup>17</sup>

Digital sampling, particularly its ability to reproduce sounds or groups of sounds so accurately, has changed the musical landscape in a number of ways.<sup>18</sup> Additionally, one also needs to consider how new technologies extend rather than replace existing musical practices. Mark Katz, for example, embraces multiple traditions that predate sampling by considering Public Enemy's "Fight the Power" as a digital form of Signifyin(g), linking it to African traditions, while at the same time acknowledging sampling as a form of musical borrowing that has a long history in Western classical music. He believes that what sets digital sampling apart from other quotation is what he calls "performative quotation"—"quotation that recreates all the details of timbre and timing that evoke and identify a unique sound event."<sup>19</sup> And though the patterns of os and is stay the same in digital sampling, these samples can become transformative through their specific contexts.

Intertextuality in hip-hop culture always lies at the crossroads between technology and history, between African and African American artistic traditions and newer technologies like digital sampling that allow practitioners to extend older traditions in new and varied ways.<sup>20</sup> Each composer and listener hears particular, varied elements from this chronological imaginary spectrum, and from this, larger patterns and questions can emerge. For example, the investigation of how earlier material is borrowed in primarily 1990s and 2000s US mainstream hip-hop music has unearthed questions on larger issues, most broadly questions of history (chap. 1), genre (chap. 2), space (chap. 3), death/memorial (chap. 4), and lineage (chap. 5). Each chapter begins with these broader themes and ideas from within hip-hop culture, narrowing toward closer readings of hip-hop texts to show how text and context work together to elucidate these broader ideas.

## Musical Borrowing in Hip-Hop

My choice of the term *hip-hop* instead of *rap music* is deliberate, even though all the subsequent case studies fall under the latter classification as well. (I do not investigate other hip-hop musical forms such as turn-

tabilism, Bristol “trip-hop,” or the “instrumental hip-hop” of artists like DJ Shadow, Madlib, and Flying Lotus.<sup>21</sup>) My decision to use the term stems from the fact that the instances of borrowing that I highlight in this study are part of a larger hip-hop aesthetic that encompasses all the so-called four elements of hip-hop culture (rapping, DJing, graffiti, and breakdancing).<sup>22</sup> For example, Schloss writes of borrowing as lineage in terms of incorporating “foundational” moves in contemporary b-boy (breakdancing) routines. Borrowing and quotation are arguably just as important to b-boying as they are to rap music. He also adds that “graffiti writers, for example, often use specific letter styles as tributes to their teachers, while stylistic lineages are also valued—and can be heard—in hip-hop production.”<sup>23</sup>

My decision to use the term *hip-hop*, then, is threefold: I wish to emphasize, first, that my music examples reflect wider processes throughout multiple artistic forms considered part of a wider “hip-hop culture”; second, that there exists a wider hip-hop community, an imagined community, that interprets these intertextualities; and third, that my work acts as an open text in an effort to initiate a dialogue with others interested in borrowing in hip-hop cultures. It would be most fruitful to collaborate on a comparative analysis of borrowing in graffiti, hip-hop music (rap music and turntabilism), and breakdancing in future scholarly endeavors. I discuss only one of these elements in great detail at present, but implicit in this study is the fact that these practices and attitudes are manifest in multiple realms of hip-hop culture.

Furthermore, I use the term *musical* of *musical borrowing* to encompass all aspects of hip-hop texts, sound recordings, and music videos, including aspects of quotation and references in lyrics and music video imagery, in addition to musical complements to rap delivery (“the beat”).<sup>24</sup> As a musicologist, I aim to emphasize *sounds* rather than present a lyric-based approach, and it is important to state that I am looking at music in the broadest sense of these sounds. Though this book engages deeply with social cultures and contexts, my investigations begin and end with musical texts, seeking a deeper understanding of meaning within these recordings and what their reception says about larger cultural practices.

I also use the terms *beat* and *flow* to separate the lyrical content and

delivery of the rapper(s) from its musical complement, acknowledging that they are nevertheless inextricably linked.<sup>25</sup> I do want to foreground all sounds in the musical text of the recording, mediated by their socio-historically situated interpretations, while concurrently recognizing that music can also act a mediator.<sup>26</sup>

*Borrowing* is the term that creates the widest net for my purposes, but I could have easily used the word *appropriation* or even stronger value-laden terms such as *stealing* or *theft*. (The title “Musical Theft in Hip-Hop Music,” however, suggests too large a value judgment for my taste.) The fact is that artists have “stolen” since time immemorial: Shakespeare from Ovid and Plutarch, Renaissance mass composers from Gregorian chant, Bartók from folk melodies, Bob Dylan from everyone, and blues singers from each other. Jonathan Lethem writes, “As examples accumulate . . . it becomes apparent that appropriation, mimicry, quotation, allusion, and sublimated collaboration consist of a kind of *sine qua non* of the creative act, cutting across all forms and genres in the realm of cultural production.”<sup>27</sup> Of course, by no means is the term *borrowing* value free, quite the opposite. To borrow something implies that it should be returned intact or that it *can* be. And perhaps in some ways it *is* returned, albeit transformed in both old and new contexts. For my purposes, however, *borrowing* sidesteps the ethical arguments in favor of more detailed analysis and places these hip-hop practices within a well-established lineage of musical borrowing in both African-based and European-based musics.<sup>28</sup>

## Textually Signaled and Unsignaled Borrowing

As stated previously, the initial premise of the book is that hip-hop presupposes an unconcealed intertextuality. Much of this has to do with the hip-hop community’s expectations (its “generic contract”),<sup>29</sup> but this is not meant to imply that all hip-hop musical texts draw attention to their borrowing equally. In his book on pastiche, Richard Dyer points out that pastiche as an imitative artistic form is “textually signaled” as such; in other words, the text itself draws attention to the fact that it contains

imitative material. Catherine Grant and Christine Geraghty, in the context of film adaptation theory, believe that textually signaling is crucial to an adaptation, that the film somehow recalls the source novel: “the most important act that films and their surrounding discourses need to perform in order to communicate unequivocally their status as adaptations is to [make their audiences] *recall* the adapted work, or the cultural memory of it. There is no such thing . . . as a ‘secret’ adaptation.”<sup>30</sup> In the case of pastiche and film adaptation, and in forms like parody and homage, recognizing that these works are referring to something that precedes them is crucial to their identity as that form, necessary to their *working* as such.

The table below, from Richard Dyer’s study of pastiche, shows how pastiche as imitation “fits” into qualitative categories as compared to other forms of imitation: whether it conceals its imitation as plagiarism and forgeries do; whether the text itself draws attention to its imitation (to be “textually signaled”) or not; and whether the imitative form, by its nature, already suggests some sort of preconceived evaluative response (as in parody).

In the context of hip-hop music, those knowledgeable of a broad range of hip-hop styles will see that the genre does not actually fall neatly into just the “not textually signaled” or “textually signaled” categoriza-

CONCEALED		UNCONCEALED	
NOT TEXTUALLY SIGNALLED		TEXTUALLY SIGNALLED	
EVALUATIVELY OPEN			EVALUATIVELY PREDETERMINED
plagiarism	copies	pastiche	emulation homage
fake forgery hoax	versions		travesty burlesque mock epic
	genre		parody

TABLE 1. From Richard Dyer, *Pastiche* (London: Routledge, 2007), 24

tion.<sup>31</sup> Though I argue that unconcealed borrowing forms a crucial part of hip-hop aesthetics, hip-hop songs can textually signal their borrowing overtly or not do so, and both approaches can be manifested in a number of ways. Consider two songs discussed in subsequent chapters, “Rebirth of Slick (Cool like Dat)” by Dignable Planets (chap. 2) and “Who Am I? (What’s My Name)” by Snoop Doggy Dogg (chap. 3). The hiss of vinyl can be heard faintly in the introduction of “Rebirth of Slick,” textually signaling that some of the song has its roots elsewhere, that elements have been borrowed. In contrast, “Who Am I?” contains many elements derived from earlier songs but was rerecorded in a studio (apart from its two-bar introduction) and does not contain any vinyl popping or hiss characteristic of sample-based hip-hop songs. In other words, the intertextuality of “Who Am I?” is not textually signaled. Its sources of material are not obvious in themselves, and to a young listener unknowledgeable of 1970s soul and funk, it can sound strikingly “original” (as it did to me when I first heard it at age eleven).

The musical distinctions between “Who Am I?” and “Rebirth of Slick” show that hip-hop recordings can be categorized based on whether or not the borrowing employed draws attention to its past. Many times, digitally sampling a well-known lyric or beat is akin to showing part of a song’s inner workings or inner parts or at least signaling that it has its origins elsewhere. And in other songs, such as the Dr. Dre example, borrowings are streamlined into sounding new, though their inner parts are taken from songs decades earlier. To consider music in such a way shifts the argument from how original a work actually is to how original it *appears to be*. At the risk of overgeneralizing major music genres, rock ‘n’ roll and rock music’s intertextualities have been generally more concealed and textually unsignaled in terms of their intra- and extramusical discourses than the intertextualities of hip-hop, though any such statement is always more complicated at a closer level of detail.<sup>32</sup>

Examples of textually signaled borrowing in hip-hop music include but are not limited to the following:

1. *In lyrics and flow*: drawing attention to the source of a quotation, for example, when 50 Cent says in “Patiently Waiting” (3:43): “Snoop said this in ‘94: ‘We don’t love them hoes’” (from Snoop’s “Gin and Juice”

[0:55]). 50 Cent also imitates Snoop's delivery of the line as a true allosonic quotation of the text, as well as attributing the source of his quotation in the lyrics. Another example is using short snippets of dialogue from television or radio that seem incongruous to the other parts of the song (such as the autosonic quotation "Meanwhile, deep underground somewhere outside the city" on Jurassic 5's "High Fidelity" [1:50]).

2. *In beat*: vinyl hiss and popping, scratching, looped beats, chopped-up beats (as producers and rappers may use a sample as an opening phrase and proceed to chop the phrase for its basic beat, such as Kanye West does on his own "Champion" and on Talib Kweli's "In the Mood"),<sup>33</sup> breakbeats that fall firmly within the breakbeat canon, heavy collages of sound (the Bomb Squad, DJ Shadow), and sped-up samples (such as the use of Chaka Khan's "Through the Fire" on Kanye West's "Through the Wire"). In addition, sampling could be textually signaled if the borrowed fragment "doesn't quite fit" with the rest of the material, for example, if the sample is slightly out of tune with other elements (the "de-tuned layers" that Adam Krims discusses) or if the duration of the sample does not fit any "regular" pattern (i.e., a 4- or 8-bar pattern).

These distinctions are important to make, in light of the fact that on an abstract level, "everything is borrowed," a phrase that I myself borrow from an album title of the UK hip-hop artist The Streets.<sup>34</sup> But what is compelling for the purposes of this book is how particular communities incorporate borrowing, celebrate it or conceal it, and discuss it. It is from here that I outline hip-hop as an imagined community, for my purposes the most appropriate way to preface this study and to answer questions regarding borrowing reception in hip-hop music.

## Hip-Hop as Imagined Community

It is safe to say that hip-hop culture has become its own "art world" (to invoke sociologist Howard Becker's influential study).<sup>35</sup> This is a concept fundamental to Schloss's approach to studying hip-hop, both his groundbreaking book on sample-based hip-hop production and his

book on b-boying. He acknowledges that hip-hop culture is self-reflexive and self-critiquing:

But to understand hip-hop's powerful self-critique, we need to understand hip-hop *on its own terms*. Not only because it has interesting symbolic, political, and social implications (although they are important), not only because it confirms our theories about the work of art in the age of electronic reproduction (although that's valuable, too), but simply because the way hip-hop sees the world is itself a legitimate and consistent and fascinating intellectual system.<sup>36</sup>

I claim that this hip-hop world is an "imagined community," to borrow a term from Benedict Anderson's writings on nationalism.<sup>37</sup> To quote Anderson, "It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion."<sup>38</sup> A given community will be maintained through print and electronic media, solidifying traditions, histories, identities, and cultural objects that contribute to its continuity (such as a national anthem and/or era-defining events and individuals). As in any nation, its demographic contains a number of highly heterogeneous negotiating identities. To be a fan and practitioner of hip-hop music (in any of its forms and sub-genres) is to belong to a musical culture, and it is toward this culture that borrowing practices are aimed, including the listeners who interpret it most thoughtfully.

In 1999, perhaps not coincidentally the year after hip-hop officially outsold country music as the United States' best-selling music genre, a number of journalists acknowledged the existence of a "Hip-Hop Nation." In "I Live in the Hiphop Nation," journalist Touré recounts that there is no single president of the nation, but a number of MCs who act as senators: "Unlike rhythm and blues, hiphop has a strong memoiristic impulse, meaning our senator-MCs speak of themselves, their neighborhoods, the people around them, playing autobiographer, reporter, and oral historian."<sup>39</sup>

The self-referential nature of this imagined community is crucial to understanding the intramusical and extramusical discourses in the genre. As hip-hop matured as a genre, observes journalist Oliver Wang, it became an internalized discourse. The number of peer references, linguistic idiosyncrasies, and quotes became a feature not just of rap lyrics and music but also of the relevant journalism: "Once the music and culture had a long-enough internal history, writers began to write more insularly. References no longer had to bounce off people, idea, and events outside of hip-hop; a writer could simply nod to someone or something within hip-hop, and readers understood."<sup>40</sup> The same can be said for intertextual references within hip-hop recordings—the listeners understood many of the references. References not only draw attention to hip-hop's internalized discourse but often draw attention to various traditions outside of hip-hop as well. And what is considered intrageneric rather than outside the genre is largely evaluated by who is listening and by an ever-shifting play of signifiers that may or may not become embedded in a generic nexus.

Additionally, in terms of any given musical imagined community, there exist certain ideological attitudes toward borrowing and "originality."<sup>41</sup> For example, certain early music cultures (e.g., those who compose *cantus firmus*, paraphrase and parody masses) resemble the hip-hop world in their unconcealed intertextualities, in that borrowing was a large part of the compositional practice, and overtly so, in contrast to nineteenth-century Romantic ideologies where composers often denied their precursors in an attempt to appear purely original.<sup>42</sup> As Raymond Knapp writes, "nineteenth-century composers endeavored to create original masterworks consisting primarily of musical clichés on all levels, while somehow disguising from their audiences the fact that they had, in an important sense, heard it all before."<sup>43</sup> While this quote could be applied to much of popular music today, hip-hop music largely celebrates its intertextualities and references, and knowledgeable listeners will no doubt understand certain references even when the borrowing is not textually signaled.

In addition to how a musical culture treats the concept of originality, another important question to ask of a musical culture is whether or not

it places more value on the individual or on the collective. It is safe to say that the Romantic musical world placed its emphasis on the individual, and this ideology has seeped into rock music most noticeably. Hip-hop music is not without its individual “stars,” as the culture often intersects with Romantic/individualistic notions of authenticity quite forcefully, but these stars also use references and intertextualities to bolster their own stardom, and later artists reference these stars to heighten their own authenticities (see chaps. 4 and 5). In other words, while individuality certainly exists in hip-hop culture, it is frequently supported by a collective or collaborative ethos in line with the ethos of jazz, funk, gospel, and other African-based musics that place a high emphasis on the collective as part of the “changing same” of black music.<sup>44</sup>

### Imagined Communities as Interpretative Communities

In studies of borrowing, there is always the question of whether to favor compositional process or cultural reception or, to invoke Jean-Jacques Nattiez, to place emphasis on the *poiesic* or the *esthesis* dimension, respectively.<sup>45</sup> Christopher Reynolds, in his study of allusion in nineteenth-century German instrumental music, asks whether an allusion needs to be recognized in order to be successful. He says that it does not and writes that “allusions are therefore more important for how music is made than for how it is heard.”<sup>46</sup> Or should the focus be placed on reception? To quote David Metzger’s study of quotation in twentieth-century music: “Recognition then forms a crux for quotation, especially in its role as a cultural agent. Simply put, if a borrowing is not detected then it and its cultural resonances go unheard.”<sup>47</sup> And if the latter is to be preferred, whose reception is it exactly? For Metzger, it is the study of “cultural agency” in quotation,<sup>48</sup> though he does not always devote sufficient space to locating and describing the cultures that would recognize those quotations. More important in this case, how can a study of musical borrowing in hip-hop not simply become the private reflections of an idiosyncratic white middle-class academic such as myself, risking a danger of implicitly making the spurious claim that these

references on which I chose to focus as a musicologist can generally be heard by "all"?

The answer lies within the imagined community of hip-hop. Most crucially, this imagined community is also as an "interpretive community," to make reference to Stanley Fish and reader-response theory:

Indeed, it is interpretive communities, rather than either the text or the reader, that produce meanings and are responsible for the emergence of formal features. Interpretive communities are made up of those who share interpretive strategies for not reading but for writing texts, for constituting their properties. In other words these strategies exist prior to the act of reading and therefore determine the shape of what is read rather than, as is usually assumed, the other way around.<sup>49</sup>

In any given reference in a rap song, some listeners will understand the reference, and some will not, to varying degrees. This is not to suggest that there are one or more fixed meanings, or a dialectic between past and present, or necessarily between a hip-hop song and its source sample, but multiple imagined "sources," based on the previous knowledge of specific songs, artists, or genres. It is the reading and misreading of these sources, as reflected by constantly shifting and negotiating interpretations within hip-hop's imagined communities, that form the foundation of this project. These hip-hop interpretative communities (to which, as a fan and scholar of hip-hop music, I also belong) bring their experiences to the understanding of hip-hop texts, shaping and inflecting these texts through the interaction involved in the listening and interpreting experience.

Despite variations that are inevitable with a group's interpretation of any given utterance, I would argue that there exists an audience expectation that hip-hop is a vast intertextual network that helps to form and inform the generic contract between audiences and hip-hop groups and artists. And in many cases, hip-hop practitioners overtly celebrate their peers, ancestors, and musical pasts, though the reasons for this may diverge and though the way in which references and sources are textually signaled (or unsignaled) varies on an imaginary spectrum that

roughly corresponds to a timeline of traditions and technical innovations. Whereas certain rock ideologies that borrow from Romantic notions of musical genius attempt to demonstrate an illusionary originality, hip-hop takes pride in appropriating and celebrating other sounds and ideas. It is reflective of a long lineage of African American and pre-Romantic-Western music making that has embraced the collective in different ways.<sup>50</sup>

Musical codes can work on a number of levels in borrowing and not simply along the lines of textually signaled or not, or autsonic versus allosonic borrowings. Musical codes can exist on the level of genre recognition (in the case of jazz in chap. 2) or that of a recognizable artist voice (in the case of 2Pac and Notorious B.I.G. in chaps. 4 and 5). In other words, listeners do not have to have knowledge of the *exact* song being borrowed for it to communicate meaning. And again, this will vary among listeners: some will know the exact song, some will recognize a genre, and some will realize that it could reference a number of elements, as hip-hop is often a multivocal discourse. Two examples will suffice.

Ingrid Monson, discussing Signifyin(g) in jazz, uses the example of John Coltrane's "My Favorite Things" as an example of ironic Signification, troping on a Broadway song and transforming it into a song with new meanings.<sup>51</sup> The hip-hop group OutKast also covers "My Favorite Things" on *Speakerboxxx/The Love Below* (2003), with a prominent "drum and bass" feel, and include a soprano saxophone characteristic of Coltrane. In analyzing the OutKast version, are we to consider this a two-way relationship between the OutKast and the Coltrane versions because of the soprano saxophone, or can we also include the original *Sound of Music* version in the analysis? Borrowing in hip-hop is highly multivocal, and there may be more than one source or in fact a lineage that complicates any sort of dialectical reading between "old" and "new" texts.<sup>52</sup>

A second example involves how best to theorize the relationship of James Brown to hip-hop culture. Elizabeth Wheeler, in her study of the dialogic nature of sampling, states that "quoting James Brown is always an act of homage."<sup>53</sup> But it may be worth asking: at what moment does "homage to James Brown" become a more general (or generic) homage

to hip-hop? Or is it now always double-voiced? That is, is it demonstrating a quasi-DuBoisian double-consciousness, at once representing both hip-hop and funk? Wheeler's comment came in 1991, only eleven years after the first hip-hop on record. But twenty years after Wheeler's article, at the time of this writing, perhaps rather than homage to James Brown and funk music, such quoting has become homage to hip-hop as its own self-conscious genre. The possibility is open that the racial, political, and other associations attached to James Brown stay intact and that a James Brown reference now represents both hip-hop culture *and* James Brown as one its forefathers. These meanings depend on who is interpreting the samples (as James Brown's voice and breakbeats are normally sampled rather than borrowed), but treating James Brown as hip-hop signifier can potentially show that academic discourse on hip-hop can engage thoughtfully with references from within its own genre, in addition to the vast amount of previous academic discussion on sampling's link to pre-hip-hop forms.<sup>54</sup>

Ingrid Monson, in the context of jazz, has provided a useful explanation of the varied ways that borrowing can be utilized and interpreted within a musical culture:

The reference may be as specific as a melodic quotation from a particular piece or as diffuse as a timbre or style of groove. It might be from within or without mainstream jazz repertory. The important point is that a chain of associations may be set off that engage the listener and unite her or him with a community of other individuals who share a similar musical point of view. Quotations are only the most obvious examples of the thick web of intertextual and intermusical associations to which knowledgeable performers and listeners react. Theoretically almost any musical detail or composite thereof could convey a reference, so long as a community of interpreters can recognize the continuity. The key here is "community of interpreters" (which includes both performers and audience), for a sonic detail becomes sonically meaningful and actionable only in an at least partially shared context of use.<sup>55</sup>

Monson locates a jazz community that will understand the web of inter-

textual references, similar to the kind of interpretations and communications from the hip-hop communities in the following chapters.

The imagined community of the hip-hop world prepares the framework for the first case study in chapter 1. As hip-hop is now over thirty years on record, rappers and producers now borrow from hip-hop's *own* past, creating a web of references that demonstrate "insider knowledge" of this genre, solidifying further the hip-hop community around the world. In this chapter I locate borrowing as a demonstration of "historical authenticity," using signifiers said to belong to the hip-hop world's past as a marker of authenticity within the genre. This is a special case of what I call "intrageneric borrowing," literally borrowing from elements said to represent hip-hop culture. As hip-hop on record is now over thirty years old, there exists a vast network of signifiers already embedded in this generic nexus. This form of intertextuality only strengthens this already self-conscious genre and shows one particular strategy for artists and groups to establish authenticity in a genre that is often obsessively concerned with such matters.

Chapter 2 shifts the focus from intrageneric borrowing to intergeneric borrowing, sampling or borrowing from another genre. This case study explores the sampling of jazz music in hip-hop as suggesting a high-art identity of sophistication and intellectualism in the subgenre commonly categorized as "jazz rap." I make the case that these "jazz codes" were recognized by a mainstream US audience because of the ubiquity of a specific style of jazz in the 1980s. Furthermore, jazz's associations with art music and with the black middle class were key aspects of the dominant ideology for jazz in the 1980s, and I show that these connotations were reflected in the recognition and reception of jazz codes in late-1980s/early-1990s rap music. This study of cross-generic interaction is a particularly fruitful method of borrowing analysis, a hermeneutics rarely approached in popular music studies.

Chapter 3 begins to explore musical borrowing for particular playback spaces, more specifically, for the automobile. I focus on Los Angeles based gangsta rap producer Dr. Dre and his albums *The Chronic* (1992) and *Doggystyle* (1993). Dr. Dre consciously decided to use fewer samples in his production at this time, instead choosing to rerecord pre-

existing material. This study also underlines music's intersections with geography, both the influence of urban geography on music production and the geography of particular listening spaces. As borrowing is central to hip-hop's ethos, Dr. Dre's production reflects how musical materials become reused for a new space, updated and customized for the automotive listening experience.

Chapter 4 shifts the borrowing focus to digital sampling, but instead of examining digital sampling in the context of hip-hop beats, as other studies have done, I wish to look at digitally sampling the voice of the rapper. In particular, I will discuss the voice as relic, deployed to reference the hip-hop martyrs Notorious B.I.G. and Tupac Shakur. Rappers Jay-Z (Shawn Carter) and Nas (Nasir Jones) both embed these late artists in examples of what I call "postmortem sampling," that is, the use of a recording (sound or image) of a deceased artist with great cultural heft (e.g., Elvis Presley, Kurt Cobain, Freddie Mercury, John Lennon, Michael Jackson). In postmortem borrowing, the authenticity lies in the recorded sound or image, in spite of its recontextualization. Close investigations of examples involving the Notorious B.I.G. (by Jay-Z) and Tupac Shakur (by Nas) will compare the sonorities of the old and new contexts, a juxtaposition that demonstrates the fact that the sonority of the beats themselves, often neglected in studies of rap, is integral to the presentation of any rap song. Thus, when the voice of a deceased rapper is used in a new context, both the voice (with its biographical associations) and sonorities from the beat provide meaning. Rappers who use the symbolic immortality of hip-hop martyrs Tupac Shakur and the Notorious B.I.G. to their own ends create specific identities for the deceased artists and themselves, both creating memorial processes and encouraging canon formation.

Chapter 5 is a companion to chapter 4, as they deal with similar themes, notably allusions to and borrowing from the canonized rappers Tupac Shakur and the Notorious B.I.G. As chapter 4 looks at some of their contemporaries, chapter 5 looks at the "next generation" of artists, the construction of Eminem and 50 Cent into a particular gangsta rap lineage. I look closely at Eminem's production style, his "sonic signature," as providing an authorial presence beyond his rapping. For

example, 50 Cent's "Patiently Waiting," produced by Eminem, shows a web of references that places 50 Cent as an heir to a lineage that includes Eminem, Dr. Dre, and "ancestor" Tupac Shakur. By no means are the case studies intended to be exhaustive, but they provide examples that demonstrate that a thorough study of musical borrowing in hip-hop requires attention to the texts (hip-hop recordings), their reception, and wider cultural contexts.

As Richard Shusterman has written, "Artistic appropriation is the historical source of hip-hop music and still remains the core of its technique and a central feature of its aesthetic form and message."<sup>56</sup> This practice fits within a long lineage of other musical genres and cultures, but appropriation in the digital era means that there are even more possibilities that hip-hop practitioners can utilize to create their music. Bounding the hip-hop world as imagined community makes the discussion more productive, and the variety of case studies presented is an attempt to approach borrowing from different angles, in order to draw the greatest knowledge from the most perspectives. Though these recordings are open to many interpretations, the following chapters intend to show that intertextuality is a crucial part of hip-hop music's composition and reception.