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FORMAL STRUCTURE IN POPULAR MUSIC
AS A REFLECTION OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC
CHANGE

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Scholarly attempts to relate music to broader socio-economic phenomena have tended to concentrate on such relatively tangible musical parameters as text, style, or performance context, rather than formal structure, which, being an inherently more abstract concept, has been regarded as having less ideological content. A few writers, however (especially Marothy 1974), have argued that formal structure in music reflects, expresses, and is in many instances strongly influenced by social economy, and, on a more specific level, that sectionally structured, closed, goal-oriented song forms are archetypically characteristic of capitalist societies (as opposed, for example, to feudal societies). In this article we shall examine how the conspicuous and untraditional adoption of such closed »song« structures in the popular musics of various developing societies worldwide strongly corroborates this hypothesis.

Various scholars have pointed out the clear socio-economic influences on artistic developments which accompanied the transition of European society from feudalism to capitalism, commencing in the Renaissance and reaching full fruition in the nineteenth century. Developments in each of the arts reflect the change from the communal, collective values and economic structure of feudal society to the rise of an economic system which is based on the output and production of the individual, rather than the clan, village, or guild. Thus, communal line and circle dances typical of feudal and tribal societies give way to European couple dances; literature and drama, from the Elizabethan period on, in a general trend toward realism, stress sentimental personal situations, often concerning the private lives of ordinary people; the individualism of such bourgeois realism contrasts with the communal heroic values expressed in epics

like the *Odyssey*, or the *Song of Roland*, whose protagonists are generalized »Everyman« archetypes rather than distinct individual personalities (see, e.g., Mellers 1950:38).

The change is perhaps most conspicuous in the visual arts. Perspective, presenting a scene as viewed from the individual's vantage point, replaces the schematic, panoramic survey of, say, Byzantine painting; typical subject matter becomes similarly more realistic and personalized as portrayals of everyday people (especially the bourgeoisie) in everyday street or domestic scenes¹ replace depictions of mythological or religious stereotypes and icons. Furthermore, and most relevant for our purposes here, far greater attention is paid to the creation of a unified, complete, closed formal structure on the painted surface, in a process of *rationalization* of the work of art which Hauser (1960:II, 15) relates to the new importance of rationalization in socio-economic life, e.g., credit, banking, investment, planning, etc., and a consequential fear of disorder and lack of control. The new aesthetic, demanding the logical conformity of all individual parts to the whole, is explicitly articulated in the fifteenth century by Alberti (in Hauser 1960:II, 89), who describes the work of art as »so constituted that it is impossible to take anything away from it or add anything to it without impairing the beauty of the whole.«

The strophic narrative epic ballad, with its loosely-knit, elastic, additive formal structure, can be regarded as the musical equivalent of the Byzantine panoramic panel; conversely, such forms as the sonata, and the standard American popular song, with their goal-oriented melodies and clearly established sense of closure and completeness achieved through symmetry and recapitulation, may be seen as musical corollaries of the rationalized, monocentric post-Renaissance painting. (The novel, with its deliberately planned formal structure incorporating dramatic climax and closure, is the obvious literary analog.) Accordingly, Janos Marothy, in *Music and the Bourgeois, Music and the Proletariat* (1974), argues with exhaustive substantiation that the primary musical development accompanying and reflecting the transition from feudalism to capitalism in Europe was the rise and eventual predominance of closed »song« structures which, with their use of symmetry, recapitulation, and climax at or before the conclusion, constitute complete, finite entities which reflect the desire for rationalized artistic forms and constitute musical expressions of the closed, finite, »little world« (in Marothy's words) of the new bourgeois self-image, corresponding to the rise of the individual as the fundamental socio-economic unit. This formal development can be traced, for example, from the lai through the virelai, culminating in the sonata form, and lastly, popular song format (especially before 1950). A closed, goal-oriented song structure thus stands in

¹ The seventeenth century Dutch paintings of Pieter de Hooch and Frans Hals are typical in this respect. See Hauser (1960:II) for expansive treatment of these subjects.

contrast to a strophic ballad, or an indefinitely expandable exposition of an Indian *rāg*, or a composition for Chinese *ch'in* based on varied repetition and elaboration of a given theme.

In the history of European art, one can hardly question the clarity of the chronological concurrence between, on the one hand, the rise of capitalism and the individual-centered consciousness, and, on the other hand, the rise of closed song structures (and perspective, couple dancing, sentimental personal verse, etc.); what traditional Western musicologists often resist accepting is the assertion of a causal connection between the former and the latter.

An obvious way to test Marothy' hypothesis—that closed song forms are the most characteristic and archetypical forms of capitalist societies—would be to examine the musics of other societies which have undergone capitalist revolutions. This article purports to constitute a preliminary investigation along these lines.

Two difficulties immediately present themselves. First, outside of Europe, there are virtually no societies, with the partial exception of Japan, which have undergone capitalist revolutions from below (i.e., spontaneous and gradual progression from artisan production through petty commodity production to large scale industry). Thus, in examining characteristically capitalist musical forms in third world societies, one must isolate the classes directly connected with capitalist production — i.e., the urban working classes and the bourgeoisie — rather than concentrating one's attention on rural societies whose social relations may still be determined by pre-capitalist traditions. Hence, our concentration here on pop music, whose very existence is linked to the rise of industrial capitalism, and in particular, the rise of mass media, and a homogeneous mass urban audience.

The second difficulty that arises in this study is the question of acculturation — that is, the possibility that structured song formats may have been adopted by traditional societies not because of their inherent expressiveness of capitalist values, but rather because of the influence of Western music. In the following pages we shall argue that cultures do not borrow entirely indiscriminately, that acculturation is selective and limited to those musical elements which appeal to the acculturated society.

There is of course a virtually infinite number of popular songs from around the world (e.g., from Hawaii, Greece, Turkey, or Japan) which employ structured, goal-oriented song formats atypical of the traditional musics of their societies. The use of »song« form in many of these musics may indeed reflect a degree of Western acculturation. Hence, perhaps the clearest illustration of an indigenous adoption of song format in a developing society's music would be seen in the way that traditional

strophic or reiterative forms are changed by modern urban patrons and musicians to embody song format.

Before giving examples of this phenomenon, a few words should be said about song structure in American popular music. The predominance of sectional, linear, goal-oriented song format in American popular music (particularly before 1950) has been discussed elsewhere (e.g., Hamm 1975:129ff.) and is too obvious to require elaboration here. Suffice to say that key ingredients include the logical ordering of formal sections (e.g., in AABA form), use of symmetry and/or recapitulation, and the orientation and direction of melody (and/or harmony) toward an expressive climax, which usually occurs shortly before the end of the song. The Beatles' »I Want to Hold Your Hand« exhibits a typical closed formal structure, which is used on nine of the eleven songs on »Meet the Beatles«:

A verse

A verse

B bridge (»and when I touch you I feel happy...« — sung solo)

A verse

B bridge (sung duet)

A verse

(A) repeat of final lines

While Lennon and McCartney may well not have read Leone Alberti's Renaissance treatises, the persistence of the aesthetic demanding the logical conformity of all parts to the whole is clear in their music, such that, for example, rearranging the sections, or adding three more verses at the end would sorely disrupt the rationalized balance of the formal structure.

Hamm (1975:149ff.) perceptively illustrates the growing influence on American popular music, from 1950 on, of the strophic, non-goal-oriented musics of American minorities, especially the strophic ballads, country-western music, and blues of poor white mountain people, rural Southerners and Westerners, and blacks and the urban poor, respectively. Hamm goes on to note, first, the cynicism of these groups toward the institutions and values of »Middle America« (in other words, the values of bourgeois capitalism), and the concurrence of the popularity of these forms among middle-class youth in the 1960s with the rebelliousness and alienation of the counter-culture pacifist movement of the period. Hamm illustrates (albeit implicitly), on the one hand, the correlation of goal-oriented structured song format and bourgeois »Middle America« values, and, on the other hand, the predominance of additive strophic forms among groups existing on the periphery of bourgeois capitalism (e.g., rural mountain people), or groups constituting an oppressed and alienated

proletariat (e.g., poor blacks),² or groups consciously rebelling against the perceived evils of capitalism (middle-class youth of the 1960s). Indeed, it is remarkable that Hamm can so perceptively describe these correlations between class and musical form without inferring the obvious causal connection therein.

We should reiterate at this point that what is being asserted here is not that structured song format is the *only* formal type found in capitalist societies, or that strophic forms can never arise therein, but rather that song format is by far the most characteristic form of capitalist society. Thus, the persistence of strophic forms in inherently more conservative folk musics (e.g., in 19th century Germany) does not contradict our hypothesis; nor, for that matter, should we question the hypothesis on the basis of the use of strophic forms in, for example, light classical Schubert lieder, especially since the folk influences on these compositions are so manifest. What is, however, of interest in these latter pieces is the way in which Schubert introduces clear, dramatic sense of closure in the final strophe(s); his setting of »Erlkönig« is but one, particularly obvious example.

Moreover, our discussion of collectivism in pre-capitalist societies deliberately excludes those primitive hunting and gathering cultures such as the Bushmen, whose social economy — based, like that of Paleolithic man, on the individual's search for food — generates correspondingly individualistic rather than communal art forms (see Hauser 1960:I, 12—20).

Indian Popular Music

Let us turn to an examination of formal structure in a sub-genre of Indian pop music, which is generally referred to as film music (»*filmī gīt*«) because the great majority of such songs are marketed as musical interludes in Indian films. Classical North Indian music, although reflecting a degree of modern influence in such parameters as the contemporary demand for virtuoso technique, is less appropriate for this study because its basic stylistic and structural parameters and premises were formed well before the introduction of capitalist elements (e.g., railroads, large scale commodity production, and the Cornwallis Act rendering land a saleable commodity) into India.³ Folk music is similarly

² Thus, the frequent avoidance of structured song format in much of Afro-American pop music (e.g., rhythm and blues) may be regarded, on the one hand, as an anachronistic survival of communal tribal value expression, and, on the other, as a progressive assertion of proletarian, or at any rate, anti-bourgeois communalism (see Marothy 1974:509). Similarly, in classical arts, the conscious revolution against all the norms of bourgeois art (e.g., closed musical forms based on functional harmony, or representational painting and sculpture) must be seen in the perspective of the decline of positivism and the internal and external confrontations facing bourgeois capitalism.

³ South Indian classical music, however, clearly became more »populist« and accessible in character in the nineteenth century as emphasis shifted from recondite virtuoso *rāgam-tānam-pallavī* improvisation for court patrons, to the pre-composed, tuneful *kritis* of the »trinity« (Tyagaraja, Shyama Shastri, and Dikshitar), with their more tightly-knit formal structure (see Powers 1963:83-4).

less reflective of modern socio-economic developments because of the continued isolation of much of rural India from commodity markets, freely sold wage labor practices, and the urban mass media. Film music, on the other hand, owes its existence directly to the rise of mass media (here, cinema and radio), and the presence of relatively homogeneous mass urban audiences. The adoption of modern, more archetypically capitalist values by the urban working and middle-classes is reflected in the incipient rise of the nuclear (rather than joint) family among them (Madan 1965:68-73), the rise of political consciousness, a weakening of caste barriers in certain contexts, and, among other things, musical taste. We should not be surprised to find, then, that the urban society of individuals freely selling their labor patronizes (primarily through cinema attendance) forms of music quite different from those of the rural subsistence economy society. Indeed, the preference for a structured, rationalized, closed, symmetrical song form with a clearly demarcated climax and conclusion is manifest in innumerable Indian film songs, whether folk or classical (the former tending to be strophic, and the latter tending toward loosely structured progressive improvisation and/or variation).

Literally thousands of film songs could be employed to illustrate the modern preference for closed, rationalized song format; the structure of most of these songs may be attributed to a combination of Western acculturation and the indigenous desire for a formal structure more expressive of the new world-view of the patrons. This development is particularly clear in the introduction of closed formal structure into traditional strophic song forms now adopted and modified for mass consumption, such as the *ghazal*-song, which in its traditional light-classical form is a strophic series of Urdu couplets, with instrumental *laggi* sections in fast tempo inserted between the couplets. The most common melodic/textual form of the traditional *ghazal*-song may be represented as follows:⁴

	<i>text</i>	<i>rhyme</i>	<i>melody</i>
1st couplet:	1st line	A	A
	2nd line	A	A
	(<i>laggi</i>)		
2nd couplet:	1st line	B	B
	2nd line	A	A
	(<i>laggi</i>)		
3rd couplet:	1st line	C	B
	2nd line	A	A
	(<i>laggi</i>)		
4th couplet:	1st line	D	B
	2nd line	A	A
	(<i>laggi</i>)		

⁴ See Manuel (1979a:82ff., or 1979b:102) for an extended analysis of form in the traditional *ghazal*-song.

In other words:

rhyme scheme: A A B A C A D A E A F A . . .

melody scheme: A A B A B A B A B A B A . . .

This form, which may include a theoretically indefinite number of couplets, is still used in light-classical contexts, patronized primarily by the educated middle class.

The structure of the modern »filmi« *gazal* may be regarded as the superimposition of structured song format over a strophic reiterative structure. In place of *laggi* interludes are often introduced distinct instrumental interludes,⁵ segments of dialogue,⁶ passages sung in Indian solfege,⁷ or choral passages⁸; but unlike the essentially homogeneous (in style and instrumentation) *laggi* passages of the traditional *gazal*, each bridge segment between couplets within a given film-style *gazal* is invariably different from the others. Another frequently employed technique is the rendering of discrete couplets alternately by male and female singers, who then join in singing the final couplet, or a reiteration of the first couplet, ending the song with what may be regarded as a conclusive recapitulation of the melodic material of the song. A typical example of pop *gazal* form⁹ is represented below:

- x1 short *ālāp* (introductory phrases sung in free rhythm),
leading to instrumental prelude
- A first couplet (sung by male singer)
- x2 instrumental interlude (new)
- B, A second couplet, followed by first couplet
- x3 instrumental interlude (new)
- C, A third couplet, followed by first couplet
- x4 instrumental interlude (new)
- S solfege passage
- D fourth couplet, sung by *female* singer
- A first couplet, sung by *both* singers

This form could be abbreviated: x1-A-x2-B-A-x3-C-A-x4-S-D-A. However one analyses it, the song is no longer a simple strophic piece, but one which has acquired a rationalized, closed formal structure.

⁵ The recording »Chitchor Tapasaya-Kora Kagaz« is quite typical and illustrates this particular phenomenon in virtually every song.

⁶ See, e.g., side II, band 4, in the recording mentioned above.

⁷ See, e.g., side I, band 4, in the same recording.

⁸ See, side II, band 3, in the same recording.

⁹ Side I, band 1 (»Jab Dip Jale«) in the same recording.

The adoption of structured song format in such pieces cannot be attributed entirely, or even primarily to acculturation, because of the selective nature of cultural borrowings. Thus, in most pop gazals, language, prosodic and verse form, vocal style, modality, and rhythms remain predominantly Indian, and indigenous instruments still predominate. Western-type elements are generally confined to formal structure, orchestration (often of Indian instruments), some use of Western instruments, and, in some cases, an incidental use of simple harmonies.

Similarly, the use of song format cannot be explained by the original limitation of a three- or four-minute 78 or 45 RPM recording format. First, of all, the primary medium for dissemination and marketing of Indian pop music has always been the cinema, where there is no inherent time limitation, rather than recordings, which could only be enjoyed by the tiny minority of those affluent enough to afford phonographs. More importantly, recordings of classical and semi-classical forms (including gazal) by classically trained singers for educated audiences reflect no trend toward closed song format; that is, in the case of the *light-classical* gazal, after the rendition of a few couplets, the first couplet may be cursorily repeated, and the piece ends, without any further or more definitively cadential device (see, e.g., recordings of Begum Akhtar or Barkat Ali Khan).

Formal Structure in the Cuban Rumba

Let us now turn to another sort of compromise between a traditional, non-recursive form and modern »song« format, as found in modern versions of the Afro-Cuban rumba. It is well known that the African influence in Cuban music is extremely strong, owing partly to the continued importation of slaves from Africa through the 1870s. This continued fresh influx of African musicians contributed to the persistence (to this day) of traditional forms such as the rumba, which, in their avoidance of functional harmony, stress on rhythm and polyrhythm, responsorial singing, vocal style, and musical form are predominantly African in derivation.

The most popular and influential style of rumba is the *guaguancó*, a dance and music genre for percussion and voices (lead singer and chorus), distinguished by its particular rhythm and formal structure.¹⁰ Formally, the archetypical traditional guaguancó consists of two parts, preceded by a shorter introductory section. The introductory section, called the *diana*, consists of a melodic passage sung in vocables by the lead singer and/or the chorus; the body of the piece consists of the *canto*, which features a text (often improvised) sung by the lead singer (sometimes with brief, occasional choral refrains), followed by the *montuno*, a call-and-response section in which the chorus repeats a short melody and the lead singer improvises »calls«. Recapitulation, symmetry, closure,

¹⁰ See Crook (1982) for an analysis of the Afro-Cuban rumba.

and goal-oriented melodies are absent in both the litany-type text and the repetitive, horizontal melodic-rhythmic structure.

In the first three decades of the twentieth century, the rhythms and form of the rumba (and especially the guaguancó) combined with European and jazz harmonies and instrumentation to form the Cuban *son* (which achieved considerable, albeit ephemeral popularity in the USA under the name »rumba«). The *son* and its Puerto Rican- and New York-based derivative, *salsa*, generally retain the basic bipartite structure of the rumba (the *diana* generally being dispensed with or replaced by an instrumental introduction). The *canto*, however, instead of remaining a loose, shapeless litany, becomes a closely structured song in itself, resembling in form a shortened version of a typical popular song by the Beatles or Cole Porter, with discrete verse and bridge sections (and often elaborately arranged instrumental interludes) clearly demarcated by 8-, 16-, or 32-bar harmonic progressions, often assuming an AABA form. The *canto* section of a popular salsa song below is typical¹¹:

- x1 instrumental introduction — 40 mm.
- A1 verse — 16 mm.
- A2 verse — 16 mm.
- B bridge — 8 mm. + 8 mm. = 16 mm.
- x2 instrumental interlude (different from x1) — 16 mm.
- A3 verse — 16 mm.

The final verse is followed by the *montuno* section.

The »song« (i.e., *canto*) portion of such a piece usually lasts less than four or five minutes; the bulk of the piece is left to the *montuno*, in which responsorial vocals and, often, instrumental improvisation occur over a simple two-, four-, or eight-bar harmonic ostinato. (The *montuno* section in live performances may last over fifteen minutes). The modern rumba guaguancó thus exhibits a different sort of compromise between a traditional linear form and rationalized, sectional song format, in that the first portion of the piece becomes a structured, closed song, while the *montuno* remains open-ended, unlike in the pop *gazzal*, where song structure is superimposed over a formerly strophic format.

The »song« portion of the modern rumba guaguancó is occasionally referred to as the European-influenced part of the piece, although our thesis here is that the Afro-Cubans' selection of song format in the *canto* represents not so much indiscriminate borrowing from Western music as a deliberate (if ingenuous) incorporation of a musical structure more expressive of the world-view of the urban, wage-earning proletarian individual than of the communal tribe member or slave.

¹¹ Side I, band 3 (»Ven Ven«) from Eddie Palmieri's »Cheo y Quintana« (Barbera LP B205 SENI 0790).

Adoption of Song Format in a Mexican Son Huasteco

Finally, let us examine the formal transformation that has taken place in a typical Mexican son within the last four or five decades. Innumerable Mexican pop songs (e.g., recent hits of José José) exhibit closed, goal-oriented formal song structure, but given their overt adoption of American-style instrumentation, vocal style, and other features, it might be ultimately impossible to attribute their formal structure solely, or even primarily, to either acculturation or to indigenous motives. The adoption of song format in urban versions of the traditional son, however, seems clearly to suggest indigenous motivational factors.

The regional varieties of the son — especially the *son Huasteco*, *son Jarocho*, and *son Jalisciense* — are primarily Hispanic-derived in their harmony, *bel canto* vocal style, guitar-type-dominated instrumentation, and, often, text. Nevertheless, the son in the late nineteenth century became one of the primary and most cherished forms of mestizo culture and was celebrated as an expression of mestizo nationalism.¹²

Virtually all traditional sones are strophic in form, with instrumental interludes (e.g., featuring violin, harp, and/or a guitar variant such as the *jarana*) occasionally interspersed between verses; verses were frequently improvised or newly composed, such that the number of verses sung could often be regulated only by the limits of the singer's imagination or memory. The traditional son, then, exhibits the open-ended strophic form quite typical of pre-capitalist or partially capitalist societies. Accordingly, the nineteenth century Mexican economy could be described as at most a partial or deformed sort of capitalism, with large sectors of the population working as virtual serfs on the *haciendas*, which themselves tended to produce for local consumption rather than for cash export (see, e.g., Russell 1977:62).¹³

The son Jalisciense (i.e., of the state of Jalisco) forms the backbone of the *mariachi* repertoire, now popularized throughout urban Mexico. A number of other regional sones have not only been incorporated into this repertoire, but have been also adopted by urban professional trios and duos which cater largely to middle- and upper-class patrons (e.g., of restaurants and cafes). The son Huasteco «La Malagueña» is a case in point, as the song has become familiar to audiences throughout Mexico. In the course of attaining such popularity, however, the song has undergone formal transformation to suit the taste of its modern middle-class audience.

¹² See Saunders (1976), Sheehy (1979), and Fogelquist (1975) for detailed studies of the son Huasteco, Jarocho, and Jalisciense, respectively.

¹³ Similarly, Oscar Lewis (1963:80-1), in his study of the town of Tepoztlan in the mid-twentieth century, notes the coexistence of pre-capitalist features such as communal land ownership, collective labor, subsistence farming, barter, absence of credit and capital, together with capitalist characteristics like private property, free market wage labor, renting of land, use of money, and a high degree of individualism.

In its archetypical traditional form, the song is strophic, with (largely pre-composed) violin solos (played over the same harmonic pattern as the vocal strophes) inserted between every two or three stanzas, as can be seen below:¹⁴

- x violin solo — 16 mm.
- A verse, sung twice — 8 mm. + 8 mm. = 16 mm.
- B verse — 8 mm.
- x violin solo — 16 mm.
- C verse, sung twice — 8 mm. + 8 mm. = 16 mm.
- D verse — 8 mm.
- x violin solo — 16 mm.
- E verse, sung twice — 8 mm. + 8 mm. = 16 mm.
- F verse — 8 mm.
- x violin solo — 8 mm.

The melodic and harmonic pattern of the strophe is roughly as follows (the title verse is given here):

$\text{♩} = 126$ $C7$ Fm
 Ma - la - gue - ña sa - le - ro - sa be - sar -
 Fm $Eb7$ $Eb7$ $S = d.$
 tus la - bios qui - sie - ra be - sar - tus la - hios qui -
 A^b D^b7 $C7$
 sie - ra Ma - la - gue - ña sa - le - ro - sa.

Urban trios and mariachi ensembles, performing especially for the urban middle classes, frequently play this song in a substantially different version from the simple strophic form,¹⁵ which would probably

¹⁴ See, e.g., Side I, band 2, on Trio Armonia Huasteca's Amor-5610.

¹⁵ Songs of this type may be archetypically disseminated more by small ensembles in live contexts rather than by the mass media; but the standardization (especially mariachi imitations of Mariachi Vargas recordings, for which see Fogelquist 1975) and the predominantly middle-class audience of such songs render them essentially popular, rather than folk in character.

be considered somewhat rustic and quaint by modern audiences. In the modern version, aside from the slower tempo and exaggerated elongation of the falsetto breaks, the formal structure is modified in such a way as to acquire a closed arch form rather than strophic form. This effect is achieved by (1) changing the melody of the first two stanzas, lending them the character of an introduction, (2) converting the title verse¹⁶ into a distinct refrain with extended falsetto passages over harmonic pedal points which themselves comprise expansions of the original harmonic progression of the verses, (3) rendering the final verse (in the modern version, »y decirte niña hermosa . . .«) in a distinct and climactic manner, with a dramatic and highly conspicuous falsetto passage on B (»lin-«), and (4) concluding the song after that verse rather than adding further strophes.

The resultant, closed formal structure can be seen in the abstract given below,¹⁷ and in the transcription on page 175—177; note how the alternation of choral and solo textures, of compressed and expanded versions of the harmonic progression, and the structural use of falsetto breaks change the form from strophic to goal-oriented, complete, and closed.

x instrumental introduction — 16 mm.

A1 choral verse (»que bonitos ojos . . .«) — 9 mm.

A2 choral verse (»ellos me quieren . . .«) — 9 mm.

B1 title verse, sung solo, with falsetto on F[#] (»Malagueña . . .«) — 11 mm.

C solo line, with falsetto on A (»besar tus labios . . .«) — 11 mm.

D choral verse, using traditional melody (»y decirte . . .«) — 11 mm.

B2 solo falsetto on F[#] (»y decirte . . .«) — 10 mm.

E solo falsetto on B (climax: »que eres linda . . .«) — 8 mm.

B3 second solo singer (chord progression of B above; »que eres linda . . .«) — 5 mm.

F choral cadence (»como el candor . . .«) — 6 mm.

¹⁶ This verse may be repeated as a refrain (*estribillo*) in some traditional versions, but its distinctiveness in that capacity is mitigated by the fact that its melody and harmonic progression are identical to those of the other strophes.

¹⁷ Side II, band 5 on Monitor MFS 431 (Maria Luisa Buchino with the Trio Los Aguilillas) is the source of this recording.

Modern rendition of "La Malagueña"

$\text{♩} = 80$ (A) E^m $B7$ E^m %

(CHORUS:) 1) Que bo-ni-tos o - jos tie-nes de ba-jo de e-sas do
 2) E - llos me quie-ren mi - rar pe - ro si tu no los

$D7$ $D7$ G

e - jas de ba - jo de es as dos e - jas
 de - jas pe - ro si tu no los de - jas

$C7$ $B7$

que bo - ni - tos o - jos tie - nes.
 ni si quie - ra par - pa - de - ar.

(B⁷) $B7$ % % % % % %

(SOLO:) Ma - la - que - - -

$B7$ E^m E^m

- ña sa - le - ro - sa be - sar - tus la - bios qui -

E^m (C) $D7$ % % % % %

- sie - ra. be - - - - - sar - tus la - bios qui -

G $C7$ $B7$ (D)

- sie - ra Ma - la - que - ña sa - le - ro - sa (CHORUS: y de -

B7 Em Em

- cir te ni-ña her - mo-sa que e - res lin-day he-chi -

D7 D7 G /

- ze - ra. que e-res lin - da y he - chi - ze - ra

G G B7

co - mo el can-dor de u - na ro - sa.

(B2)

(SOLO:)

Y de - ci - - - - r

B7 Em / (E)

te ni-ña her - mo - sa que e-res

li - - - - - n-da y he-chi - ze-ra

(B3) D7 G

(2nd SOLOIST) que e-res lin-da y he - chi - ze - ra co - mo el

can-dor de u - na ro - sa co - mo el can -

-do - - - r de u - na ro - sa.

above analysis: x A1 A2 B1 C D B2 E (B3) F
 texture: instrumental chorus chorus solo solo chorus solo solo (solo) chorus

harmonic
 progression:

(a) a1 a2 A (extended) a3 A (extended) (final cadence)
 16 mm. 9 mm. 9 mm. 22 mm. 11 mm. 23 mm. 6 mm.

structural
 falsetto notes:

(B7) (D7) (B7) (Em)

Simple indiscriminate acculturation cannot explain the superimposition of closed song format over a traditional strophic structure in this case; even if the song format were said to be borrowed from, say popular music of the United States, one would still need to explain why only formal structure would be borrowed, while other features of the song (instrumentation, text, falsetto style, *huapango* rhythm, strumming style, and harmony) remain purely traditional. The incorporation of closed song structure in the traditional *huapango*/son Huasteco format can also be seen in numerous songs of twentieth century origin, such as »La Cigarra« and »Flor Silvestre.« Hence Marothy (1974:485) argues that such a transformation »does not merely mean an adaptation of the corresponding European types (although this is necessarily part and parcel of the process) but also their independent emergence from given local characteristics«. Indeed, we should hardly expect the taste of the modern bourgeois or working class Mexican to be the same as that of his rural peasant ancestors; nor should we expect modernization to be limited (or, in this case, extended) to such an obvious parameter as, say, use of the electric guitar. Instead, there is every reason to believe that the bourgeois taste for unified, rationalized, closed forms in painting (e.g., vs. the medieval panorama), and in literature (e.g., the novel vs. the epic ballad) has its musical equivalent in the desire for closed, complete musical forms. While the analogy between the closed song form and the »little

world« of the individual or nuclear family as socio-economic unit may seem poetic rather than scientific, there is no reason to expect a more tangible explanation for such an abstract phenomenon as formal structure in music.

Some scholars have stressed how the different conceptions of time held by primitive and, alternately, modern man may account for some of the crucial differences between their arts. Shepherd's perceptive analysis (1977), which owes more to McLuhan than to Marx, illustrates how primitive man's pre-literacy, lack of industrial technology (including clocks), and domination by environmental cycles obliged him to live and think in terms of the sensuous, immediate present and to conceive of time only in cyclical and »Bergsonian« organic terms rather than in progressive and objective terms; hence, as Nettl (1956:80) has observed, primitive musics tend to be structured in terms of repetition and variation of short motifs, such that, from Leonard Meyer's perspective, aesthetic gratification takes place on immediate, short-term levels (1967:32); the same could be said of the strophic or linear musical forms of classical feudal societies as well. Only with the advent of the related phenomena of literacy (enabling information to be stored indefinitely), technology (engendering an objective view of time and a greater ability to control nature), and positivism (with its progressive, rather than cyclical view of history) does Western man become able (and/or willing) to »stand outside of time and music« (Shepherd 1977:111) and construct formally complex musical structures involving long-term memory and juxtaposition of lengthy formal sections.

Still, it is questionable to what extent a society's conception of time can be viewed independently of class and social economy, for just as industrial technology could not evolve in feudal society, similarly we cannot conceive of a pre-capitalist society holding a modern, objective, »spatialised« conception of time. In terms of musical form, a McLuhanesque analytical approach relying primarily on the factor of literacy as determining conceptions of time could not explain why strophic, non-structured ballad forms persist among some literate peoples (e.g., Appalachian rural communities) while, conversely, rationalised song format may be performed and patronised by certain classes among whom literacy is far from universal (e.g., Mexican and Indian proletariats). In other words, while conception of time clearly exerts a crucial influence on art forms, it should be seen as a function of class and social economy rather than as an isolated entity.

In general, the correspondence between the rise of capitalism and the adoption of song format in societies throughout the world can hardly be regarded as coincidental or the result of mere indiscriminate acculturation. Rather, the correspondence between class and formal structure in music does seem to corroborate an analytical approach which regards art, culture, and society as parts of the superstructure which has economy as its base. Moreover, this analysis constitutes another illustration of

the artificiality of the dichotomy between artistic form and content, in the sense that formal structure in music may be seen to connote ideological content just as do text, style, and performance context. In this perspective, whether or not the medium can be equated with the message, it is certainly an integral part of the message, and their ideological contents are inextricably intertwined.

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Sažetak

FORMALNA STRUKTURA U POPULARNOJ GLAZBI KAO ODRAZ DRUŠTVENO-EKONOMSKIH PROMJENA

Tek je nekolicina znanstvenika pokušala uspostaviti šire odnose između formalne strukture u glazbi i u društvenoj ekonomiji i određenije dokazivala da su zatvoreni, strukturirani formati »pjesme« (»song«) arhetipički reprezentativni za građanska društva, nasuprot improvizacijskim ili strofičkim formama, otvorena završetka, koje izgledaju karakterističnije za predkapitalistička društva. Marothy, upotrebljavajući marksistički pristup, dokazuje da je zatvorena forma pjesme simboličko ostvarenje građanskog ega, dok Shepherd, upotrebljavajući više MacLuhanovsku perspektivu, naglašava pismenost i prateću sposobnost pohrane i uspostavljanja informatičkih segmenata kao faktor koji pridonosi upotrebljavanju organiziranih formalnih struktura.

Simultanost uspona strukturiranih pjesmovnih formata (uključujući sonatni oblik) i građanskog kapitalizma u zapadnoj Evropi je očita; ako se, međutim, u to uključuje uzročna veza tada bismo morali uočiti da se slične promjene u formalnim strukturama zbivaju u glazbama drugih društava koja su pretrpjela kapitalističke revolucije, osobito u glazbama koje su izravno povezane s industrijskim kapitalizmom i masovnim medijima; odatle u ovom članku proizlazi usredotočenost na popularne glazbe ne-zapadnih društava.

U ovom se članku ispituje usvajanje strukturiranog pjesmovnog formata u popularnim glazbama Indije, Kube i Meksika, ustanovljavajući kako se taj pjesmovni format nameće ili dodaje prethodnim strofičkim ili ponavljajućim predkapitalističkim folklornim oblicima. Dokazi sugeriraju postojanje odnosa između društvene ekonomije i ovog aspekta glazbene forme.