



The FIRST EDITION
Garifuna
Music Reader

Edited by Oliver N. Greene

The Garifuna Music Reader

(First Edition)

EDITED BY OLIVER N. GREENE

Georgia State University



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Some web publications are “The name is Jade ... Jade Head,” “Of Maize and Men,” “Los Finados,” “The View from the Sky,” “A Visit to the Maya Site of Caracol,” and “I’m a Fruit, Not a Nut.”

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Matthew Dougherty is the owner of Lubaantune Records, located at the Rosewood Studio in Punta Gorda, Belize. He co-produced the *Garifuna Drum Method* with Emery Yost as a collaboration with the Smithsonian Institute and Stonetree Records. Before that, he was the chief engineer of KPFT/Pacifica radio in Houston Texas. There, he produced and syndicated the four-day eleven-hour *Juneteenth Blues Festival*, distributed on National Public Radio to 250+ stations. He is the underwriter for Johnny Copeland's Grammy nominated blues album, *Ain't Nothing But a Party*. He also produced the Romeo Dog's album *Guitar Town*. He is currently producing professional medical research animations at Baylor College of Medicine and collaborating with the Houston Museum of Natural Science in the creation of non-astronomy planetarium shows in portable domes distributed worldwide.

Emery Joseph Yost, co-producer of *Garifuna Drum Method* with Matthew Daugherty, is a multi-instrumentalist music instructor in Chicago. He holds a bachelor's from Columbia College Chicago in arts entertainment and media management/music and a master's of art in management from DePaul University, Chicago. He has taught music theory at Columbia College and implemented inclusive music programs with the Chicago Park District for twenty-six years. He has been recognized in Chicago for his work in early childhood music instruction programs, in particular: *The House of Song*, *Mr. Joe Rock N Rolls the ABCs*, and *Special Music by Special People*, a program for children, teens, and adults with developmental disabilities. As a performer he has played with Shirley King, (BB King's daughter), the Twigs, Voodoo Kings, LaTour (Smash Polygram Records), Final Notice, and members of the Garifuna Collective.

Amy Frishkey holds a Ph.D. in ethnomusicology from the University of California, Los Angeles. Her dissertation examines the multiple hybridities of Garifuna culture as they manifest in Garifuna popular music genres. She

currently programs overhead music for commercial spaces in Austin, TX. She is the co-author of *Guide to Resources in Ethnic Studies on Minority Populations* (2000). Her recent article, “Planet Voice: Strange Vocality in ‘World Music’ and Beyond,” which discusses how the experience of vocal estrangement re-establishes coherence in various sociocultural contexts was published in the online journal *Radical Musicology*.

Oliver N. Greene holds a Ph.D. in musicology (emphasis in ethnomusicology) from Florida State University. He is an associate professor of music at Georgia State University where he teaches courses on world music, carnival traditions, and the history of American popular music. He has created websites and published articles in world music encyclopedias including the *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music* (1999) and the *Continuum Encyclopedia of Popular Music of the World* (2005). Journal publications include articles in *Black Music Research Journal* (1999, 2002), *Senderos: Revista de etnomusicologia* (2013), and *Caribbean Quarterly* (2014). He has published chapters in *The Garifuna: A Nation Across Borders* (2006) and *Sun, Sea, and Sound: Music and Tourism in the Circum-Caribbean* (2014). As a recipient of a Rockefeller Fellowship at the Center for Black Music Research, he conducted research on the relationships between art, dance, and music of the Garifuna. He also produced the documentary film *Play, Jankunú Play: The Wanáragua Ritual of the Garifuna of Belize* (2007).

Michael C. Stone is executive director of Princeton in Latin America (PiLA). He produces and hosts *Jazz Worldwide* (WWFM 89.1 HD2, jazzon2.org), syndicated on public radio stations, and contributes to world music publications in the US and England. With Princeton colleague Pedro Meira Monteiro he coedited *Cangoma Calling: Spirits and Rhythms of Freedom in Brazilian Jongo Slavery Songs*, a project based on late-1940s field recordings by historian Stanley Stein of pre-abolition *jongo* work songs and signifying chants performed by former slaves. The recordings are the only such audio documentation from anywhere in Latin America and compare in their uniqueness with the testimony of formerly enslaved African Americans, as recorded in the 1930s by Works Progress Administration field researchers for the Library of Congress.

WEBSITE AND SUPPLEMENTAL MATERIALS

musicdiaspora.com/garifuna

The Garifuna Music Reader is designed to be used in conjunction with the Garifuna page of the author's website, *Music and Ritual in the African Diaspora*. See musicdiaspora.com/garifuna. Audio and visual examples of select songs and ritual practices are grouped by chapters and listed on additional pages within this site. Words and phrases printed in bold and italics and accompanied in the side margins by the icon below indicate songs and practices in each chapter for which audio and video examples are provided on the website. 

Information accompanying each example on the website includes the page number in *The Garifuna Music Reader (GMR)* where the description of and the reference to the example is found. Examples include traditional acoustic songs, electronically-enhanced, newly-composed songs, enhanced arrangements of traditional songs, folk-influenced world music, seasonal processions, portions of ancestor veneration rites, and syncretic interpretations of the Roman Catholic mass. Questions drawn from information presented in each chapter—with the exception of Chapter 2, Garifuna Drum Notations—follow that chapter's references/notes section. (Chapter 2 is not followed by corresponding questions because it is primarily composed of notated examples of the rhythms of dance-song genres as played on the *primero* [lead] and *segunda* [bass] drums, the two Garifuna membranophones). Chapter questions are listed again after the audio and video examples on the website for the convenience of the reader. Answers to chapter questions and supplemental PowerPoints will be provided upon request, and at no *additional* cost, to instructors who adopt the text for a course.

INTRODUCTION

The *Garinagu* (plural form of Garifuna), called the Black Caribs¹ by seventeenth and eighteenth century European explorers, are a people of West African and Native American descent who number approximately 400,000 and live along the Caribbean coasts of Belize, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua and in US urban centers. Today, the Garifuna² exist as arguably the only people of African descent to escape the physical and psychological chattels of slavery, intermix with Native Americans in the Caribbean, develop and maintain an indigenous language and corpus of postmortem propitiation rituals and dance-song genres, and endure numerous attempts at racial annihilation and cultural genocide.

In the late eighteenth century, the British defeated them in battle, took their homeland (the island of St. Vincent, called *Yurumein* in the Garifuna language), and exiled them to the eastern Caribbean, specifically Roatan, an island off the coast of Honduras. Subsequent migrations to mainland Honduras resulted in the establishment of numerous coastal Garifuna settlements. Civil unrest and massacres on the mainland, coupled with attempts to discover peaceful lands in which to reside, led to a series of migrations to Belize, Guatemala, and Nicaragua in the early to mid-nineteenth century. Their marginalized existence along the coast from Belize south to Nicaragua nurtured a preservation of indigenous practices—music recognized as, perhaps, the most salient—which few cultures can parallel. Aspirations for improved employment and educational opportunities in the mid-twentieth century resulted in migrations to large metropolitan centers in the US, specifically New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago. In addition to sharing a common autochthonous Awarak and Carib-based language, history of military conflicts and survival, culinary arts traditions, corpus of sacred and secular rituals, and style of daily dress and costume regalia for annual

¹ This term, intended of course to be both an indicator of race and a disparaging label, was used as such by surrounding ethnic groups in Central America for many years. Garinagu have opposed its use, especially since the 1970s, when Garifuna scholars began to encourage the employment of the indigenous words “Garifuna and Garinagu” to affirm pride in cultural identity.

² The word Garifuna, when used correctly, refers to the person (singular) and the language. As an adjective, it is used to describe any form of cultural expression (e.g., music, dance, art, food, etc.). It is used more often than the word *Garinagu* and is erroneously employed when referring to the people as a whole. As such, it is commonly used interchangeably with “*Garinagu*.” Because it is the more familiar word of the two, it will be used throughout this introduction when referring to the people in general.

processional rites, the *Garifuna*. possess genres of sonic expression (singing and drumming traditions) that are culturally distinct.

For the Garifuna, songs describe and comment on the experiences and challenges of life (Cayetano 2013). Music is generally inclusive of related forms of cultural expression such as dance and ritual and, therefore, is the form of identity that best articulates the passion and pathos of the collective soul and world view of the Garifuna. Because music is the most popular form of cultural expression, it is employed more often than other arts to celebrate identity.³ It is the medium through which commentary on social and cultural events is most frequently conveyed and around which cultural competitions⁴ have been designed in recent years.

The purpose of *The Garifuna Music Reader* is to provide an overview of Garifuna music culture as it relates to identity and to communal events surrounding belief systems associated with ancestor veneration, creolized forms of Christian worship, seasonal masked processions, annual commemorative cultural celebrations, and the evolution of punta rock and Garifuna world music. It is a compilation of new and previously published articles, such as of data from websites, peer-reviewed articles from journals, and chapters from books and a dissertation. It includes articles by ethnomusicologists, historians, and anthropologists representing both Garifuna and non-Garifuna scholars whose contributions are primarily interpretations and analyses of the music and cultural traditions of the Garifuna of Belize. Although the primary geographical focal point of this text is Garifuna music as performed, experienced, and interpreted in Belize, the content of each article also reflects cultural traditions maintained by all culture-centered Garifuna whether they reside in an urban center in the USA or a Garifuna village in Central America. Because Garifuna is first an orally transmitted language, variations exist in written transcriptions of the language, especially when comparing words in Garifuna orthographies and dictionaries compiled by Garifuna scholars in English and Spanish-speaking countries.⁵

³ Music has remained an integral part of cultural celebrations such as Garifuna Settlement Day since its inception in the 1940s.

⁴ During the past decade, cultural preservationists in the two largest Garifuna communities in Belize have established annual music and dance competitions. Hundreds of Garifuna, joined by non-Garifuna Belizeans and tourists from the US and surrounding countries, converge on Punta Gorda, the second largest Garifuna community, in mid-November to observe the “Battle of the Drums,” an international Garifuna drumming competition. Significantly, smaller numbers gather in Dangriga, the largest Garifuna settlement in Belize, in mid- and late December to observe the junior and senior competitions, respectively, of Habinahan Wanáragua Jankunu Festival (the national Jankunu drum and dance festival).

⁵ Words and song lyrics found in chapters by this author are most consistent with the orthography and diacritical markings suggested by E. Roy Cayetano, as used in his publications

Therefore, words such as *buyei* may also appear in the reader as *buyae*, yet refer to the same thing: a shaman.

Although gender specific words are used in many articles, it should be understood that most roles or responsibilities in Garifuna communities are gender neutral. (For example, a shaman or songwriter may be male or female). Occupations or work duties in social gatherings and religious and non-religious rituals are often, but not exclusively, associated with men or women based on social norms or traditions; men “traditionally” drum because of the physical strength required to play and carry the instrument while women cook and prepare food. However, both men and women are indeed associated with the composition of music (most importantly lyrics) of specific social commentary song forms. These are discussed throughout the articles.

The Garifuna Music Reader is divided into five units, each devoted to a different aspect of Garifuna music culture or category of ritual arts traditions. Because Garifuna songs are communal and interpretive reflections of historical events, cultural and spiritual ideals and idiosyncrasies, and social norms, articles are grouped into units that comprise broad topic areas. Articles range in structural format and data presentation from content-based articles for novice aficionados and undergraduate college students to theoretical and methodological articles more appropriate for honors and graduate students or scholars of Garifuna culture. To aid in retention and comprehension and meet the needs of a wide range of potential readers, questions addressing key content points, aims and objectives, issues of contemplation, and theoretical analyses follow each article. Questions designed to encourage critical thinking, interpretive description, and theoretical analysis are identified specifically as Honors/Graduate Questions.

Unit 1, “Music and Rituals—An Overview,” is comprised of the content of an extensive six-section website on music and related ritual traditions, transcriptions of the rhythms associated with the social-commentary songs and dances and ancestor veneration rituals, and an analytical overview of the composition and classification of Garifuna songs based on social function. Updated information from the website entitled “Garifuna Ritual and Musical Arts” serves as the first entry point to the reader because they provide: 1) an overview of the history of the Garifuna, including experiences that shaped their musical identity; 2) a description of Garifuna instruments and ensembles; 3) a narrative on ancestor veneration rituals and music; 4) discourse on the evolution and practice of

The People’s Garifuna Dictionary and *Bungiu Wabá: Lemesi luma Uremu Garifuna*. Syllabic stress usually occurs on the penultimate syllable, unless marked otherwise.

seasonal processional rites; 5) descriptions of social commentary songs and dance-song genres; and 6) a summary of the evolution of contemporary popular music genres, including women's social commentary songs. The site is published separately by *Médiathèque Caraïbe (lameca)*, a center in Basse-Terre, Guadeloupe, French West Indies, devoted to the preservation of the Caribbean music and culture (Greene 2013, *Médiathèque Caraïbe*).

This overview is followed by a series of the rhythmic transcriptions, each corresponding to the name of a celebrated traditional Garifuna song form (usually denoting a corresponding rhythm and dance, as well). These notations first appeared in *The Garifuna Drum Method* (2007), an instructional DVD on how to play specific rhythms on the *primero* and *segunda*, the lead and accompanying bass drums, respectively.

The article "Song and Ritual as a Key to Understanding Garifuna Personality" by Garifuna linguist and anthropologist E. Roy Cayetano was most recently published in *Senderos: Revistas de Etnomusicología* (2013).⁶ Although the article is based on a paper submitted by Cayetano while doing graduate anthropology work in the mid 1970s, it remains relevant today because the compositional inspiration and function of many of the songs in Garifuna society remain unchanged. Cayetano's article rests on the assumptions that lyrics and behavior reveal information about culture and that people seek to attain harmony between beliefs and behaviors. He discusses the composition and inspiration for song, the classification of song based on themes, and song in relationship to Garifuna ancestor rituals. His descriptions of the song themes—cassava grating songs; songs about the death of loved ones; songs about dependence and helplessness, loss, kinship, and slander; and songs that paint a picture or image—are supported by the general theory that Garifuna songs reflect the realities of human existence and are not about fictitious events or ideas. These themes reveal behavioral patterns, norms, and ideals such as reciprocity that convey the collective personality of the Garifuna people.

Unit 2, "Garifuna Spirituality," is composed of two articles by this writer that examine song, primarily in relation to traditional belief systems, and the role music plays in religious contexts: ancestor veneration and Christian rituals. The article "The *Dügü* Ritual of the Garifuna of Belize: Reinforcing Values of Society through Music and Spirit Possession" was originally published in *Black Music Research Journal* (Spring/Fall 1998). The article explores the relationship between spirituality and music as experienced in *adügürahani* ("Feasting the Dead"),

⁶ Though recently published, the author made minor revisions to this article for inclusion in this book.

a three- to four-day ritual to placate and venerate ancestor spirits. Drumming and singing during the ritual aid in the creation of a liminal space where the physical and spiritual domains coexist and intersect and where spirit possession frequently occurs. This study is based on the belief that music functions as a liaison and mediating agent that unites ritual participants with their ancestors. The article shows how music and possession reinforce social and communal values during postmortem rituals.

“Music, Healing, and Transforming Identity in *Lemesi Garifuna* (the Garifuna Mass),” the second article in this unit, published in *Caribbean Quarterly* (Fall 2014), explores how elements of Garifuna culture incorporated into the Roman Catholic Mass rejuvenate the worship experience and aid in restoring spiritual health. It describes *Lemesi Garifuna* as the product of the fusion of the liturgy of the mass with Garifuna hymns, standard rhythms of secular social commentary song forms, and bodily movements associated with Garifuna spirituality and semisacred songs. It also reveals how *Lemesi Garifuna* functions as an example of the maxim, *la cultura cura* (culture heals). This article answers three questions. First, which research topics in religion and in medical ethnomusicology address music’s potential to heal? Second, how have inculturation and intertextuality shaped the development of music in the mass? Finally, how has the mass aided in the maintenance of indigeneity and, as such, qualified as a rite that promotes *Garifunaduáü* (the Garifuna way or Garifunanness: the participation in and support of activities that promote the preservation of Garifuna identity).

Unit 3, “Tourism and Rituals of Cultural Celebrations,” includes two articles that investigate the role annual secular or semisacred rituals play in celebrating identity. The first, “Music Behind the Mask: Men, Social Commentary, and Identity in *wanáragua* (John Canoe/Jankunú),” was originally published as a chapter in *The Garifuna: A Nation Across Borders* (Cubola Books, 2006). It reveals how performances of interdependent and interrelated media of communication—specifically music, dance, and material art (costume regalia)—express an African-centered aesthetic and Garifuna identity through a seasonal rite. This rite, *wanáragua*, is an annual, multipart, door-to-door processional that is traditionally held on December 25, January 1, and January 6. This article explores the etymology of “John Canoe” (*Jankunu* in Belizean Creole), which, in its various spellings, also refers to processional rights in other former British colonies, specifically Jamaica and the Bahamas. It also examines costume regalia as an amalgamation of the African, Amerindian, and European art traditions; recalls performances of *wanaragua* (and a related processional called *charikanari*); and explores song text as a form of male social commentary.

The second article, “Celebrating Settlement Day in Belize,” published as a chapter in the book *Sun, Sea, and Sound: Music and Tourism in the Circum-Caribbean* (Oxford University Press 2014), examines how tourism impacts the communication of identity on Garifuna Settlement Day in Dangriga, Belize, by investigating the complex interplay between tourism, music, and other forms of cultural expression. It answers two questions. First, what are the functions of rituals that celebrate identity when local Garifuna organize these rituals and control the marketing and performances of culture associated with them? Second, during rites that promote culture, how is music used in the transmission and preservation of identity and in the commoditization of heritage? These questions are addressed as the author recounts the activities typically held on Garifuna Settlement Day: a symbolic reenactment of the nineteenth century arrival of Garifuna to Dangriga, Belize, a performance of a segment of an ancestor veneration rite, the Garifuna Mass (a creolized version of the Roman Catholic Mass), and a punta rock show.

Unit 4, “Garifuna Popular Music—Traditions and Evolution,” contains four articles, each devoted to varying aspects of what is called Garifuna popular music from its advent and early evolution, to its development through several stages as a musical emblem of Garifuna youth and young adults, to the rise and untimely death of its first global icon. The first article, “‘There are No Caribs in Africa’: Garifuna Encounters with Blackness in the Life of Don Justo Flores,” a previously unpublished work by Garifuna medical doctor and music researcher, Dr. Peitra Arana, and Guatemalan ethnomusicologist, Alfonso Arrivillaga Cortés, begins with an historical overview that confirms why Garifuna find it problematic to self-identify as people primarily of African origin—that is, at the expense of their Arawak-Carib ancestry—as they feel coerced to do when residing in the US. Arana and Arrivillaga recount the life of Belizean Garifuna writer, musician, and cultural advocate Don Justo, the first to translate the lyrics of popular songs of varying styles of Caribbean music, namely the *son*, *bolero*, and reggae in the 1950s and 60s, into Garifuna words. Using Flores as a case study, Arana and Arrivillaga describe and analyze life events, publications, and musical accomplishments as a way of revealing why the issue of indigeneity must be considered by *Garinagu* and respected by non-*Garinagu* as an option for self-identification. The challenges of identity classification are a reality for *Garinagu* living in the US where the bifurcated system of Black and non-Black identification prevailed for many decades.

The second article, “Punta Rock: A Musical Ethnography,” an excerpt from an unpublished dissertation by ethnomusicologist Amy Frishkey, offers a detailed overview of the development of Garifuna popular music and provides general

characteristics and information pertaining to the evolution of punta rock as presented in four phases: the late 1970s to the mid-1980s, the mid-1980s to the late 1990s, the late 1990s to the 2000s, and the late 2000s to the present. Musical data and examples include songs with lyrics by celebrated Garifuna soloists and bands and some multiethnic bands, harmonic analyses, and links to video URLs. The final portion of this extensive study of punta rock contains subsections that contextualize this musical style within the region, i.e., the music industry of the Caribbean. It also provides a comparative overview of the economic impact of recordings in the Caribbean versus live performances.

Dr. Peitra Arana's previously unpublished article, "The Garifuna Transformation from Folk to World Music," provides an emic perspective of the evolution and commodification of Garifuna popular music. Arana, a Garifuna medical doctor with a long interest in music, starts by presenting an overview of traditional music and musicians, beginning in the 1930s. Her descriptions include the names of celebrated musicians and the combos in which they performed. Her section of the birth of punta rock includes reflections by Pen Cayetano, its celebrated founder, and members of the Turtle Shell Band, the first punta rock band. She also expounds on its elevation from a local and national style to regional prominence. Arana explains why the Honduran claim that punta rock was founded there lacks validation. The life and contributions of the late Andy Palacio are highlighted, followed by an overview of the influences of contemporary musicians. After the author provides an explanation for the decline of punta rock, Arana concludes with a section on the transition of Garifuna popular music to world music and the relevance of two recordings: *Paranda: Africa in Central America* (1999) and *Watina* (2007).

The final article of the unit, "Remember Andy Palacio (1960–2008): The Life and Influence of a Garifuna Musical Icon" by this author, was published in *Senderos: Revista de Ethnomusicología* (2013). It is a biographical overview of the musical career and influence of Andy Palacio, the artist most responsible for the global promotion of punta rock and for the evolution of Garifuna world music. Andy Palacio's critically acclaimed CD *Watina* (2007) was the first Garifuna recording to earn number one rankings on many European and global world music charts. This article is a synthesis of personal communication (interviews, emails, and conversations) conducted with Palacio between 2000 and 2007 and articles from newspapers, magazines, and websites. It answers questions concerning four topics: 1) the evolution of his career despite the challenges of growing up in an economically disadvantaged community; 2) the dilemmas he encountered as both musician and government appointed official; 3) his use of traditional indigenous music to interpret contemporary social and cultural issues; and 4) his role as a cultural advocate and symbol of Garifuna musical identity.

Unit 5, “Garifuna Popular Music—Theory and Analysis,” the final section of the book, is composed of three articles that explore, deconstruct, and theoretically analyze the origin and evolutionary stages of Garifuna popular music. The first article, “Ethnicity, Modernity, and Retention in the Garifuna Punta,” published in *Black Music Research Journal* (Fall 2002), is an examination of music, language (song text), and dance in *punta* and punta rock as interdependent media of cultural identity and expressions in which music reads song text and dance reads music. *Punta*, the most popular song genre of the Garifuna, is both a rhythm, a women’s social commentary song form, and—as a re-enactment of the cock and hen mating ritual—a dance of procreation. Throughout the article, *punta* is a symbol of tradition while punta rock serves as a metaphor for modernity and change. This author bases a significant portion of the article on an account of the creation and early development of punta rock by its revolutionary founder, Pen Cayetano, self-taught musician and celebrated visual artist. *Punta* and *paranda*, a male social commentary song form, are analyzed as duple-meter song forms and rhythms that form the basis for most punta rock songs. The origin of punta rock is recounted, observations of ethnicity and modernity are presented, and a popular *paranda* that is arranged to reflect the influence of punta-rock is transcribed and discussed.

“Garifuna Song, Groove Locale, and ‘World-Music’ Mediation” is an article by anthropologist Michael Stone that was originally published in *Globalization, Cultural Identities, and Media Representation* (2006). The introduction carefully explores the bifocal nature of world music and the tension that is the product of contrasting views concerning its efficacy: for example, how it is celebrated as (1) a transculturation of traditional music that is an edifying fusion of differing cultural influences or as (2) the penetrating expression of transnational commodities and practices that connect local and international audiences (p. 380). Stone’s examination of Garifuna music as “world music,” a category into which it has been inserted within the past decade, is based on his argument that the narrow focus of world music as a commodity indifferent to local histories does not take into account the relevance of its meaning in local music performances (p. 386). After tracing the earliest ethnographic accounts of Garifuna music-making and related events, Stone devotes the remainder of article to an analysis of Garifuna world music as groove local, “the international field of commodified popular reception that creates the intangible cultural allure (and thus the commercial viability) of sonic otherness” (p. 391).

The final article of the reader, “Hearing Culture, Selling Culture: Aurality and the Commodification of Garifuna Popular Music,” is an original work (previously unpublished) by this author, written specifically for this compilation.

It is a theoretical analysis of how aurality affects the commodification of Garifuna popular music. Using terms and concepts such as interculturality, recontextualization, diaspora, the commodification of “otherness,” “musicking,” and “groove locale,” the article explains how “internal and external interpretations of sound unique to the mediation and comprehension of culture affect its marketability” (p. 411). A broad overview of the article reveals that the author raises three major areas of inquiry concerning aurality and the commodification of Garifuna popular music. For each he provides supporting data and an analytical synthesis using the theoretical concepts presented above. The areas of inquiry are as follows: “1) Garifuna aurality; how the vernacular and the intra-cultural shape the concept of the cultural aurality; 2) the impact of cultural commodification on the evolution of Garifuna popular music; and 3) the influence of inter-culturality on the evolution of Garifuna world music” (p. 412).

In short, the *The Garifuna Music Reader* offers the novice and scholar of the Garifuna music historical and contemporary, cultural and social, and spiritual and secular profiles of the Garifuna as a Central American and diasporic people. Because these descriptions are interwoven with empirical interpretations and analyses by Garifuna and non-Garifuna scholars, *The Garifuna Music Reader* reveals substantial information about the communal efficacy and reflective nature of music in most all of its traditional and social settings. It is also of value to the Garifuna and advocates of Garifuna culture because it is the most comprehensive publication to date of Garifuna music and music-related activities. It is my hope that the articles presented here provide a resource of collective scholarship that inspires others to embark upon an exploration of Garifuna music, culture, and ritual arts traditions.

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1 Garifuna Music & Ritual Arts

GARIFUNA HISTORY & THE SHAPING OF MUSICAL IDENTITY

The Garifuna are people of West African and Native American descent who live along the Caribbean coast of Belize, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua.



FIGURE 1.1: Map of Central America from Belize south to Nicaragua.

Oliver N. Greene, "Garifuna Music and Ritual Arts," http://www.lameca.org/dossiers/garifuna_music/eng/p1.htm. Copyright © 2013 by Mediatheque Caraïbe. Reprinted with permission.

They share a common origin, language, system of beliefs and customs, body of ancestor placation rituals and annual processions, and repertoire of dance-song genres, social commentary and work songs, and popular music. Though the Garifuna were called the Black Carib by early European explorers, today they are collectively known as the Garinagu. Of the estimated 400,000 Garifuna more than 300,000 live in Central America, with the vast majority residing in Honduras, home to 42–46 Garifuna communities. Hondurans of African descent, primarily Garifuna, are 2 percent of the 8,893,259 inhabitants (CIA 2017c, Honduras). There are six Garifuna communities in Belize, three in Guatemala, and two in Nicaragua. In Belize the Garifuna are approximately 6 percent of a population of 353,858 (CIA, 2017a, Belize). In Guatemala, indigenous non-Mayan, of which Garifuna are included, are approximately 2 percent of a population of 15,189,958 (CIA 2017b, Guatemala). Nicaraguans of African descent, including Garifuna, make up 9 percent of a population of 5,966,798 (CIA 2017d, Nicaragua). Garifuna in search of better employment and education opportunities began to migrate in large numbers to the United States in the 1950s. Of the tens of thousands of Garifuna that currently reside in the United States, the vast majority live in major urban centers, primarily New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Miami, New Orleans, Houston, Washington DC, and Atlanta.

The Garifuna are the product of genetic mixtures and cultural fusions of West Africans, including the Yoruba, Ibo, Fon, Ashanti, Fanti, Efik, Mandinga, Fanti, and Congo and Native Americans (Amerindians), specifically Carib, Arawak, Taino, and Igneri (Greene, 1998, 168–169), (Cayetano 1990b, 32), (Greene, 2008, 235), (Coeldho 1955, 6–8), (Bastide 1971, 71). These West African cultures are found in current day Nigeria, Benin, Ghana, Sierra Leone, Mali, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo while the Amerindian Native American cultures are from the Orinoco River Basin in Venezuela and coastal Guyana.

The history of the Garifuna begins hundreds of years before the arrival of Africans and later Europeans to the New World. Carbon-14 dating suggests that between 1010 BCE and 400 ADE Salaloid Arawak, followed by Awarak-Taino, Awarak-Kallini, and Igneri of the Orinoco River Basin migrated from the upper Orinoco River basin to the Antilles (Olsen 1974, 225). A map of the migration of the Garifuna from the advent of Awarak on St. Vincent to the 1823¹ migration of Garifuna to current day Dangriga, Belize, identifies 500 BC as the year the

¹ Though sources referencing the date of the arrival of Garinagu to Dangriga vary from 1823 to 1832, the former has been verified as the correct date based on the writings of T.V. Ramos, the founder of Garifuna Settlement Day, and numerous historians. Please note that though this author has attempted to correct the error in his contributions to this text, copyrighted maps and articles attributed to other authors may include the incorrect date. See Adele Ramos, "1832 versus 1823 (Reprint) in in Amandala. <http://amandala.com.bz/news/1832-versus-1823-reprint/> .

Image omitted due to copyright restrictions.

FIGURE 1.2: The Migration of the Garifuna People.

Arawak first traveled through the Lesser Antilles to St. Vincent and 100 AD as the date that the Carib first traveled to same region.

Around 1220 ADC the more aggressive Carib-Galibi of Guyana, migrated north into the Lesser and Greater Antilles of the Caribbean (Cayetano 1989, 19). During raids on the docile Arawak and Igneri, Carib warriors would kill the Arawak-Igneri men and take the women as their wives. The fusion of these cultural groups on the island of St. Vincent in the Lesser Antilles resulted in an Arawak and gender-based language that includes numerous Carib words (spoken primarily by men) and that has survived among the Garifuna today.

The first encounters between Africans and Amerindians on St. Vincent, the ancestral home of the Garifuna, may have occurred in 1307 and 1312 when expeditions by the Mandinga people of current day Mali traveled west on

the trade winds to the eastern Caribbean (Lawrence 1992, 169–214). However, most accounts of the origin of the Garifuna suggest that they are the product of an African-Amerindian fusion that began in 1635 when Africans aboard two Spanish slave ships in route to Barbados, swam to nearby St. Vincent Island after the ships were lost during a storm.² On St. Vincent (called “Yurumein” by the local Amerindians), West Africans of various cultures intermixed with the Arawak-Carib people that lived there (Taylor 1951, 181) and adopted their language and many of the customs that were similar to their own.

The Garifuna successfully defended the island from the British, Spanish, and French until Joseph Chatuye, the paramount chief of the many Garifuna tribes on St. Vincent was killed during the British-Garifuna War in 1795. This resulted in the exile of Garifuna to Roatan Island off the coast of Honduras in 1796. Although 4300 to 5000 Garifuna began the journey to Central America in October 1796 only 2,026 survived. Many died of malnutrition and a malignant fever, possibly yellow fever, during the six month trip (Cayetano, S. 1997, 16–17). The Garifuna began a series of migrations from mainland Honduras to Belize in 1802, to Guatemala in 1804 (ibid. 25–27) and later to Nicaragua. The settlements in Nicaragua are attributed to groups of migrant Garifuna from Honduras whose boats went offcourse while in search of a route back to their homeland, St. Vincent. (<http://www.garifunaheritagefoundation.com/192.html>).

Garifuna, in search of better employment and education opportunities, began migrating in large numbers to New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago in the 1950s and to other urban American centers in the decades that followed. This shift in population within the region resulted in tens of thousands of Garifuna in the US. An analysis of the history of the Garifuna reveal that the multiple contexts and geographical locations in which the Garifuna have lived and survived are a continuation of a tradition of migration that spans more than 2000 years, that is, from before the arrival of native South Americans in the Eastern Caribbean to the beginning

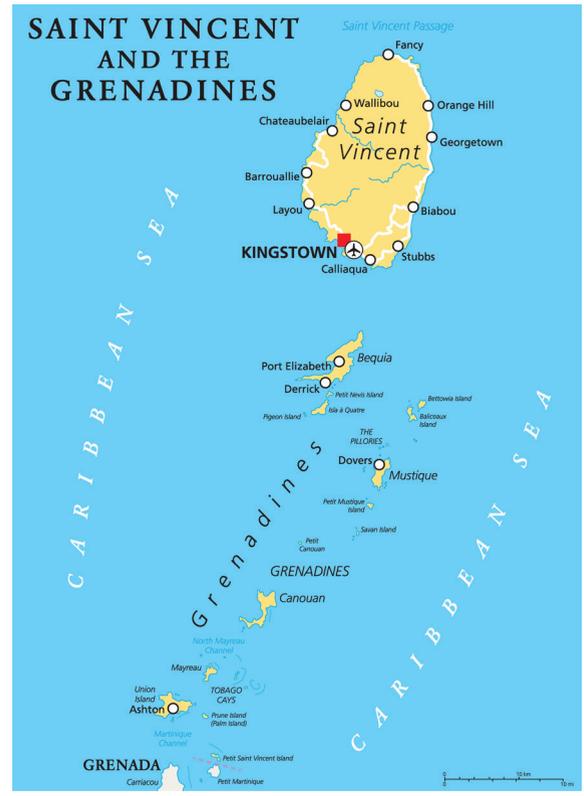


FIGURE 1.3: Map of St. Vincent.

² Many Garifuna historians and scholars now conclude that the enslaved Africans may have escaped and taken the ship by force or possibly sank it themselves. It is highly unlikely that they were simply released from their chains by their captors.



FIGURE 1.4: The Garifuna Flag, NGC.

of the 21st century (Palacio, 2006, 106–107). Because the history of the Garifuna in the eastern Caribbean, Central America, and the United States has directly impacted their sense of cultural identity, much of their secular and ancestor veneration music, and contemporary popular music include references to this history and expresses concerns surrounding challenges Garifuna face throughout the region.

The black, white, and yellow Garifuna Flag stands as an emblematic symbol of the Garifuna. The flag is the principle icon of Garifuna Nationhood, a concept of transnational and dia-

sporic identity in Central America and the United States that symbolizes the struggles the Garifuna endured but also recalls the years of peace and security as an island nation on St. Vincent in the 17th and 18th centuries. On one level, the colors represent the union of people who comprise the Garifuna: black for the Africans and yellow for the Carib/Arawak fusion. White, represents the Europeans, and is a symbolic reminder of the role they played in the formation of the Garifuna. At a deeper level, black symbolizes the hardships and injustices the Garifuna have endured, yellow, the hope and the prosperity for which Garifuna continue to struggle, and white represents peace.

GARIFUNA MUSIC: SONGS AND INSTRUMENTS—DESCRIPTION AND FUNCTION WITHIN THE TRADITIONAL ENSEMBLE



FIGURE 1.5: Segunda drum.

Today, in Central American Garifuna coastal villages and towns and in urban settings in the United States, musicians perform both the indigenous acoustic dance-songs genres as well as punta rock and other genres of Western influenced popular music. Instrumental accompaniment for indigenous sacred and secular music and most styles of popular Garifuna music includes, but is not limited to, a total of six different instruments that can be classified into four categories: membranophones (skin drums), idiophones (rattles and struck shells), aerophones (wind instruments), and chordophones (string instruments, specifically, the guitar).

Membranophones (Skin Drums)

Though the Garifuna are of African and Amerindian ancestry—among whom varying types and sizes of drums are found—they

employ only two types of drums (*garawoun*, in Garifuna). Both *garawoun* are identical in construction but differ in size and musical function. The *segunda*, a single-headed bass drum is approximately 90 centimeters high and ranges from 60 to 90 centimeters in diameter (Greene 2008, 236). The cylindrical body of the drum is typically made of the mayflower or another hard wood. The head is made of dried deer, peccary, or goat skin and is attached to the wooden base by beach vine and small nails.

Large nylons cords attached to a piece of beach vine that has been placed on top of the drum head around the rim are fed through holes drilled around the bottom of the body of the drum. This helps to secure the head in place. Though *garawoun* are non-tuned membranophones it is important that the sound of the *segunda* be noticeably lower in pitch than the *primero*, the tenor or lead drum. Two or three nylon strings or thin wires are secured across the outer playing surface of the drum head.

This results in a buzzing and ringing timbre when the head is struck. This nylon chord can be tightened to make the drum head tauter, thus raising the pitch of the instrument. In traditional secular and religious Garifuna music, *segunda* drummers play a single ostinato (repetitive rhythmic pattern), the characteristic rhythmic idea of the specific song form that is being performed at the time. The *segunda* provides the repetitive rhythmic foundation against which improvisatory passages are played on the *primero*. (Only *segundas* are used during ancestor rituals where drummers usually play identical or related rhythmic patterns.)

The *primero*, a single-headed treble drum about 30 to 45 centimeters in diameter and approximately 60 centimeters high, provides rhythmic variety and syncopation in each song (Greene 2008, 236). One of most significant functions of the *primero* player is to rhythmically interpret the movements of solo dancers. The *primero*, through smaller and higher in pitch level, is identical in design and construction to the *segunda*. Garifuna *garawoun* are similar in design to early forms of the Guadeloupean *gwoka* drums as well as specific types of Puerto Rican *bomba* drums. (Iameca Gwoka website and Emmanuel Dufresne Gonzalez, Personal communication).

Idiophones (Rattles and Struck Shells)

Calabash rattles and struck turtle shells are the indigenous idiophones used by the Garifuna. The rattle is a symbol of the retention of African and Amerindian musical identity, while the struck turtle shells, a relatively recent invention,



FIGURE 1.6: Primero drum.



FIGURE 1.7: Shakkas.

coincided with the 1980s advent of popular Garifuna commercial music. During ancestor veneration rituals the rattle is commonly referred to as a *sisira* or *maraga*. These container rattles are held by a wooden handle and are made of a medium-sized round calabash into which seeds or pebbles have been placed. Rattles are always played in pairs. Similar rattles are found among the Amerindians of South America and West Africans from which the Garifuna derive. The *sisira* is identical to the rattle used in communal secular music and in contemporary popular Garifuna music such as punta rock. In secular contexts it is often called the *shakka*.

During ancestor veneration rituals the *sisira* is most often played by the *buyei* (shaman) or her or his assistant. In this context the *sisira* usually emphasizes a basic triple-meter rhythm that traditionally accompanies songs of ancestor veneration.



Abelagudahani

The *sisira* can be heard.

Source: *Dabuyabarugu: Inside the Temple - Sacred Music of the Garifuna of Belize* (FW04023_101)

Artists: Not listed

The down beat or first beat of each measure is usually accented. At secular musical events where duple and triple meter song forms are performed, the *shakka* also emphasizes duple subdivisions of the principle beat. In punta rock maracas are used when *shakkas* are not available.



FIGURE 1.8: Charikanari Hianro dancer with shakkas.

The introduction of turtle shells as an instrument in the late 1970s and early 1980s coincided with the creation and development of *punta rock* by visual artist Pen Cayetano and the Turtle Shell Band. Before the advent of punta rock, Pen painted colorful images on the back of turtle shells to produce inexpensive works of art for sale. To use them as musical instruments, band members attached the shells to one another using heavy cotton rope. The rope was placed around the performer's neck

with the belly portion of the shells facing outward. Rhythmic patterns were played on the shells using handmade wooden mallets. Through experimentation Pen discovered that combinations of turtle shells of different sizes produced variations of high and low indefinite pitched sounds and that a unique instrumental balance could be achieved when played with the Garifuna garawouns (Cayetano, E. Roy 1982).



Uwala Busiganu (“Don’t be ashamed of your culture”).

The turtles shells can be heard.

Artists: The Original Turtle Shell Band, “The Beginning”



FIGURE 1.9: Garífuna musician, Pablo Inés Flores Suazo sounds the conch shell.

Aerophones (Wind Instruments)

The conch shell trumpet is the only wind instrument used today in Garifuna traditional music. Because this instrument was commonly employed by Native Americans and may have also been used among West Africans, the exact origin and date of its initial use among the Garifuna is unknown. The shell is of course the housing or casing for conch from which fritters and soup are made. These seasonal delicacies are popular in many coastal Garifuna communities as well as in other locations throughout the circum-Caribbean region. The shell is made into a wind instrument when the pointed spiral top is cut off and air is blown through the aperture with the lips. The closed, buzzing-lip embouchure used in playing orchestral brass instruments is also used to create sound through the conch shell. A single tone is usually played on each shell, with the relative highness or lowness of the pitch determined by the size of the shell. For example, smaller shells produce higher pitches than the large shells. Though higher pitches can be produced when air is forced through more tightly held lips, they are rarely performed. Single tones played in repetitive patterns are most commonly heard in acoustic performances of traditional puntas. Usually, the instrument is played only sporadically during the performance of a song.

Fifes or cane reed flutes were previously used with the snare drum in *Pia Manadi*, a costumed mimed-drama processional performed between Christmas and Epiphany in Garifuna communities in Belize. The last known performances of *Pia Manadi* occurred in southern Belize in the late 1970s.

Chordophones (String Instruments)

Because the Garifuna have no indigenous string instruments, those used to accompany traditional song genres and contemporary popular music genres were most likely introduced to the Garifuna in the early to mid-1800s, following their arrival to Spanish Honduras and subsequent migrations to neighboring Central American territories, namely Guatemala, and British Honduras. The acoustic guitar, the typical six-string Spanish *guitarra*, continues to be the principal chordophone used by the Garifuna today.

The guitar is the principal accompanying instrument for *paranda*, the song-genre that functions as a serenade and a vehicle of social commentary that is typically composed by men. In *paranda* the guitar provides chordal accompaniment to songs that typically feature an alternating verse and refrain format.



Paranda

The guitar as the accompanying instrument for *paranda* can be heard.

Source: *Traditional Music of the Garifuna of Belize* (FW04031_107)

Artists: Andy Palacio, Eric Arzu, Isawel Nolberto, Isabella Mejia, Gene Martinez, and Bernadetta Arzu

With the advent of punta rock, Garifuna incorporated the electric guitar and later the electric bass to ensembles of indigenous instruments. The electric guitars in punta rock bands usually provide harmonic and secondary rhythmic support in the form of repetitive chord progressions, like rhythmic guitars in rock, rhythm and blues, and some popular Caribbean song forms. In punta rock songs, the electric bass provides an additional harmonic foundation as with other forms of popular commercial music.

DÜGÜ AND THE SOUNDS OF GARIFUNA SPIRITUALITY

Traditional Garifuna beliefs and customs concerning spirituality, post mortem rituals, and the veneration of ancestor spirits are so distinct that many observers have referred to *adügürahani* (*dügü*), the most salient of the Garifuna ancestor rituals, as a religion. Garifuna view their ancestors as liaisons between man and God and overseers of their daily lives. Dügü reinforces social ideals and principals such as reciprocity and the maintenance of cultural identity. Yet, it is not based on a liturgy of weekly, monthly, or even annual worship. Garifuna post mortem rituals such as dügü (a five-day ritual) and *achuguhani* (*chugu*, a three-day ritual) are an amalgamation of West African ancestor veneration rituals and Native South American (Amerindian) and Caribbean shamanism. Both are held

seasonally—specifically during the months of June, July, and August—and are prepared only after repeated request from the spirits of ancestors.

Post mortem rituals that traditionally follow a funeral and precede *dügü* are *beluria* (a nine-night wake), an anniversary mass, *amuyadahani* (“refreshing the dead”), and occasionally a *chügü*. *Belurias* are essentially nine nights of prayers by family members for the soul of the deceased. The final day of prayers concludes with an evening mass for the deceased followed by communitywide participation in festive singing, drumming, and dancing. On the anniversary of the death of the deceased a Garifuna mass is often given. The mass is a translation of the Roman Catholic mass into the vernacular, with hymns and sometimes newly composed songs accompanied by a *segunda*, *primero* and guitar. Several years later the family may have an *amuyadahani* (literally, “to cover a hole with dirt”), a ritual bath to refresh the spirit of the deceased. During this ritual, select clothing of the deceased is laid on the ground beside a hole filled with water. The ancestor is called by name and then urged to take his or her bath. *Amuyadahani*’s are given at the request of the ancestor and symbolize the washing away of evidence (dust, sweat, and mud) of the ancestor’s difficult journey to *seiri* (the Garifuna heaven). The spirit must be cleansed before it is allowed to enter *seiri*. A *chugu* may be given later (generally several years or more) at the request of the ancestor.

Events that determine if a *dügü* will be performed are as follows. *An áhari*, a benevolent spirit of a deceased relative, may speak to a living offspring during a dream and requests a *dügü* in his/her honor. Family members often ignore initial requests for a *dügü* because of the extensive time and financial expenses involved in hosting the rite. If repeated requests are ignored a *gubiba*, a malevolent ancestor, may inflict illness on a relative or cause near-fatal accidents. When the illness cannot be successfully treated by conventional medical practices or when near fatal accidents can no longer be logically explained, family members consult a *buyei* (shaman) to determine the cause. The shaman conducts an *arairaguni* (an invocation ceremony) with the assistance of spiritual helpers (*hiuruha*). With the shaman acting as a medium, the *gubida* reveals that it has caused or allowed living offspring to become ill and/or have near fatal accidents because it feels neglected. The *gubida* may then requests an *achuguhani* or a *dügü* (Greene, 1998, 669). Preparations for a *dügü* may vary from one to two or three years depending on the extent of the requests. Some ancestors request that a new *dabuyaba* (ancestor veneration temple) be built for the *dügü*. *Dabuyabas* are also used to host other rituals and events in the community.

The primary role of *dügü* music is to communicate to the ancestral spirits. The ritual features alternate periods of *chürürüti*, thirty to forty-five minute sessions of singing, drumming, and the playing of rattles, and *amalihani*,

the principle rite of ancestor veneration. Respites of approximately forty-five minutes are customarily held after each *chürürüti* or *amalihani*. This continues for almost two days, that is, until preparations are made and tables are erected in the temple for the ancestor veneration meal. Occasionally ritual participants compose and perform songs based on texts given to them during dreams by their ancestors. Ancestors embody descendents through whom they offer advice, condemn unacceptable behavior, and foretell the future. Therefore, ancestors play active roles in the practice of self-veneration and ultimately, the maintenance of group identity. Participants who are frequently possessed (*onwehani*, literally “to faint”) during *dügü* and who serve as mediums or conduits through which ancestors speak are called *hebu gubida*. Although possession may occur at any time, it almost exclusively happens among women and frequently during periods of drumming and singing. Women usually outnumber men as ritual practitioners more than two to one. In traditional Garifuna cosmology, women are considered more susceptible to possession than men because they are “lighter,” that is, less resistant to spiritual embodiment. Men serve as drummers and organizers of animal sacrifices, an essential component of the ancestor thanksgiving feasts. The family member who is physically ill often returns to good health during the course of the ritual if the ancestor(s) honored during the ritual and the officiating shaman deem the ritual a success (Greene 2008, 236).

The Garifuna believe that the continuous triple-meter rhythms on the heart drum (*lanigi garawoun*), the central and largest of the three *segundas* used in the ritual to lead the accompaniment of *dügü* songs, encourage the participation of the *ahari*. Because these songs are familiar to all ritual participants and have been a part of the musical repertoire of *dügü* for generations, they are believed to attract the attention of ancestors as well. The incessant rhythm of the heart drum (a symbol of the human heartbeat) and in particular, the sound of the shaman’s rattle, are believed to attract the ancestor spirits from the earthen floor of the temple. Though possession may occur in any context, it is traditionally experienced during *dügü*. The three drummers (*dangbu*) position themselves in the back, right corner of the temple next to the *gule*, the shaman’s chamber in the rear of the temple. As the drummers play, the song leader and *gayusa* (a chorus of singers traditionally composed of women), perform responsorial songs in succession without interruption. The song leader simply begins a verse of a new song and the chorus follows with the appropriate response.

During *dügü* several genres of songs are performed. Although the ritual proper is only three days in length, the course of events of a typical *dügü* covers a period of six days. Cassava bread, plantains, coffee, fifty pound bags of

four, sugar, rice, and red beans and other provisions for food for ritual participants and the ancestor meal are brought into the temple on a Thursday or Sunday afternoon. This is also the day on which relatives from other villages and cities in Central America and from the US arrive. The shaman, based on personal preferences, determines the day of the week on which the ritual proper begins; some traditionally selecting Thursday while others Sunday. In the afternoon, participants carrying food provisions process into the temple in a single file line to the accompaniment of triple-meter rhythmic motives repeated on the *segundas*. As they sing responsorial songs, they place the provisions on the earthen floor in the center of the room and progress around the temple in a counterclockwise direction. They propel themselves forward in a shuffle-step dance movement called *hugulendu*. Participants reverse directions of the circular progression as each new song is introduced by the song leader. The following description of *dügü* is based on the ritual as observed in Dangriga, Belize in 1996.

Hugulendu

Source: *Dabuyabarugu: Inside the Temple - Sacred Music of the Garifuna of Belize* (FW04032_104)

Artists: Not listed



After all participants enter the temple, the first of the many *chürürüti* begin. Participants progress around the interior of the temple in single-file lines moving in alternate counterclockwise then clockwise directions. The majority of the repertoire of *dügü* songs is performed during *chürürüti*. Possession may occur during a *chürürüti* or during the thirty to forty-five minute rest period that follows. During the rest period the shaman's principal assistant enters the center hall of the temple smoking a cigar made of a specific kind of tree bark. The assistant blows smoke over each of the provisions placed in the center of the temple to consecrate or purify them for the ancestor ritual. The sound of the drums signals the beginning of the *chürürüti*.

At approximately 5:30 am, shortly before sunrise, participants gather at the entrance of the temple in preparation for *adugahatiun* ("collecting food for *dügü*"), the procession to the beach to send select family members to the cayes to catch seafood for the ancestor meal. The *lanigi garawoun* signals the beginning of the *chürürüti* of the day. *Lambe, añate adweihatian* is one of the songs traditionally performed in Dangriga, Belize during this early morning *chürürüti*.

Lambe, añate adeweihatian

Lambey here come the people with the gifts.
 Lambey let's go and meet them [or receive them] because
 Wilts will be the content of the basket. (Greene, 1996, 193)

Lambey was the name of a well-respected, deceased shaman who served the Garifuna in the Dangriga area for many years. Wilts are small conch which are said to be a favorite dish of the ancestors.

At approximately 6:00 am the shaman playing two rattles followed by men playing two of the three *segundas* exits the *dabuyaba* and walks briskly to the beach. (At least one drum must always remain in the temple.) Most temples face the sea; however, some may be located inland, short distances from the sea. Some Garifuna in surrounding neighborhoods exit their homes and join the procession which reaches the sea within ten minutes. Drumming and rattling continue as participants sing while waving strips of the white cotton cloth believed to calm malevolent ancestor spirits. After the shaman sprinkles consecrating rum onto the provisions loaded into the three waiting dories, select family members climb into the motorized boats and speed off towards the cays. The singing and drumming continue as onlookers bid the travelers farewell. As the boats near the horizon, the shaman and drummers lead the procession back to the temple. The two drummers enter the temple where they are joined by the third drummer. As the remaining participants enter, they form the customary single-file line and progress around the temple in a counterclockwise direction. Participants reverse the direction of circular progression with the introduction of each new song. One of the songs traditionally performed here is *Lubeidan litiwi barawa*.

Lubuidun litui barana

The waves are pretty
 We will be stopping along the way
 The sea washes over our captain
 As we are coming to shore
 Play your maraga for us
 For we are going to play [dance] today
 Play your maraga for us buyei
 In the temple let the cock crow
 We will quiet our ancestors down.

This song may have been given in a dream, like many *dügü* songs. It references travels to and from the cayes during *dügü* and request that the shaman play his *maraga* (rattle).

When the shaman enters the main hall of the temple he stands in front of the *lanigi garawoun* drummer (the drummer in the center) and energetically plays the *sisira*. This adds an additional layer of sound to the continuous drumming and singing. Several incidents of possession may occur in this context. Ancestor spirit possession often continues through periods of rest. During respite periods onlookers often converse with their ancestors (consanguineal spirits that embody living offspring) about illnesses, family conflicts, or future matters. Possession may involve comical scenes between two or more possessed participants as well as serious scenes in which ancestors chastise disobedient offspring.

Following the second *chürürüti* of the morning participants break for lunch and an afternoon rest. They return to the temple at 6:00 p.m. and begin alternating periods of music and rest that last until 10:00 p.m. The same evening schedule is held on Saturday and no ritual activities are conducted on Sunday to allow participants time to attend their respective places of Christian worship and to rest for the final three days of ritual activities.

Abelagudahani, the “bringing in,” occurs on Monday morning and signifies the official beginning of the *dügü* ritual proper. This event involves the return of the participants who went to the cayes on Friday to collect seafood for the ancestor meal. The shaman and drummers perform the procession to and from the beach for *abelagudahani* exactly like that of *adugahani* performed on Friday.

Abelagudahani

Source: *Dabuyabarugu: Inside the Temple - Sacred Music of the Garifuna of Belize* (FW04023_101)

Artists: Not listed



Monday also marks the first day of *amalihani* (simply called “*mali*”), the central rite of ancestor placation during *dügü*, and the wearing of “term red” apparel by select family members. “Term red,” considered the symbolic color of the ancestors, is the generic term for ritual attire colored by a dye made from a local berry. As participants enter the temple, those carrying provisions place their basins of seafood in the center of the temple. The customary counterclockwise circle is formed as the *chürürüti* begins and the shaman consecrates the offering of seafood by blowing smoke onto it from the cigar made of tree bark. Participants, who have brought fowl (only roosters) to the temple for the ancestor meal, untie the fowl that have been secured beneath the benches. Others carry small bottles

of white rum. Participants, holding their respective fowl upside down to their right or left side, sway back and forth as they sing *Nagütü, bámalihóuña* (“My grandmother, we are quieting you down”), song text from *amalihani*. (Although venerated ancestors may be male or female, all references to ancestors in the *amalihani* song are female. The name of the specific ancestor honored is called out immediately before each *amalihani*). The song text states that the living are calming disgruntled spirits, that the cock should be allowed to crow, and that everything is silent: the moment of veneration for the honored ancestor spirits. “I am for you, you are for me,” the most significant line of text in the song, emphasizes perhaps the most significant value of Garifuna society and culture: reciprocity (Greene 1999, 234). This responsorial song accompanied on the *segundas* by three rhythmic patterns in triple meter, is repeated throughout each *ámalihani* until the designated number of *malís* (revolutions around the interior of the temple) for each named ancestor has been completed (*ibid*). As *amalihani* begins the shaman facing east shakes his rattle in front of the drummers who stand in the back center of the temple, the western point in the temple. Ritual participants assemble themselves in the area behind the shaman. The latter bends toward the earthen floor playing both rattles and the drummers do the same while playing their respective instruments.



Amalihani – Part I

Source: *Dabuyabarugu: Inside the Temple - Sacred Music of the Garifuna of Belize* (FW04023_203)

Artists: Not listed

When the responding phrase sung by the chorus and onlookers ends all singing ceases. Only the sound of the two rattles and the three drums can be heard, except for the occasional crowing of roosters. After approximately forty-five seconds, the shaman stands upright then immediately bends toward the floor again. The drummers follow his actions. The shaman moves his torso to the left shaking his rattling toward the drum closest to the northern wall of the *dabuyaba* then repeats this action in front of the drum closest to the southern wall of the temple. He walks between the drums toward the center of the room, and turns to face the drummers, who turn to face him. With each verse of the song, the shaman leads the procession to each of the remaining cardinal points—progressing from south, to east, to north, and west—maintaining the arrangement of the heart drum in the center and the participants behind him. As the shaman plays his rattles at each of the cardinal points participants become quiet. Silence is considered a communal gesture of veneration to the

ancestors. Each mali consists of one counterclockwise revolution around the dabuyaba followed by a sudden reversal in direction. The clockwise procession which follows moves more quickly than the first and stops briefly at each cardinal point. After the final progression around the temple, the drummers return to their respective positions in the back of the temple as the shaman faces them while continuing to play his rattles. This marks the end of the first mali of the dügü.

Participants disband their configuration, spread out in the temple, and turn west to face the drummers. These movements coincide with repetitions of the word “*ideinde*” (possibly meaning “God”). As the song leader and participants repeat the word “*walagayo*” (“fowl”) loudly and dance they lift their respective fowl over their heads simultaneously, as if making a single communal offering to the ancestors. While dancing participants repeatedly sing “*bamali hounya*” (“a mali for you”) as the fowl crow and flap their wings. Ancestor spirit possession begins almost immediately, as evident by the uncontrollable movement of some women. Others dance by themselves or in pairs. Occasionally, the shaman rubs rum on the joints and limbs of those experiencing possession to calm the spirit within.

Amalihani Part II - *Ideinde*

Source: *Dabuyabarugu: Inside the Temple - Sacred Music of the Garifuna of Belize* (FW04023_204)

Artists: Not listed



Following the standard period of rest participants gather in the center of the temple to sing *abeimahani*, semi-sacred, unaccompanied gestured songs for women, and *arumahani*, semi-sacred, unaccompanied gestured songs for men. (Examples of *abeimahani* and *arumahani* songs are provided below in section 5, “Social Commentary Song and Dance Genres of the Garifuna.”) During performances of both song types, participants stand side by side with little fingers clasped. As they sing responsorial songs the forward and back movement of hands and arms creates a gentle rocking motion among all participants. A chorus of women led by a male song-leader performs *arumahani* songs when there are not enough men present to adequately perform the songs. Following a long period for lunch participants return to the temple around 3:00 pm and perform alternate sessions of *amalihani* and *chürürüti* with thirty minute periods of rest between each. These alternate sessions of ancestor veneration, singing, drumming, and dancing continue throughout the evening and night. Men who have butchered the sacrificial pig during in the afternoon hang one half of the carcass

against the wall near the southern door of the temple and other half against the wall near the northern door of the temple. The shaman purifies the carcass by blowing smoke from his cigar over the carcass.

The fowl are sacrificed the following morning as participants perform “*Anihan gayo luyina garawoun*” (“Here are the fowl of the drums”). The remainder of the morning is devoted to preparing the fowl, the pig, and the various Garifuna indigenous dishes for the ancestor meal. Each participant prepares two plates of food for the ancestor meal: one for her maternal ancestors or one for her paternal ancestors. The food is laid on tables placed in the center of the dabuyaba or in the shaman’s chamber, depending on the preference of the officiating shaman. Participants believe that this food provides nourishment for ancestor spirits and aids them in their journey to seiri. Ritual activities resume around 6:00 pm and continue with alternate sessions of *ámalihani* and *chürürüti* until dawn. *Awangulahani* (a couple’s dance), the final act of the *dügü*, begins the following morning before dawn and signals the conclusion of the ritual. Possession frequently occurs as pairs of participants swing each other around while singing loudly to fast, repetitive triple (or compound duple: 6/8) meter rhythms on the *segunda* drums. *Wangula* is the word for sesame seeds and *awangulahani* signifies the scattering of the seeds. Some Afro-Caribbeans believe that by scattering seeds as you leave a room the spirits cannot follow you because they are compelled to pick up every seed before proceeding (Jenkins, Carol and Travis 1981, 90). After the ritual proper ends participants perform *punta*, *hunguhungu*, *gunjei*, and other genres of secular Garifuna music (Greene 1998, 196).

WANARAGUA (JANKUNU), CHARIKANARI AND WARINI—SEASONAL PROCESSIONS

Wanáragua (literally “mask”), commonly called Jankunu, is essentially a two-fold system of masked Christmas processions that is commonly performed during the Christmas season, specifically from December 25 to Epiphany, January 6. Wanaragua is also the name of the principal dance rite of the system. As such, it is a unique synthesis of three cultural traditions: (1) African harvest festivals, ancestor rituals, and secret societies, (2) English mummer’s plays, and (3) Amerindian (Arawak and Carib) festivals. *Charikanari*, the second processional dance, features stock characters such as Two-Foot Cow, Devil, and numerous *hianro* (men and boys dressed as women). During the wanaragua dance Garifuna men adorn themselves with colorful regalia to replicate and mock British military customs through music and dance (Greene 2006, 196).

As dancers process from house to house, they mimic past foreign oppressors while symbolically affirming their identity. Dancers perform stylized movements to the entertainment of onlookers while being accompanied by drums and social commentary songs composed by men. When male wanaragua dancers dress as women and Garifuna women pose as male wanaragua dancers, the ritual exhibits double role reversal. In Guatemala and Honduras men wear long dresses to which are occasionally attached long colored ribbons. Some Garifuna believe that the wearing of dresses can be attributed to the belief that Garifuna men intentionally dressed as women during the Second Garifuna War from 1795–1796, to avoid capture and execution by the British.

Although the interpretation of the dance movements by Garifuna primero drummers is a common feature of most Garifuna dance-song genres, it is the central and focal point of the drum-dance relationship in wanaragua. Because costume apparel is almost identical for wanaragua dancers from head to toe, onlookers focus on individual stylized dance. Observers recognize individual dancers by the unique manner in which the dancer draws attention to himself as he interprets the three primary dance movements of wanaragua: *tremblings*, one *salinda*, and *banquatta*. The *segunda* (bass) drummer performs the characteristic repetitive ostinato (a repetitive rhythmic pattern) that accompanies all wanaragua songs. The primero drummers carefully watches the feet and movement of each dancer and improvises a series of rhythmic patterns that he feels best interprets the unique movements of that dancer.

Wanaragua

Source: *Traditional Garifuna Music from Belize* (FW04031_108)

Artists: Isawel Flores, Albert Lucas, Josephine Lambey, Marcia Chamorro, Patricia Nicasio, and Monaco Martinez



Costume apparel typically features wire mask on which are painted European faces, colorful cotton head wraps, headdresses made of cardboard covered with colorful fabric, paper maché balls and circular glass mirrors. Long, dyed, wild turkey features are also attached to the headdress. Garifuna men in Dangriga, Belize wear long-sleeve white shirts across which wide strips of black or pink and green ribbon are attached. Dancers also wear white gloves, black or white pants, cowry shell knee rattles that are attached below the knees, long black stocking socks, and tennis shoes. Onlookers are further amused at the presence of wanaragua hianro, men who pose as women by wearing a blouse, skirt, mask, communion or wedding veil, and women's tennis shoes.

Therefore, costume and movement are integral to the mocking and mimicry of British military and social costumes: the primary objective of wanáragua. In Guatemala and Honduras men often wear head dresses that are similar in construction to those described above, but more elaborate and feature additional strips of colorful ribbon. However, they traditionally wear long dresses of colorful material instead of exaggerated replicas of military regalia as in Dangriga, Belize.

Though the movements and dances of wanáragua are entertaining and humorous to onlookers, the themes of the many wanáragua songs are pensive and serious in nature. Because wanáragua is a male social commentary song form, many of the themes address issues such as unrequited love, the desire to find a wife, an unfaithful lover, and the lost of a loved one. Wanáragua songs, like most indigenous Garifuna songs, are performed in succession in a call-and-response manner without pause. The *dangu* (drummers) provide rhythmic accompaniment for dancers as the song leader and responding *gayusa* (a chorus primarily composed of women) continuously sing social commentary songs. The existence of the wanáragua songs in Belizean English creole support the belief of some Garifuna scholars that the wanáragua may have been first introduced to Garifuna in mahogany camps in the 19th and early 20th century when Garifuna men worked with creoles who are thought to have first practiced a version of wanáragua (jankunu). (See Example)

“Play, Jankunu Play”

Belizean Creole

Translation and Transliteration

Call

Play, Jankunu Play
Give them a kissey
For New Year pleasure

Dance, masked dancer, dance
Give them a kiss (money)
As a New Year’s treat

Response

Ah Willi-yamo,
Blessy massa
Who live to see aye
For next yearay

Ah! William
Blessed master
Whosoever lives to see them
For next year.
(Servio-Mariano, 1996, 85)

In this wánaragua song in Belizean Creole the singers acknowledge the “massa” (master, the plantation owner) and request that he provide them with a gift of

money for the new year. They state that “William,” the master, is blessed to see everyone for the next year.

Though a few wanáragua songs are in Spanish—this can be attributed to the existence and many Garifuna in Guatemala and Honduras—most are in Garifuna. Examples of two Garifuna songs in wanáragua are as follows :

Song 1

Garifuna

Translation and Transliteration

Call

Sun na hawíeri hiariun adariha úatu
Úatu ni aban busúentina
 (Repeat)

I've been courting all kind of women
 No one wants me

Response

Úere bun beiba bageiroun
 (Repeat)

Good for you, go to your home town

Ñeiba badeira hianru búinigua

There you will find a woman.

Maríei bámuga
 (Repeat)

Then you will get married

Song 2

Call

Báyeihabei igaburi mama bigaburi
Báyeihabei ousan mama bousan

You will imitate ways that are not yours
 You will imitate behavior that is not yours

Response

Balisi hamuga barihei téibuguni

You should see her behavior in the Belize City

Chülübuba uburugun
Barihubei téibuguni áriebu

Go to the city
You will see her walking late at night

Two themes expressed in the first song, the need for female companionship and the desire to be married, are presented as a dialogue in which the song leader

expresses his heartfelt pain. The response is a communal directive to the man to return to his hometown where he will find a woman to marry.

Virginia Kerns and Robert Dirks (1975), noted scholars of Garifuna culture, believe that migrant Jamaican workers in Central America introduced Jankunu to the region. Dirks (1987) suggests that the entire genre of rituals known as Jonkunnu (as spelled in Jamaica) developed in the 18th century by African slaves as a symbolic replication of the ancient Roman Saturnalia tradition. In this ancient rite, slaves could publicly mimic and poke fun of their masters during a temporary period of freedom and revelry. In observance of the series of public holidays from Christmas to Epiphany (including Boxing Day, December 26, and New Years), slave owners in most British colonies in the Americas allowed enslaved Africans a respite from traditional labor on plantations. In Jamaica, local revelers still practice versions of this rite.

In Wilmington, North Carolina the ritual was called *John Kuner* (Cohen & Coffin, 1999, p. 504) and *Johnkankus*, where it was practiced until the late 1800s (Smalls, 2004, 1). In these communities cultural advocates have organized reenactments of the ritual in recent years. Similar Christmas processions are found in other locations in the New World: in Bermuda where it is called Gombey, in St. Kitts-Nevis where it called Masquerade, in Guyana (Greene, 2006, 199), and in Dominican Republic where it is called *Cocolo*. Research shows that Gombey and Cocolo feature peacock feathered headdresses, West African and American Indian costumes, reenactments of Biblical stories, and dances of the West Indies (Jackson 1987). Gombey and Cocolo are believed to be derivatives of Masquerade from St. Kitts and are most likely of different origin than masquerade traditions performed in Jamaica, North Carolina, and among the Garifuna of Central America.

The two remaining processional dances of the wanaragua system include *warini* and *charikanari*. The latter rite begins on December 26 (Boxing Day) and is especially popular among children, who are particularly fond of several stock characters: (1) "Two-Foot Cow," a man wearing cow horns, a cardboard mask, a long trench coat, and padded buttocks, (2) "Devil," a man wearing a red devils mask, and (3) hianros, boys and men dressed as women. All of these costumed dancers wear mask and move to the accompaniment of a *segunda*, a *primero*, a *shakka*, a single melody repeatedly continuous on the mouth organ (harmonica), and periodic blasts on a conch shell trumpet. Occasionally the director of the *charikanari* group and the drummers perform responsorial songs, some of which are sexually suggestive in nature or recount comical incidents such as the song "Guana bit he lip." This song recounts an incident in Dangriga in which a man was dancing while holding an iguana too close to his mouth. *Warini* and *pia manadi*, now extinct, are the names of additional rituals previously

performed during the Christmas season. Wárini, the West African-centered, masked-dance prelude to wanaragua (Cayetano 1993, 87), featured men wearing cardboard masks and dressed completely in dried banana leaves while carrying items such as a canoe paddle or an axe. Wárini dancers moved to the same drumming accompaniment as that used in wanaragua. Traditionally, they appeared only on December 24 and returned on the evening of January 6, signifying the beginning and end of the wanaragua season. Pia manadi, believed to be a more direct retention of the English mummer's plays than wanaragua, featured stock characters reenacting a death and resurrection theme to the accompaniment of a drum and fife (cane flute). (Greene 2006, 199, 210). It was last performed in the Punta Gorda Town in southern Belize in the 1970s.

Some warini songs are unique to this ritual and therefore are only sung when wárini is performed (Greene 2006, 210). Most Garifuna scholars agree that warini predates wanaragua and is the oldest of the four Christmas processions. John Mariano (1936–2009), a Garifuna shaman, believed that the ritual could be traced back to Yurumein, the Garifuna word for St. Vincent, where it was performed in memory of a tribe called the Guarini (Mariano, 2000, Personal Communication), a term strikingly similar to the *Black Guanini*, an early name for the Black Carib (Lawrence 1992, 169). Jerris Valentine (2002, 42–44) a Garifuna Anglican priest and former wanáragua practitioner cites the opinion of Max Garcia, a well-known *banquatta* (the leader of a wanáragua troop), who believed that waríni, represented interplay between good and evil and is the darker counterpart of wanáragua, symbolically, the “good” ritual (Greene 2006, 212). Garifuna in Dangriga stopped performing Wárini in 1995 following two incidents in which youth tried to set wárini dancers on fire.

Excerpts of wanaragua drumming styles, wanaragua and charikanari songs in Garifuna and English, commentary on performance practices and gender role reversal, and images of similar Christmas processions in the Americas.

Trailer to the documentary film “Play, Jankunu Play: the Garifuna Wanaragua Ritual of Belize” (Greene, 2007). See https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_JsmPbrZBjk for trailer.

SOCIAL COMMENTARY SONG AND DANCE GENRES OF THE GARIFUNA

Traditional Garifuna secular music and dance display an amalgam of elements of West African, English, Spanish, and Creole music. The Garifuna use idiophones, membranophones, aerophones, and chordophones to accompany many of their

indigenous dance-song genres. Membranophones are the most commonly employed musical instruments to accompany the various styles of indigenous Garifuna dance-songs. All of these musical genres, with the exception of *abeimahani* and *arumahani* (unaccompanied gestured songs for women and men, respectively) are accompanied by the *primero* (lead drum) and *segunda* (bass drum). *Abeimahani* and *arumahani*, as previously described, are commonly performed at *dügü* and other more culturally distinct social events (See “*Dügü* and the Sounds of Garifuna Spirituality”).

Rattles are often used with drums when the latter are used to accompany song forms that traditionally include dance. Occasionally hollowed turtle shells of varying sizes struck with wooden sticks and blown conch shells are added to the ensembles. Turtle shells provide additional timbres, rhythmic variety, and variations in high and low indefinite pitches. The harmonica and the guitar are the only non-indigenous instruments that have found a lasting place in Garifuna traditional music. The Spanish guitar is used almost exclusively to accompany singing and it is the primary instrument of Garifuna *paranderos*, men who sing the social commentary song form known as *paranda*.

In contexts other than sacred rituals and seasonal processions, Garifuna songs and dance-song genres are performed as social commentary and entertainment at community gatherings such as dances, pageants, parties, and cultural programs. Secular music is also performed to accompany work, as cathartic entertainment following wakes, and as lullabies. Specific rhythmic accompaniment is associated with particular dance forms, a common feature of all indigenous Garifuna music.



Garifuna Dance-song forms

Abeimahani

Semisacred, unaccompanied, gestured songs for women. The word *abeimahani* also refers to the type of movement associated with this song (Cayetano 2005, 2).

(See “[Dugu and the Sounds of Garifuna Spirituality](#)”)

Source: *Traditional Music of the Garifuna of Belize* (FW04031_109)

Artists: Alfonsa Casimiro, Valentina Núñez, and Marcella Lewis

Arumahani

Semisacred, unaccompanied, gestured songs for men. Today arumahanis are performed by women when no men are present or when there are insufficient numbers of men (Cayetano 2005, 24).

(See [“Dugu and the Sounds of Garifuna Spirituality”](#))

Source: *Traditional Music of the Garifuna of Belize* (FW04031_119)

Artist: Williams Estrada, Victoria Moreira, and P.C. Garcia

Charikanari (video excerpt).

Charikanari is a processional mime and dance ritual with accompaniment provided by drums, harmonica, and a blown conch shell. The ritual features Two-Foot Cow, Devil, and other stock characters and is performed during the Christmas season with the wanaragua ritual. Charikanari begins on December 26 (Boxing Day) and is especially popular among children, who are particularly fond of “Two-Foot Cow,” a man wearing cow horns, a cardboard mask, a long trench coat, and padded buttocks.

Excerpts of wanaragua drumming styles, wanaragua and charikanari songs in Garifuna and English, commentary on performance practices and gender role reversal, and images of similar Christmas processions in the Americas. Trailer to the documentary film “Play, Jankunu Play: the Garifuna Wanaragua Ritual of Belize” (Greene, 2007).

Chumba

Chumba, as defined by the Garifuna educators Sebastian and Fabian Cayetano is “a highly accented polyrhythmic song that is danced by soloists with great individualized style. This dance is probably related to the chumba found in other parts of the Caribbean. In Grenada and Carriacou some people claim that the dance descended from the Tse Chumba region of eastern Nigeria. This performance includes a wide range of Garifuna music, some of which is rapidly disappearing in many communities (Cayetano 1997, 129). In Belize, chumba was often described as a faster version of *gunjei*.

Source: *Traditional Music of Garifuna of Belize* (FW04031_101)

Artists: Isawel Flores, Isawel Nolberto, Bernadette Arzu, Pearl Arzu, Carlota Placio, and Gene Martinez





Gunjei

In *gunjei*, a graceful dance staged in a circle, partners switch places at specific times. The identifying rhythmic patterns heard in *gunjei* are created when quarter notes played on the *segunda* are accompanied by two sixteenth notes played on the *primero*. This is followed by four or up to twelve sixteenth notes played on the *primero*. This results in a four beat rhythmic pattern that also allows for improvisation on the *primero*.

Source: *Traditional Music of the Garifuna of Belize* (FW04031_114)

Artists: Isawel Flores, Amigo Lucas, and Josephine Lambey



Hungu Hungu

Hungu-hungu is the triple meter secular version of *hugulendu*, the characteristic dance of the sacred Garifuna ancestor ritual known as *dügü*. The dance features the alternation of a shuffle and step movement. Shakkas or sisiras (Garifuna calabash rattles) often accompany *segunda* and *primero* drums during the singing of *hungu-hungu* songs. As with other song forms the *primero* improvises while a steady pattern is played on the *segunda*. Songs lyrics express themes such as the lost of loved-ones, messages of morality, an individual's position in life, and historical events such as the departure of the Garifuna from Yurumein (St. Vincent island), their ancestral island home in the eastern Caribbean (*Garifuna Drum Method* DVD).

Source: *Traditional Music of the Garifuna of Belize* (FW04031_102)

Artists: Nicho Flores, John Castillo, and Paulino Castillo



Punta

Punta, a duple meter rhythmic motive, social commentary song form, and characteristic dance of procreation, is the most celebrated of the indigenous secular dance-song genres of the Garifuna. The dance is a reenactment of the cock and hen mating dance and is characterized by rapid and constant alternation of movement of the hips and buttocks caused by a shuffling of the feet. As dancers hold their arms extended to either side they keep their upper torso upright and motionless. During this form of sexual dialogue men dance in front of women and sometimes behind them. Garifuna of all ages from children to elder adults perform *punta*. *Punta* songs are traditionally composed by women and typically comment on male infidelity, relationship

issues, and other social matters. The fast constant rhythmic motive that is played on the *segunda* is accompanied by rapidly improvised passages on the lead *primero* drum. The characteristic duple meter rhythm of punta is very similar to that of *paranda*, a genre of social commentary music sung by men. The repetitive rhythm of punta features a quarter note and an eighth note played in the center of drum followed by two sixteenth notes played near the rim of the drum head to produce a higher pitch.

Source: *The Black Caribs of Honduras* (FW04435_204)

Artists: Not identified

*See audio excerpt on website

Source: *Traditional Music of the Garifuna of Belize* (FW04031_111)

Artists: Joe Diego, Richard Moreira, and Hortense Miranda

Paranda

The *paranda* is a Latin-American influenced social commentary song genre composed and performed by men who accompany themselves on an acoustic guitar. Parandas are often performed in the style of a serenade and are generally serious in nature. The *segunda* and *primero* may be used to add rhythmic accompaniment to *paranda* songs. When accompanied on the *segunda*, the characteristic duple meter rhythm of *paranda* is very similar to that of *punta*. Parandas are performed at moderate tempos and feature a quarter note and an eighth note played in the center of the drum followed by an eighth note played near the rim of the drum head to produce a higher pitch. Parandas, like *puntas*, also form the basis for many *punta* rock songs (From *Garifuna Drum Method* DVD).

Though older Garifuna state that *parandas* were particularly popular at Christmas, the existence of string band and occasionally drum accompanied Christmas song forms such as *parranda* in Venezuela and its derivative, *parang* in Trinidad & Tobago, support the existence of a Spanish-derived song form in the region. Parandas entered the repertoire of Garifuna traditional music in the 19th century after the Garifuna arrived in Honduras, where they encountered the acoustic guitar and incorporated elements of Latin and Spanish rhythms into their music (Rosenburg 1999).

Like the *parranda* of Venezuela, the *parang* of Trinidad & Tobago (McDaniel, 1998, 959–960) and Grenada (McDaniel, 1998, 871), and the *parrandas* of Puerto Rico (Puerto Rican Parranda: http://www.elboricua.com/pr_christmas.html), the Garifuna *paranda* is a musical genre that was



most frequently performed during Christmas. However, the themes of the Garifuna parandas address issues of concern to men rather than focus on the life of Christ as do some of the song forms that share this same name, and derivatives thereof, that are found in other circum-Caribbean locations mentioned above. Therefore, they are now performed year round. In recent years, paranda has become the genre of choice for celebrated Garifuna male recording artist. Though the *segunda* and *primero* may be added during performances of parandas for additional rhythmic support, the guitar and the solo voice are the only musical components necessary. This differs from previously cited Christmas song forms in the other regional locations in which singing is accompanied by ensembles of string instruments, including the guitar or the four-string *cuatro*, and percussion instruments.

Source: *Traditional Music of the Garifuna of Belize* (FW04031_107)

Artists: Andy Palacio, Eric Arzu, Isawel Nolberto, Isabella Mejia, Gene Martinez, and Bernadetta Arzu



Sambai

In performances of *sambai* the dancer salutes the drum and jumps into the center of a ring of dancers. Each dancer displays fancy footwork and individual stylized movement while challenging the *primero* player to rhythmically interpret his/her movements. *Sambai* is a dance in which performers mimic everyday aspects of life and work (From *Garifuna Drum Method* DVD).

Source: *Traditional Music of the Garifuna of Belize* (FW04031_112)

Artists: Isawel Flores, Amigo Lucas, and Josephine Lambey



Wanaragua (video excerpt).

Wanaragua (literally “mask”), commonly called *Jankunu*, is a masked Christmas processional that is commonly performed during the Christmas season, specifically from December 25 to Epiphany, January 6. It is also the name of the dance-song genre that is performed during the processional. (See “*Wanaragua (Jankunu), Charikanari and Warini – Seasonal Processions*”)

The documentary film “*Play, Jankunu Play: the Garifuna Wanaragua Ritual of Belize*” includes excerpts of *wanaragua* drumming, *wanaragua* and

charikanari songs in Garifuna and English, commentary on performance practices and gender role reversal, and images of similar Christmas processions in the Americas.

Trailer to the documentary film “Play, Jankunu Play: the Garifuna Wanaragua Ritual of Belize” (Greene, 2007) (Trailer: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_JsmPbrZBjk&t=305s).

Wanaragua (Janqunu) in Honduras.

Source: *The Black Caribs of Honduras* (FW04435_202)

Artists: Not listed



CONTEMPORARY POPULAR MUSIC—PUNTA ROCK, PARANDA, AND WOMEN'S SONGS

From Punta to Punta Rock

Punta Rock is a generic term that denotes a style of popular contemporary Garifuna music that combines indigenous instruments with electric guitars, drum machines and synthesized keyboards to perform fast, dance-oriented arrangements of traditional songs. The Garifuna dance-song genres most commonly used as the basis for punta rock songs are *punta* and *paranda*. The characteristic duple meter rhythmic ostinatos of both are almost identical though *paranda* is slightly slower in tempo. Dance movements performed to punta rock are more provocative than those performed to *punta*.

Though Honduran and Belizean Garifuna differ concerning the origin of *Punta rock*, the preponderance of written accounts suggest that it was created by Delvin Rudolph “Pen” Cayetano, a self-taught visual artist and musician, in the late 1970s in Dangriga, Belize (Cayetano, Roy, 1982). Pen is credited with forming the first punta rock band, the Turtle Shell Band, in Dangriga, Belize in the late 1970s. This was a period when the playing of popular US rhythm and blues and Caribbean music (especially, the reggae of Bob Marley and Peter Tosh and Trinidadian soca) by Belizean radio stations attracted the attention of Garifuna youth. The ongoing emigration of working age Garifuna to the US resulted in a generation gap in many communities, a phenomenon that attributed further to the separation Garifuna youth felt from their indigenous music and language, expressions of identity they associated with elders. Cayetano added the electric rhythm guitar to various types of Garifuna instruments, including membranophones, a shakka, and struck turtle shells and increased the tempo of the indigenous punta songs on which the newly derived songs were based.

The immediate success of the Turtle Shell Band in the early 80s resulted in weekly roadblock performances on Friday evenings, engagements at house parties, and a trip to Belize City, the largest city in the country, in June 1982. In Belize City the band performed at a local club, a park, and on Radio Belize. Most of the songs were in the indigenous Garifuna language and emphasized themes such as happiness, history, love, cultural pride, the maintenance of identity, and the many challenges Garifuna people have faced. By 1983 the band had performed in several locations in the Caribbean, Mexico, and in the New Orleans Jazz Festival (Greene 2002, 199).



Uwala Busiganu (“Don’t be ashamed of your culture”).

Excerpt of early Punta Rock.

Artists: The Original Turtle Shell Band, “The Beginning”

The advent of electronic drum machines in the 1990s was financially advantageous because it eliminated the need for a *segunda* player. The characteristic ostinato rhythm of punta is sounded on the drum machine when it is employed. Today, turtle shells are seldom heard on recordings though they were commonly heard in early punta rock recordings. Although turtle shells were introduced by Pen Cayetano, they were not heard in traditional communal punta performances before the advent of the Turtle Shell Band. The sound of the higher pitched *primero* (tenor) drum, on which is improvised rhythmic motives, has replaced the turtle shell as the predominant Garifuna instrument in punta rock. Community elders advocate the use of proper language and syntax in punta rock songs. Older musicians have been generally successful in their efforts to encourage younger musicians to reinstate the *segunda* as a staple instrument in punta rock.

Some Garifuna musicians have incorporated elements of rhythm and blues, hip hop and rap, or Afro-Caribbean song forms in their music. Others have recast indigenous Garifuna songs in the style of reggae, dub-poetry, or popular Latin American influenced styles. However, these derived songs are not considered punta rock songs or punta rock-influenced songs unless they incorporate the traditional punta or paranda rhythm performed in the lively tempo³ that is characteristic of the new genre.

³ The primary determining factor as to whether a song should be classified as simply an upbeat punta or paranda or a punta rock song is the tempo, as opposed to the addition of electronic instruments or the influence of other regional styles. Punta rock artist Vince “Aziatic” Lewis (personal communication) and ethnomusicologist Amy Frishkey (2017, 228, 236) suggest that such songs can be classified as punta rock songs once they reach a tempo marking of 140 beats per minute or higher.

Commercial Paranda and Women's Music

Since the release of *Paranda: Africa in Central America* (1999), the first internationally celebrated recording of Garifuna music, recordings of parandas have increased noticeably. This compact disc features paranderos from Belize, Guatemala, and Honduras ranging in age from 27 to 94. The soulful and lamenting sound of parandas has become a favored form of expression for middle-aged male vocalist and Garifuna elders. This recording introduced paranda as a new marketable commodity of Garifuna music that could surpass the regional and limited international popularity of punta rock because of its broader folk appeal.

Watina (2007), the paranda-based, internationally award-winning compact disc by the late Andy Palacio and the Garifuna Collective incorporates elements of Afro-Caribbean and Latin-American musical styles and is to date the most influential recording of Garifuna music. Palacio, the celebrated punta rock artist, served as the Cultural Ambassador of Belize and the Director of the National Institute of Culture and History until his untimely death at the age of 47 in January 2008. *Watina*, produced by Cumbancha Records with the assistance of Stonetree Records in Belize, is a compilation of newly composed songs and new arrangements of traditional songs that incorporate elements of Afro-Caribbean and Latin-American musical styles. Most songs are based on the rhythmic or structural format of paranda or hungu-hungu (Palacio, Andy 2007). The Collective, a conglomerate of Garifuna and non-Garifuna musicians from Belize, Guatemala, and Honduras, was organized by Andy Palacio to reflect the broad musical accessibility and cultural appeal of Garifuna music. Though *Watina*, the largest selling Garifuna recording to date, is credited with launching a renaissance of Garifuna popular music and bands in Belize, none of the recordings on the disc is in the style of punta or can be accurately classified as punta rock. Aurelio Martinez, the celebrated Garifuna parandero, punta rock artist, and former Honduran Congressman, can also be heard on *Watina*. Because of his popularity and success as a recording artist and performer, he is now considered by many Garifuna to be the principal advocate and spokesperson for Garifuna popular music.

The release of *Watina* and *Umalali: The Garifuna Women's Project* (2008) by Cumbancha Records with the assistance of Stonetree Records in Belize, marks the advent of marked the advent of Garifuna world music, resulting in a new era in the production of popular commercial Garifuna music. This recording features songs performed by Garifuna women from Belize, Guatemala, and Honduras. *Umalai* ... (meaning "voices") incorporates elements of rock, blues, funk, African, Latin and Caribbean music styles. This compact disc, like *Watina and Paranda: Africa in Central America* was produced by Ivan Duran, founder of Stone Records, the label responsible for producing the largest selling recordings

of popular Garifuna music. With the exception of by Paula Castillo, the proclaimed Queen of Punta and a Guatemalan Garifuna residing in New York, few Garifuna female artists have been successful in making a lasting impact as a professional musician.



Watina—Garifuna world music
Artist: Andy Palacio and the Garifuna Collective

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REPRESENTATIVE GARIFUNA SOLO ARTIST AND BANDS BY COUNTRY

Belize

Supa G

Aziatic

Castillo, Rhodel

Flores, Mohobob

Flores, Peter

Lloyd & Reckless

The Original Turtle Shell Band

Palacio, Andy

Punta Rebels.

Ramos, Chico.

Ramos, Ramos

Ugurau

Guatemala

Suamen

Ugandani

Garifuna Boys

Paula Castillo

Isanigu: the Punta Rock Sol'jahs

Gadu Nunez

Garistar Band

GNG (Garifuna New Generation)

Honduras

Mando Ballesteros

Fuerza Garifuna

Macako Umalali Garifuna

El Sherif y su Orquestra Razza Las Chicas Rolands

Martinez, Aurelio

Martinez, Aurelio

Kaligar Band

Multinational Punta Rock Bands and Recordings

Garifuna Kids

Garifuna Legacy
Punta Cartel

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QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW BY OLIVER N. GREENE

Part 1: Garifuna History and the Shaping of Musical Identity

1. Define the term Garifuna. (In doing so, describe the people and the characteristics of the culture that are unique to the people).
2. What is the regional population of the Garifuna? In what countries are they located, and how many Garifuna communities are located in each? Of what percentage of the population are the Garifuna in each of the Central American countries in which they reside? In what cities in the United States do most Garifuna live?
3. What are the names of the African cultures or ethnic groups from which the Garifuna may have derived? What are the names of the Native American (Amerindian) groups from which Garifuna derived?
4. Describe the account of the interaction between Africans and Amerindians on the island of St. Vincent, recognized by most people as the birthplace of the Garifuna and their culture?
5. Who was Joseph Chatuye, and why is he a celebrated figure among the Garifuna? What events occurred in 1796 and 1797 that changed the course of Garifuna history?

6. The three colors in the Garifuna flag are said to have two symbolic meanings. Please explain these two meanings.

Part 2: Garifuna Music—Songs and Instruments—Description and Function within the Traditional Ensemble

1. What are the four types or classifications of Garifuna instruments? Define these four terms (classifications), and provide examples of how specific Garifuna instruments fit into each category.
2. Define the terms *garawoun*, *segunda*, and *primero*. (Include a description of how *garawouns* are constructed, and state the function or musical role of the *segunda* and the *primero*.)
3. Define and describe the term *sisira/maraga*. When is it called a *shakka*? How is the *sisira* used during ancestor veneration rituals?
4. How and in what context were turtle shells first used as musical instruments?
5. How are conch shells made into musical instruments and when are they played?
6. With what two genres of traditional Garifuna music is the guitar used?

Part 3: Dügü and the Sound of Garifuna Spirituality

1. What do most Garifuna believe concerning the relationship between their ancestors and God?
2. What is the difference between a *dügü* and *chugu*? List the five postmortem rituals in order from the event that immediately follows death to the most salient of the postmortem rituals. Define *beluria* and *amuyadahani*.
3. Define the word *arairaguni*, and explain the difference between the terms *ahari*, *gubida*, and *hiuruha*.
4. Define and describe *amalihani* and *onwehani*, and discuss the roles women and gender play concerning both of these terms and in the ritual, in general. What is an *hebu gubida*?
5. Define the terms *lanigi garawoun*, *dangbu*, and *gayusa*, and state how they are used in the *dügü*.

6. How long is the *dügü* proper? Describe the procession in which provisions (name them) are brought into the ancestor temple for the ritual. How are music and movement used in the procession, and what is *hugulendu*?
7. What is the purpose of a *chürürüti*, and when might possession occur during the ritual?
8. What is an *adugahatiun*? What is its purpose, and when and where does it occur?
9. Define the tem *abelagudahani*. When does it occur, and what is the purpose of this ritual?
10. Define and describe the typical first *amalihani* (mali) of a *dügü*. What important Garifuna value is emphasized and reinforced by the phrase “*Aura buni, Amürü nuni*” (I am for you, You are for me)?
11. Briefly describe the ancestor meal, and explain why each person prepares two plates of food for his or her ancestors?
12. What is *awangulahani*, and in what ways does it relate to ancestor spirits? In a communal cathartic act, participants perform secular dance-genres after a *dügü* has ended. What are the names of these dance song genres?

Part 4: Wanáragua (Jankunu), Charikanari and Warini—Seasonal Processions

1. Define the term *wanáragua*, and state its purpose in Garifuna society and culture. When is it typically performed, and of what three cultural systems is it a synthesis? Why do *wanáragua* dancers in Honduras and Guatemala wear dresses instead of pants and shirts as they do in Belize?
2. What is *Charikanari*, and what stock characters does the ritual typically feature?
3. What are the names of the three dances commonly seen during performances of *wanáragua*? What are the roles of the *segunda* and *primero* players during *wanáragua*?
4. Describe the typical costume apparel of *wanáragua* dancers in Dangriga, Belize.

5. *Wanáragua* songs are male social commentary songs. What themes are commonly found in *wanáragua* songs?
6. What is the theme or focal point of the *wanáragua* song in Creole entitled “Play, Jankunu Play”; in short, what is the song about? What does the existence of this song and others in Creole suggest or imply about the potential origin of *wanáragua* in Belize?
7. What is the theme of the first of the two *wanáragua* songs in Garifuna for which text and translations are provided?
8. Why do Virginia Kerns and Robert Dirks believe that *wanáragua* in Belize is of Jamaican origin, and why is it considered a retention of the Roman Saturnalia tradition?
9. What are the names and locations of the *wanáragua* or Jankunu-like rituals in the other locations in the Caribbean and North America?
10. Define and briefly describe the ritual practices known as *warini* and *pia manadi*. When were these rituals last performed in Belize?

Part 5: Social Commentary Song and Dance Genres of the Garifuna

Define, describe, and state the function of each of the following genres of Garifuna social commentary song and dance forms:

1. *Abeimahani*
2. *Arumahani*
3. *Charikanari*
4. *Chumba*
5. *Gunjei*
6. *Hüngü-hüngü*
7. *Punta*

8. *Paranda*

9. *Sambai*

10. *Wanáragua*

Part 6: Contemporary Popular Music—Punta Rock Paranda, and Women's Songs

1. Define punta rock, and identify the two forms of the traditional Garifuna music, which serve as the basis for punta rock.
2. Who (which individual and ensemble) is considered the founder and first band associated with punta rock? What ways did emigration and a fear of the loss of the indigenous language play a role in the creation of this new genre of music?
3. In what contexts and specific events did the Turtle Shell Band perform in the early 1980s?
4. How did the advent of the electronic drum machines affect punta rock in the 1990s?
5. What styles of African American and Afro-Caribbean music have been utilized in popular music by Garifuna musicians?
6. Of what significance was the recording *Paranda: Africa in Central America* (1999)? What types of the individuals (specifically their nationality and age range) did the recording feature?
7. Of what significance was the recording *Watina* (2007)? What noted individual performer and band did it feature, and why was the band considered a conglomerate of Garifuna and non-Garifuna musicians? What styles of traditional Garifuna music are employed on the CD?
8. Why was the CD *Umalali: The Garifuna Women's Project* (2008) considered important? Why is this CD, like *Watina*, considered to be a reflection of Garifuna from the region as opposed to performers from one country? What non-Garifuna styles of music are incorporated on this CD? Who is Ivan Duran, and why is he considered important in the promotion of Garifuna traditional and popular music?