DIGITAL SOUND STUDIES

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02

PERFORMING ZORA

Critical Ethnography, Digital Sound, and Not Forgetting

MYRON M. BEASLEY

It is evident that the sound-arts were the first inventions and that music and literature grew from the same root.
— ZORA NEALE HURSTON, "Folklore and Music"

Research is formalized curiosity. It is poking and prying with a purpose.
— ZORA NEALE HURSTON, *Dust Tracks on a Road*

I just wanted people to know what real Negro music sounded like. . . . Was the real voice of my people never to be heard?
— ZORA NEALE HURSTON, "Folklore"

TRACK 1: (Re)mixing Zora at the Rooster

The Red Rooster is more than just a restaurant on Lenox Avenue in the heart of Harlem. It could be mistaken for a library, an archive, a museum, or even a plush humanities center on a college campus. The primary wall is filled with books, magazines, albums, and other ephemera of black cultural production with the opposing walls well curated with visual art by noted African American artists. The bar sits in the center. On one particular Thursday evening the DJ huddles in the corner mixing the tunes with a turn-

table connected to his Mac Powerbook. "Birds flyin' high, you know how I feel," the first line from Nina Simone's hit "Feeling Good" (1965), permeates the restaurant.[1] *Simone's strong, robust voice is reframed with a techno beat yet sustained with the slower moves of the most popular version. As the techno line crescendos into a clash, waves of vocal tracks disrupt the seemingly haphazard sounds. First the voice of Langston Hughes reading "I have the weary blues," followed by the stern, firm voice of Maya Angelou vocalizing lines from* I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings. *Followed by (probably the least familiar to casual listeners) a track that jarred most—the voice of Zora Neale Hurston crooning "Halimuhfack."*[2] *Hurston's track halted the flow. The gritty, dusty, scratchy quality transported the listener to another time, to another place. The pastiche of sounds curated by the DJ was a "remix" for sure. The audio palimpsest—layering a mix-match of music weaving literature, ethnography, biography, and history—the techno-digital moves of the DJ announced the confluence of digital sound and humanistic inquiry.*

The performance at the Red Rooster reflects what cultural critics Martha Buskirk, Amelia Jones, and Caroline Jones proclaim in their review of the cultural productions of 2013: that this moment of humanistic inquiry is dominated with the prefix "re-."[3] In this moment in the U.S. academy, the demise of the humanities is announced often in the popular presses, with some faculty who occupy such locations bewildered and clamoring for survival. Funding is shrinking and some departments are being eliminated. The justification for such measures is wrapped in the discourse of precarity. While many scholars feel the need to "resuscitate" the humanities, others take solace in "rethinking" and advancing and enhancing humanistic inquiry by reimagining with technology. The DJ spinning at the Red Rooster was a performance of reimagining humanistic inquiry and thus creating new forms of text—a haunted text evoking an infectious performance through the weaving of sound, technology, and digital elements.[4] While Buskirk and her colleagues "re-create, reanimate, recast, recollect, reconstitute, reconstruct, reenact" in their review, rememory or recalling does not appear.[5] As this chapter considers the sonic work of Zora Neale Hurston in light of the contemporary conversations regarding sound studies and digital humanities, it recalls the significance of Hurston in the changing domain of ethnography, thus situating performance as both a method of inquiry and an embodied phenomenon, the move with which performance spawns new forms of texts and modes of performance. Yet discussing black cultural production within the panoply of technology warrants a contemplation of capitalism, cultural meshing, and cooptation.

Alexander Weheliye reminds us, as did Henry Louis Gates (and others)

before him, of the rambunctious nature of African American cultural production.[6] The sense making of daily life within communities of the African diaspora manifests itself in a motley assemblage of performative acts. The means of documenting, representing, and preserving life were rarely confined to the printed text. Rather, the visceral experiences were *performed*—through orality. (I place material culture as performance.) What Gates locates as the "trope of the talking book," he adroitly explicates as the dialectical strains between the written and oral text. The violent history of literacy for blacks in the Americas is an exclusionary practice and presents a unique dynamic of engaging with the domain of black humanistic inquiry. Gates recapitulates the polyvocality and the orality that surround "texts"—paraperformance that lurks outside and around the written and oral "texts" that signal "always more than what it appears to be," or more familiar "signifying."[7] Such playing with texts speaks to the fluid, infectious, and contested nature of black cultural production. Yet Weheliye, moving from Gates and others, contemplates the role of digital technology in "recorded" production and situates the deployment of black culture with the interplay between consumption (capitalism) and subject/identity discursive formations. At stake is erasure. Playing with the concept of "sonic Afro-modernity," Weheliye considers the rise of the phonograph and the reproduction and distribution of African American sound. As black sound attains "market value," the propensity for fetishization—a subject without citation, a subject without identity—becomes more acute. The commodification (read: capital) of black diasporic culture without critical interventions encourages the separation of the *I am I be*—subjectivity and identity—which Weheliye claims is the pervasive philosophy that has "run amok" in the Anglo-American humanities.[8] To insist on the *I am* (subjectivity) *I be* (identity) as a unit, a both/and, a synergetic dialectic, allows for and opens up a space to foreground the sonic discourse in black cultural studies and provides more diverse ways to think more broadly about black cultural production. The audio palimpsest performed by the DJ at the Red Rooster is a fitting example of ways in which sonic imprints insert the past in present, lived realities—always recalling, never allowing a forgetting, but producing new forms of representations and suggesting new ways of engagement.

The tracks of Hurston's voice in the stream of a techno dance mix at the bar in Harlem were a "hailing" to be sure, but they were also a haunting. The domain of performance rests in its ephemeral nature. Once a performance happens it disappears, according to Peggy Phalen, suggesting ontology of disappearance.[9] Derrida proposes (and I agree) a move beyond ontology

toward a hauntology, as he advocates the nature of truth as derived from engaging the thing and not merely the thing itself.[10] Hauntology therefore highlights the persistent, contested, and infectious nature of performance.[11] Barbara Browning likens the generative nature of performance to infectious rhythms. The term vibes with Paul Miller, who like Browning uses epidemiology as metaphor to describe the ways in which digital technology has enhanced and, I dare say, reframed the work of a DJ (whom he labels a rhythm scientist).[12] For Miller, DJ mixes produce vectors that are capable of infecting agents that have the potential of becoming infectious.[13] Performance theorists are not preoccupied with the performative act itself but rather the generative nature that comes from engaging with the performance (performances never end), its mixings and ability to spin further questions, deliberations, and theoretical discourses. Like the DJ spinning and weaving different strands of cultural elements, digitized and meshed with technology, performance in its infectious nature flows and morphs into new forms of performances, new ways of participation.

As the consummate performance ethnographer, Zora Neale Hurston embraced the convergence of performance as a method of inquiry, exhibited the domain of performance as an embodied phenomenon, and exacerbated the critical space in between. A haunted space, lacuna of possibilities, also allows for the explorations of Hurston's work in the frame of the synchronous *I am I be* and other multiple interactions and perspectives, and creative, imaginative, and critical inquires.

The performance at the Red Rooster—the DJ moving, weaving Hurston's voice with manipulated recycled contemporary tones as the audience engaged in the happenings of the moment—was a creative and imaginative opening produced by the collaboration between sound and technology. The digitized voices of literary figures and the use of technology to mix and infuse diverse sounds make it possible for me to consider Hurston's work. Zora Neale Hurston *was* at this moment at the Red Rooster, on Lenox Avenue in Harlem, a site Hurston inhabited years before. The digitized sounds of her voice haunt us, creating more performative spaces of possibility, the chance to reimagine her and her work in different ways to different audiences, yet they recall her contributions and resignify her influence as to not forget her!

TRACK 2: Meeting Baldwin, Meeting Zora

On December 1, 1987, the voice on the radio in my small flat in Paris announced the death of James Baldwin: "James Baldwin, the black American writer . . . the author of *Go Tell It on the Mountain*." The announcement would continue throughout the day, as Baldwin was most revered in France. I had not known of James Baldwin, nor had I read any of his work. I rushed to the used bookstore down the street to search for work by this famous black American whom I did not know. I found a copy of *Go Tell It on the Mountain* on a bookshelf, but on the floor, just underneath the lower overflowing shelf, was a tattered copy of Hurston's *Their Eyes Were Watching God*. I purchased both.

I struggled at first while I silently read through the brown and occasionally soiled pages that disguised the breadth of knowledge that would come to have a significant influence on my life. I began to read her words aloud—carefully moving my tongue and lips to imitate the unfamiliar diction of the written text. The tongue slithered about, arching to touch the awkwardly placed plosive, but eased into the slowly paced diphthong. An enlivened spoken word captured me the reader, coerced me to listen to the nuanced sonic movement of her text.

At the death of Baldwin, I met Zora.

TRACK 3: Boas, Boas, Boas

When anthropologist Franz Boas asked his then-student Zora Neale Hurston to travel to Florida and record the folklore of her childhood town of Eatonville (1935, 1938), Hurston returned to Boas with audio of herself singing the folkloric songs of her and the city's past. This moment with Boas is significant. The performance by Hurston signaled an epistemological shift in the social sciences and humanistic inquiries surrounding how to "read," "write," and "represent" culture.

When I first encountered Zora Neale Hurston in 1987, I was a second-year student in college; my majors were oral interpretation/rhetoric and anthropology. The field of rhetoric in the discipline of communication studies then privileged the concept of "speech" or oratory and oral interpretation. Oral interpretation is the art of "suggestion" (as opposed to action) with the aim of, according to Charlotte Lee and Timothy Gura, communicating a text in its "intellectual, emotional, and aesthetic entirety" in words.[14] Students mastered the International Phonetic Alphabet, learned how to dissect the

paralinguistic qualities of words, and scrutinized texts to enliven the written work for the ears. "Great literature was not only written to be read, it was also written to be heard," was a common refrain. Pedagogy and scholarship were preoccupied with the persuasive use of and performance of written texts.[15] Simply, oral interpretation was about the criticism of and the (re)performance (reading aloud) of written text (including poetry, speeches, and other forms of printed texts). As traditional anthropologists continued to stake claim to the word "culture" despite the emergence of feminist theory and ethnic studies in the academy, ethnographers advocated for greater inclusion of physical participation and self-reflection to develop theory and analysis. At the point of my matriculation to college, a theoretical shift was occurring. Modernism was being condemned and, as postmodernism was just getting its footing and stride, critical theory/cultural studies invaded and challenged contemporary thought in multiple ways, including oral interpretation/rhetoric and anthropology.

The primacy of the written text was debated, and the mere definition of "text" was challenged. Barthes proclaimed that the death of the author endorsed the power of the text itself, while Dwight Conquergood encouraged those in the speech/oral interpretation/rhetoric arenas to understand the cultural politics of the primacy of the written text as patriarchal and exclusionary.[16] Conquergood theorized the shift from reciting "literary" written texts to a performance of narrative—bodily stories—moving the domain of ethnographic inquiry to participatory engagement, critical intervention, and performance ethnography.[17] The move also challenged the presentation of scholarship, refocusing beyond the printed monograph to also consider the recitation of field notes, the performance of participants' interviews, and a reflexive turn to include narratives of "doing" the research. And even more significantly, the recognition of the fluidity of "power" and its manifestations in fieldwork experienced profound change. In the domain of researching the "other," scholars shifted emphasis from subjects to coparticipants, coresearchers, and, derived from Zora Neale Hurston, cowitnesses to the documenting, moving, and making of culture.[18] The participants became speaking subjects, not objects being spoken for. Oral interpretation moved from text to performance.

When Hurston performed the folklore from her fieldwork to Boas, she was already at this epistemological, ontological, and even methodological moment. Furthermore, the embracing of Hurston's performance embodied the archive, a topic recently interrogated by performance theorists as they contemplate other depositories of knowledges and histories. Verne Harris

is preoccupied with questions about archiving bodily sounds: What does it mean to archive unwritten languages, ritual songs, and chants? He resists the concept of a physical, centralized holding place (i.e., archive) and instead endorses the continued visceral transmission of cultural variables through the teaching of such cultural performances through technology.[19]

In that moment with Boas, Hurston disrupted the binary opposition that plagues academic discourse by eliminating boundaries between the scholar and the participants and making known the cultural politics of doing fieldwork and producing creative and accessible ways of (re)presenting scholarship and creating new texts. The use of technology allows scholars access to different raw materials to develop the creative, physiological, and visionary texts of interrogation. The definition of the griot becomes broader. The DJ at the Red Rooster spins.

TRACK 4: Black Women Performing Blues

She could hold a tune in the shower peck out a few bars on the piano and strum some decent chords on the guitar, but she was no maestro.

— VALERIE BOYD

You'd most likely be hard pressed to find anyone who would call her a great singer.

— DAPHNE BROOKS, describing Hurston's singing

Zora Neale Hurston is considered a member of the "unholy trinity," along with Billie Holiday and Bessie Smith. Angela Davis and Norman Denzin locate the genre of blues music as performed ethnographic text.[20] Performative texts are credible scholastic endeavors that articulate conditions of race and gender politics (in a form accessible to many); these performative arguments are based in lived experience and grounded in what black feminists label theories of the flesh.

According to Alice Walker, "Zora *belongs* in the tradition of black women singers. . . . She followed her own road, believed in her own gods, pursued her own dreams, and refused to separate herself from 'common' people."[21] The lyrical locutions of Holiday, Smith, and Hurston document and announce the unaltered reality of black life. The effusive performances that

graphically call out love, sexuality, and even violence demonstrate the "intellectual independence and representational freedom" in the work of these great women.[22] Such performances were never simply about aesthetics, although they were great performances indeed, but there is always slippage—the messiness that bespeaks the extemporaneous nature of the blues. Never performing the same song the same way allowed for audience participation. The blues are always off-kilter, always mirroring the ebb and flow and nuances of everyday life. When I listen to Hurston's recordings—from the audio expedition with Alan Lomax and the work compiled during her stint with the Works Progress Administration (WPA) with Herbert Halpert—it is the imperfections, the background noise, the inserted questions, and her off-toneness that provide a fuller and more complete set of "data." They shape an integral part of the performances that reflects both the nuanced nature of ethnographic work and the nuanced nature of everyday life.

Hurston's work as a scholar of black life is not only significant ethnographically, in that she embraces "studying" her own community, but it also records a period of migration of blacks to the north and west at a time when immigrants and the growing class of educated African Americans were leaving "their downward, down-home ways and traditions behind."[23] She writes that collecting folklore "would not be a new experience for me. [W]hen I pitched headforemost into the work I landed in the crib of negroism."[24] Hurston recognizes the magnitude and importance of archiving and documenting such work. Yet she claims, "It was only when I was off in college, away from my native surroundings, that I could see myself like somebody else and stand off and look at my garment. Then I had to have the spy-glass of Anthropology to look through at that." She later disrupts the concept of "spy-glass" for her concept of feather-bed resistance. Recalling the "speakerly text," Hurston reveals how the black communities would engage in strategies of speaking-but-not-really-speaking to outsiders "coming to get information." A feather-bed resistance, she says, is when "we let the probe enter, but it never comes out. It gets smothered under a lot of laughter and pleasantries."[25] Maybe Hurston used her "insider" status to probe, or maybe she used her ability to participate in the community, to fully embody the experiences of many of her cowitnesses. Her method as performance insisted *I am I be* as a unit.

The Federal Writers' Project (FWP) was a program within the WPA, created by the Roosevelt administration to stimulate the U.S. economy during the Great Depression. One aim of the FWP was to preserve and document American folklore and traditions. The state of Florida folklore section was

not established until 1939; however, Hurston had already participated in two folklore audio expeditions with Lomax in 1935 and 1937.[26] In 1939 she became an official member of the state of Florida's FWP committee that was officially titled the Joint Committee on Folk Art's Southern Recording Expedition. The audio materials were recorded on acetate disks spinning at 78 or 33⅓ rpm. The irregular speeds of the recordings are perhaps due to the heat incurred during travel from Florida to Washington, D.C. In addition, the scratches of the tapes featuring Hurston's voice influence the playback quality of the sonic performance. The Florida Memory Project currently houses and provides access to some of this work, but the Library of Congress holds most of the audio from the FWP.[27]

Hurston's recordings are nuggets of academic materials, filled with bits from African American life in the South, including information about labor and the economic, religious, and social lives of southern blacks. The sounds include Hurston singing and performing chants (mostly of African American railroad workers) and other speakerly, performative folkloric texts. For example, in the C recording, Hurston contextualizes the song and she performs it back to her cowitnesses. She is asked by audience members to share more about the lyrics. You hear the intermittent ideas and questions posed and then you hear her voice. Her brash utterance discloses her methodology. Someone asks, "Who taught you this song?" She replies, "Not one person." Rather, she discloses how she "would sing along with the crowd and then perform it back to them to make sure [she] had it correct." Representation is important to performance ethnography. Contemporary performance ethnographers return to the communities in which they work to ascertain if the final product (play, article, image, video) truly represents who the subjects are. Yet Hurston resisted her training with Boas, who was adamant about recording "the other," and the act of recording herself radically reframed the topic of representation. Hurston refused to translate the other through technology: instead we get her—Hurston the anthropologist, folklorist, interlocutor, and also Hurston the community member familiar with lives and culture of this particular population. The aim in Hurston's ethnographic reality is not authenticity but a realization of the contested nature of doing and the mere presentation of ethnographic inquiry. The digitized audio collection of the Florida expedition is an invitation to a dialectic aural performance, yet it highlights some of the challenges as to how to engage with Hurston's audio work.

In "Let the Deal Go Down" we get a sheer sense of Hurston's embodiment. In this song about gambling (connected to the card game "Georgia skins"),

Hurston rehashes the folkloric tale, and then she explicates how the song is literally performed as she embodies several characters sitting around a table to give the audience a real sense of the context. The listener surmises the interplay of community and economics in the rural South. Yet in "Let's Shack," the arch of Hurston's voice as she emits the hard "HAAA" and the short, abrupt phrases eclipsed by hard constant sounds evoke the hardship of labor on the railroads. I should also note that Hurston desired to document every aspect of black life. Some recordings from FWP and the expeditions with Lomax are not accessible online because of the bawdy subject matter. The digital is a contested space. Digital conversions do not exclusively guarantee accessibility. Even at this moment of collusion between reality and technology (simulacra), the cultural politics of technology, particularly in the context of the United States, continues to struggle with power. Who has the right to decide what is acceptable, what is scholarship, and what relevance certain materials hold? In addition, exclusionary politics ensures that everyone does not have access to digital materials. The performative nature of the sound—including the meta-analysis that Hurston herself provides, her visceral embodiment, and her attempt to make the work assessable in a variety of forms—positions her work in the synchronous *I am I be*, not separating the object from the subject.

Earlier in this chapter I revealed that my introduction to Hurston was through the paralinguistic oral qualities of her written texts, a writing that evokes the essence of sounds through embodied sensual performances. But it was the digitized sound recordings from the expeditions that profoundly influenced my academic work, from my ethnographic fieldwork (Brazil/Haiti) and my research topics (ritual performance) to the presentation of my scholarship (installation, plays, sound). As a researcher, I find the area of digital sound studies considers even more ways to critically interrogate Hurston's digital work, particularly in the areas of scholastic presentation along with gender and race.

Hurston's audio work is scholarship. Her ability to record, produce, and disseminate her work in multiple ways suggests a different type of "writing"—a scholarship that surpasses an impression on a sheet of paper to signify the echoes of the jots and scratches on the page. Her recognition as a model performance ethnographer is (as I mentioned earlier) not simply because of her creative methods but also because of the presentation of her work. Her collection of sounds from the American South to the Haiti expedition should stand alone as academic scholarship. The FWP, to which I referred earlier, holds one of the few collections in which Hurston pro-

vides a meta-pedagogical explication of the folklore; yet in the Haiti work, which is considered the first exhaustive and descriptive account of Haitian Voudou, the recordings offer limited annotations. The sounds of the ritual performances stand alone, inviting the listener to participate in a dialogue of the seamless stream of chants, dances, and prayers in Haitian Kreyòl. Interestingly, in her printed work Hurston cites very little, if any, from her audio documentation, but rather relies on her written personal engagement with such ritual performances to document her fieldwork. The aural and the written overlap and stand parallel to be sure, but they provide two diverse and distinct academic projects on the topic of Voudou and Haiti. The written Hurston has been privileged in academic corridors, but the aural Hurston is just as valuable and rich and provides a plethora of data not addressed in her printed work.

The digitized Hurston is accessible, if one can find her. Unlike the Jazz Loft Project, most of Hurston's digitized recordings have not undergone exhaustive and comprehensive cataloging and encoding.[28] Perhaps one reason is that her digital sound recordings exist under the auspices of others such as Alan Lomax and Herbert Halpert, two white men. The American Folklife Collection (of the Library of Congress, which houses the sound collection of the Lomax, Hurston, and Barnicle expedition of 1939) lists Hurston as recorder, interviewer, and collector.[29] The project description of the Southern States (WPA) recordings (also in 1939), led by Herbert Halpert, cites Hurston as one of the recorders.[30] Yet the official Library of Congress Folklife Center catalog lists Halpert as the sole recorder and archivist.[31] In one of his final interviews, Stetson Kennedy, who directed the WPA "America Eats" project in the South—which was also under the auspice of Halpert—recalls that because of Jim Crow he dispatched Hurston alone to African American communities to record culinary practices.[32] The writings and photographs of this project have garnered attention, but the vast audio archive from "America Eats" has yet to be exhumed. Hurston's position as female and African American profoundly influences the accessibility and legibility of her work. To find her digital sound work is to go through the work of others. Yet to fully begin to explore the range and significance of Hurston's sound work is also to contemplate the race and gender cultural politics of her time and now, in the twenty-first century. I recall the news in 1997 when unpublished plays and essays by Hurston were "found" in the Margaret Mead audiovisual collection in the Library of Congress.[33] I remember Alice Walker's search for and discovery of Hurston's unmarked grave (a quest that brought greater attention to Hurston's literary work). Yet Hurston's available digitized audio

work is placed in the archives of others, some contributions marked, some unmarked. Unlike the sliver of Hurston found in the "America Eats" project, most of her audio remains uncataloged, an omission that limits the knowledge of Hurston's generative work.

TRACK 5: Zora, Digital Sound, Remix

As an artifact, recorded audio produces an aura of authenticity or realness and even a sense of beauty for the listener. In my first encounter with hearing Hurston's voice from a digitized recording, I felt a sense of intimacy, a newness of wonder of what her life must have been like at that time and place. A sense of excitement and eagerness to share the "folklore" exudes from her voice. The imbalance of recording speed along with the extraneous distant and sometimes not-so-distant sounds adds to a sense of awe and mystery surrounding Hurston. Through performance one might consider the objects used in the recording: why that particular recording device (its history, commercial use), how it was used in the exchange with Hurston, and what its interpellations meant for contemporary audiences in their everyday lives. As with the mystery that continues to surround Hurston's personal story (her ability to obscure fact with fiction in documenting her own life—her date of birth, number of marriages, etc.), she brilliantly and strategically used performance as a means of obtaining her desired goals from specific audiences.[34] Performance as a form of analysis at its core interrogates the precept of goal and audience, a position clearly embraced by Hurston. Equally, her digitized voice evokes beauty; her off-toneness and imperfections conjure the traditions of blues music performance. As with most of her work, the recordings disrupt the concept of a standard of beauty for a preoccupation with the haunted space between form and content. Like the sonic mix weaving Hurston's voice at the Red Rooster, the digitized sound recordings allow for more performances of her voice in more venues, with each performance spawning divergent and diverse ways of engaging with her and unearthing more about her. Derrida appends a prospectus on hauntology in *On Hospitality,* in which he makes a compelling case for engagement with the thing (the other).[35] Ultimately, he suggests, sincere engagement will produce an endless stream of discourses, readings, and interpretations. The sound mix the DJ was spinning at the Red Rooster on that winter evening continues to haunt, not only as a confluence between digital and humanistic inquiry but also in its creation of a performative space made possible through technol-

ogy and sound. In this moment of "re-," consider the multifaceted nature of sound and the enhancement of humanistic inquiry with digital technology, as we recall and remember those whose contributions could be lost, hidden, or unmarked. Patricia Hager recognizes Hurston as museum—a reservoir of folklore, history, a preserver of culture.

NOTES

The chapter opening epigraphs are from Zimmerman, "The Sounds of Zora Neale Hurston's *Their Eyes Were Watching God*"; Hurston, *Dust Tracks on a Road, an Autobiography,* 13; and Hurston and Wall, *Memoirs, and Other Writings,* 804. The epigraphs following the subhead "Track 4" are taken from Brooks, "Sister, Can You Line It Out?," 618, 26.

1 Simone, "Feelin' Good."
2 Brooks "Sister, Can You Line It Out?"
3 Buskirk et al., "The Year in 'Re-.'"
4 Browning, *Infectious Rhythm.*
5 Buskirk et al., "The Year in 'Re-,'" 127.
6 Weheliye, *Phonographies;* Gates, *The Signifying Monkey.*
7 Gates, *The Signifying Monkey.* For polyvocality and orature, see Ngũgĩ wa, *Penpoints, Gunpoints.*
8 Weheliye, *Phonographies,* 114.
9 Phelan, *Unmarked.*
10 Derrida, *Specters of Marx.*
11 Taylor, *Archive and the Repertoire.*
12 Miller [DJ Spooky Kid], *Rhythm Science;* Browning, *Infectious Rhythm.*
13 Miller [DJ Spooky Kid], "That Subliminal."
14 Lee and Gura, *Oral Interpretation.*
15 Jackson, *Professing Performance.*
16 Barthes, *Writing Degree Zero;* Conquergood, "Ethnography, Rhetoric."
17 Two examples from anthropology are Rosaldo, *Culture and Truth,* and Clifford, *Predicament of Culture.*
18 Conquergood, "Ethnography, Rhetoric."
19 Harris, "Derrida Meets Mandela."
20 Davis, *Blues Legacies;* Denzin, *Interpretive Ethnography.*
21 Walker, *In Search of Our Mothers' Gardens,* 91.
22 Davis, *Blues Legacies,* 3.
23 Hurston, *Mules and Men,* 15.
24 Hurston, *Mules and Men,* introduction.
25 Hurston, *Mules and Men,* 18.

26 Lomax, Hurston, et al., "Field Recordings, Vol. 7, Florida."
27 Florida Memory Project, "Florida Memory—Audio—Zora Neale Hurston." In addition to the Library of Congress (accessed January 13, 2018, www.loc.gov/folklife/guides/Hurston.html), the Florida Memory Project has digitized sound recordings of the WPA's work in Florida and can be accessed online: www.floridamemory.com/onlineclassroom/zora_hurston/documents/audio (accessed January 13, 2018). The Alexander Press database also has a reservoir of digitized work of Hurston with Lomax in Florida and Haiti (accessed January 13, 2018, http://alexanderstreet.com).
28 Smith and Stephenson, "Jazz Loft Project."
29 Lomax et al., "Lomax-Hurston-Barnicle Expedition Collection."
30 See "Florida Folklife from the WPA Collections."
31 See Lomax et al., "Lomax-Hurston-Barnicle Expedition Collection."
32 For more information about the audio "America Eats" project, see Nelson and Silva, "'America Eats.'"
33 See Margaret Mead audiovisual collection (accessed January 13, 2018, www.loc.gov/today/pr/1997/97–065.html).
34 Kaplan, *Zora Neale Hurston*.
35 Derrida and Dufourmantelle, *De L'hospitalité*.

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