

THOMAS A. GREEN

Sick Hands and Sweet Moves: Aesthetic Dimensions of a Vernacular Martial Art

The 52s is a contemporary African American vernacular martial art that developed, according to oral tradition, as an effective means of defense in prison settings. Yet, in 52s, effectiveness is not good enough. Comments by resource persons assert that sick (destructive) hands must harmonize with sweet (artistic) moves. The competent fighter must maintain composure and control while destroying an opponent. Drawing techniques from literally any source available, including boxing, Asian martial arts, folk styles of combat, and dance, this “martial bricolage” is characterized by strategies, rhythms, and attitudes based in the interplay of the sick and the sweet. Comparable tensions are evident in urban folk games (slap “boxing”), dance (uprocking, break dancing), and verbal arts (freestyle rap). This article examines the aesthetic principles shared by these martial, ludic, and performance genres.

HUMANS COMPETE FOR STATUS, and sometimes, the competition turns violent. While assessing the value of a detention center fight for establishing “rep” (e.g., reputation in the inmate hierarchy), Big K, the protagonist of Douglas Century’s journalistic account of life within a Brooklyn “posse” (gang), mused that his “fight with the trusty kid didn’t count for shit. He’d been too barbaric; he’d been banging the trusty’s face into the desk out of pure rage” (1999:77). Obviously, in the light of Big K’s dissatisfaction with the way in which he achieved victory over the “trusty kid,” winning is not enough. The dilemma facing Big K may be illuminated by contrasting the terms “science” and “art” as applied by the practitioners of his preferred fighting method—the 52 Hand Blocks or simply the 52s.¹ Insiders commonly label fighting tactics as “street science” (see BimbaJaba, below). Science,² in general, is evaluated by its efficacy in achieving a technical goal, whether the goal is heating a room or knocking an opponent unconscious. In contrast, “art” (a label that Big K himself uses to describe the 52s) also entails evaluation of the quality of the performance leading to an accomplishment. Therefore, Big K looked beyond results in judging his fight. In many ways, “being sick with it”³ (a reference to efficacy, thus a scientific judgment) by “putting together sweet moves”⁴ (an evaluation of performance, an aesthetic judgment) is as much music as mayhem.

THOMAS A. GREEN is an Associate Professor
in the Anthropology Department at Texas A&M University

Journal of American Folklore 125(497):286–303
Copyright © 2012 by the Board of Trustees of the University of Illinois

The following article proposes that the contemporary African American fighting style known as the 52s or the 52 Hand Blocks and its variants are so wedded to aesthetic principles that they are appropriately categorized as vernacular art forms.

Fieldwork

Although I claim no personal credentials in the 52s, as a martial arts student and instructor with over thirty years experience, I have been able to adopt the participant-observer role in my research on the 52s. Daniel Marks gave me my earliest access to the theory and the practical applications of the 52s; he remains a valued teacher and sounding board for my research. I began a correspondence with him in 2002, during research on Afrikan nationalism in contemporary martial arts (see Green 2003a). In 2003, I met Daniel in person at the “Masters of Streetology” self-defense workshops in Maryland where he was teaching kali (Filipino knife and stick fighting) and informally passing along bits of the 52s. There he introduced me to Darrell Sarjeant, who generously shared his own interpretation of the 52s (which he called “Indigenous Boxing”) and his hybrid Sadiq Kali Silat martial art. I regularly commuted from Texas to Oklahoma to train as his student from 2003–07. Dennis Newsome, who brought the fighting style known as “Jailhouse Rock” to the popular media as a fight choreographer for Mel Gibson’s 1984 film *Lethal Weapon*, has passed along valuable information during occasional training sessions in Texas and California, lengthy conversations, and a single extended demonstration of the effectiveness of his Jailhouse Rock during a spontaneous (and very one-sided) sparring session in a hotel parking lot during a visit to Texas in 2004. Kilindi Iyi passed along information on “Jacktown,” a variant of Jail House from Michigan, as well as demonstrations of the “old school boxing” that was one of the building blocks of the 52s. Michael Hume, with whom I studied Modern Arnis (Filipino stick-fighting) in 2005 in College Station, Texas, provided two brief but enlightening training sessions in the Virginia “rough and tumble” style he learned in his youth in Richmond. Since 2005, I have trained with Thomas Lomax at martial arts workshops in California, Oklahoma, and Texas, and during trips to his native Memphis, Tennessee. He has served as my teacher not only in the 52s, but in Jailhousing and the martial art of Indonesian *pencak silat*. A founding member of the now defunct Afrikanist organization Amakhanda, he has patiently and thoroughly answered questions on the 52s and its cognates, “Knocking and Kicking” and Jailhousing. Similarly, Earl White, founder of the Ijo Ija (Yoruba, “Dance Fight”), method and chief instructor at the academy of the same name, has enriched my understanding of the 52s and related pursuits such as slap-boxing, stick-fighting, and African and African-descended martial arts in the Diaspora during regular visits to Los Angeles from 2005 to the present. During the same time period, Clifford Stewart offered advice, information, and introductions to practitioners of the 52s and related arts as well as opportunities to train in his system of *pencak silat*.

There are others with whom I have corresponded and whom I have interviewed via telephone. Foremost among them is Novell Bell, who has provided insights into the urban martial culture of New York City. He also facilitated similar contacts with Sharif Bey, Rudolph Curry, Tarif Ghazi, and Ben Hill. While none claimed expertise

in the 52s, all grew up in the environment that gave rise to this vernacular art and speak with authority concerning its use in the street. Finally, Douglas Century, whose book *Street Kingdom* ignited the 52s debates of the early twenty-first century (see Green 2003a), shared interview notes, answered questions, and provided some of the earliest and most substantial evidence to verify the existence of the 52s as a home-grown African American art.

Vernacular Martial Arts

In linguistics, the label “vernacular” is used to denote a local language, dialect, or non-standard version of a language. In art criticism, the same term describes the creations of people who are independent of the movements and trends of elite art. Alternative names include outsider art and folk art (Cardinal 2001:69).

When applied to martial culture, “vernacular” denotes traditions that meet the needs of the local groups in which they are practiced and preserved rather than being products of an external sanctioning body such as the World Boxing Association or the International Karate Federation. Bureaucratic systems create formal curricula, establish official channels of transmission, issue certificates and other designations of rank, and have increasingly become transnational entities. In the case of combat sports such as international boxing or limited contact karate, these systems purport to maintain universal criteria in order to insure a level playing field, by the creation of weight classes and age categories, for example.

Vernacular martial arts (VMAs), in contrast, share the following characteristics: there is no structured curriculum by which a novice advances progressively from basic to more complex skills. In fact, it is common for at least a portion of one of these fighting methods to be learned through observation as distinct from instruction. Teaching takes the form of an experienced fighter passing along techniques to a favored novice. This continuity is not lineage in the sense of Asian martial arts, however. Instead, individuals credit teachers because the mentor was influential, out of respect, or to enhance one’s own reputation by association with a well-known fighter.⁵ Knowledge usually is transmitted orally and in a casual fashion.

In the present instance, the pervasive role of electronic media has complicated the status of the 52s. In the late 1990s following the publication of *Street Kingdom*, the nature of the 52s was hotly debated. Detractors argued that the VMA was either urban legend or journalistic fabrication. A recurrent question asked by doubters was “why haven’t we seen it?” The best answer is probably the simple one that Doug Century offers: “Our cities are so segregated, and [the culture that has knowledge of the 52s] is such a deep (and deeply despised) subset of the African American community, that few whites would ever be in serious peer-group contact with them” (personal communication).

In 2003, Douglas Century created opportunities for Big K (Kawaun Akhenoten VII) to connect with martial arts researcher Daniel Marks. Marks had been working to reconstruct the 52s through interviews with skillful fighters from the 1970s and 1980s. Along with others, such as Dennis Newsome and Thomas Lomax, he believed that African American VMAs represented not only effective fighting methods, but

also unique cultural contributions. Marks aspired to take the arts out of the shadow and sought to promote the 52s as a martial art and as a heritage art that could be a vehicle for self-actualization and community self-esteem. During the years following their meeting, Akhenoten and Marks were joined by urban fitness innovator Hassan (“Giant”) Yasin, founder of Bartendaz fitness, and by filmmaker Kamau Hunter. Akhenoten, Marks, and Yasin came together to “re-frame” the 52s as a heritage art, a unique expression of African American culture for cultivating health, fitness, and pride in cultural heritage. Hunter created visual records of the process.

There are important differences between the 52s in its purest form of VMA (the original street and prison practices) and the re-framed 52s. The first order of business was to continue with Marks’s efforts to research African American VMAs. The project involved both library research (especially on potential parent forms in Continental Africa and creolized VMAs in the Americas) and oral history to document practitioners of the 1960s–1980s. The goal was to develop a structured curriculum to ensure its coherent preservation as distinct from the random survival that is the inevitable fate of most VMAs. The new curriculum was structured, but following traditional practice, the 52s mindset serves as a catalyst for improvisation on the mechanics of a base art—boxing. Organized in 2008 as Constellation 52 Blocks Combat and Fitness, this alliance represents the most ambitious effort to date, to document and revitalize the 52s, dance, physical culture, and related practices in African American cultural history.

In 2010, the 52s drew attention both as physical culture and as popular culture. Constellation 52 offers training seminars open to the public regardless of race and has produced books, documentaries, and instructional DVDs on boxing-based 52s.⁶ Mixed martial arts superstar Rashad Evans is featured on one of these DVDs in a testimonial to the use of the 52s in his own training. In DVD promotions for *The Fifth Commandment* (Sony 2008), star Rick Yune claimed the 52s as his fighting method. In Wesley Snipes’s *Art of War II: The Betrayal* (Sony 2008), Clifford W. Stewart played a character called “Mom,” based on the 52s legend known as “Mother Dear.” The martial techniques in the film, however, were derived from the martial art of Indonesian pencak silat taught by Stewart (Clifford W. Stewart and Wesley Snipes, personal communication).

Since the launch of YouTube in 2005, dozens of video clips purporting to represent the 52s in action have appeared. Potentially, these offer another channel for encounters with the art. Unfortunately, opportunists have attempted to exploit interest in the style. Therefore, seekers are likely to find both samples of the genuine art and contrived styles cobbled together from basic boxing techniques, Asian martial arts, and poorly understood sequences appropriated from other video clips posted on the Internet. In addition to online video clips, books, DVDs, and workshops began to appear as early as 2005, hawking not only 52 Hand Blocks, but “Ghetto Boxing,” “Ghetto Blocks,” and similar coinages. Although derived from (or perhaps more accurately inspired by) a vernacular martial art at some level, I would be reluctant to consider these invented forms as genuine VMAs.

Genuine VMAs are transient phenomena that often pass from existence without being adequately documented. Vernacular movement and musical traditions com-

monly reinforce patterns intrinsic to the martial art. When weapons are incorporated into a VMA, they are commonly “weapons of opportunity” (i.e., tools that can be converted to weapons as needed). The caulked boot of the logger (see Dorson 2008), the Finnish puukko knife (Dorson and Leary 2008; Edgar 1949), and the double-edged razor blade concealed under the tongue that is used in “Jailhouse,” the prison-based ancestor of the 52s,⁷ represent such weapons.

Background

Century’s *Street Kingdom* included the first published account of the 52s. However, passing references to American vernacular prison styles of fighting began appearing in print during the last decades of the twentieth century. For instance, in 1974, a former inmate reported in an article published in *Black Belt* magazine that “[t]he different [New York state] prisons had and still have their own fighting styles” (as cited in Darling and Perryman 1974:21). In this article, poet and playwright Miguel Piñero, who was incarcerated repeatedly from the age of eleven, alluded to fighting styles he had learned while imprisoned: “The first thing I did in the joint was to check out the style and learn to fight with a home piece—somebody from my neighborhood on the streets. I learned the Woodbourne shuffle, an evasion technique that first was used in the joint at Woodbourne and got passed around. Then I learned wall-fighting, and somebody taught me the Comstock style” (as cited in Darling and Pennyman 1974:21).⁸

Thirteen years later, Terry O’Neill briefly documented a prison fighting style called “Jailhouse Rock” in a popular article about the film *Lethal Weapon* and its star Mel Gibson (O’Neill 1987).

After the success of *Street Kingdom*, Century’s 2001 magazine article “Ghetto Blasters” provided additional information and some illustrations of the 52s. To date, however, the only academic treatments of the style have been my two brief discussions of Jailhouse Rock (Green 2003a). The present article examines a wider variety of modern African American vernacular fighting styles.

Regional variants have been reported in the Northeast (New York, Pennsylvania), the Mid-Atlantic (Maryland, Washington, DC, Virginia), the Southeast (the Carolinas), the Southwest (Texas), and the Midwest (Michigan). Local terms for these vernacular martial arts include Jacktown, Jailhouse Rock, Jailhousing, Stato, the 52s, 52 Hand Blocks, and Bumrush. Except in those cases in which resource persons specifically address local variants, the term the 52s will be used as an umbrella term for all these related styles. In addition, the following remarks focus primarily on the shared aesthetic that emerges from the symbiotic relationship between play, performance, and pugilism in the African American context, rather than on technical aspects of the 52s.

The work of Robert Farris Thompson brought the African American martial aesthetic to scholarly attention (1988). According to Thompson, West African dance fuses energy and decorum ([1966] 1999:74), and this in turn creates and reflects a cultural aesthetic that is interrelated and whole ([1966] 1999:72). In this aesthetic, opposites are brought together to form a sense of balance and order. In terms of the

interplay of the opposing elements of the 52s, the “sick” (“good,” in this case because of a capacity to inflict damage⁹) is balanced against the “sweet” (controlled virtuosity). Roger Abrahams’s notion of the tensions between sweet talk (sensible, decorous, harmonious) and broad talk (aggressive, intrusive, contentious) in creolized African Caribbean performance (Abrahams 1983) also informs the following remarks.

What Is the 52s?

The 52s is characterized by a particular mindset, a collection of strategies, techniques, rhythms, and attitudes learned in the heart of the fight. On this issue, everyone who has actually been exposed to the 52s agrees. Ben Hill grew up with the Bronx version of Jailhouse. (Hill avoids the term 52s, calling that a more recent term for a variant of the original art.) Now in his forties, Hill contends that there never was a structured method for teaching the 52s. People who fought in this way already had learned a fighting system. “In the Bronx around 1976, this was most often boxing, and the same energy that was there in break dancing and in rap and in DJing came out in the fight . . . came out of that same creative flow” (Hill, personal communication). Thus, from Hill’s perspective, the system is dictated by the application of the 52s mindset, just like the disk jockey’s freestyle and the jazz musician’s improvisation; essentially, it is a riff, a variation on an established theme—in this case, a riff on boxing.

Darling and Perryman make a similar point: “Then [1948] a lot of former G.I.s in the joint had learned hand-to-hand combat—they came home, styled it, made it hip, and gave it soul” (1974:21). In the 1970s, Chinese martial arts (“kung fu”) were added to the mix. Bruce Lee is commonly cited as a major influence both by practitioners (Daniel Marks, personal communication) and social historians (Paskin 2000; Prashad 2001:126ff). Gordon Liu—particularly his film *The 36th Chamber of Shaolin*,¹⁰ also released as *The Master Killer*—has been cited as another role model, and some informants go so far as to say that most of the New York City 52s techniques from the late 1970s through the 1980s were derived from Hong Kong movies (Novell Bell, personal communication).

From whatever sources the techniques have been derived, the central philosophy of the 52s is adopt and adapt. Techniques and styles are adopted from any available source. These bits and pieces are modified through practical application and adapted into a street “science.” Elements of the resulting mix are freely changed or eliminated in response to real-time experiments in the laboratories of the street or the prison.

Based on his experience in Washington, DC, and Brooklyn, Daniel Marks explains why this free flow of skills is necessary to street combat: “You have to be creative to hit without being hit” (personal communication).

Thus, all informants, in spite of individual disagreements, describe what can be labeled “martial bricolage.” Available martial techniques are borrowed as they become available and useful. Unlike the bricoleur’s gear, however, the 52s tool kit is not randomly assembled. The unifying factor is a mindset that strives for the sick-sweet aesthetic.

The method behind the mayhem appears in the hip-hop attitude characterized by William Jelani Cobb:

The freestyle is the crucial element of hip hop, but also is a cornerstone of black culture that is in consistent rebellion against the strictures of form and convention. Thus what the MC calls freestyle the jazz musician calls improvisation—literally confronting structure with a riff on time. The kinesthetic genius of an NBA [National Basketball Association] baller lies in his ability to construct physical freestyles, rebelling against the step-dribble-shoot simplicity of structure with an improvised use of body and time. (Cobb 2007:7)

As noted above, in the case of the 52s, the riff often entails a subversion of the conventional structures of orthodox international boxing: consciously violating the rules to keep one's hands up to protect the face and head, to assume a three-quarter facing stance, and to maintain a left-hand lead by turning the left "corner" of the body toward an opponent with the left hand slightly extended. In contrast, a 52s adept may stand in "Comstock style": in profile with the lead fist on the hip, the lead elbow pointed at the opponent, and the chin shielded behind the lead shoulder. The rear arm is across the chest with the hand held open or in a fist. As Daniel Marks says: "You give them bone [the hardest part of the skull and the elbow] to hit" (personal communication). The 52s also riffs on the standard straight punches, hooks, and uppercuts of boxing by using elbows, slaps, backhands, and forearms, as well as the legal punches of international boxing.

Learning the 52s

The 52s, like other vernacular martial arts, is learned without the aid of a "one size fits all" template. Compared to karate or boxing, for example, both of which prescribe both pedagogy and practice, 52s knowledge is passed along in a casual fashion rather than as a progression from basic components to more complex skills. Casual does not mean haphazard, however. On the contrary, 52s practitioner Daniel Marks emphasizes that "[e]ach movement that [Big K] showed me was like those that he learned from his brothers, precise and to the point. Leaving an opening was by design and not because the technique had no established structure" (personal communication). Others report a less methodical education.

Moses Deyell grew up in Baltimore, Maryland, during the 1980s and 1990s and learned a method of fighting called "Freestylin." He recalls: "I was and still am a relatively small cat, and was always getting into fights with others and losing on a pretty regular basis. I just kept on picking up moves and styles though. As a result, I developed vicious hands. . . . And picking up moves, at least around here, is how you develop your hands" (personal communication).

In Philadelphia, the local variant of the 52s was called "Pug" or "Puggin."¹¹ At least some of its practitioners also learned by observation. "This was back in the late '70s when I first heard this [name]. . . . Some of the street science was learned by watching moves of someone who had a relative in the armed forces that learned close combat. That meant more flips, punches, elbows. Pressure point and joint locks also came into play" (BimbaJaba, personal communication via e-mail).

As evidenced by Daniel Marks's comments above, street-fighters are not compelled

to fend entirely for themselves, as an experienced fighter may pass along knowledge to a favored novice. African American activist and educator Geoffrey Canada recalls his relationship to “Mike” while growing up in the South Bronx:

[I]t was necessary for me to fear him during our training sessions. The fear made the training more realistic. I would be expected to defend myself knowing I might get hurt at any moment. Slowly, over time, I began to learn the science of combat. Mike was a tough teacher, but he was good. I learned how to bob and weave, jab, hook, throw combinations, and to take shots to the head and body. (1996:50)

Although Canada seems to describe orthodox boxing applied to street defense rather than the 52s as described below, the mode of instruction is comparable.

Ghetto Games

The role of pseudo-fighting games, labeled “ghetto games” by Michael David Cobb Bowen (2003), commonly arises when informants discuss their acquisition of the qualities needed for the 52s. These traditional forms of play cannot be neglected when considering the contents of the 52s tool kit. Shamming, slap-boxing, and chest (or open chest) thumping are widely distributed games.

“Shamming” (sham fights) is a form of adolescent street play that allows controlled striking, but limits the targets for strikes. The following passage describes the form it took in the South Bronx.

There were plenty of “sham” fights, where two people were paired off to box each other with bare knuckles. In these fights you were not allowed to punch in the face, but they were an important step in our learning process at the age of eleven or twelve. You often got hurt when an opponent landed a punch solidly in your stomach or solar plexus. When you were overmatched with a stronger and more skilled opponent, even punches to the chest or ribs could drop you. The idea was to learn how to dish it out and how to take it. (Canada 1996:46)

Names for the game vary from group to group, as is true of virtually all folk games. In Washington, DC, Canada’s shamming is called simply “body punching” (Marks, personal communication).

In direct contrast to shamming, “the face and head were the primary target” in “slap-boxing” games. In slap-boxing, “just as the name implies, you had to hit with an open hand” (Canada 1996:47). The strikes and feints of slap-boxing are based on the model of international boxing, and the sport is popular in schools and detention facilities. For example, US Olympic heavyweight boxer Michael Bennett learned to box (and slap-box) in an Illinois youth correctional facility (Hirsley 2000), and as recently as 2008, a middle school in Muscogee County, Georgia, suspended more than twenty students for slap-boxing in a school restroom (Connell 2008). Earl White, founder of Ijo Ija (Yoruba, “dance fight”) Martial Arts Academy, reports that slap-boxing was ubiquitous among African American peers while growing up in Denver, Colorado, during the 1970s (personal communication).

In all the contexts cited above, among youths the game is played primarily for status, as often by demonstration of “heart” (courage) as by demonstration of physical prowess. Based on his experiences growing up in Los Angeles, Michael David Cobb Bowen (2003) writes: “A good slapboxing match is always spontaneous, ends in one good hit and never lasts more than a couple minutes. It’s a one on one sport done among acquaintances.”

On the other hand, Century writes that in play between the adults called Life and K, the men threw “up their fists, slap-boxing, sparring with their whirling fifty-two hand-block technique” (1999:368), and in other more realistic but still playful contests of “fifty-two hand-blocking,” K parried his opponent’s “fists with his loglike forearms and cupped hands” (1999:205). Slap-boxing matches can, at the level played by K and Life, turn serious, and in turn lead to real fights.¹²

“Chest,” or “Chest Boxing,” is a variant of shamming. According to the rules of the game as played in Dallas, Texas, during the 1980s and early 1990s (Nigel Boyd, personal communication), two or more players look for opportunities to deliver full power strikes to each other’s chests while keeping their own guards up, thereby protecting against similar strikes. In other traditions, especially those called “Open Chest,” participants alternate between receiving blows to their chests and giving blows back. Cobb Bowen (2003) describes a variant from his youth: “You walk around with your arms crossed across your chest. If you left your arms down, you get fired on [punched]. Simple, stupid, deadly.” Cobb Bowen’s assessment of the game’s potential for serious consequences is borne out by the fact that at least five adolescent males died from 1991–2003 after receiving fatal blows during the game of Chest (Burress 2003).

Even those games that are not riffs on fights have been turned to combative ends. Daniel Marks recalls that “[w]e played ‘Rough House 33,’ which is basketball played with a football mentality. A group of cats get together in half court, the more the merrier. First one to [score] 33 [points] is the winner” (personal communication). In this example, the game is a riff on basketball.

“Suicide” represents a riff on handball. The game is played in a handball court using a small rubber ball or tennis ball. The aim is to keep the ball in play. The player can catch the ball, but “if the ball drops, you get ‘fired on’ [punched] an unlimited number of times by every other player in the game until you touch the wall. . . . [T]here are lots of strategies and tactics in Suicide. You need to place yourself right in the middle of the action. What counts is bravery. You want to catch the fast balls to show you’ve got skills” (Cobb Bowen 2003).

Rough House 33, Suicide, Shamming, Chest, and Slap-boxing all develop coordination, the ability to take and give hits, to think under stress and in pain, in addition to toughening the physique.

As fighters grow from adolescents into young men, those who are serious about developing 52s skills get sparring partners and develop impromptu training scenarios. Daniel Marks provides the following examples:

Agree that you both are going to fight bare knuckle, full contact to the body. No hits to the face, and every target (except the groin of course) is game. Then, go at it.

First, you get on a wall and play ‘defense’; you are not allowed to throw any punches back you must defend only. You can use the wall to duck, slip, throw him into, but you can’t punch back. Doing this exercise will sharpen your defensive skills, and also teach you to absorb punishment. Few people realize how important this skill is. You will probably in a real fight ‘get’ as much as you ‘give’. So you must take the fear out of getting hit by going at it in this way. Start off slow and moderate at first, and gradually increase the pressure. The dude who taught me beat the living crud out of me for months until I learned, (and I did learn) to not flinch, and to block and fight back. (personal communication)

Similar scenarios are played out in alleys where partners are limited to linear movement, and in stairways, elevators, and empty subway cars, to train skills on uneven, moving, or unsteady terrains.

Looking Good: 52s as Performance

Judging martial arts by their effectiveness for doing physical damage to an opponent seems self-evident. Philadelphian Bernard Hopkins, former undisputed middle-weight boxing champion, was also a seasoned street-fighter who had been imprisoned following a conviction on the charge of robbery. Despite this background, he only learned about the 52s style of fighting from his friend and fellow professional boxer Zab Judah. “Boxing is not fighting,” Hopkins told Douglas Century in 2001. “Fighting is not boxing. Even though we use them words loosely. In the street it’s shoulders, back, trying to hit the guy in the throat, trying to hit him on the hip so he won’t be able to move, all that is part of African, Brownsville, New York, North Philadelphia, [style] fighting. I was a better fighter in the street than in the ring” (personal communication).

Bona fide 52s show the same malice and direct brutality when the action heats up: Eyes luminous with rage, he [Big K] now gave up all pretenses of using orthodox boxing technique. He launched a savage forward assault, using those windmilling fifty-two hand-blocks: a stunning, inexorable whirl of fists and forearms and elbows. And this time, when he landed a clean chin shot, the fist-followed-closely-by-forearm did its intended damage. Finally, the crook’s head shivered on his thick neck and his eyes rolled up momentarily and his strong knee joints were replaced by wobbling Slinky toys. (Century 1999:109)

Yet, in 52s, “effective” is not good enough. Sick hands must be rooted in a context of sweet moves. Whether he plies his trade in the ring or in the street, Roger D. Abrahams writes, the African American “man of action . . . acts with style, and he considers that everything he does is being watched and comports himself accordingly” (Abrahams 1983:125).

Before becoming a student, documenter, and practitioner of 52s, Daniel Marks trained in boxing, karate, and kali (Filipino knife and stick fighting). His recollections of his early training goals are consistent with Abrahams’s assessment:

Martial Arts was just the flyest way to kick some ass and look good while doing it. Especially Kung Fu, the animal styles were hot. . . . [Boxer Muhammad] Ali gave you both flash and kick ass. . . . In the martial art world Bruce [Lee] was the man. . . . But then I saw Jim Kelly, the Ali of Karate, and then it was over. You got to have style with your substance. (personal communication)

The martial aesthetic espoused here couples effectiveness (“kicks ass”) with style (“flash”). In the example given above, Jim Kelly’s character Williams, in the 1973 Bruce Lee film *Enter the Dragon*, establishes the tone of his on-screen persona with his response to the villainous Mr. Han. When Han brings up the possibility of defeat, Williams responds, “I won’t even notice. I’ll be too busy looking good.” Williams (and by extension Kelly and his subsequent film characters) demonstrates a perfect fit with Abrahams’s man of action; he uses “looking good” to play out the aesthetic of the sweet.

Century’s bystander view of K’s street-fight in Manhattan explicitly brings the performance dimension into the real world.

Like the seething crowds in the Coliseum, or that swelling mob in *The Day of the Locust*, half of Fifth Avenue’s workforce had stopped whatever it was doing, Orthodox Jewish diamond-men next to lanky Haitian bike messengers, eagerly crowding the intersection, grinning lasciviously, awaiting the flow of blood.

And, seeing as he had an audience, K began to showboat, ducking and feinting, coming out of his crouch to connect with a clean right cross to the sweet spot of the crook’s chin. (Century 1999:107)

Borrowing concepts from Thompson’s West African cool aesthetic ([1966] 1999), as the audience attention increases (“builds heat”), K demonstrates greater martial virtuosity, thereby displaying his “cool.” A brutal street fight is turned into a performance event. As a performer, the fighter must maintain composure and control.

This aesthetic is not limited to the prize ring or the boroughs of New York City. In Texas during the 1980s, the inmates of units of the state prison system outside Huntsville favored an unconventional fighting style in which artistry was as important as effectiveness. A deluge of wheeling, clubbing punches constituted an unorthodox, creative style in which blows were rained down on an opponent in order to drive him literally to the ground. According to corrections officer and martial arts instructor Hubert Childress, the techniques did not seem to be derived from either boxing or Asian martial arts. Critiquing the effectiveness of this method, Childress commented that to inmates who chose to fight in this style, “[t]he most important thing to them is looking good” (personal communication). In this instance, looking good (staying cool and sweet) meant maintaining outward fluidity, flow, and creativity even in the heat of a prison yard fight.

On the West Coast, Cobb Bowen noted that even those forms of fistic play he labeled “ghetto games” manifest a similar aesthetic at their core.

‘[G]etting fired on’ meant specifically a punch to the chest. It had to be hard enough to make you go ‘oof’ but not hard enough to make you cry. . . . When you get fired on well, it will make a deep resounding sound and ‘cave in’ your chest. You bend

over, say ‘Damn’ or some such and rejoinder playfully admitting your opponent’s clean shot since all of these kids are your friends anyway. (2003)

Although the sweet-sick dichotomy is widely distributed,¹³ the expression of this dynamic in the fight varies according to context. Basing his assessment on his experience as a martial arts teacher, professional fighter, and bouncer with street experience, Novell Bell identifies the following local types as being among the street styles that are recognizable in the New York City area:

Brooklyn cats was known for they aggressive, fast, crazy, wild attacks. These cats were mostly face hunters, always throwing wild blows to the face trying to knock a person out, and most times they did, because of the fast, aggressive attack. Many brothers from Queens didn’t like Brooklyn cats, because they were the kind of people that if you beat one of their boys in a one on one fight in their ’hood, they still jump your ass!

Queens 52 blocks practitioners utilize more strategy, generally Queens 52 was more of counter fighters, they like to evade, redirect and catch opponents off balance then finish their opponent. Queens cats were more of show men. When a Queens cat fought using the 52 style they like to look good kicking your ass, and some Queens cats was so nice with their hands that they would talk shit [to make an opponent lose his cool] at the same time kicking your ass.

Bronx 52 style in my opinion was more kickers, sweeps and grappling. I say this because every God I saw and met from the Bronx that fought using the 52 always try to apply low kicks to attack the legs of their opponent. I think the Bronx 52 style use their legs more because of all the hills they have to walk up in that area. (personal communication)

Sharif Bey adds:

One of the things that the Black Spades OG [Original Gods, a reference to NGE affiliation as in Note 1], Cochise, was known for ‘going downstairs’ or quickly dropping down to knee level to launch a barrage of elbows at your thighs, hip carriage, and knees, only to pop back up and take your head off. The Bronx 52 men liked to get real close to you, using the longer hand movements to cover their entry. Once inside it was all knees, headbutts and elbows, quickly followed by the victim getting airborne and slammed on the side of his neck. (personal communication)

Within these styles, accomplished fighters have their own idiosyncratic techniques, but in all cases, the goal is to look good while demolishing an opponent.

Returning to the passage that started this article, K dismissed his win against the “trusty kid” as “too barbaric.” When K was able to create an opportunity to take on and defeat another inmate with his 52s, he used a signature 52s maneuver of catching the other boy’s punch between his “clenched forearms, kissing the useless fist and throwing it back at him” (Century 1999:77–9). This fight in the juvenile detention facility, the one that establishes his place in the hierarchy, is in some ways more a performance than a fight.

K’s fist-kissing display is reportedly common in the 52s and demonstrates both mastery of and contempt for an opponent. Century claims that, in fact, the fighting

style “is all about completely humiliating your opponent” (Century, personal communication). The fight concludes with K heaping insults on a fallen opponent. Sick and sweet must be present in equal measure for the aesthetic to be fulfilled. There are many ways of playing out this aesthetic, however.

During the 1970s, a technique called the “Upset” was used in the streets of Richmond, Virginia. “The technique focused on coming straight into your opponent for an upper body charge, then shift at the last instant to grab him under the cuffs of his pants. The object being to throw him onto his back or either side or even to toss him over your head and behind you” (Michael Hume, personal communication).

This particular trick is not limited to the urban South. Other resource persons have noted its use under names such as hemming, cuffing, tossing, or the pants flip. It was of symbolic importance as well as being martially effective. Informants report: “In New York, we call it ‘Tossin’ a cat. . . . It was a major disrespect to have that happen to you, because it was like [throwing out] garbage” (Bro Sha, personal communication), and in Philadelphia: “You were humiliated if you let someone trip you or throw you” (BimbaJaba 2004).

The following statement illustrates the power of throwing an opponent to humiliate him and to elevate fighting to a performance art:

To get cuffed [thrown] was a sign of complete disrespect. A good fighter would never allow himself to be cuffed. If you were lucky enough to cuff a guy, you would either slam him to the ground immediately with much energy or (the ultimate embarrassment) you would pause a moment at the height of the lift, just to allow others to admire your strength, technique, skill, and bravery, before slamming the guy on his head. Sounds like fun? (Michael Hume, personal communication)

Compare the preceding statement to the attitude evident in K’s Fifth Avenue exhibition. Although the events are separated by decades and hundreds of miles, they reveal the same aesthetic at work.

Related Art Forms

William Jelani Cobb finds a similar creativity and flow in the shared aesthetic of boxing and hip-hop:

The rapper and the prizefighter share the common themes of improvisation and requisite composure in the face of incoming fire. Boxing is physical entrepreneurship for the dead broke—an arena where one’s fists are the equivalent of venture capital. Hip hop is a verbal offense and defense raised to the level of high art. And both the pugilist and the MC share a common charge in their professions—protect yourself at all times. (2007:80)

Boxer Roy Jones, Jr., held world titles in four different weight divisions and launched a career as rap artist in 2001. In his prime he was often called the best pound for pound professional boxer in the world. Jones taunted opponents by dropping his guard, thrust his chin out as a target, danced in front of confused opponents in ap-

parent disregard of their efforts, and postured in a neutral corner of the ring while the referee counted out fallen opponents. In tone, attitude, and in some of its particulars, Jones's style is reminiscent of K's fights, as in the following example:

He [K] put some strain on Peter Chaplain's ass that would not soon be forgotten in the Spofford [Detention Center] yard. He was doing backhands, windmills, blocking the pervert's punches between two clenched forearms, kissing the useless fist and throwing it back at him like a pair of soiled drawers. And as he was tagging him up, shuffling, dancing backward, he started to taunt his beaten opponent, 'Break the glass, nigga! Break the glass!' Because that's how Tono [K's brother and mentor] used to do it, sticking out his chin, tempting the other guy to hit you in the face. (Century 1999:77–9)

Jones's ring techniques were not drawn from the 52s and are nothing new. In 1910, heavyweight champion Jack Johnson taunted The Great White Hope by delivering up hard blows and then saying, "Package, Boss! Package!"

Relationships between musical and movement genres—hip-hop, jazz, boxing, and basketball—have been proposed. Oral tradition maintains that the urban dance style known as "up-rocking" and the 52s spring from a common source. Aggressive up-rocking served as sublimated street warfare for urban gangs in the 1970s and 1980s. In these confrontations, Jeff Chang writes: "Rivals . . . went head to head—making as if they were jiggling, stabbing, and battering each other" (2005:116). Daniel Marks points out that up-rocking and the 52s share the same back-and-forth and side-to-side footwork, and "the most significant difference is in level changes, like where Big K bends over and touches the ground making it harder to read his intended move" (personal communication). "The 52 . . . may look wild and untamed but that's deliberate. The up-rock [pattern of movement] is a huge part of the deception. At best, the 52s is like a dance" (personal communication).

In contrast, during the course of a conversation about a mutual acquaintance who claimed familiarity with Jailhouse Rock, Daniel Marks said, "I saw a little demo of his [Jailhouse] Rock. So he has seen it, but I wasn't impressed. He just didn't have the flow. Without the rhythm you look a little like a cat smacking his elbows" (personal communication). Going back to the aesthetic realized in the African American manifestations of hip-hop, jazz, boxing, and basketball, one also returns to Cobb's characterization of the hip-hop freestyle and the jazz riff as "consistent rebellion against the strictures of form and convention" (Cobb 2007:7). Marks's comments may be interpreted using a linguistic analogy. While noting that the object of his criticism has learned some of the vocabulary of the 52s ("he has seen it"), he observes that the Rock demo lacked mastery of the grammar ("he just didn't have the flow") required to construct a coherent, but novel, sentence ("look[s] a little like a cat smacking his elbows").¹⁴

The flow to which Marks alludes suggests a pattern Robert Farris Thompson discovers in West African- and African-descended dance. He asserts that in this tradition, percussive music is made visible (Thompson [1966] 1999:75). The 52s, however, are more appropriately considered aggression made "musical" by means of the application of a distinct set of rhythms. This quality provides the link that ties the 52s to the up-rocking dance battles mentioned above.

Fighting and dancing share common ground throughout African America. The “Upset” had been passed to Michael Hume by his father, a former tap dancer. His father said, “Once you flip the dude, tap-dance on his head and body” (personal communication). Because this information was passed along in the context of a one-on-one interview, I volunteered to serve as his opponent for a demonstration. As a result, I felt more than saw that after the Upset, a succession of rhythmic toe and heel kicks are delivered up and down the fallen opponent’s ribs, chest, and stomach.

Robert Farris Thompson, in his examination of the aesthetic principles of West African dance, identifies, among other traits, the “dominance of a percussive concept of performance, multiple meter [cf. the “broken rhythms,” and “change-ups” of fighting] . . . [and] verbal and kinesic derision” (Thompson [1966] 1999:75). As noted in the previous discussions of hip-hop, jazz, and boxing, these principles are recurrent themes in both the 52s and related musical and ludic forms.¹⁵

The 52s is at its heart a percussive art rooted in the West African-descended hot-cool aesthetic identified by Thompson, re-interpreted in the Caribbean by Abrahams’s broad-sweet polarities, and labeled as the sick and the sweet in the present context. This vernacular martial art is a performance that riffs on established movement, genres, boxing and dance, for example.¹⁶ The ability to time and play apart from and between an opponent’s rhythms is essential to delivering sick blows. Calls, both kinesic and verbal, to “break the glass,” humiliate and “heat up” a less skilled opponent and permit a cool demonstration of the fighter’s control through his own sick hands in counterpoint with his sweet moves.

Acknowledgments

Harris Berger, Norbert Dannhauser, Lauren Miller Griffith, Daniel Marks, Patrick Mullen, Joseph Svith, and the anonymous evaluator for the *Journal of American Folklore* read early drafts of the present article. All offered valuable advice.

Notes

1. The origin of the terms “52 Hand Blocks” and “the 52s” is undetermined. One folk etymology associates the name with the prank “52 Card Pick-Up,” in which the butt of the joke is invited to play a game of 52 Card Pick-Up. An affirmative answer results in the prankster scattering a deck of 52 playing cards on the floor and directing the dupe to pick them up. Another oral tradition maintains that 52 is derived from the divine mathematics of the Nation of Gods and Earths (NGE), also known as the Five Per Cent Nation of Islam, which was established some time after 1963 by Clarence 13X (birth name, Clarence Smith), a former member of the Nation of Islam. According to NGE numerology (“Mathematics”), 5 plus 2 equals 7; this in turn describes God (or perfection). For more on NGE mathematics, see Swedenburg 1997.

2. “Science” in this context is likely to allude to the NGE and its predecessor, the Moorish Science Temple, also. Boxing is another donor to the multi-layered 52s lexicon. Commonly known as the “sweet science” at least since 1824, when the term appeared in Pierce Egan’s *Boxiana or Sketches of Modern Pugilism*, boxing is employed as the primary fighting paradigm for many 52s adepts and undoubtedly the prominent appearance of the terms “sweet” and “science” owe something to prizefighting as well.

3. High praise for destructive ability is commonly signaled for fighters, both in the street and in the ring by phrases such as, “He sick wit’ it.” The most eloquent explanation of “sick” as used for good fight-

ers came from Daniel Marks: “Think about it. If one is sick or bad they stand out. If you’re ill then people want to stay away from you. So to be sick with any skill is a warning that person is not to be messed with” (personal communication).

4. I first heard this phrase applied to the 52s by Kilindi Iyi during a 2004 interview. He used it to describe the nature of “Jacktown,” a prison fighting system that originated in the State Prison of Southern Michigan located in Jackson County, Michigan. Iyi began his martial career as a boxer under the tutelage of his father, professional boxer Jimmy Jones. Therefore, the concept of “sweetness” may derive, in part, from the influences mentioned in Note 2. The use of the term is not unique to Iyi, however.

5. For example, 52s exponents from the 1970s and 1980s, usually regarded as the heyday of this VMA, often claimed to have learned from “Mother Dear,” a gay inmate who is credited in street legend as the originator of the prison style of the 52s. An enigmatic figure, Mother Dear is a central focus of a draft in progress on prison masculinities and vernacular martial arts.

6. The Constellation 52 website provides additional information, including video clips of 52s training and technique applications (<http://52blocks.tv/>). The following YouTube video clips are designed to sell instructional DVDs by offering brief examples of purported 52s techniques: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bc9XpjkURBg>; http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zEJoEA_Yi5s&feature=channel; and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=38uVH9-DCdk&feature=related>.

7. Hasan “Giant” Yasin demonstrates the use of the razor blade on Styles P’s MTV video, “Because I’m Black” at the 0:40 and 2:37 points. Daniel Marks and Kawaun Akhenaton also appear on the video. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZqcYticoVNA>.

8. Both Woodbourne and Comstock are prisons located in upstate New York.

9. Compare “sick” as a praise term based on the same principle of inversion as the African American use of “bad.” Barre Toelken provides an example of the use of the term as an aesthetic judgment in the following passage:

[A]n African American friend of mine tells of an incident in which he and other Black musicians were “jamming” after hours in the back room of a San Francisco nightclub. Several prominent jazz men were there, including a very well-known jazz trumpeter. A White teenager begged to be admitted so he could sit in on the drums, and he was so sincere and so obviously interested in jazz that the group invited him in briefly, even though the presence of a minor in the nightclub environment was illegal. The young man took over the drums and impressed everyone with his virtuosity for the next couple of hours. At the conclusion of the jam session, the prominent trumpeter walked over to the young White man and said gravely, “You a *baad* mother-fucker, Jim,” at which the young man broke into tears—not tears of rage but of surprised pleasure at having been singled out for such high praise. (1996:234)

Daniel Marks ties both the term “sick” and the principle of inversion specifically to the 52s in the following statement: “Our slang is just that where the opposite is true . . . so the expression is to exaggerate the ability and give it a negative spin to ensure that those who have no confidence will not approach unless they want to catch your sickness. We live in an inverted world where the opposite is true” (personal communication).

10. *The 36th Chamber of Shaolin*. Dir. Chia-Liang Liu (Hong Kong: Shaw Bros Movies-Dragon Dynasty, 1978), 115 min.

11. “Pug” is an obvious reference to boxing (pugilism) and boxers (“pugs”). References to boxing and boxers abound in the oral traditions surrounding the 52s.

12. See, for example, the published court decisions *Peterson v. San Francisco Community College Dist.*, 36 Cal. 3d 799 (1984) and *Stephens v. Greensboro Properties, LTD. L.P.*, Ga. App. 670 (2001).

13. The use of the terms is not limited to 52s practitioners or boxers, of course. In fact, Douglas Century suggests (personal communication) that sick and sweet are “pretty universal with everyone under 35.” Both he and Daniel Marks note the terms’ ubiquity in hip-hop, an art form that has close associations with the 52s. Century cited Eminem’s “You’re Never Over”: “For you, I wanna write the sickest rhyme of my life / So sick it’ll blow up the mic / It’ll put the “dyna” in mite.” Marks responded, “O.k. that was weak,” and answered with:

“I’m ill like venereal disease,
That you can catch when I sneeze,
God bless you,
’cause I hex you like voodoo,
And no one do what you do
’cause your rap skills are doo doo.”

Now that’s sick. (personal communication)

14. Lee Wilson (2009) proposes a musical analogy to reach similar conclusions in his analysis of the pedagogy of the martial art of Indonesian pencak silat. He suggests that in application, both jazz and silat demand free improvisation, but the pedagogy of both entails the teaching of highly structured components. The fundamental building blocks of sounds and their potential relationships are acquired through the practice of scales in the former and essential body mechanics are learned from movement drills called *jurus* in the latter. The correct execution of either art form demands “free style,” however. Interestingly, on seeing the 52s, outsiders who are familiar with silat (especially the *pukulan* styles that emphasize striking) claim to see a similarity between the two arts.

15. It should be emphasized that these traits are not retentions, per se. As argued by Sidney Mintz and Richard Price concerning resemblances between the art of the Maroons and certain West Africans, these are not retentions or survivals, rather they are the results of deep-lying cultural rules and shared aesthetic principles (1992:53).

16. In jazz, the ultimate illustration of this pattern is likely to be John Coltrane’s riff on “My Favorite Things” from Richard Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein’s *The Sound of Music*.

References Cited

- Abrahams, Roger D. 1983. *The Man-of-Words in the West Indies*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- BimbaJaba. 2004. <http://p209.ezboard.com/fmartialartsworldwidefrm21showMessageRange?topicID=21.topic&start=41&stop=56>.
- Burrell, Charles. 2003. Teens’ Booze Session Ends in Tragedy: Punching Contest Claims 16-year-old’s Life in San Jose. *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 28:B1.
- Canada, Geoffrey. 1996. *Fist, Stick, Knife, Gun: A Personal History of Violence in America*. New York: Beacon.
- Cardinal, Roger. 2001. The Self in Self-Taught Art. In *Self-Taught Art: The Culture and Aesthetics of American Vernacular Art*, ed. Charles Russell, pp. 68–80. Oxford: University Press of Mississippi.
- Century, Douglas. 1999. *Street Kingdom: Five Years inside the Franklin Avenue Posse*. New York: Warner.
- . 2001. Ghetto Blasters: Born in Prison, Raised in the ’Hood, the Deadly Art of 52 Blocks Is Brooklyn’s Baddest Secret. *Details* 19(9):77–9.
- Chang, Jeff. 2005. *Can’t Stop, Won’t Stop: A History of the Hip-Hop Generation*. New York: St. Martin’s.
- Cobb, William Jelani. 2007. *To the Break of Dawn: A Freestyle on the Hip Hop Aesthetic*. New York: New York University Press.
- Cobb Bowen, Michael David. 2003. Ghetto Games. November 7. http://cobb.typepad.com/cobb/2003/11/ghetto_games.html.
- Connell, Lindsey. 2008. Middle School Students Suspended for Slap Boxing. *WTVM9*, Columbus, GA, March 25. <http://www.wtvm.com/Global/story.asp?S=8068438&nav=8fap>.
- Darling, Anne, and James Perryman. 1974. Karate in Prison: Menace, or Means of Personal Survival? *Black Belt* 12(7):21.
- Dorson, Richard M., and James P. Leary. 2008. *Bloodstoppers and Bearwalkers: Folk Traditions of the Upper Peninsula*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Edgar, Marjorie. 1949. Ballads of the Knife-Men. *Western Folklore* 8(1):53–7.
- Green, Thomas A. 2003a. Freeing the Afrikan Mind. In *Martial Arts in the Modern World*, ed. Thomas A. Green and Joseph R. Svinth, pp. 229–48. Westport, CT: Praeger.

- . 2003b. Surviving the Middle Passage. In *Martial Arts in the Modern World*, ed. Thomas A. Green and Joseph R. Svinth, pp.129–48. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Hirsley, Michael. 2000. Prison Boxing Fights a Decline, *Chicago Tribune*, September 2. http://www.accessmylibrary.com/coms2/summary_0286-7260319_ITM.
- Mintz, Sidney, and Richard Price. 1992. *The Birth of African-American Culture: An Anthropological Perspective*. Boston: Beacon.
- O'Neill, Terry. 1987. Lethal Weapon: Terry O'Neill Interviews Mel Gibson. *Fighting Arts International* (44):10–4. Reprinted at <http://www.malandros-touro.com/jailhouseerock.html>.
- Paskin, Janet. 2000. Blacks and Asians Find Common Ground with Martial Arts Films Celluloid Bridge. www.columbia.edu/itc/journalism/gissler/anthology/paskin.html.
- Prashad, Vijay. 2001. *Everybody Was Kung Fu Fighting: Afro-Asian Connections and the Myth of Cultural Purity*. Boston: Beacon.
- Swedenburg, Ted. 1997. Islam in the Mix: Lessons of the Five-Percent. Paper presented at the Anthropological Colloquium, Fayetteville, University of Arkansas, February 19.
- Thompson, Robert Farris. [1966] 1999. An Aesthetic of the Cool: West African Dance. In *Signifyin', Sanctifyin' & Slam Dunking: A Reader in African American Expressive Culture*, ed. Gena Dagal Caponi, pp. 72–86. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.
- . 1988. Tough Guys Do Dance. *Rolling Stone*, March 24:135–40.
- Toelken, Barre. 1996. *The Dynamics of Folklore*, revised and expanded edition. Logan: Utah State University Press.
- Wilson, Lee. 2009. Jurus, Jazz Riffs and the Constitution of a National Martial Art in Indonesia. *Body and Society* 15(3):93–119.