

“The Times They Were A-Changin’”: A Database-Driven Approach to the Evolution of Harmonic Syntax in Popular Music from the 1960s

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ABSTRACT: The goal of this research is to investigate the pitch structures of popular music in the 1960s through a large corpus study in order to identify any consistent changes in harmonic and tonal syntax. More specifically, two studies based on the Billboard DataSet (Burgoyne, Wild & Fujinaga, 2011; Burgoyne, 2011), a new corpus presenting transcriptions for more than 700 songs, are presented. The first study looks at the incidence of multi-tonic songs throughout the decade, while the second study focuses on the incidence of flat-side harmonies (e.g. bIII, bVI, and bVII) over the same period of time. While no difference was observed in the frequency of multi-tonic songs, the study showed a significant increase in the incidence of flat-side harmonies during the second half of the decade.

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IN January 1964 Bob Dylan released “The Times They Are A-Changin’,” a politically-charged protest song encouraging changes in American society. Indeed the 1960s were a time of great political, but also sociological and cultural changes, accompanied by equally important developments in popular music. Many music scholars have addressed the attitudinal shift associated with this period, noting that “[r]ock musicians no longer aspire[d] so much to be professionals and craftspeople” but “artists” (Covach, 2006, p. 38) and that the “later 1960s brought a respect for popular music and a popularity for complex artistic experimentation that had not been matched in any previous era” (Wald, 2009, p. 246).

In recent years, theorists have highlighted specific paradigms of pitch structures in popular music, especially associated with rock. Their observations include an increasing use of modal harmonies and modally-derived chord progressions (Moore, 1992, 1995; Biamonte, 2010), plagal progressions (Temperley, 2011) and an increasing use of chord loops (Tagg, 2009). While these authors seem to agree, at least partially, on some harmonic tendencies that characterize rock music, it is difficult to relate these new idioms to the early pop and rock ‘n’ roll music that predates the aforementioned shift. Even though attempts have been made in the past to empirically map these progressions onto a specific timeline (Everett, 2004; de Clercq & Temperley, 2011, 2013), no previous research has focused on change within a specific decade.

The goal of this research is to investigate pitch-based structures in this repertoire through a large corpus study in order to identify any consistent changes in harmonic and tonal syntax. The Billboard DataSet (Burgoyne, Wild & Fujinaga, 2011; Burgoyne, 2011) provides a collection of 743 transcriptions of music popular in the United States between 1958 and 1991.[2] The corpus was originally created to “enable significant advances in the quality of training for audio-chord-recognition algorithms” as well as to engage in “computational musicology” (Burgoyne, et al., 2011, p. 633). It consists of a random sampling from all the songs that made the weekly Billboard 100 charts throughout this time period. The content of the corpus is multigenre, primarily consisting of rock ‘n’ roll, pop/rock, r ‘n’ b/soul, country & western, vocal, and folk material. Since Billboard is an American standard record chart, most of the songs come from the U.S.A, the U.K., and Canada, though other countries can be represented as well. The transcribing team consisted of more than two dozen people, all university-trained jazz musicians. Each selected song was annotated separately by two different transcribers, then the analyses were reconciled by a third.

Empirically oriented surveys of popular music are becoming more frequent. Perhaps the most important study for the field in recent years is that by de Clercq and Temperley (2011). They presented a 100-song corpus based on *Rolling Stone Magazine*’s “500 Greatest Songs of All Time,” compiled in 2004.[3] Their study focused primarily on chord frequency, frequency of root motions, and patterns of co-occurrence between chords.

Although the Billboard DataSet focuses on popular music from the same time period as the

Rolling Stone corpus, its size is significantly larger. In fact, it is, to my knowledge, the largest collection of methodologically curated transcribed popular music annotations. Furthermore, it focuses on songs that were considered popular in their respective time, instead of songs that were considered important in retrospect. As such, it appeared to be the best available tool for the present research.

Two different aspects of the above-mentioned shift were tested in two different studies, the first dealing with modulation and the second with chord frequency. Since the primary focus of this research is the evolution of harmonic syntax throughout the 1960s, the time period under consideration is 1958 to 1971. These 14 years constitute a sub-corpus of 292 songs. A detailed list of the songs featured in this sub-corpus can be found in the Appendix.

The first study focuses on modulation in the 1960s. Different scholars have discussed modulatory devices in popular music, especially in rock. Everett (1997) mentioned how the “truck driver’s” modulation by semitone can be motivated by various reasons, such as “signaling transcendence in a story line,” “portray[ing] [...] the passage of time,” or “provid[ing] a change of colour for the ‘big finish.’” (p. 151). Similarly, Osborn (2013) discussed how “experimental rock artists regularly end songs with completely new material designed to be more memorable than anything previously presented—the terminal climax” and how these “dramatic endings come about through any combination of amplitudinal climax, harmonic modulation, and changing meter.” (p. 23). Alternatively, Tagg (2009) noted how dominant modulations are so “indicative of European art music that they can be inserted as genre synecdoches in a context of non-classical harmony (e.g. pop and rock) to connote, seriously or humorously, high art rather than low-brow entertainment, deep feelings and the transcendent rather than the superficial and ephemeral” (p. 111). Considering the premise introduced earlier in this paper that songwriters tried to move from craftspeople to artists during this time period, it is reasonable to think that different devices might have been experimented with to achieve this goal, including modulation. As such, the proposed theory for this first study is that the incidence of songs featuring modulations increased through the decade.

The second study focuses on the frequency of chords bIII, bVI, and bVII[4], the so-called “flat-side” harmonies. As Everett (2001) mentions, “[f]lat-side scale degrees appear primarily within the minor key [...] and through mode mixture in the major key.” (p. 53). De Clercq and Temperley (2011) investigated chord frequency, frequency of root motions, patterns of co-occurrence between chords, and melodic organization in popular music. Their findings include a dramatic shift between chords used during the 1950s and the 1960s to 2000s, the 1950s being “completely dominated” (p. 63) by I, IV, and V. Conversely, the authors discussed how, in the 1960s onward, flat-side harmonies bVII, bIII, and bVI “emerge as a group in which all three pairs are highly correlated” (p. 66). These findings match the modal characteristics associated with rock (Moore, 1992, 1995; Everett, 2004; Biamonte, 2010), a genre that became very popular during the late 1960s. Taking into consideration this shift between the 1950s and the later decades, the proposed theory for this second study is that, as we go further into the decade, chords bIII, bVI and bVII increased in frequency.

HYPOTHESES

Formally, the hypothesis for the first study is:

- H1 Songs featuring more than one tonal center will increase in frequency over the studied time period of 1958-1971.

For the second study, the formal hypothesis is:

- H2 Songs featuring flat-side harmonies (i.e. bIII, bVI, and bVII) will increase in frequency over the studied time period of 1958-1971.

To anticipate the conclusions, the results were inconsistent with the first hypothesis, but consistent with the second.

METHOD

Parsing the Database

The present study relies on the Billboard DataSet, which presents a corpus of harmonic transcriptions for 743 different songs, including 292 in the studied period of 1958-1971. The chronological distribution of the 292 songs is presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Distribution by year of Songs in the Billboard DataSet for 1958-1971.

| <i>Year</i> | <i>Number of Transcribed Songs</i> |
|-------------|------------------------------------|
| 1958 | 7 |
| 1959 | 14 |
| 1960 | 9 |
| 1961 | 20 |
| 1962 | 27 |
| 1963 | 20 |
| 1964 | 25 |
| 1965 | 20 |
| 1966 | 18 |
| 1967 | 28 |
| 1968 | 26 |
| 1969 | 24 |
| 1970 | 22 |
| 1971 | 32 |

The transcriptions were created in plain-text format. Each file starts with a header that includes meta-information related to each song: title, artist, meter, and key. Those lines are preceded by the comment character hash (#) to distinguish them from the actual annotation. The notational system used is based on a standardized approach (Harte et al., 2005), with vertical slashes (|) used to represent barlines. Each individual line of annotation is preceded by the timestamp of the beginning of the phrase, expressed in seconds. Annotators could freely add other information before or after the vertical slashes, such as form, instrumentation, etc.

This transcription format proved to be polyvalent yet created some obstacles. In order to rapidly and automatically parse through the large number of transcriptions, a UNIX tool was created. This script allows the user to use regular expression (regex, a character string used for pattern-matching) to establish proper queries. However, since the files feature extra information such as audio timing and annotators' comments, reading a file as a long single line would fail to have the progressions adjacent to one another. Therefore, the files were processed to remove all inessential information: in every line that started with a comment character (#) as well as every blank line was kept exactly the same, while in all other lines any characters not enclosed by vertical slashes were removed.

Other problems were linked to using the script. Since the command searches strings of characters, it was impossible in this transcription format to search for a single progression across songs in different keys. Indeed, when dealing with strings of characters, "D:min7 G:7" in C is different from "C:min7 F:7" in Bb, even though both progressions bear the same relation with their respective tonal center. One way to overcome this problem is to convert the original transcriptions into a tonic-neutral format, where the root of each chord is replaced with integer notation (where t and e stand for 10 and 11, respectively). The conversion was done automatically with a second script that relied on custom dictionaries for every possible tonic, including enharmonic equivalence. The script would read the tonic of each song, as notated in the header, decide which dictionary to use, and then convert every root to its neutral equivalent. Songs featuring more than one tonal center (69 in total) were dealt with manually—separated into single-tonic sections, converted using the same procedure, and then reassembled. The newly formatted files were then saved using the same name as their original counterpart, but with a different extension. The new files kept the information in the same order as the original files, allowing the user to easily go back and forth between this format and the original transcriptions. Figures 1.1 and 1.2 show an original transcription and a reformatted one for comparison.

```

# title: Sidewalk Surfin'
# artist: Jan & Dean
# metre: 4/4
# tonic: D

0.0      silence
0.417959183 Z
6.455147392 A, intro, | N | N | D:maj | D:maj |, (voice
13.860249433 B, verse, | D:maj | D:maj | D:maj | D:maj |
20.848208616 | A:maj | A:maj | D:maj | D:maj |
27.804195011 | G:maj | G:maj | D:maj | D:maj |
34.786371882 | A:maj F:maj | G:maj A:maj | D:maj |
A:maj |
41.907936507 B', verse, | D:maj | D:maj | D:maj | D:maj |
48.9092517 | A:maj | A:maj | D:maj | D:maj |
55.906621315 | G:maj | G:maj | D:maj | D:maj |
62.862471655 | A:maj F:maj | G:maj A:maj | D:maj | Eb:7
|, voice)
# tonic: Eb
70.032675736 C, solo, | Eb:maj | Eb:maj | Eb:maj |
Eb:maj |, (saxophone)

```

Fig. 1.1. An excerpt of a transcription as presented originally in the Billboard DataSet.

```

# title: Sidewalk Surfin'
# artist: Jan & Dean
# metre: 4/4
# tonic: D

| N | N | 0:maj | 0:maj |
| 0:maj | 0:maj | 0:maj | 0:maj |
| 7:maj | 7:maj | 0:maj | 0:maj |
| 5:maj | 5:maj | 0:maj | 0:maj |
| 7:maj 3:maj | 5:maj 7:maj | 0:maj | 7:maj |
| 0:maj | 0:maj | 0:maj | 0:maj |
| 7:maj | 7:maj | 0:maj | 0:maj |
| 5:maj | 5:maj | 0:maj | 0:maj |
| 7:maj 3:maj | 5:maj 7:maj | 0:maj | 1:7 |
# tonic: Eb
| 0:maj | 0:maj | 0:maj | 0:maj |

```

Fig. 1.2. The transcription shown in Fig. 1.1 converted to a tonic-neutral format and cleaned of all non-essential information.

Subdividing the Corpus

In order to identify any significant changes in harmonic syntax throughout the studied time period, the 14-year time span was divided into two subspans of seven years each: the early 60s (1958-64) and the late 60s (1965-71). Those two subspans contain 122 and 170 songs, respectively. This important difference between the two subspans is due to two main factors. First, the Billboard Hot 100 charts (and thus the database) started in August 1958, whereas all the other years start in January. This explains why the year 1958 features only 7 songs. Second, the random sampling procedure used by Burgoyne et al. created a discrepancy between the different years. Figure 2 reprints Figure 1 from Burgoyne et al. (2011, p. 634) and explains in detail the sampling algorithm used to create the database. While most years in the 14-year period under study feature between 20 and 30 songs, 1959

and 1960 are outliers with 14 and 9 songs, respectively. Conversely, 1971 features 32 songs, which is higher than average.

This important discrepancy between the two subspans had an impact on the methodology used to analyze the data. Originally, a methodology was designed which aimed to look for gradual linear changes across the whole 14-year period. However, considering that the number of songs available for each year varies substantially, the results would have been distorted by this approach. Instead, a methodology was used which compared the early 60s with the late 60s, avoiding oversampling any single year due to a larger number of songs in the database for that year, and instead considered broader changes between the beginning and the end of the decade.

1. Divide the set of all chart slots into three eras:
 - (a) 4 August 1958 to 31 December 1969,
 - (b) 1 January 1970 to 31 December 1979, and
 - (c) 1 January 1980 to 30 November 1991.
2. Subdivide the chart slots in each era into five sub-groups corresponding to quintiles on the chart:
 - (a) ranks 1 to 20,
 - (b) ranks 21 to 40,
 - (c) ranks 41 to 60,
 - (d) ranks 61 to 80, and
 - (e) ranks 81 to 100.
3. Select a fixed percentage p of possible chart slots at random from each era-quintile pair.
4. For each selected chart slot:
 - (a) attempt to acquire the single at the target slot;
 - (b) if that fails, toss a virtual coin to choose between either the single directly above or directly below the target slot on the chart from the same week;
 - (c) if that fails, choose the single that was not selected by the coin toss in 4b;
 - (d) if that fails, toss a virtual coin to choose between either the single two ranks above or two ranks below the target single on the chart from the same week;
 - (e) if that fails, choose the single that was not selected by the coin flip in 4d; and
 - (f) if that fails, consider the chart position to be a missing data point.

Figure 1. Sampling algorithm for the *Billboard* “Hot 100.” The algorithm is designed to minimize the distortion from “convenience sampling” while reducing the expense of collecting an audio collection. We believe that this algorithm yields a data set that, as cost-effectively as possible, is valid for drawing conclusions about relative positioning and changes in the behavior of music on the charts over time.

Fig. 2. Sampling algorithm for the Billboard DataSet. Reproduced from Burgoyne et al. (2011).

RESULTS

Study 1: Evaluating Modulation Frequency

The first study focused on modulation. In order to find the number of modulating songs, every file featuring the character string “tonic:” more than once was counted. For example, Jan & Dean’s *Sidewalk Surfin’*, previously presented in Figures 1.1 and 1.2, features two tonics, D and Eb, and so would qualify as a modulating song. Out of the 292 songs searched, 31 multi-tonic songs were found. Figures 3.1. and 3.2 present the distribution of the results.

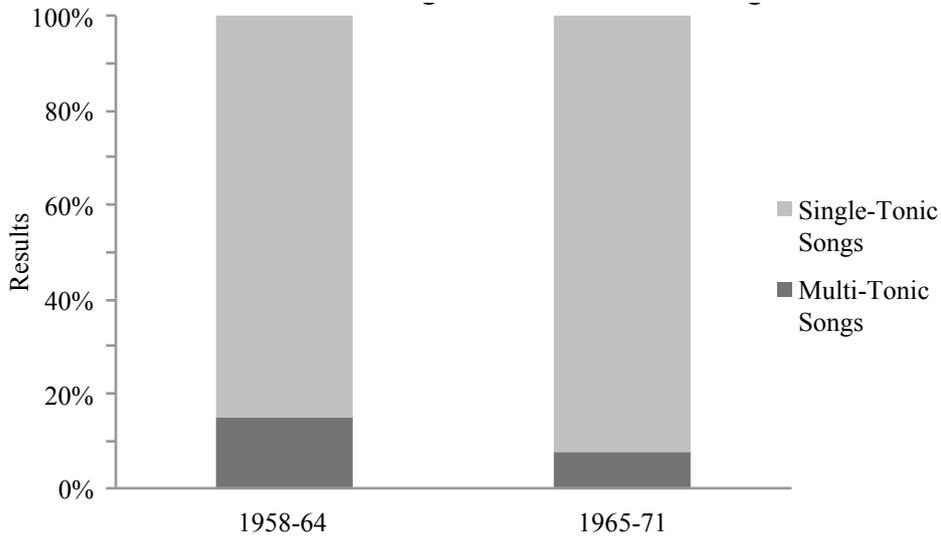


Fig. 3.1. Distribution of single- and multi-tonic songs in the Billboard DataSet between 1958 and 1971, arranged in five-year bins.

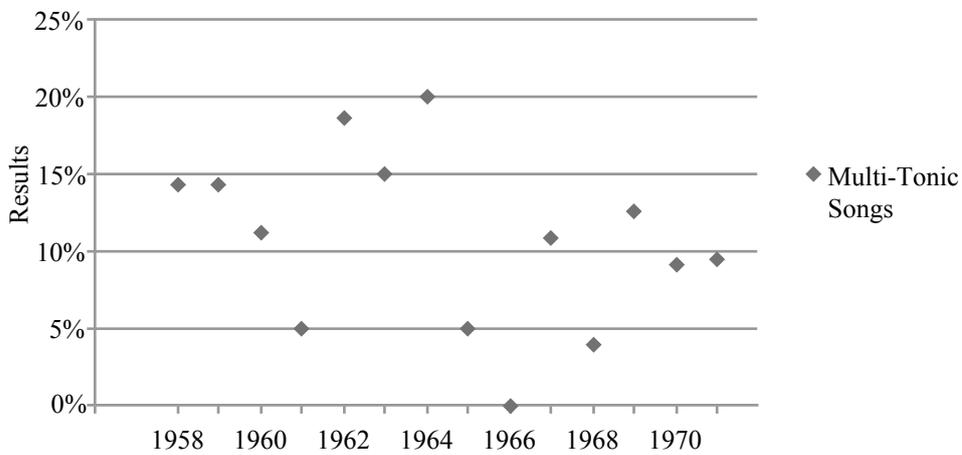


Fig. 3.2. Frequency of multi-tonic songs in the Billboard DataSet between 1958 and 1971, plotted by year.

Using a chi-squared test at a confidence level established at 99%, the difference between the number of multi-tonic songs found in 1958-64 and 1965-71 was not statistically significant ($\chi^2= 3.78$; $df=1$; $p=.05$). As such, there appears to be no significant change in the frequency of multi-tonic songs over time.

Study 2: Evaluating Chord Frequency

The second study focused on the frequency of flat-side harmonies over time. For the sake of comparison, the frequency of 24 different chords was considered (12 chromatic roots, with either

major or minor triads). Table 2 shows the overall proportion of songs featuring those chords in each subcategory (i.e. 1958-64 and 1965-71). The results for each subcategory were then compared with one another, again using a chi-squared test with a confidence level of 99%. Note that no significance test was done on chords featuring in less than 5% of the corpus (i.e. bii, biii, #IV, #iv, bvi, bvii, VII, vii), as the data collected for those chords was deemed to small to be representative. Due to the way truck-driver's modulations were notated in the Billboard DataSet, many chords immediately preceding a new tonic were originally notated as bVI in the original key, but acted as a tonicization of the tonic in the following key (e.g. V-I in the new key). To address this notational problem, multi-tonic songs featuring at least one bVI chord were manually verified. Songs where the only bVI chord present was immediately before a truck-driver's modulation were not taken into account in the following table. Admittedly, this creates a bias in the data. However, considering that there is no significant difference in the distribution of multi-tonic songs between the early and late 60s, the bias created appears to be less intrusive than the one created by the original notational process.

The results are summarized in the third column of Table 2. Starred (*) p values indicate statistical significance at the 99% confidence level.

Table 2: Distribution of songs featuring specific chords (in percentage).

| | <i>Early 60s (1958-64)</i> | <i>Late 60s (1965-71)</i> | <i>Results</i> |
|-------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| I | 98.36% | 85.29% | $\chi^2=14.45$; df=1; p<.01* |
| i | 5.06% | 22.36% | $\chi^2=15.04$; df=1; p<.01* |
| bII | 8.2% | 5.88% | $\chi^2<.01$; df=1; p=.96 |
| bii | 0% | 0.59% | N/A |
| II | 37.71% | 29.41% | $\chi^2=2.21$; df=1; p=.14 |
| ii | 33.61% | 35.29% | $\chi^2=0.09$; df=1; p=.77 |
| bIII | 10.66% | 28.24% | $\chi^2=13.28$; df=1; p<.01* |
| biii | 2.46% | 4.92% | N/A |
| III | 19.67% | 18.82% | $\chi^2=.03$; df=1; p=.86 |
| iii | 19.67% | 20.59% | $\chi^2=.04$; df=1; p=.85 |
| IV | 89.34% | 83.52% | $\chi^2=1.99$; df=1; p=.16 |
| iv | 13.14% | 21.18% | $\chi^2=2.51$; df=1; p=.11 |
| #IV | 4.91% | 2.36% | N/A |
| #iv | 1.64% | 0% | N/A |
| V | 96.72% | 80.59% | $\chi^2=16.71$; df=1; p<.01* |
| v | 5.74% | 15.88% | $\chi^2=7.11$; df=1; p=.01* |
| bVI | 9.84% | 21.77% | $\chi^2=7.24$; df=1; p<.01* |
| bvi | 0% | 1.18% | N/A |
| VI | 17.21% | 18.24% | $\chi^2=.05$; df=1; p=.82 |
| vi | 47.54% | 39.41% | $\chi^2=1.92$; df=1; p=.17 |
| bVII | 13.93% | 39.41% | $\chi^2=22.5$; df=1; p<.01* |
| bvii | 0.82% | 2.35% | N/A |
| VII | 4.92% | 3.52% | N/A |
| vii | 0.82% | 2.29% | N/A |

The results presented above are consistent with the proposed hypothesis that songs featuring flat-side harmonies (i.e. bIII, bVI, bVII) increase in frequency over the studied time period.

DISCUSSION

The hypothesis for the first study arose from a simple premise: in order to move from craftspeople to artists, songwriters may have experimented with different compositional devices. As such, it appeared reasonable to question whether modulation was one such device. However, as the results of Study 1 showed, no significant change occurred between the early 60s and the late 60s.

Looking at the results in more detail, three different types of modulations can be distinguished. The first type, though sometimes bearing different names, is the truck driver's modulation: "a sudden shift from one tonal center to another—usually a half step [but sometimes a full step]—that is not functionally related to the first." (Everett, 1997, p. 118, comment in brackets mine). A second type of modulation can be described as a sectional modulation, where a specific section of a song is in a different key from the rest of the piece. With this type of modulation, a song begins and ends in the same tonality. A third type occurs when a song changes key permanently, but with a modulation that is

not a semitone or a tone. The distribution of these three types of modulation over the 31 multi-tonic songs found between 1958 and 1971 is presented in Figure 4.

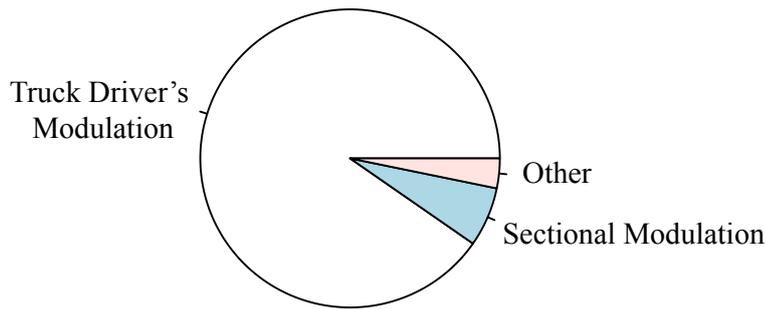


Fig. 4. Distribution of 31 multi-tonic songs between 1958-1971: Truck Driver's Modulation (28 songs, 90.32%); Sectional Modulation (2 songs, 6.45%); Other (1 song, 3.23%).

As shown in Figure 4, the truck driver's modulation is the most frequently used modulation technique between 1958 and 1971. The majority of the songs (23 songs, 82.14%) featuring this type of modulation only modulate once, while songs modulating two (3 songs, 10.71%) or three times (2 songs, 7.14%) are far less frequent. It also appears to be very infrequent for multi-tonic songs with truck driver's modulation to feature both modulations by semitone and by tone (1 song, 3.57%).

Although the hypothesis for the second study focused on only flat-side harmonies, the frequency of songs featuring 24 different chords was analyzed. As hypothesized, bIII, bVI, and bVII occurred in a significantly greater number of songs in the second half of the decade. A decrease was observed of roughly 15 % in songs featuring major tonic chords (i.e. I), matched by a similar increase in songs featuring minor tonic chords (i.e. i); moreover, minor dominant chords (i.e. v) also increased in frequency in the later 60s. Although it is not possible at this point to conclude that there is a correlation between both results, it would be worthwhile to follow this lead in future work and investigate whether minor songs become statistically more frequent in the second half of the decade.

Investigating Chord Patterns

Considering that bIII, bVI, and bVII became more prominent during the second half of the decade, it would be interesting to examine the harmonic context in which they were used. In their study using the *Rolling Stone* corpus, de Clercq and Temperley (2011) investigated the "frequency of relative-root 'trigrams,'" using this term to describe "groups of three adjacent chords" (p. 63). Table 3, reprinted from de Clercq and Temperley (2011), shows the most frequent harmonic trigrams ending with a tonic chord, for the 1950s through to the 1990s.

Table 3: Distribution of songs from de Clercq and Temperley's (2011) *Rolling Stone* corpus with harmonic trigrams ending in the tonic (and not beginning in tonic), in descending order of frequency (reproduced from de Clercq and Temperley, 2011, Table 7).

| <i>Trigram</i> | <i>Instances</i> |
|----------------|------------------|
| IV V I | 352 |
| V IV I | 292 |
| bVII IV I | 146 |
| VI IV I | 126 |
| bVII bVI I | 103 |
| bIII bVI I | 66 |
| II V I | 63 |
| bVI bVII I | 60 |
| V VI I | 42 |
| IV bVII I | 39 |

A similar approach was taken to observe the harmonic syntax involving flat-side harmonies. Using the chords presented in Table 2, every possible permutation featuring at least bIII, bVI, or bVII, and ending with a tonic chord was used to parse the database. However, the methodology differed from the one used by de Clercq and Temperley in two ways: chord mode (major or minor) was taken into account instead of only relative-root motion, and the number of songs featuring a specific progression was calculated, instead of instances of said progression. Chords could occur as simple triads or ornamented with extensions (e.g. maj6, maj7, add9). Moreover, major triads could also occur as dominant seventh or dominant ninth chords. Open-fifth chords (“power chords”) were not taken into consideration. The parser was designed to look for continuous strings of characters; as such the search mechanism avoided progressions running over modulations, as both tonalities in the transcription file were separated by a comment line indicating the new key, as shown in Figure 1.2 (e.g. #tonic: Eb). For this reason, the line preceding the comment line may display some odd progressions, as the last chord of such lines is usually used to modulate to the new key. However, since the number of songs featuring a specific progression was taken into account, and not the specific instances of a progression, this potential distortion did not affect the parsing process. The results for the 1958-72 period are presented in Table 4.

Table 4: Distribution of songs from the Billboard DataSet with harmonic trigrams ending in tonic (and not beginning in tonic) and featuring at least one flat-side harmony, in descending order of frequency.

| <i>Trigram</i> | <i>Early 60s (1958-64)</i> | <i>Late 60s (1965-71)</i> | <i>Total</i> |
|------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|--------------|
| bVII IV I | 0 | 14 | 14 |
| bVII V I | 4 | 8 | 12 |
| bIII IV I | 1 | 4 | 5 |
| bVI V i | 0 | 5 | 5 |
| bIII V I | 1 | 3 | 4 |
| bVI V I | 3 | 1 | 4 |

The table presented above gives us a more detailed account of how flat-side harmonies were used during the decade. Although it has been established previously that all three flat-side chords (i.e. bIII, bVI, bVII) increased significantly in frequency throughout the decade, there is a clear preference for the bVII-IV-I trigram. This progression is often referred to as a double plagal progression, as the movement from bVII to IV imitates the plagal movement going from IV to I, as Everett explains:

In the double plagal progression a chain of descending fourth emerges, with a major IV of IV created by lowering the root of a vii chord to b7, creating the bVII-IV-I motion [...] In this chord succession, bVII resolves to IV with a transposed version of the same descending neighbour motions (here 2-1 and b7-6) used by IV in resolving to I (6-5 and 4-3). Originally appearing in 1957-60 as an ornamental guitar figure [...], this function emerged in broader rhythms in the soul music of late 1964 [...] and early 1965 [...] to become rock mainstay. (2009, p. 274).

Everett’s comments match very closely the results of this study, with the emergence of the double plagal progression during the late 60s. His description also exemplifies the modal aspect of the rock genre, suggesting a mixolydian sound created through the flattening of scale degree 7. The plagal direction of this progression also matches Stephenson’s (2001) theory that, “[w]ith regard to harmonic succession, as with cadence placement, rock has, from its beginning, used a style opposed to that of common practice, a style that became increasingly standard during the late 1950s and the 1960s” (p. 103).

Other theorists have seen tonal processes in rock, despite its modal characteristics. For example, Biamonte (2010) has described how bVII-IV-I, along with the Aeolian progression bVI-bVII-I, tends to behave tonally: “Although their pitch syntax is not diatonically tonal, in many cases these two characteristic chord patterns express traditional tonal functions such as tonic prolongation and dominant preparation, both of which are often accomplished through elaboration of the tonic by subdominant harmony and cadential resolution.” (p. 98).[5] This dual nature of the progression, a modal sound behaving tonally, may explain, at least partially, why this specific pattern was significantly favored over other progressions featuring flat-side harmonies, as it serves as a bridge between common and new practices.

The second most frequent trigram, bVII-V-I, is a modally-mixed progression particularly noticeable for its cross-relation between the flat and natural scale degree seven. This type of cross-relation occurs frequently in progressions using flat-side harmonies, and mostly results from guitar-

oriented gestures, using parallel barre chords up and down the fretboard. In an article discussing the topography of the guitar and its impact on pop-rock music, Koozin (2011) showed how “physical constraints inherent in guitar playing may shape musical material” (par. 23). Indeed, the same phenomenon happens with bIII-IV-I, bIII-V-I, and bVI-V-I. This reflects the idea that throughout the 1960s, music shifted from being primarily composed on the keyboard to being primarily composed on the guitar. This new practice became heavily associated with rock, so much so that by the late 1970s, “pop” referred to keyboard-based music while “rock” referred to guitar-based music. (Nobile, 2014, p. 8).

CONCLUSION

The goal of carrying out the studies presented in this paper was to test whether significant changes in harmonic practices during the 1960s matched the attitudinal shift discussed by popular music scholars. Two studies were conducted, the first focusing on modulating songs, the second focusing on flat-side harmonies. Although the results showed no significant difference between the use of modulation in the first and second half of the decade, there was a significant increase in frequency of flat-side harmonies in the second half of the decade, as hypothesized. However, it would be misleading to assume that this new genre, rock, and its new harmonic practices took over the entire popular music world. Though a new harmonic practice seems to be emerging during the studied period, it does not appear to replace more traditional diatonic harmony, but rather coexists with it. For example, the results presented in Table 4 show bVII-IV-I as the most frequent progression using a flat-side harmony, but the frequency of this progression is still relatively marginal, with only 14 songs out of 170 (8.24%) featuring this progression. By comparison, IV-V-I and V-IV-I, the two most popular diatonic trigrams identified by de Clercq and Temperley in Table 3, were featured in 91 (53.53%) and 50 (29.41%) songs, respectively. Furthermore, although flat-side harmonies increased in frequency through the decade, they did not do so through clearly established idiomatic progressions, bVII-IV-I and, to a lesser extent, bVII-V-I being exceptions. What may be misleading, then, is the tendency to consider harmonic progressions or songs that were historically significant the norm of a certain time period. Lists such as *Rolling Stone*'s “500 Greatest Songs of All Time,” used by de Clercq and Temperley (2011; 2013), are useful to study characteristic tendencies of a specific genre, but fail to give a clear image of a time period as they present songs that were considered historically important *a posteriori*, and as such, are biased towards innovative or long-lasting, successful songs. When looking at the results presented here, based on a corpus of songs deemed popular in their own time, the attitudinal shift discussed by some scholars appears to be matched with new harmonic practices. However, those new practices established themselves over time.

The two studies presented here focused on very specific aspects of harmonic syntax: modulation and flat-side harmonies. Yet, in order to have a better understanding of the evolution of musical tendencies, other aspects would benefit from a similar empirical approach. Broadening the queries to include progressions that do not necessarily feature tonic chords would help to provide a clearer image of harmonic practices. Similarly, secondary parameters such as hypermeter, form[6], rhythm, and timbre, should be taken into consideration. Although some scholars have looked empirically at those parameters (see Huron & Ommen, 2006; Serrà, et al., 2012; Biamonte, 2014), they still remain largely under-researched.

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NOTES

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[2] Burgoyne et al. explain the basis of the chronological span of this corpus as follows: “The date of the first chart, 4 August 1958, is a natural starting date for selecting songs, but choosing an end date is less straightforward. Hip-hop music does not lend itself readily to harmonic analysis as traditionally understood, and because hip-hop became more popular in the 1990s and 2000s, a larger portion of the music on the ‘Hot 100’ chart from these periods falls out of the scope of the data set. Furthermore, there have been several changes to the formula for computing the ‘Hot 100’ over time, including a particularly significant shift in December 1991 [...]” (Burgoyne, et al., 2011, p. 634)

[3] Since the publication of their article in 2011, de Clercq and Temperley have expanded their corpus to 200 songs (Temperley & de Clercq, 2013).

[4] Throughout this paper, roman numeral are shown in relation to major, an approach used by Biamonte (2010), Temperley (2011), de Clercq (2012), Nobile (2014), among many others.

[5] For a more thorough discussion on double plagal progressions, see Everett, 2001, 2004; Carter, 2005; Spicer, 2005; Biamonte, 2010.

[6] Although the annotators working on the Billboard DataSet were encouraged to “use free comments in particular to denote major structural features such as verses, bridges, and choruses” (Burgoyne, 2011, p. 194), those formal labels were not properly curated, which make their use obsolete for anything other than informal discussion.

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APPENDIX

Songs Featured in the 1958-1971 Sub-Corpus

| Year | Artist | Title |
|------|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1958 | Count Basie | Going to Chicago |
| 1958 | Chuck Berry | Sweet Little Rock And Roll |
| 1958 | Johnny Cash | The Ways of a Woman |
| 1958 | Jimmy Clanton | Just A Dream |
| 1958 | The Everly Brothers | Bird Song |
| 1958 | Peggy Lee | Fever |
| 1958 | Louis Prima & Keely Smith | That Old Black Magic |

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|------|------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1959 | LaVern Baker | I Cried a Tear |
| 1959 | Rod Bernard | This Should Go On Forever |
| 1959 | Chuck Berry | Almost Grown |
| 1959 | Johnny Cash | I Got Stripes |
| 1959 | Ray Charles | (Night Time is) The Right Time |
| 1959 | Fats Domino | Be My Guest |
| 1959 | Fats Domino | I Want to Walk You Home |
| 1959 | Johnny Horton | The Battle of New Orleans |
| 1959 | Johnny Horton | Johnny Reb |
| 1960 | Brenda Lee | Sweet Nothin's |
| 1959 | Elvis Presley | My Wish Came True |
| 1959 | Elvis Presley | One Night |
| 1959 | Cliff Richard | Living Doll |
| 1959 | Santo & Johnny | Sleep Walk |
| 1959 | Dinah Washington | Unforgettable |
| 1960 | Floyd Cramer | Last Date |
| 1960 | Bing Crosby | Silent Night |
| 1960 | Dion | Where or When |
| 1960 | Jimmy Jones | Handy Man |
| 1960 | Jimmy Reed | Baby What You Want Me to Do |
| 1960 | Charlie Rich | Lonely Weekends |
| 1960 | Marty Robins | Big Iron |
| 1960 | The Ventures | Perfidia |
| 1961 | Gary U.S. Bonds | Quarter to Three |
| 1961 | James Brown | Baby, You're Right |
| 1961 | James Brown | I Don't Mind |
| 1961 | The Crystals | (There's No Other) Like My Baby |
| 1961 | Dion | Runaround Sue |
| 1961 | Roy Drusky | Three Hearts in a Tangle |

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|------|---------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1961 | The Everly Brothers | Ebony Eyes |
| 1961 | The Everly Brothers | Walk Right Back |
| 1961 | Don Gibson | Sea of Heartbreak |
| 1961 | Etta James | Fool That I Am |
| 1961 | Ben E. King | Amor |
| 1961 | Brenda Lee | Dum Dum |
| 1961 | The Miracles | Mighty Good Lovin' |
| 1961 | Gene Pitney | Town Without Pity |
| 1961 | Elvis Presley | (Marie is the Name) His Latest Flame |
| 1961 | Elvis Presley | Little Sister |
| 1961 | The Shirelles | Will You Love Me Tomorrow? |
| 1961 | The String-A-Longs | Wheels |
| 1961 | Johnny Tillotson | Jimmy's Girl |
| 1961 | Ike & Tina Turner | It's Gonna Work Out Fine |
| 1962 | Paul Anka | Love Me Warm and Tender |
| 1962 | The Beach Boys | Surfin' Safari |
| 1962 | Bruce Channel | Hey! Baby |
| 1962 | Chubby Checker | The Twist |
| 1962 | Nat "King" Cole | Ramblin' Rose |
| 1962 | The Contours | Do You Love Me? |
| 1962 | Bing Crosby | White Christmas |
| 1962 | The Crystals | He's a Rebel |
| 1962 | Bo Diddley | You Can't Judge a Book by the Cover |
| 1962 | Dion | (I Was) Born to Cry |
| 1962 | Dion | Love Came to Me |
| 1962 | Dion | Lovers Who Wander |
| 1962 | The Falcons | I Found a Love |

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|------|--------------------------|--|
| 1962 | The Everly Brothers | That's Old Fashioned (That's the Way Love Should Be) |
| 1962 | Eddie Holland | Jamie |
| 1962 | Etta James | Stop the Wedding |
| 1962 | Gladys Knight & The Pips | Letter Full of Tears |
| 1962 | Brenda Lee | All Alone Am I |
| 1962 | Brenda Lee | Everybody Loves Me But You |
| 1962 | Brenda Lee | Heart in Hand |
| 1962 | Little Joey & The Flips | Bongo Stomp |
| 1962 | Jimmy Smith | Walk on the Wild Side (Part 1) |
| 1962 | Hank Snow | I've Been Everywhere |
| 1962 | Bertha Tillman | Oh My Angel |
| 1962 | Johnny Tillotson | It Keeps Right On A-Hurtin' |
| 1962 | Mel Torme | Comin' Home Baby |
| 1962 | Dinah Washington | Where Are You? |
| 1963 | LaVern Baker | See See Rider |
| 1963 | Bobby Bare | Detroit City |
| 1963 | The Beach Boys | In My Room |
| 1963 | Solomon Burke | If You Need Me |
| 1963 | The Chiffons | He's So Fine |
| 1963 | Nat "King" Cole | Those Lazy-Hazy-Crazy Days of Summer |
| 1963 | Dion | Ruby Baby |
| 1963 | Dion | This Little Girl |
| 1963 | The Drifters | On Broadway |
| 1963 | Dave Dudley | Six Days on the Road |
| 1963 | The Fireballs | Sugar Shack |

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|------|------------------|--|
| 1963 | Etta James | Would It Make Any Difference to You? |
| 1963 | Chris Kenner | Land of the 1000 Dances |
| 1963 | Brenda Lee | Loosing You |
| 1963 | Barbara Lewis | Hello Stranger |
| 1963 | The Moments | Walk Right In |
| 1963 | The Ronettes | Be My Baby |
| 1963 | Johnny Tillotson | Out of My Mind |
| 1963 | Johnny Tillotson | Talk Back Trembling Lips |
| 1963 | Jackie Wilson | Baby Workout |
| 1964 | Louis Armstong | Hello Dolly! |
| 1964 | The Beach Boys | Wendy |
| 1964 | The Beatles | A Hard Day's Night |
| 1964 | The Beatles | Do You Want to Know a Secret? |
| 1964 | The Beatles | I Saw Her Standing There |
| 1964 | The Beatles | Love Me Do |
| 1964 | The Beatles | She's a Woman |
| 1964 | Jan & Dean | Sidewalk Surfin' |
| 1964 | Jan & Dean | The Anaheim, Azusa & Cucamonga Sewing Circle, Book Review And Timing Association |
| 1964 | Jan & Dean | The Little Old Lady (From Pasadena) |
| 1964 | Lesley Gore | You Don't Own Me |
| 1964 | B.B. King | How Blue Can You Get? |
| 1964 | Brenda Lee | As Usual |
| 1964 | Dean Martin | Everybody Loves Somebody |

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|------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1964 | Willie Mitchell | 20-75 |
| 1964 | Elvis Presley | Ask Me |
| 1964 | Ottis Redding | Chained and Bound |
| 1964 | The Rolling Stones | Not Fade Away |
| 1964 | The Rolling Stones | Time Is On My Side |
| 1964 | Barbara Streisand | Funny Girl |
| 1964 | Barbara Streisand | People |
| 1964 | Irma Thomas | Wish Someone Would Care |
| 1964 | Johnny Tillotson | I Rise, I Fall |
| 1964 | Johnny Tillotson | Worried Guy |
| 1964 | J. Frank Wilson & The Cavaliers | Last Kiss |
| 1965 | Joan Baez | There But For Fortune |
| 1965 | Fontella Bass | Rescue Me |
| 1965 | The Beatles | Eight Days a Week |
| 1965 | The Beatles | Help! |
| 1965 | The Beatles | I Don't Want to Spoil the Party |
| 1965 | James Brown | I Got You (I Feel Good) |
| 1965 | The Castaways | Liar, Liar |
| 1965 | Ray Charles | Crying Time |
| 1965 | Roy Head | Treat Her Right |
| 1965 | Brenda Lee | Too Many Rivers |
| 1965 | Martha & The Vandellas | Nowhere to Run |
| 1965 | Bobbi Martin | I Love You So |
| 1965 | Dean Martin | I Will |
| 1965 | Buck Owens | I've Got a Tiger by the Tail |
| 1965 | Wilson Pickett | In the Midnight Hour |

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|------|---------------------------|--|
| 1965 | Otis Redding | I've Been Loving You Too Long (To Stop Now) |
| 1965 | The Righteous Brothers | Unchained Melody |
| 1965 | Simon & Garfunkel | The Sounds of Silence |
| 1965 | Sonny & Cher | Baby Don't Go |
| 1965 | The Yardbirds | Heart Full of Soul |
| 1966 | The Byrds | Eight Miles High |
| 1966 | Ray Charles | Let's Go Get Stoned |
| 1966 | The Chiffons | Sweet Talkin' Guy |
| 1966 | Bobby Darin | If I Were a Carpenter |
| 1966 | Donovan | Sunshine Superman |
| 1966 | The Kinks | 'Till the End of the Day |
| 1966 | Brenda Lee | Coming On Strong |
| 1966 | Roger Miller | You Can't Roller Skate in a Buffalo Herd |
| 1966 | Aaron Neville | Tell It Like It Is |
| 1966 | Buck Owens | Think of Me |
| 1966 | Paul Revere & The Raiders | Kicks |
| 1966 | The Righteous Brothers | (You're My) Soul and Inspiration |
| 1966 | The Rolling Stones | Have You Seen Your Mother, Baby, Standing In The Shadow? |
| 1966 | Simon & Garfunkel | A Hazy Shade of Winter |
| 1966 | Nancy Sinatra | These Boots Are Made For Walkin' |
| 1966 | Swingin' Medallions | Double Shot (Of My Baby's Love) |
| 1966 | The Temptations | Ain't Too Proud to Beg |

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|------|----------------------------|--|
| 1966 | The Yardbirds | Shape of Things |
| 1967 | James Brown | Cold Sweat – Part 1 |
| 1967 | The 5th Dimension | Go Where You Wanna Go |
| 1967 | The Animals | San Franciscan Nights |
| 1967 | The Buckinghams | Kind of a Drag |
| 1967 | The Byrds | Goin' Back |
| 1967 | Arthur Conley | Sweet Soul Musi |
| 1967 | The Electric Prunes | I Had Too Much to Dream (Last Night) |
| 1967 | The Four Tops | Standing in the Shadows of Love |
| 1967 | Aretha Franklin | Chain of Fools |
| 1967 | Aretha Franklin | I Never Loved a Man (The Way I Love You) |
| 1967 | Marvin Gaye & Tami Terrell | If I Could Build My Whole World Around You |
| 1967 | Marvin Gaye & Kim Weston | It Takes Two |
| 1967 | Lesley Gore | California Nights |
| 1967 | The Hollies | Carrie-Ann |
| 1967 | The Music Explosion | Little Bit O' Soul |
| 1967 | The Music Machine | The People in Me |
| 1967 | Nitty Gritty Dirt Band | Buy For Me the Rain |
| 1967 | Roy Orbison | Cry Softly Lonely One |
| 1967 | Wilson Pickett | I'm in Love |
| 1967 | Wilson Pickett | Soul Dance Number Three |
| 1967 | Elvis Presley | Judy |
| 1967 | The Rolling Stones | Dandelion |

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|------|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1967 | Jimmy Ruffin | I've Passed This Way Before |
| 1967 | Sagittarius | My World Fell |
| 1967 | Simon & Garfunkel | Fakin' It |
| 1967 | Sopwith Camel | Hello Hello |
| 1967 | The Turtles | Happy Together |
| 1967 | The Who | Happy Jack |
| 1968 | The Amboy Dukes | Journey to the Center of the Mind |
| 1968 | Blue Cheer | Summertime Blues |
| 1968 | The Box Tops | Cry Like a Baby |
| 1968 | Canned Heat | On the Road Again |
| 1968 | Clarence Carter | Too Weak to Fight |
| 1968 | Ray Charles | Eleanor Rigby |
| 1968 | Joe Cocker | With a Little Help From My Friend |
| 1968 | Cream | Sunshine of Your Love |
| 1968 | Creedence Clearwater Revival | I Put a Spell on You |
| 1968 | Dion | Abraham, Martin and John |
| 1968 | Flatt & Scruggs | Foggy Mountain Breakdown |
| 1968 | Max Frost & The Troopers | Shape of Things to Come |
| 1968 | Iron Butterfly | In-A-Gadda-Da-Vida |
| 1968 | Tommy James | Mony Mony |
| 1968 | The Miracles | I Second That Emotion |
| 1968 | Wilson Pickett | I Found a True Love |
| 1968 | Elvis Presley | Guitar Man |
| 1968 | Elvis Presley | If I Can Dream |
| 1968 | The Rascals | People Got to Be Free |

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|------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1968 | Otis Redding | (Sittin' On) The Dock of the Bay |
| 1968 | Marty Robbins | I Walk Alone |
| 1968 | Simon & Garfunkel | Mrs. Robinson |
| 1968 | Steppenwolf | Born to be Wild |
| 1968 | The Temptations | I Wish It Would Rain |
| 1968 | B.J. Thomas | Hooked On a Feeling |
| 1968 | Jerry Jeff Walker | Mr. Bojangles |
| 1969 | Badfinger | Maybe Tomorrow |
| 1969 | The Beach Boys | Bluebirds Over the Mountain |
| 1969 | The Beatles | Come Together |
| 1969 | Brother Jack McDuff | Them From Electric Surfboard |
| 1969 | Glen Campbell | Galveston |
| 1969 | Glen Campbell | Wichita Lineman |
| 1969 | Jimmy Cliff | Wonderful World, Beautiful People |
| 1969 | The Cowsills | Hair |
| 1969 | The Cowsills | Silver Threads and Golden Needles |
| 1969 | Creedence Clearwater Revival | Bad Moon Rising |
| 1969 | Crosby, Stills & Nash | Judy Blue Eyes |
| 1969 | The Isley Brothers | It's Your Thing |
| 1969 | The Jacksons | I Want You Back |
| 1969 | Tommy James | Crystal Blue Persuasion |
| 1969 | Janis Joplin | Kozmic Blues |
| 1969 | Little Anthony & The Imperials | Out of Sight, Out of Mind |
| 1969 | Peggy Lee | Is That All There Is? |

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|------|------------------------|---|
| 1969 | The Miracles | Baby, Baby Don't Cry |
| 1969 | Oliver | Good Morning Starshine |
| 1969 | The Rolling Stones | Honky Tonk Women |
| 1969 | Sly & The Family Stone | Hot Fun In the Summertime |
| 1969 | Sly & The Family Stone | I Want to Take You Higher |
| 1969 | The Who | Pinball Wizard |
| 1969 | The Youngbloods | Get Together |
| 1970 | James Brown | Get Up (I Feel Like a) Sex Machine – Part 1 |
| 1970 | Glen Campbell | It's Only Make Believe |
| 1970 | Canned Heat | Let's Work Together |
| 1970 | Clarence Carter | Patches |
| 1970 | Chicago | 25 or 6 to 4 |
| 1970 | Chicago | Does Anybody Really Know What Time It Is? |
| 1970 | Chicago | Make Me Smile |
| 1970 | Crosby, Stills & Nash | Teach Your Children |
| 1970 | B.B. King | The Thrill Is Gone |
| 1970 | The Meters | Look-Ka Py Py |
| 1970 | Elvis Presley | I Really Don't Want to Know |
| 1970 | Ray Price | For the Good Times |
| 1970 | Rare Earth | Get Ready |
| 1970 | Jimmy & David Ruffin | Stand By Me |
| 1970 | Santana | Evil Ways |
| 1970 | Simon & Garfunkel | Cecilia |
| 1970 | Simon & Garfunkel | El Condor Pasa |
| 1970 | Edwin Starr | War |

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|------|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1970 | The Supremes | Stoned Love |
| 1970 | R. Dean Taylor | Indiana Wants Me |
| 1970 | The Tee Set | Ma Belle Amie |
| 1970 | Ike & Tina Turner | I Want to Take You Higher |
| 1971 | The 5th Dimension | Never My Love |
| 1971 | The 5th Dimension | One Less Bell to Answer |
| 1971 | The Band | Life Is a Carnival |
| 1971 | Bread | If |
| 1971 | Cornelius Brothers & Sister Rose | Treat Her Like a Lady |
| 1971 | The Doors | Riders of the Storm |
| 1971 | Emerson, Lake & Palmer | Lucky Man |
| 1971 | Five Man Electric Band | Absolutely Right |
| 1971 | Isaac Hayes | The Look of Love |
| 1971 | Jimi Hendrix | Freedom |
| 1971 | Elton John | Levon |
| 1971 | Tom Jones | She's a Lady |
| 1971 | Roberta Flack & Donny Hathaway | You've Got a Friend |
| 1971 | Marvin Gaye | Mercy Mercy me (The Ecology) |
| 1971 | Tom T. Hall | The Year That Clayton Delaney Died |
| 1971 | Gladys Knight & The Pips | If I Were Your Woman |
| 1971 | Kris Kristofferson | Loving Her Was Easier |
| 1971 | The Miracles | I Don't Blame You at All |
| 1971 | Graham Nash | Chicago |
| 1971 | Ocean | Put Your Hand in the Hand |
| 1971 | The Osmonds | One Bad Apple |

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|------|--------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1971 | Wilson Pickett | Don't Knock My Love – Part 1 |
| 1971 | Elvis Presley | There Goes My Everything |
| 1971 | Jerry Reed | Ko-Ko Joe |
| 1971 | The Rolling Stones | Wild Horses |
| 1971 | Sonny & Cher | All I Ever Need Is You |
| 1971 | Rod Stewart | Maggie May |
| 1971 | James Taylor | Country Road |
| 1971 | Ten Years After | I'd Love to Change the World |
| 1971 | Bill Withers | Ain't No Sunshine |
| 1971 | Bobby Womack | That's the Way I Feel About Cha |
| 1971 | Stevie Wonder | If You Really Love Me |