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Cape Verdean Funana: Voice of the Badius

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**CAPE VERDEAN FUNANA:
VOICE OF THE BADIUS**

M.A. paper submitted in
partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the M.A.
degree, Music Department
Brown University

Susan Hurley-Glowa
May 12, 1991

This paper is dedicated to my friend, Norberto Tavares.

Thank you for all you have done for me.

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I would like to express my appreciation for the support and helpful comments that I received in the process of writing this paper from my professors, Dr. Jeff Titon and Dr. Carol Babiracki. Beside having learned much from them, I feel I am lucky to have begun to study ethnomusicology with such a stimulating group of fellow graduate students. I want to thank my classmates, Patrick Hutchinson, Katherine Hagedorn, Franziska von Rosen, Delfin Pérez, and especially Kathy McKinley for their input in various ways.

Dan Kahn and Winnie Lambrecht from the Rhode Island Council On the Arts were also very important to this project. They were the first to suggest funana as a research topic and are responsible for directing me to Norberto Tavares. I am grateful for their assistance.

Lastly, I would like to thank my husband, Josef Glowa, for supporting my work and for being such an enthusiastic funana dancer. He has become nearly as fond of Cape Verdean music as I am and has helped me significantly in my fieldwork.

Musical Examples On Accompanying Cassette

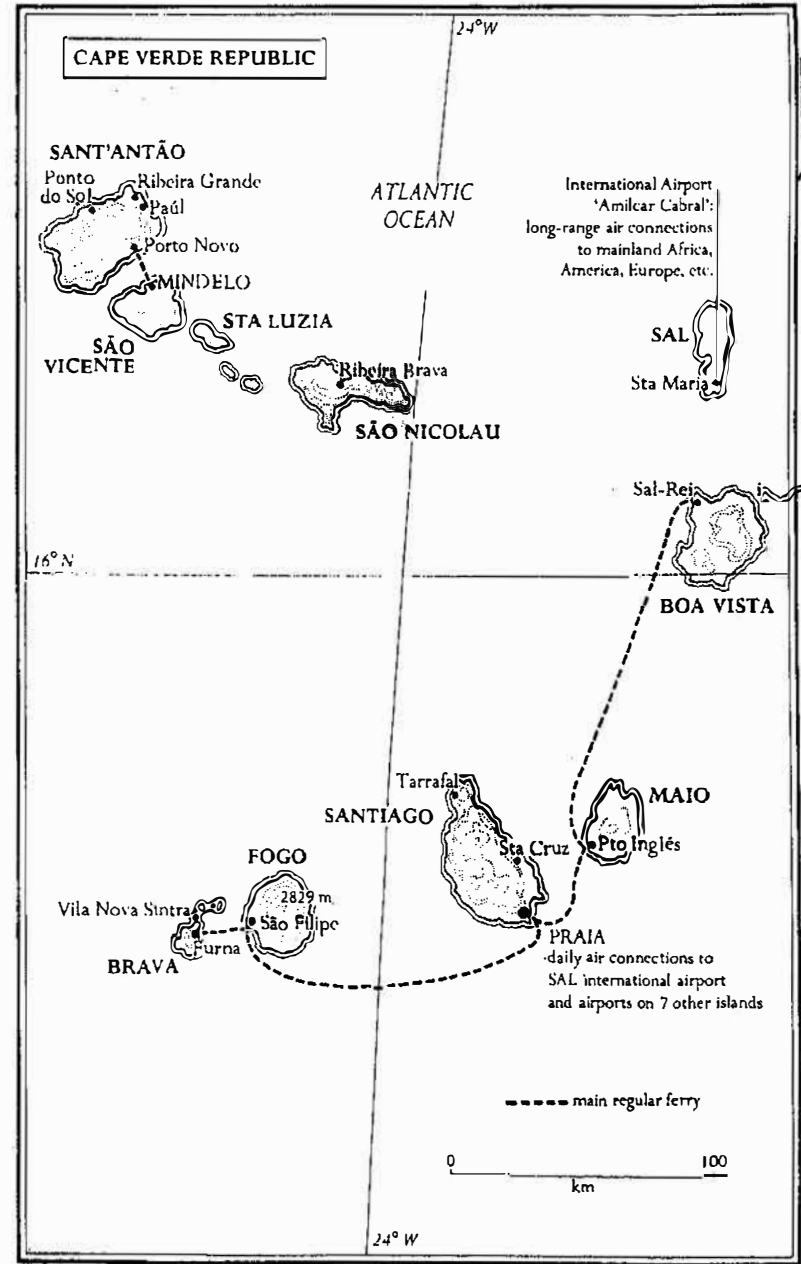
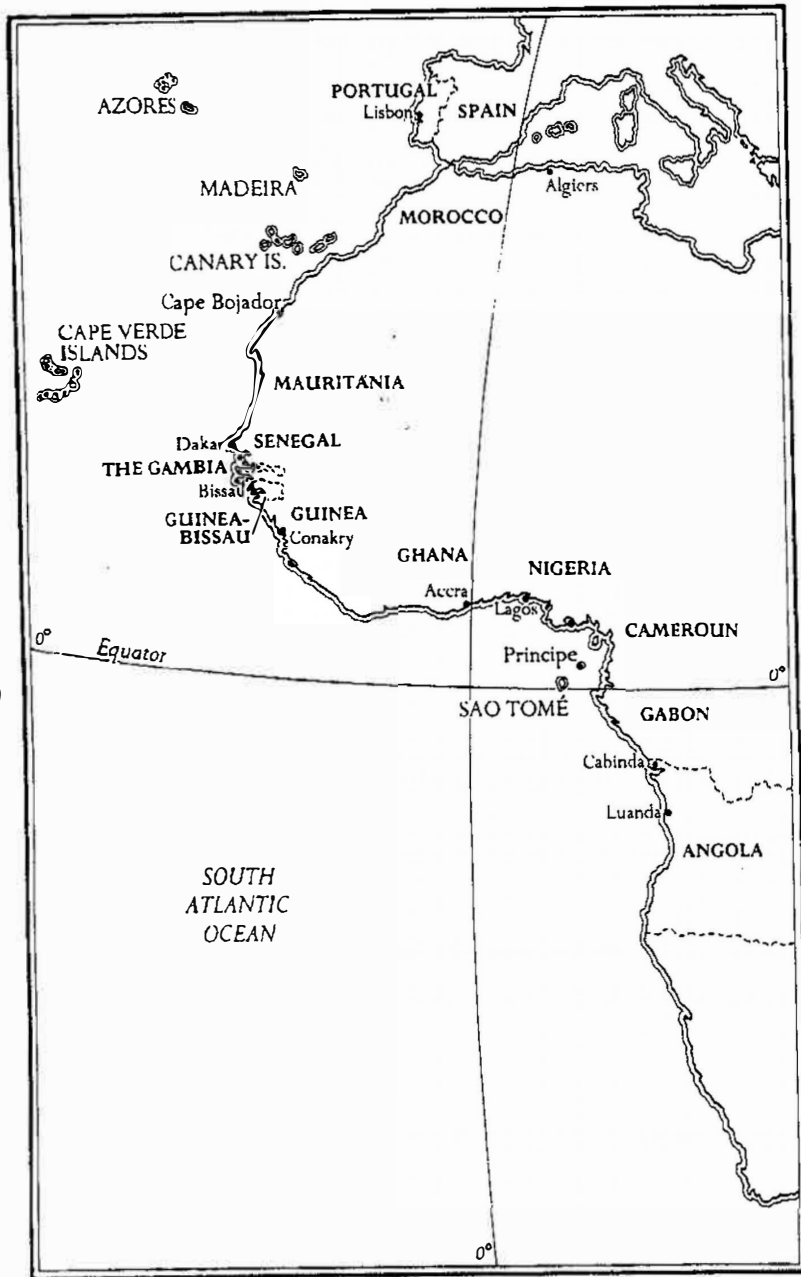
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FX.1 (from Davidson 1989)

INTRODUCTION

What is funana? The short answer is that it is a musical genre from the Cape Verde Islands. A more thorough answer to this question could take many forms depending on who you are and what your relationship to the music is. My goal has been to understand, identify, and describe funana's essential features from many different angles based on what I have learned about it from Cape Verdeans, books, films, recordings, and from my own observations.

I have arranged this paper into sections that represent three different views of funana. The first focuses on funana in Southern New England: I describe an occasion when funana was performed and present some ideas and general information about Cape Verdean music culture in New England and elsewhere. This section was researched through a combination of participant-observation fieldwork in the Cape Verdean night clubs in New Bedford and the Providence area, interviews with the Cape Verdean musician, Norberto Tavares, and through the study of written sources on Cape Verde.

The second view approaches funana as a musical object that can be fixed on paper and studied: I transcribed and analyzed recorded funana examples in order to see what musical elements they all shared. I wanted to be able to answer the question, "what are the musical characteristics that make funana unmistakably funana?" The musical analysis suggests an intriguing link between the origins of funana musical style and the physical capabilities of the button accordion on which it is played. After examining funana's musical structure in Western musicological terms, I also interpreted songs

and texts on the basis of what I have learned about them through fieldwork interviews and other research.

The third view of funana focusses on the conceptualization of funana as expressed by Norberto Tavares in a series of interviews that took place at his apartment in New Bedford, Massachusetts, during the Spring of 1990. After transcribing these interviews on funana, I took them back to Norberto and we discussed them once again with the aim of arriving at a series of "laws" or rules of funana, based on his understanding of the music. Norberto has indicated that he and most other Cape Verdeans recognize funana as a genre of music with a distinctive style. The rules we have derived attempt to identify and describe the cluster of traits that make up this style. To be fair, Norberto should be acknowledged as the co-author of this work: it has been a cooperative effort, as I have indicated above. I am grateful for the generous gift of his knowledge and expertise.

Funana is not just a kind of Cape Verdean music: the term refers to both a type of dance music and the dance couples do to it. Although the Republic of Cape Verde is a small island nation with a population of less than 300,000, funana is only one of several unique indigenous musical genres. The Cape Verde islands are located about three hundred miles from the coast of Senegal in West Africa (Coli & Lobban 1990:2). Discovered in the sixteenth century by Portuguese explorers, the Cape Verde islands remained a Portuguese colony until 1975 when they received their independence. The lack of regular rainfall on the islands has hampered efforts to make Cape Verde self-sufficient through agricultural development. In

fact, periodic droughts and famines have made emigration a means of survival for many Cape Verdeans¹. Southern New England has become the new home for thousands of Cape Verdean emigrants: the history of Cape Verdean immigration in the United States is connected to both the slave trade and the whaling industry of earlier centuries. In the former case, the islands were from early on an important loading and holding area for European and New World ships carrying human cargo. The islands were uninhabited when the Portuguese first arrived in the sixteenth century: the Cape Verdean population today is a mixture of the descendents of Europeans, Moors, Jews, and Africans (Coli & Lobban 1990:3). Groups of slaves from the Mande, Fula, and Balantemany culture regions of the Upper Guinea coast were brought to the islands and forced to work on Portuguese-owned plantations (Coli & Lobban 1990:3). Although some slaves remained in the Cape Verde Islands, many others were sent on to Brazil, the Caribbean, and North America, after first being held in the Cape Verde islands for an extended period of time (Carreira 1982:6).

Cape Verde not only played an important role in North American slave trade, but was also significant to the New England whaling industry (Carreira 1982:42-55). When ships were sent to the rich Atlantic whaling waters surrounding the islands, they took on supplies in the Cape Verde Islands and found men eager to work as sailors and harpooners to escape the island's harsh conditions. Beginning in the early nineteenth century, Cape Verdean emigrants began settling in the port towns of southern New England. After the

1. For the history of emigration in the Cape Verde Islands, see Carreira 1982.

demise of the whaling industry, later generations of new Cape Verdean emigrants found work in the cranberry bogs, fishing industry, and textile mills around Providence, New Bedford, and other New England communities.

Today more than 125,000 people in southern New England can trace their origins back to the islands (Barboza 1989:8). However, Cape Verdeans in the United States are virtually an invisible minority group: they tend to blend into Portuguese, African-American, or Hispanic communities to the uninformed. If you do get to know a Cape Verdean however, you quickly realize that their culture is unique: Portuguese, African, Brazilian and multi-cultural American influences are part of the mixture that has blended together into something distinctly Cape Verdean. Both in the Cape Verdean-American communities and the communities back in the islands, the people's African heritage is at times clearly evident, in spite of strong Portuguese cultural influence through the centuries. One of the most obvious examples of this is in the Crioulo² language commonly spoken in Cape Verde. It is a creolized Portuguese: although most of its vocabulary comes from Portuguese, the syntax is related to West African languages, resulting in a unique Cape Verdean language.

The inhabitants of the island of Santiago³ have retained more Africanisms than those of the islands to the North. Santiago is

2. The term, Crioulo, (or Kriolo in the new spelling system) can refer to the language spoken in the Cape Verde Islands, the culture of the islands, or a person from this culture.

3. also spelled São Tiago.

home to the badius⁴, a black population made up of the descendants of runaway slaves. This group has traditionally remained somewhat apart from the rest of Cape Verdean society, resisting conversion to the Catholic faith and submission to Portuguese rule. They were in fact the only group in Cape Verde that ever offered any resistance to the Portuguese authorities: there were numerous rebellions on Santiago during the nineteenth century that gave slaves an opportunity to escape to freedom in the interior (Davidson 1989:14).

Although many people from the island of Santiago may call themselves "badius" (or be labeled so by others), the people who are the bearers of traditional⁵ badiu culture live in small, isolated villages in the highland interior of Santiago⁶. Norberto Tavares has explained to me that the badius take pride in being self-sufficient and resilient in spite an inhospitable climate; they want to live without any help or interference from others. Proud and sometimes defiant, they have at times actively resisted pressure to assimilate at the expense of their African cultural heritage. Because of their fierce independ-

4. According to Norberto Tavares, badius are Cape Verdeans from the island of Santiago whose African origins are observable in both their culture and physical appearance. For a variety of reasons, badius, who are the descendants of slaves brought to the islands during colonial days, have traditionally been assigned the role of an "underclass" in Cape Verde's predominantly racially mixed population and have consequently remained poor and relatively unassimilated.

5. This is Norberto's terminology. See the section titled "A Funana Player's View of His Music" for his views on traditionality and badiu culture.

6. See map of Cape Verde, p.8.

ence, they are admired by other Cape Verdeans, yet badius have been in the past perceived as being "primitive" and low class, perhaps because of a degree of racial prejudice against their obvious African roots (Lobban & Halter 1988:37).

Portuguese authorities have traditionally repressed badiu music and dance, partially based on moral grounds⁷ and partially out of fear that this group might become too strong and rise up against them. In addition, the performance of these musics were seen as threatening because they were used to voice political criticisms and to protest the sometimes subtle and sometimes blatant discrimination directed against the dark-skinned badius. Music and dance censorship reached a climax during the liberation struggle in the 1970's.

Led into revolution by the brilliant political theorist and humanitarian, Amilcar Cabral, the people of Cape Verde and Guinea-Bissau went to war against Portugal to win their right to self-government. They received their independence in 1975, after fourteen years of guerilla warfare in Guinea-Bissau. Since the country became sovereign, Cape Verdeans have begun to show more pride in the richness of their African cultural heritage. The Cape Verdean popular music era that began in the years following independence is the context for my study of funana.

7. Funana and batuco, a music and dance genre performed by women have both been denounced by the Catholic church for their suggestive dancing. Batuco usually consists of three types of participants; a lead singer who improvises verses; a group of women sitting in a circle around her who sing responses and produce an interlocking rhythmic texture by alternately clapping their hands and slapping grain sacks held between their legs; and one or more dancers who perform in the center of the circle.

Before Cape Verde's independence (and still today to a lesser extent according to Norberto), many middle class mulato Cape Verdeans preferred to identify themselves with Europeans, holding their cultural values as their own. They tended to ignore or view with contempt the cultural contributions of the badius, who even today form an economic lower class. To many Crioulos, the music commonly regarded as reflecting "the soul of Cape Verde" was considered to be the morna, a beautiful, melancholy type of song. Mornas are slow songs with nostalgic, poetic texts that are in played in 4/4 time in minor keys. They were traditionally accompanied by violin and various types of guitars, although many dance bands with electronic instruments include them in their repertoire today. The morna probably developed in the early nineteenth century from Portuguese and Brazilian music.

The coladera is another widely accepted type of Cape Verdean music. Coladeras are also in quadruple meter, but are generally much faster than mornas. Coladeras have strong Brazilian and French Caribbean influences and have entered the repertoire of many Cape Verdean dance bands since the 1950's. Recordings and performances of pop versions of funana, batuço, and zouk have joined the morna and coladera as valued Crioulo musical genres in recent years, as musical tastes have begun to accommodate the more African-influenced Cape Verdean musical styles.

A performance of funana in the folk tradition often involves two musicians and an audience (a group of listeners)⁸. One of the

8. See "A Funana Player's View of His Music" for an detailed description of funana performance.

musicians plays alternating chords on the gaita (a diatonic, single action melodion with two or three rows of buttons) and the other plays an accompaniment on the ferrinho (an idiophone made from an approximately 2 foot long piece of angle iron that is scraped with an old table knife or the equivalent). One of them, often the gaita player, sings. Others join in by clapping, singing along, responding to the words of the songs, and dancing.

As I have previously mentioned, my primary source of information on funana and Crioulo culture has been Norberto Tavares. Norberto is a singer, instrumentalist and songwriter from the island of Santiago, although he now lives in New Bedford, Massachusetts. I began working with Norberto in a fieldwork project for an ethnomusicology seminar offered at Brown University. Knowing little about either Cape Verdean music or Norberto when I began, I had the good luck to find a wonderful teacher. Norberto has a sophisticated musical mind and a vast knowledge of the political, cultural, and artistic state of his home country. He is in my opinion a fine musician. He composes, performs and arranges his own songs, and acts as his own recording engineer. He has assembled his own state of the art recording studio and produced every musical aspect of his last album, Jornada di un Badiu himself.

Unknown to me at the onset of my work with Norberto was his role in the development of Cape Verdean music. He was a pioneer in adapting and incorporating traditional acoustic funana sounds into a new type of funana that he developed and recorded using popular

music instrumentation⁹. He put out his first album of funana when he was living in Portugal in 1979¹⁰. About the same time, the Cape Verdean band Bulimundo, led by the musician Katchas, began releasing their funana recordings, sparking a minor musical revolution. Norberto has released eight albums and is one of the most acclaimed Cape Verdean musicians, especially among the people from Santiago¹¹. Any one who writes on funana and contemporary Cape Verde will be sure to include him.

Norberto is famous for the songs he has written addressing the problems and interests of his people, both the rural people of Santiago and the greater Cape Verdean community. Norberto's albums are popular in the islands as well as in Cape Verdean communities in the United States and Europe: he performs frequently in Europe for Cape Verdean audiences. Expressing humanitarian ideals similar to those of Amilcar Cabral, Norberto's songs often carry a message

9. keyboard, electric guitar and bass, drumset, sax, and so on.

10. Norberto Tavares left Santiago for Portugal when he was 17 and began making records some years later (see appendix for a list of his albums). As a teenager, he was involved in writing music for theater pieces that were performed in a local church. Just before he left the country, he included some songs in one of these productions that were particularly critical of the government. One week after his departure, the Portuguese secret police in charge of censorship came to his house to question him and perhaps to arrest him as a result of the performance of his songs.

11. See discography for a list of Norberto's recordings.

of hope for the new Cape Verdean nation¹². One of his most popular songs, "Cabo Verde di Esperanza," (a rock anthem rather than a funana style song) asks Cape Verdeans from the various islands to come together as one to work towards solving some of the nation's problems in a united effort. Other song texts call for the recognition of the basic rights of all people to dignity, equality, freedom, self-determination, and equal access to opportunity through socio-economic justice.

In the summer of 1990, Norberto returned to his home country for the first time in seventeen years for a concert tour. His performances were attended by tens of thousands including the current President of the Republic of Cape Verde, Aristides Peireira, and his administration. His appearances spurred numerous articles in the Cape Verdean newspapers in connection with the political and humanitarian issues he raised in his songs. During the first multi-party election in Cape Verde held at the beginning of 1991, Norberto returned to the islands once again to participate in the election campaign. He performed in support of the MPD party headed by Carlos Veiga, who became Prime Minister as a result of the election. Although Norberto says he is a musician and not a politician, his role as a spokesperson for the Cape Verdean people should not be

12. On January 20, 1991, the Cape Verdean Sub-committee of the Rhode Island Heritage Commission paid tribute to Amilcar Cabral in a program held at the Old State House on Benefit St. in Providence. The State of Rhode Island officially declared Jan. 20 as Amilcar Cabral Day and made this celebration a part of the Martin Luther King Day events. Norberto Tavares was chosen to perform musical selections at the program, two songs that he wrote about Amilcar Cabral. He is sympathetic to the ideas expressed in Cabral's teachings, although he has told me that he was not particularly influenced by Cabral's work until recently.

overlooked.

Understanding the music of another culture is a long, unending process. It can be seen as a series of steps that must be climbed reaching higher and higher towards greater understanding. As you move from one level to the next, your view changes and expands and you see the music from a different perspective and in new ways. I cannot pretend to have anything more than a beginning knowledge of funana at this time: I am still on the lower steps. I do not play funana or speak Crioulo yet and I have not yet been to Santiago, although it is my intention to begin fieldwork there in the summer of 1991¹³.

Believing that there is always an inherent ethical conflict in representing a music-culture that is not one's own no matter how familiar an outsider is with it, I will try to minimize this representation problem by presenting the knowledge Norberto has given to me about his music and its relationship to Cape Verdean culture as accurately as possible and will involve him in the process of writing and editing as much as he wants to be. By doing so, I hope that the results will be a contribution to the presently small number of writings on Cape Verdean musical topics.

13. My husband and I went to Santiago in the summer of 1991 and stayed for four weeks. This paper was revised to some extent after the trip, after learning more about funana.

Funana in New England Crioulo Communities

The time is 11:00 on a Sunday night at the Cape Verdean American Lounge in Pawtucket, Rhode Island. The front door of the lounge opens into a small hallway. The sounds of both a Cape Verdean band playing a coladera and people talking in excited voices are escaping into the hall through a closed door. A large, well-dressed man is sitting with a pretty, dark-skinned woman at a little table just before the door. He says that the cover charge is \$5.00 per person and, after sizing us up, asks somewhat skeptically if we know that the band is playing Cape Verdean music. I say yes, that my husband and I came to hear Norberto Tavares and he looks pleased, saying, "That's who is playing" and waves us on in.

The softly lit room has a long bar area running along its right side. The band is in the back to the left and the dance floor is directly in front of them. Numerous small tables and chairs are set up in the remaining area. We head for the bar where we see a bit of free space. The club is full; all of the tables seem to be taken, although this is difficult to determine when so many people have left their seats for the dance floor. After the beers we have ordered are put on the bar in front of us, I swivel around on my stool to better assess the surroundings.

I am surprised both by the attractiveness of the club and the beauty of the people around me. The crowd is quite young, mostly people in their twenties and thirties. I see people with a wide range of skin colors and features; all possible shades of brown with various combinations of features reflecting origins in Europe and Africa. The crowd seems to consist of a mixture of recent

immigrants and Cape Verdean-Americans whose families immigrated generations ago, as I hear both Crioulo and English being spoken around me. Everyone is elegantly turned out: most of the women are wearing blouses or jackets with chic short skirts that are cut snugly across the hips and thighs. The close fitting skirts and high-heel shoes not only direct attention to the female posterior, but also affect women by limiting their range of movement, particularly when they dance. The men are dressed in a style that seems vaguely Latin to me: expensive leather shoes, dark colored dress slacks and crisply ironed long-sleeved shirts, often with a loose fitting sports jacket. Some of the younger men have the sporty, internationally popular "Bennetton" look; a white loose fitting turtle-neck with an emblem on the front worn with a cardigan sweater and a pair of designer jeans. It occurs to me that we are somewhat underdressed compared to everyone else. Throughout the room, people are painstakingly groomed. Many of the young men have the "shaved on the sides, longer on top hairstyles" made popular by rap musicians that has caught on all over the United States; some keep theirs quite short like a crew cut; others sport the corkscrew curl look of the main character in the Spike Lee film, Do the Right Thing. The women are wearing their hair slicked straight back and fastened with a large bow: others have shorter cuts. It seems that the "Cape Verdean look" in this club in New England is a combination of Southern European, Latin American, Anglo-American, and African-American fashion influences.

Os Unicos,¹⁴ Norberto Tavares's four piece band is playing

14. This translates as "The Uniques."

tonight. They alternate mornas, coladeras, and other types of music that I do not recognize with funana, filling the floor each time they begin another upbeat song. The music has a rhythmic, sensual energy that seems to compel everyone to get up and dance. Norberto looks out from behind his synthesizer keyboards: he is alternating between two different keyboards and controlling sound settings as he sings. Norberto has on a loose-fitting Hawaiian print short sleeve shirt that he wears untucked. Although he is partially hidden behind his keyboards, I see he is wearing dark-colored tailored trousers. Norberto is an attractive man in his mid-thirties with black curly hair worn short that is just beginning to grey on the sides. About 5'10" and 180 lbs, he has an air of authority when he enters a room, in spite of the fact that he is naturally quite shy and reserved. His performing style is refined and intense, especially when he is singing or speaking about political issues. He is serious about his music-making. Norberto has an exceptional voice: it is deep and resonant when he speaks and remarkably flexible and expressive when he sings. He jumps from the bottom of his register to flasetto as if he doesn't know that it is difficult to sing as well as he does.

To the left and rear of Norberto is Joaquim Santos on drums. Jack is the youngest member of the band. His powerfully built legs and upper body reveal that his hobby is weight-lifting. He lives in Providence and works during the day as a school bus driver. His drumset includes a high hat cymbal and a bass drum, but he uses a drum machine for many of the other sounds he wants. Zérui Depina, who often shares singing responsibilities with Norber-

to, plays electric guitar player. He is a new addition to the band. The electric bass player, Larry Barros, is about Norberto's age. They have known each other for a long time. Like Jack, he works as a bus driver on weekdays.

After watching the people on the dance floor for awhile, we decide to give it a try and slowly to make our way through the crowd to the floor. With my blonde hair, I am a little scared of being conspicuous and am frightened that someone will be hostile to us because we are outsiders. As I look around a little more, I see that there are other light-skinned people in the club and no one seems to be paying them the least bit of attention.

The couples are dancing close together holding their arms in one of two positions; either the woman puts her right palm against her partner and rests her left hand on his shoulder, or she puts both of her arms around his neck. In both cases, their bodies are very close together and as they step, they shift their weight from side to side, moving as if they were one person instead of two. Some dancers do not look at their partners at all but keep a reserved, aloof expression on their faces. Other couples are joking with each other as they dance: some sing the words to the songs along with the band.

Because the people dance so closely, I assume that they are couples who came to the club together. After watching carefully, however, this does not necessarily seem to be the case. Although some are clearly couples, others belong to small groups of the same sex who arrived together. The single men congregate along the bar, while the women are seated together at tables. At the end of the song, these men and women head in opposite directions, returning to

the groups they came in with. It does not seem to be unusual for several women to go out onto the floor and dance as a group, although I did not see men dancing together. Through casual observation, all of the "rules" governing who may dance with whom do not become apparent.

When Norberto plays a funana, the level of dance activity picks up; people move faster to keep up with the new tempo. We dance several numbers, trying to copy the moves of the couples around us. Although the music drives us on, I am soon tired (from using muscles I didn't know I had) and take a rest. At the somewhat prohibitive price of three dollars a beer, I nevertheless order a second one to quench my thirst. The people around me seem to be nursing their drinks: no one appears the least bit intoxicated. We are eventually caught up in the excitement of the music and join the others on the dance floor once again. The band stops playing at precisely 12:30 AM to the protests of the crowd who want them to keep on going. The lights come on, we pay our bill, wave good-bye to Norberto and head home.

On any given Friday, Saturday, or Sunday night, dances such as this one take place in Cape Verdean clubs in Southern New England. I have included a description of a night at a club because it is one of the settings in which funana is at home outside of its primary cultural context in Cape Verde. New Bedford has the oldest and largest Cape Verdean-American community, numbering around 17,000 (Barboza 1989:10), and has four or five clubs that regularly feature Cape Verdean music. Two clubs in Providence play Crioulo music at least part of the time; Pawtucket has two or three, and East

Providence has one that is sure to have regular live dance music. Boston, Brockton, Massachusetts and New Haven, Connecticut also have large enough communities to support dance clubs.

As the number of nightclubs suggests, music and dance are an important part of Crioulo life in New England: they are culture elements that have successfully survived the transplant from the islands to Cape Verde communities far away. The love of dancing continues to play a large role in defining what it means to be Cape Verdean. Barbara Masters [Rehm] writes:

What was brought from the old country was more than just the musical forms and occasions for dance music, however. There has remained in America, especially in New Bedford, a tremendous propensity for music and dancing that has never really changed, no matter how much Cape Verdeans integrate with the community. A fairly large percentage of the Cape Verdean community either play instruments or dance most weekends of the year. Dance music has been the heart of musical life in New Bedford (Masters [Rehm] 1975:32).

Although that paragraph was written more than fifteen years ago, the situation has not dramatically changed. In 1991, the clubs are still full, although the music changed some. Cape Verdeans and their love for music and dance was a topic that often came up in my discussions with Norberto Tavares. In our first interview, when I asked about some of the differences between Americans

and Cape Verdeans, he answered:

I guess Cape Verdeans primarily like parties: A lot of Americans like to do different things like going fishing or going camping- but usually Cape Verdeans like to be in a place where they can see other Cape Verdeans, you know?; . . . to meet with others and dance all night. In Cape Verde, for example, they start a dance at 10:00 and it goes until 6:00 in the morning- dancing all night! Incredible! The musicians get very tired because sometimes they don't want them to even take a break, but to play the whole night.¹⁵

Some Cape Verdean musicians working in New England play three or four times each weekend: Friday night, Saturday night, Sunday afternoon and again on Sunday evening. I attended one of Norberto's performances at the Cape Verdean Band Club on Acushnet Avenue in New Bedford on Sunday, December 9, 1990. Besides recording the music and taking notes on the events of the evening, during the breaks I had the opportunity to ask Norberto questions about the audience and the performance. When I asked if Cape Verdeans often go out dancing on Sunday night (Americans tend to choose Friday or Saturday for their night "on the town"), Norberto responded that Crioulos love to dance and that it is not unusual for some people

15. Transcribed from an interview on Feb. 19, 1990. The quotations from interviews with Norberto Tavares in this paper have been edited to a certain extent. "You know," "like," and small English grammatical errors have been removed at Norberto's suggestion for the sake of a smoother text .

to go to several dances in one weekend, even if they have to work the next day. Discussing the make-up of Cape Verdean audiences, Norberto remarked that the Crioulo community in New Bedford differs from that in the Providence area. When I asked in what ways, he explained that older New Bedford Cape Verdeans, especially women, maintain a Crioulo sense of joy in life. He says that they love to dress up, to talk and laugh, and above all, to dance: that their philosophy says life is too short not to enjoy it. He pointed out that they are not doing anything wrong by dancing and suggested that in Providence, Crioulo women are not so inclined to go out; that they are adapting a behavior more like that of mainstream American women and are concerned with what others might say about them.

When I asked Norberto what he thought the people at his performance did for a living, he said that many were factory workers, explaining that in spite of the fact that they might earn only \$4.50 an hour, Cape Verdean-Americans make it a priority to dress well and present themselves as favorably as possible. "Dressing to the nines" [my words] seems to be a part of the total performance for the people who come to dance.

What could a night of dancing like the one described tell the audience about themselves? A Cape Verdean-American band club is a place where ethnicity can be strengthened. At such dances, Cape Verdeans feel good about who they are: they talk and unwind with people who share their roots; they hear and dance to their own music; they speak their own language, and they bask in the familiarity of Crioulo culture. Identities are established and con-

firmed. The idea that Cape Verdeans are vital, beautiful, sophisticated, sexy, proud, and prospering in their new home country might well be reaffirmed at such an event. In the shaping of a Cape Verdean-American ethnic identity, music, dance, and the Crioulo language do indeed seem to play central roles: Cape Verdeans have a rich cultural heritage to draw upon.

One must point out that there isn't one Crioulo ethnicity: there are many. Communities consist of many sub-divisions whose boundaries are established based on such factors such as age group, island of origin, length of time in this country, religious beliefs, and gender. Each sub-group chooses its own symbols in the construction of an ethnic identity. For one group of Cape Verdean-Americans, their music might be the morna, the coladera, and perhaps some dance music imported from Brazil. These were the popular musical idioms of the 1960's and 70's. Another group might prefer the nostalgic memories evoked by traditional crioulo mornas, waltzes, contra-dances, mazurkas, and polkas performed by a string orchestra (Masters [Rehm] 1975: 36). Bands playing for the youngest generation of Cape Verdean-Americans (and Cape Verdeans) are adding French Caribbean Zouk to their repertoire, along with a wide assortment of popular African African, Portuguese, Brazilian, and African-American influenced songs.¹⁶

The United States is of course not the only place that Crioulo communities exist outside the borders of the Republic of Cape Verde. The periodic droughts and consequent famines that make conditions on

16. For a history of Cape Verdean Musicians in New England, see Barboza 1989.

the islands harsh and inhospitable have made immigration a fact of life for generations of Cape Verdeans. Some Cape Verdeans have sought work in America; others have moved to Europe or Africa. The money these workers sent back to Cape Verde helped their families to survive and even today makes up an important part of the nation's economy:

By the time of independence, according to the Cape Verdian ambassador to the United States in 1982, there were perhaps as many as one million Cape Verdians or their descendants living in the United States at the time of the independence of their homeland in 1975. Though this figure may be exaggerated, certainly well over twice the number of Cape Verdians living at home--some 350,00--reside abroad and the great majority of these have retained links with their families, sending them financial help, buying houses and land on the islands and returning from time to time burdened with gifts as proof of their success on the other side of the Atlantic ocean (Foy 1988:15).

In addition to the crioulo communities in America, there are significant emigrant populations in Portugal and Spain (40,000), Angola (35,000), Senegal (22,000-25,000), France (10,000-15,000), the Netherlands (8,000-10,000), São Tomè and Príncipe (8000) and Italy (8,000-10,000) (Lobban & Halter 1988:49). Quoting from the Historical Dictionary of the Republic of Cape Verde: "Historically and to this day emigration has been a crucial socioeconomic strategy for coping with the disastrous effects of drought, for reducing unemployment, lowering population growth rates, and providing an

essential source of income through remittances to those that remain at home" (Lobban & Halter 1988:49).

These communities stay in closer touch with each other than one might suppose, considering the distances between them. Although family members prefer to live near each other, it is not unusual for the members of one family to be spread out among these communities: someone living in East Providence might have three brothers in France, one sister in Angola, two more in Portugal, and aunts and uncles still back in Cape Verde. Cultural cross-fertilization, particularly musical influences from the countries where the Criolo communities are situated, certainly flows back and forth among the communities. Cape Verdean family ties are strong ones and members tend to remain in contact with each other. The Angolan and Senegalese songs that have made their way into today's Cape Verdean musical repertoire probably entered from the emigrant communities.

The Cape Verde Island's location as a hub between several continents has also contributed towards a cosmopolitan outlook in its people. Norberto has mentioned that Cape Verdeans are a demanding musical audience, expecting to hear a wide variety of musical styles from all over the world;

American musicians can play just one kind of music but sometimes people from Cape Verde are so sophisticated. . . they want to hear all types of music and that's sometimes hard for the musician. They want to hear Cape Verdean music; they want to hear reggae; They want to hear samba.

from Brazil, . . . lots of things!¹⁷

Norberto has said that he thinks it is a cultural characteristic of Cape Verdeans to adapt quickly to any new living situation, because they have an open attitude towards the rest of the world. He knows many Cape Verdeans who learn languages very quickly, citing an example of someone he knew who picked up Chinese while working on a Chinese boat.¹⁸ It is a bit of a paradox that Crioulos who are continually faced with cultural changes and upheavals do not seem to struggle to maintain their special sense of identity.

Recorded music is one of the cultural elements that flows between these communities. The music of Bulimundo, Finaçon, Os Tubaroes and Tropical Power make their way around by means of concert tours, records, and legal and illegally-made cassettes. In recent years, the Cape Verdean popular music scene has become more and more cosmopolitan. Leading Crioulo artists like Norberto Tavares manage to have successful careers without even living in Cape Verde. Recording labels in Holland and France have begun to produce Cape Verdean LP's. The current interest in all types of African, Brazilian, and Caribbean musics observable in world music radio programs such as AfroPop Worldwide make it quite probable that Crioulo music may soon be heard by a wider international audience.

17. From an interview with Norberto Tavares on Feb. 19, 1990.

18. *ibid.*

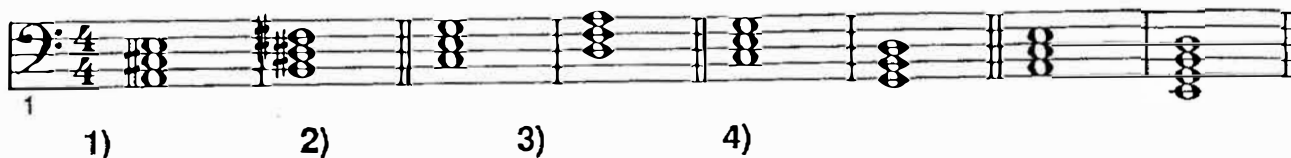
Funana Musical Characteristics

After hearing, transcribing and analyzing many versions of funana, I have observed two primary ways of performing it. The version used in modern Cape Verdean pop music is played on amplified instruments including synthesizer, electric guitar, electric bass guitar, and drum set or drum machine. The other older tradition from the island of Santiago uses the gaita (a type of button accordion) and the ferrinho (a rasp-like idiophone). I am interested in investigating the musical relationships between these versions: what do they share and how do they differ? All variations on funana share some basic organizational principles. I will describe some of them next; they will be further illustrated in the musical examples later in this paper. I hope to show that these shared organizational principles are founded in funana's origins as music played on a particular type of accordion.

Both acoustic and electronic funana are in binary meter with a 4/4 feel. Songs are generally built up from four bar phrases (sixteen beats). Within each four bar phrase, the rate of harmonic change is almost always one chord per bar and usually consists of the alternation of just two different chords. These chords have distinctive relationships to each other and come in several common combinations: 1) two major chords a whole step apart; 2) a major chord and a minor chord one whole step apart; 3) a major chord and a major chord a perfect fourth below it; and 4) a minor chord and a minor chord a perfect fourth below it. In the latter case, a

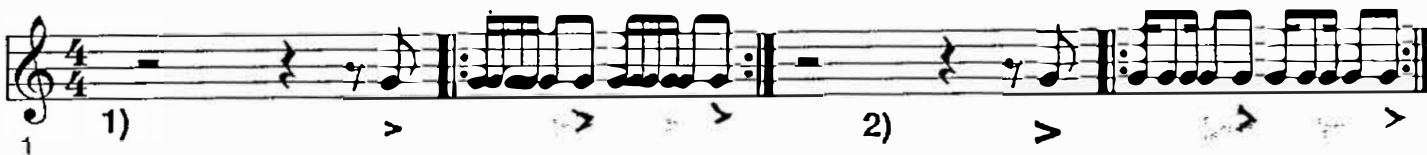
minor seventh is often added to the lower chord.¹⁹.

Ex. 2



The funana I have heard always has a fast tempo, ranging from 132 to more than 160 beats per minute. The ferrinho player (or drummer in pop funana) sub-divides the pulse into patterns that repeat every two beats. When these are put into Western musical notation, these patterns can be understood as always having an accent on the upbeat of beats two and four in each bar. The patterns are often slightly varied for musical interest: some of the most common ones are written out below. (Ex.3)

Ex.3



The ferrinho, the time keeper in traditional funana, is an approximately one meter long, piece of angle iron with corrugated edges, related in function and playing technique to the güiro used in Latin American music. It is usually played sitting down. The player rests one end of the ferrinho in his or her thigh or on the chair, leaning the upper part on the left shoulder. Holding it steady with the left hand, the right hand holds a kitchen knife or metal peg that is scraped up and down against the instrument. The ferrinho player provides accompaniment to gaita player, who is often

19. This harmonic relationship is frequently used in recent funana records.

but not always the singer. As the gaita player is the one who is in musical control, the ferrinho player must be alert and ready to adjust to any changes the other makes.

Funana melodic phrases have a distinctive rhythmic and melodic pattern. They usually begin on what can be considered the upbeat, like the ferrinho pattern, and are syncopated in relationship to the steady four beat harmonic pattern played by the left hand on the melodion (or keyboards in recent arrangements).

Funana melodies usually begin on what can be transcribed as the eighth note pick-up before the down beat and fill the first half of the bar, finishing in time to enter again on the next upbeat. As a rule, the melody begins in the tonality of the higher of the two alternating chords, so that the second phrase tends to be lower than the first. Within each bar, funana melody lines are primarily built using tones from an arpeggio of the chord in the bass, moving in thirds, fourths, and fifths between tones. There is a reason for this type of melody: playing consecutive neighboring tones without changing bellows direction is a problem on the gaita (a melodeon-type of accordion used to play funana). Playing a steady pattern on one chord with the left hand (which all gaita players do) limits stepwise melodic motion in the right hand. However, melodion players with two or three rowed instruments can pick up some conjunct pitches by switching rows (see Ex. 7). I believe that characteristic funana-type melodies are a direct function of physical capabilities of the gaita. Example 4 illustrates a typical funana gaita melody.

Funana generally alternates accordion sections with singing in a call and response fashion. The funana vocalist usually sings four lines of text over either four or eight bars. The text is always in Crioulo and can be either composed in advance or improvised on the spot. It is followed by a section of melodic material played on the gaita. The two parts (voice and gaita) alternate in four bar phrases throughout funana style songs. Phrase length and even bar length is not rigidly fixed, however; an occasional bar with six beats or a phrase with six bars is not unusual. Acoustic funana performance is an improvisatory art form that is quite flexible. Musical decisions are partly made as the music is being played and allow a wide range of personal interpretations.

Improvisation in funana changed when it began to be played on amplified instruments and became a popular recorded dance music. It has become more standardized and less flexible. The greatest differences in the funana played by acoustic musicians compared with those who use electronic instruments and record their music are instrumentation and acoustic funana has open-ended forms and uses much improvisation. Amplified funana has become more formalized and composed throughout (although improvisation is still present in a more limited role). In contrast to acoustic funana, the new version has a harmonic structure that is more often expanded to include additional chords.

Because of the radical change in the instrumentation of funana from acoustic to electronic, it is easy overlook the continuity between the two forms of the tradition. In fact, although funana instrumentation has changed, this difference is not as significant

as one might think. The amplified funana musicians have replaced the gaita and ferrinho with electronic sounds that approximate the sound of the acoustic instruments and retain much the same musical function. The gaita is replaced by synthesizer, sax, or guitar, and the ferrinho is now played by the drumset or drum machine. The way they are used in the musical compositions has not significantly changed.

As previously stated, it seems that funana's harmonic structure and its relationship to the gaita provides the key to understanding its musical characteristics. Norberto Tavares has said that "funana was born into the conception that you do not have all the notes to play;"²⁰ - that the music has evolved from the limited tonal capabilities of the gaita.

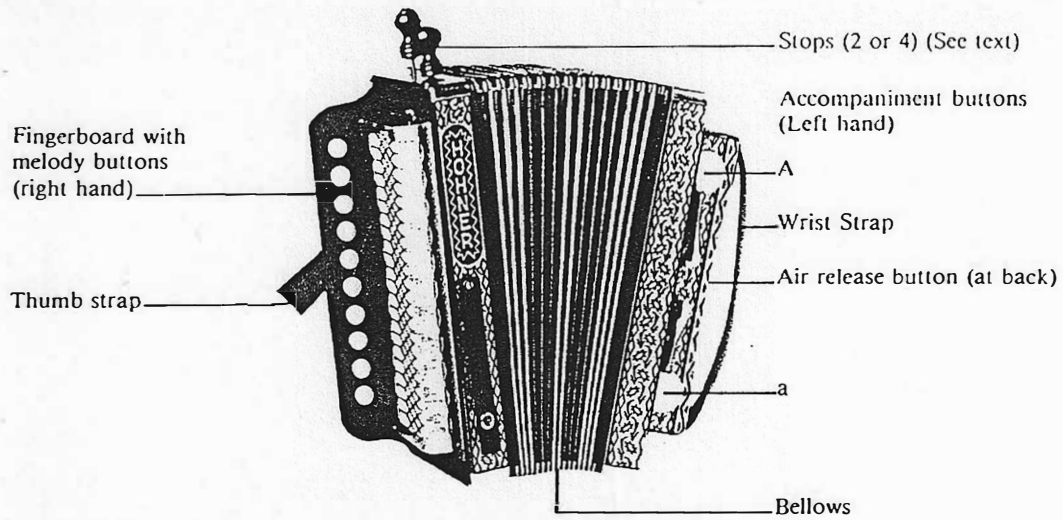
The notion that there was a connection between the accordion and funana tonal language sparked my interest and led me to transcribe funana performances to find out which type of instrument was used and which pitches it could produce. From interviews, recordings, and analysis of scenes from the film, Songs of the Badius, which includes three different performances of funana, I determined that funana was played on two and three row single action button melodeons, instruments that play one set of pitches as the bellows expand and another as it contracts, producing two distinct sets of pitches, only one of which is available at a given time (diagrams of melodeons are on the preceding pages).

20. From an interview on Feb.19, 1990.

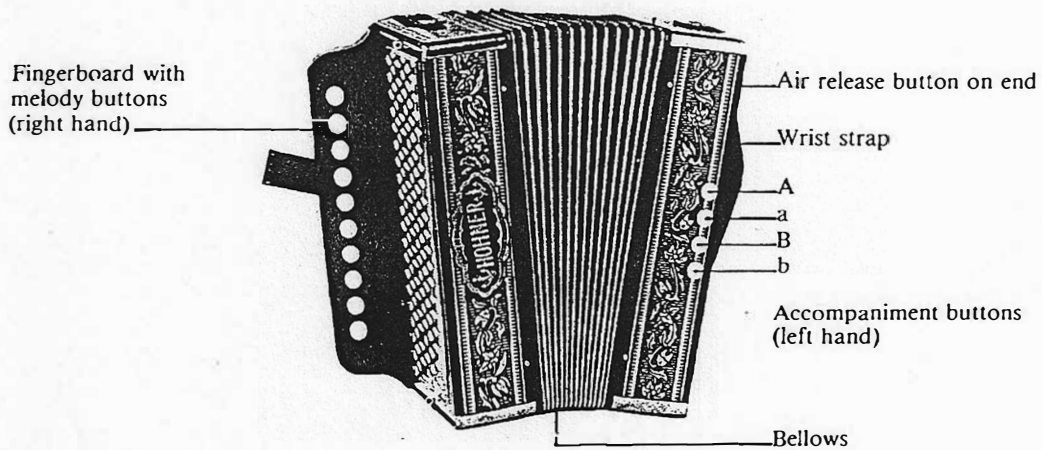
Ex. 5

Diagrams Showing Parts of the Melodeon

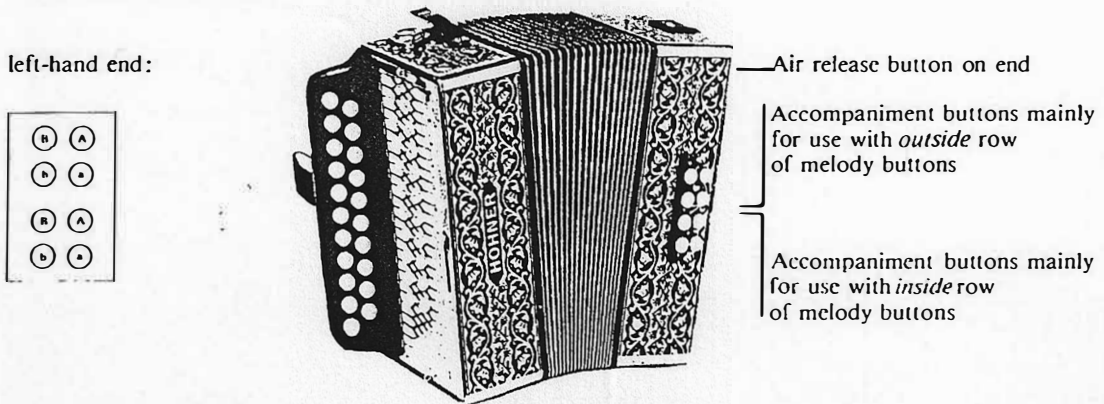
The one-row 'stopped' melodeon.



The one-row melodeon without stops



The two-row melodeon, showing accompaniment buttons referred to in text

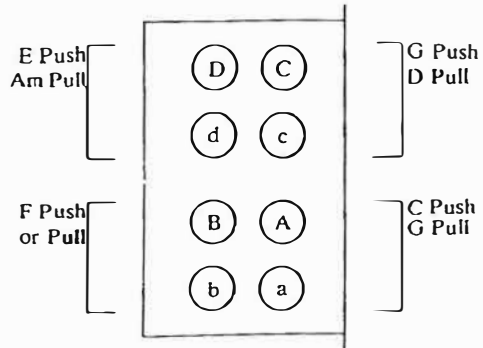
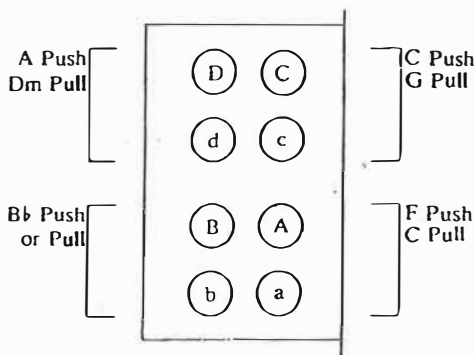
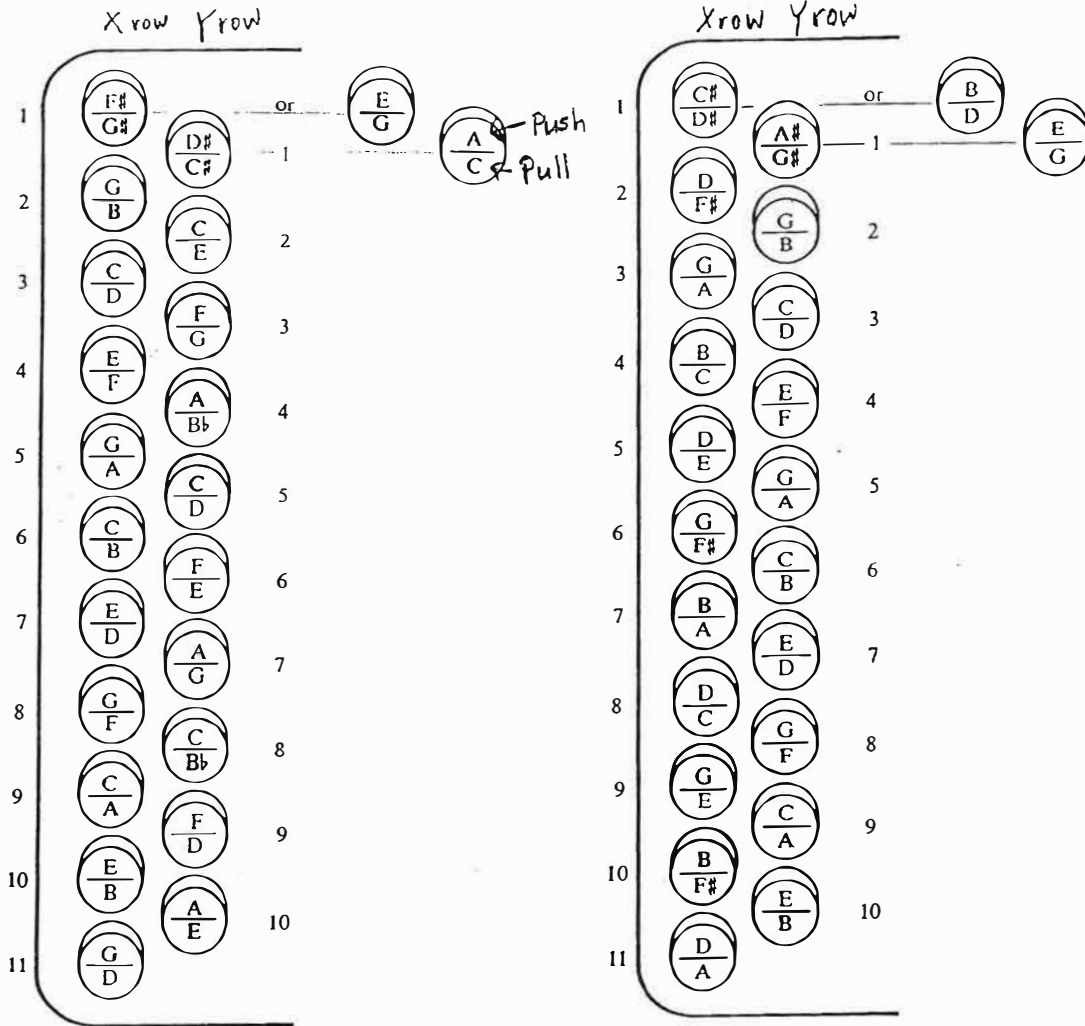


Ex. 6

Diagrams of Two-Row Melodeons

Two-Row in C/F.

Two-Row in G/C



Ex.7

Two Row in C/F
PUSH

1

Left Hand Chords: A major, Bb major, C major, F major

PULL

2

Left hand chords: D minor, Bb major, G major, C major

Two Row in G/C
PUSH

3

Left Hand chords: E major, F major, G major, C major

PULL

4

Left hand chords: A minor, F major, D major, G major

The musician's left hand plays roots and chords and the right is used to play the melody. A diatonic scale can be played on either of the two rows, which are a perfect fourth apart, by beginning with a push on the third key [See ex. 6 & 7]. The instrument was designed for primarily playing Western diatonic music with simple I-IV-V-I progressions.

The physical action of moving the bellows and consequently changing the available pitches produces an internal musical rhythm. Four beats per bellows direction change is the foundation of funana's harmonic rhythm. The physical action of playing the gaita may explain funana's rapid tempo. If the music were played more slowly, four beats might not be playable in one bellows action: playing funana slowly on the gaita may be a physical impossibility.

Although the melodeon was primarily designed to harmonize Western melodies, Cape Verdeans use the instrument in an alternate, logical way, replacing the rules of standard Western harmonization with their own slightly different harmonic organization based on I-VII, i-VII and i-vm7 functional relationships.

Consider the way that the fingers are positioned on the accordion board. According to the Handbook for Melodeon by Roger Watson, you begin learning the instrument by positioning the first finger on the third button and the next three fingers on the next three buttons. Instead of playing a diatonic scale by alternating pushes and pulls on each note, imagine that you begin by pulling the bellows open, playing buttons 3,4,5 in an A minor triad. If you keep playing those same buttons on the push, you get a G major triad. Add an A minor chord alternating with a G major chord in the left hand and you have the basis of funana harmonic structure.

Ex. 8 G/C Melodeon

The musical notation is presented in two staves: a treble clef staff for the melody and a bass clef staff for the bass line. The time signature is 4/4. The melody consists of four measures, each containing three notes. The notes in each measure are G4, A4, and B4. The bass line is mostly silent, with rests in the first two measures and a sequence of chords in the last two measures. The chords in the bass line are G major (G-B-D), C major (C-E-G), and G major (G-B-D), each played in a descending sequence. Fretting instructions 'X3 X4 X5' are placed above the treble staff for each measure. The words 'Pull' and 'Push' are placed below the treble staff notes in the first and second measures, respectively, and are repeated in the third and fourth measures. A small number '1' is located at the beginning of the bass staff.

X3 X4 X5 X3 X4 X5 X3 X4 X5 X3 X4 X5

Pull Push Pull Push

1

As you can imagine, funana melodic structure is limited by the constraints of the instrument, although vocal melodies can take more liberties. Funana gaita melodies have much disjunct motion, especially arpeggiation of chords. In analyzing funana pieces from recordings by popular bands, I have found that they remain so true to the melodeon melodic structures that they can still be played on the original instrument. In fact, I have found that there is little boundary between "traditional" and popular funana players: they feed on each other for inspiration. This idea will be illustrated and elaborated upon in later musical examples.

The two or three-row, single action button melodeon is widely-used instrument in Europe, South America, Latin America, and Africa. It was first put into commercial production by the M. Hohner harmonica factory in Trossingen, Germany and was widely distributed by the 1940's (Watson 1981:5). Although it seems that this type of instrument is the one most often used in Cape Verde, other types of accordions were and undoubtedly are played in Cape Verde as well. Norberto has said that funana is a flexible (and pragmatic) music: instruments are expensive luxury items for most Cape Verdeans²¹ and people will make music with the instrument that is available to them. For example, Norberto learned to play a large chromatic double action piano accordion as a teenager. The history of the introduction of -----

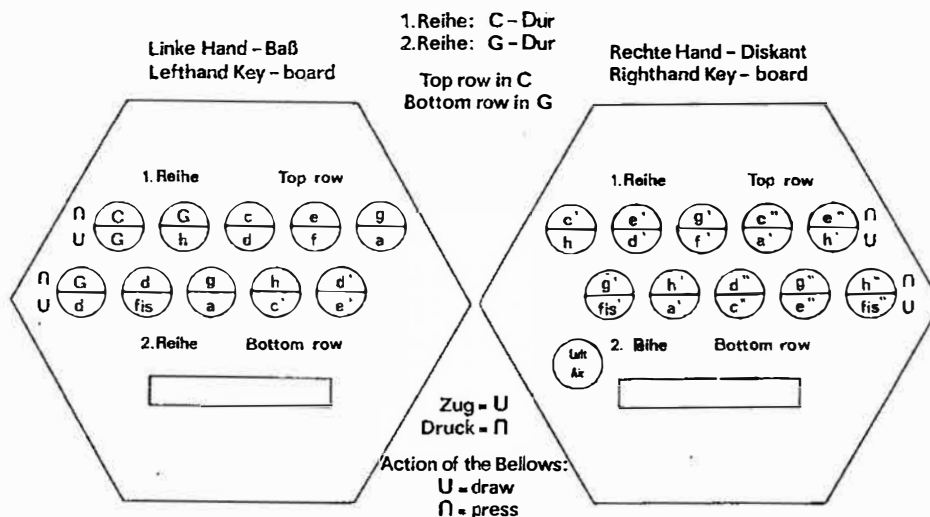
21. A new Hohner two-row melodeon costs about \$250 if purchased in Boston, MA. A three-row instrument costs more than \$600, an expensive purchase for people who only make a few dollars a day. I believe that most of the instruments in Santiago were bought at somewhat lower prices by Cape Verdeans working in Portugal or Italy and were brought back to the islands. During the summer of 1992 when I was in Praia, I did not see any store that sold any musical instruments- all instruments had to be sent or brought back to the islands from elsewhere.

the accordion in Cape Verde is an interesting topic. Was accordion tradition introduced via mainland Portuguese culture? Or did the instrument come with sailors who visited Cape Verdean ports? This is one possibility: however, the concertina (rather than the melodeon) is most often associated with maritime folk musics. I do not think that funana could have evolved from the concertina. The harmonic and melodic progressions that can be produced on the concertina are quite different from those used in funana today, which supports the theory that the music evolved from a type of melodeon (see Ex. 9). Unfortunately, documentation on this subject is not available at this time. Any discussion of the history of funana must be left to future studies.

Ex. 9

Concertina

20 Tasten - 90 tönig
20 Key - 90 tone



By comparing the pitches played by the instruments in the film, Songs of the Badius, with the bellows action and finger combinations used by the gaita players, it was possible to determine the keys of the instruments. The first funana scene features Armando Semedo singing and playing the gaita with two other musicians who play the ferrinho and home-made maracas. Although you never get a clear look at Semedo's right hand, you can see he is pressing the lower left buttons as he draws the melodeon, switching to the upper right buttons when he pushes the bellows together. The sounding pitches are approximately an A in the bass with C# E an octave higher on the pull and B in the bass with D# F# on the push. By looking to see which melodeon can play those pitches in those positions, a melodeon pitched in B\E is suggested. Although I first thought that it might be possible that an instrument could be built in such an unusual combination, I now think that the instrument has gradually gone flat and was originally pitched a half-step higher in C/F²².

I have transcribed a section of Armando's performance from the film, Songs of the Badius (Ex.10), concentrating on the sung melody line and its relationship to the pitches played on the gaita²³. The transcription begins as soon as he begins sing (this is musical example 1 on the tape). The transcribed section stops when the narration begins and starts again much later when the camera focuses

22. When I met Armando Semedo in Praia in 1992, he had a different instrument, a two-row melodeon pitched in G/C, so I was unable to confirm which instrument he played in the film.

23. The transcription is transposed approximately a half step higher than the actual pitch and is shown as it would be performed on a C/F instrument.

on the instrument during a gaita solo passage. As you listen to music example 1 on the tape (or as you watch the film), notice the batuco-like polyrhythm added by the crowd clapping a three against two pattern, as well as their intense interaction with the funana players in general. These reactions are often a part of funana performances. Between these two transcribed sections, the lead alternates between the gaita and ferrinho to the singer in the following pattern of 4/4 measures, clearly showing the call and response relationship between them:

Gaita and ferrinho: 6 4 4 6 2 2 5
 Singer: 4 2 6 2 2 2

Armando sings a song about being a badiu. The lyrics were translated for use in the film. Note how the text is divided up. It is for the most part organized into non-rhyming stanzas of four parts.

1. Badiu!
 oh Badiu
 he came from the sticks, boys,
 he's all right.
 2. He came from the interior
 doesn't owe anyone
 (repeated by the audience)
 this tough guy.
 3. He came from the interior,
 oh, he came from the sticks
 oh, he came from the interior, boys,
 oh, the hick doesn't owe anyone!
- (continues after the narration)
4. The Badiu doesn't owe any bills
 not the least amount
 oh fellows! The Badiu owes nothing, mama!

Besides telling us something about the way funana is structured, these lyrics provide an impression of the messages expressed through funana- one of badiu independence and self-reliance. This funana is built on the alternation of a B major chord and C major chord. All of the pitches used in this performance could be easily played on a C/F melodeon. I have included the fingerings and bellow directions in the transcription.

Ex. 10 "Badiu" Song by Armando Semedo in Songs of the Badius

Voice

Gaita

Ferrinho

Hand Clap

1

Ba- diu! Oh Ba- diu! He came from

Right hand pitches are freely chosen from alternately Bb and C chords

Pull Push Pull .. etc. . . .

Detailed description: This system contains the first four measures of the piece. The voice part starts with a rest in the first measure, then sings 'Ba- diu! Oh Ba- diu! He came from' across the next three measures. The Gaita part features a rhythmic accompaniment of chords, with the first two measures labeled 'Pull' and 'Push', and the last two labeled 'Pull .. etc. . . .'. The Ferrinho part consists of a steady eighth-note pattern. The Hand Clap part shows a sequence of claps: 1 clap in the first measure, followed by pairs of claps in the subsequent measures.

the sticks, Boys, he's all right

X5 & X8 PULL

X6 & X8 PUSH

Detailed description: This system contains measures 5 through 8. The voice part continues with 'the sticks, Boys, he's all right'. The Gaita part continues with the same chordal accompaniment. The Ferrinho part continues with the eighth-note pattern. The Hand Clap part shows a sequence of claps: a slash in the first measure, a slash in the second, and a slash followed by a pair of claps in the third and fourth measures. Above the Gaita staff, there are labels 'X5 & X8 PULL' and 'X6 & X8 PUSH' corresponding to the chord changes in the third and fourth measures.

5

He came from the interior, doesn't owe anyone, this tough guy

Ferrinho and Handclapping continue in the same fashion . . .

9

(The others repeat what Armando sings)

He came from the interior, Oh he came from the sticks Oh, he came

13

		<p>Narration: the transcription begins again 47 bars later.</p>	
<p>from the interior, Boys, Oh the hick doesn't owe anything!</p>		<p>we!! after Armando begins to sing.</p>	<p>Whoa-oh!</p>

17

	<p>Push</p>	<p>Pull</p>	<p>Push</p>
	<p>X7----- X8 Y7X8Y6X7</p>	<p>-----X8X7X8Y7X8Y6X7-----</p>	<p>-----X8--- Y7X8Y6X7</p>

21

The musical score consists of four measures, each divided into two parts: 'Pull' and 'Push'. The notation is as follows:

- Measure 1 (Pull):** Treble clef, bass key signature. Notes: G4, A4, B4, C5. Bass clef: X7, X8, X7, X8. Chord diagrams for X7 and X8 are shown.
- Measure 2 (Push):** Treble clef, bass key signature. Notes: G4, A4, B4, C5. Bass clef: Y6, X8, Y7, X8, Y6, X7. Chord diagrams for Y6, X8, and X7 are shown.
- Measure 3 (Pull):** Treble clef, bass key signature. Notes: G4, A4, B4, C5. Bass clef: X8, X6,7,8, X5. Chord diagrams for X8, X6,7,8, and X5 are shown.
- Measure 4 (Push):** Treble clef, bass key signature. Notes: G4, A4, B4, C5. Bass clef: X6, X5,6,7. Chord diagrams for X6 and X5,6,7 are shown.

As I mentioned previously, I believe that funana is a style in which the actual instrumentation is less important than the musical intent and there is no distinct boundary between "traditional" and popular funana players. As I learned more about the music played in Songs of the Badius, the more I became convinced of this. The examples of funana shown in the documentary are definitely not traditional, in the sense that they have been passed down by means of the oral tradition through the generations of players. In the scene that shows Caeteninho and his wife Florzinha playing funana, Caeteninho works a rendition of Mundo into his performance which Norberto Tavares has told me was written by Katchás, a popular musician from the group, Bulimundo. The song was not heard by people before 1980.

Here is an excerpt from the song called Mundo performed by Bulimundo from their album O Mundo Ka Bu Kába (musical example 2). The transcribed section begins about 32 measures into this song with the melody played on the keyboard using an accordion-like sound. Note how this melody is centered around the jump down to F#; this note serves as a sort of anchor point. The entire accordion-sound section is constructed on variations of the Mundo melody. As in most of the examples heard so far, the vocal melody consists of phrases that are four measures long. The refrain, O Mundo Ka Bu Kába, which is also four bars long, is sung by several singers. Notice how this vocal melody is based on the downward arpeggiation of chords and always begins on the upbeat. It is a typical funana melody. Although it is not played on the gaita, all the notes are present as if it were played on a A/D melodeon, playing a Bm chord on the pull and an A major chord on the pull. Adding an F# bass note

to the A major chord turns it into an F# minor seventh chord, which is clearly heard in this performance. This supports the idea that funana tonal language is derived from the capabilities of the gaita and has survived the switch to amplified instruments with the musical concepts implicit in the tonal language intact.

Mundo means world in English. Like Norberto's songs, this band's lyrics sometimes deal with sociopolitical issues, although this text looks at nuclear war in a light-hearted way. The cover of this album has a map of the world on it with a drawing of a missile being broken apart by two hands. "O Mundo Ka Bu Kába" means "Oh world please don't end:" the text continues on to say the world should not end because life is too much fun to be stopped.

Musical example three is of "Mundo" played by Caeteninho, a gaita player who is accompanied by his wife Florzinha on the ferrinho. As I watched him play in the film, Songs of the Badius, I determined that he is playing an instrument pitched in G/C. In the acoustic rendition of Mundo, notice that the melody is slightly altered: its chords have been changed from minor to major (a I-vi-ii-V-I chord progression) and the tempo is slightly slower than most of the earlier examples (M.M. = @ 138).

Ex.11 Melody of "Mundo" by Bulimundo

1

4

7

10

13

16 (Voice enters)

19

22

25

28

(Refrain)

O mundo ka bu kaba (repeats many times)

31

In the scene that follows Caeteninho's performance in Songs of the Badius, a young woman sings a melody that I assumed was traditional but is in fact a part of the song, "Mariazinha Leban Bû Palabra," (Mariazinha, Keep Your Word) from Norberto Tavares's first album (ex.12 & 13). The fact that these acoustic musicians are playing his song illustrates how funana feeds back on itself for inspiration: the acoustic players borrow from the electronic players who borrow from the acoustic players. They are all playing funana, a music which probably evolved based on a combination of West African, Brazilian and European musical influences.

Musical example four is an excerpt and transcription of the melody of "Mariazinha Leban Bû Palabra," from "Vôlta Pâ Fônti," an album Norberto made in Portugal in 1978. It is based on the alternation of A major and B minor. It fits very well on the X row of an A/D melodeon, although it was not written for that instrument (See ex. 12).

Ex.12 "Mariazinha Leben Bu Palavra" by Norberto Tavares

(Sings without words)

1

(Sax solo)

5

(Sings "Mariazinha")

9

13

17

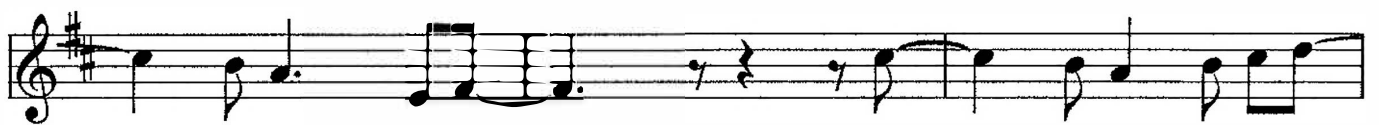
The next example is an excerpt from the scene mentioned above from Songs of the Badius (music example 5). Armando and a young woman perform the melody written by Norberto Tavares. I have made an approximate transcription of the melodic material, used in variation in this performance (ex.13), to make it easier to compare with Norberto's original song. Notice how in the performance for the film, the ferrinho pattern occasionally changes and the listeners again participate in the performance by clapping along. This is performed on the same instrument as the "Badiu" song, the gaita which sounds like it is in B/E. The tempo is very fast (M.M.= @ 168).

Ex.13 "Mariazinha" melody by Norberto Tavares as performed in film



1 (original is about a minor third lower)

The first staff of music is in treble clef, key of D major (one sharp), and 4/4 time. It begins with a whole rest for the first measure, followed by a quarter note D4, a quarter note E4, a quarter note F#4, a quarter note G4, a quarter note A4, a quarter note B4, a quarter note A4, a quarter note G4, a quarter note F#4, a quarter note E4, a quarter note D4, and a quarter note C#4.



4

The second staff of music continues the melody from measure 4. It starts with a quarter note D4, a quarter note E4, a quarter note F#4, a quarter note G4, a quarter note A4, a quarter note B4, a quarter note A4, a quarter note G4, a quarter note F#4, a quarter note E4, a quarter note D4, and a quarter note C#4.



7 (and so on ..)

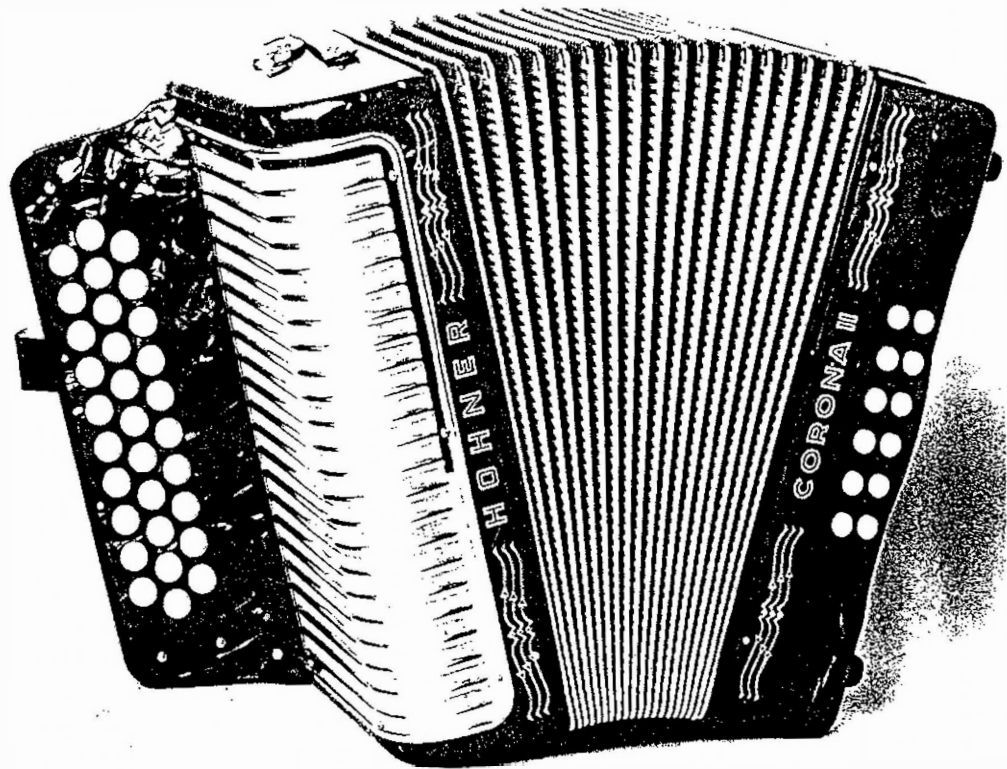
The third staff of music continues the melody from measure 7. It starts with a quarter note D4, a quarter note E4, a quarter note F#4, a quarter note G4, a quarter note A4, a quarter note B4, a quarter note A4, a quarter note G4, a quarter note F#4, a quarter note E4, a quarter note D4, and a quarter note C#4. The staff ends with a double bar line.

At the end of a long film sequence in Songs of the Badius, we see an exhausted Armando Semedo's leaning on his melodeon as the dancers continue to move: acoustic funana is open-ended- it can go on as long as the performers want (or the dancers insist). Musical ideas are developed and improvised upon for a while and then the player moves on to something new; the structure is organic. Funana seems to be more of an event than a song genre at times: musicians and dancers can continue for hours.

Musical example six is a segment from just this sort of a funana performance. Codé di Dona is the singer and gaita player on the cassette: he is a highly respected musician who is about fifty years old from Sao Francisco near Praia. This excerpt is from a live performance recorded on cassette in Cape Verde and sent to Norberto Tavares by Zeca nha Renalda. Norberto thinks that the recording was made around 1985. As the excerpt begins, one hears Codé di Dona warm his instrument up and begin to play. The ferrinho player joins him shortly afterwards. Codé di Dona begins to play four bar variations on material using the notes from a A minor and G major chord, but after a few minutes, he moves to C major, alternating it with G major. He works through a march-like song and then switches back to A minor and G major²⁴. I have transcribed a section of this performance from the beginning until Codé di Dona begins to sing, primarily to determine if there are fingering patterns played on the gaita that are often simply transposed from push to pull (Ex.12). If such patterns exist, they may have a relation-

24. The pitch on the tape is lower than what I have indicated. I have seen the instrument that Codé di Dona plays. It is a G/C/F three row melodeon.

ship to the origins of funana. I have included the tonal system for a G/C/F melodeon. Having transcribed this piece by Codé, I see that there are some fingering patterns that carry over from one bellow direction to the other, but the majority do not (Ex.16). In fact, Codé di Dona is constantly switching between rows of the accordion to the other in a very complex and virtuostic way. The origins of funana may have to do with the transposition of a playing gesture, but this musical example is much too sophisticated to be explained in such a manner.



The Three-Row Melodeon

The Club model melodeon differs from the standard two-row model in having an extra short row of buttons on the right hand fingerboard, giving a selection of accidentals (notes outside the scales of the instrument's basic keys) similar to, but more in number than the no. 1 buttons on many standard two-row models.

This enables the player to play tunes of a more chromatic nature, and also more modal ones. There is also a button on the inner of the two main rows which plays the same note with the bellows going in either direction. Some older Club models may be found with this button re-tuned to the more normal style.

A Club melodeon may be learned in the same way as any other by using the first two sections of this book. A glance at the tuning chart (plus a little trial and error) will show you where the pattern of the buttons fits in with the standard one. The Club fingerboard, for instance, has an extra button on each major row, nearer to the player's chin. As the

chart shows, this is best considered button no. 0, and then the playing technique as for the two-row instrument (with alternative tuning) can be followed. The equivalent to button 1 in the given tuning of the inside row of the two-row, is button 4 of the short row on the Club; button 1 of the two-row, is button 4 of the short row on the Club; button 1 of the two-row's outside row is button 3 on the Club's short row. The other difference is in the accompaniment buttons; namely that buttons 'b & B' do NOT play the same in both directions.

The Three-Row Melodeon

The Corona model melodeon in A/D/G/E differs little from the two-row models already described. The extra row allows playing in a wider variety of keys, obviously, but also adds an extra pair of accidental notes, and more scope for finding buttons for alternative fingerings when chords or bellows' action make this necessary.

Ex.15

G/C/F Melodeon available pitches

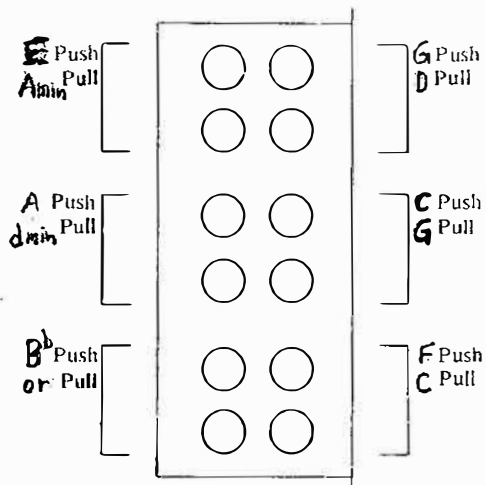
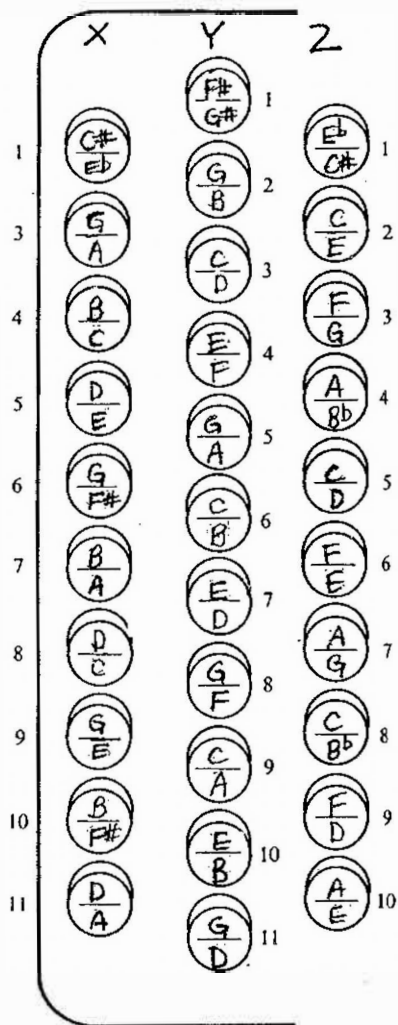
1 Left Hand Chords: E major, A major, Bb Major, G major, C major,

2 Left Hand Chords: A minor, D minor, Bb major, D major, G major, C major

Ex. 16

Diagram of the Three Row Melodeon

Three-Row in G/C/F



Ex. 17

Codé di Dona Funana Example

(original is a half step lower in pitch)

x7 pull x6 push Z3,4,5 z3 | 4 y5 y3 z3,4 3 4 3 y5 z3 4 3 z3y5 z4y5 z3y4 z2 y3x4

In tempo

push pull push pull x7+9 x9 x9 x8 y7 x7 x6 z6 z6 x7 y7 x8 x7 x9 x8 x7 y6 y4 y5 x7 x5 y4 (pull)

↑ ferrinho enters

x9 x8 y7/x7 x6 x8 y7 z6 x8 x9 x8 x7 x8 x9 x8 x7 x8 x7 x6 y4 (pull)

z2 x3 y7 x8 x7 x6 x7 x9 x8 x7 x8 x9 x8 x7 x6 x8 x6 x3 pull

x7 x3 x8 x7 x8 x9 x8 x7 x4 x8 x7 x6 y4 x9 pull

x8 x7 x5+9 x8 x7 x6 y4+x7 x9 x8 x7 x5+9 x8 x7 x6 y4+x7 x9 pull

Handwritten musical notation for the first system, featuring a treble and bass clef. The notation includes various notes and rests, with handwritten annotations such as "x7", "x8 x9 y7 x8 x7", "x8 push", "y4+x7", "x8 pull", "x7 x5 x7 x8", "x7 push", "x6 y4", and "x7 pull".

Handwritten musical notation for the second system, featuring a treble and bass clef. The notation includes various notes and rests, with handwritten annotations such as "x8", "x5", "x8 push", "x6+7", "x8 pull", "x7 x5", "x7 x6", "x5", "x7 push", "x6+7", and "23 x5".

Handwritten musical notation for the third system, featuring a treble and bass clef. The notation includes various notes and rests, with handwritten annotations such as "Pull x4", "22 y4", "x6 push", "x8 pull", "23", "22 y4", "x6 push", and "23 x5".

Handwritten musical notation for the fourth system, featuring a treble and bass clef. The notation includes various notes and rests, with handwritten annotations such as "Pull x4", "x5 y4", "x6 x7 x8 x6 y7 y8 x6 x7", "x6 x7 x8 x9 x8 x7 x7", "x6", "23 x5", and "Push".

Handwritten musical notation for the fifth system, featuring a treble and bass clef. The notation includes various notes and rests, with handwritten annotations such as "Pull y3" and "... etc".

Empty musical staves for the sixth system, consisting of a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff.

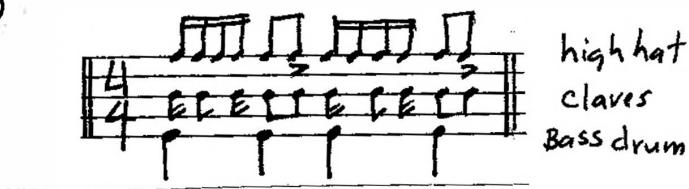
The next example looks in detail at the recently composed song Forti Bu Dan Cu Stango from Jornada di un Badiu [Journey of a Badiu] by Norberto Tavares (music example eight). I have done a transcription of the song from beginning to end (Ex.20) Rather than striving for a transcription that attempts to capture the nuances of performance (inner voices, vocal inflections, subtle variation in rhythm, etc.), I want to call attention to the structural elements of the song: the words and melody lines; the bass line; the chord changes; the rhythmic figures provided by percussion, and how Norberto manipulates various sections of this song in its construction.

Norberto realized the music from Jornada di un Badiu²⁵ on a keyboard-controlled Korg and D50 Roland synthesizer and an electronic drum machine. With the exception of his texts, Norberto's songs do not exist in a notated form, not even in a schematic of their structures.

Forti Bu Dan Cu Stango has a quarter note tempo of about 140 beats per minute. After the first bar of this song, a rhythmic ostinato is set up in the drum machine that remains constant until the end, with the exceptions of the beginnings and endings of some sections. Norberto also adds accents and short rhythmic patterns, and he alters the ostinato for short stretches when it suits his musical purposes. In Norberto's music, the drum machine has replaced the ferrinho as the funana

25. These songs are the property of Norberto Tavares and are not to be performed or recorded with out his permission.

rhythm keeper, but Norberto has chosen a synthesized sound that is similar to that of the Cape Verdean instrument and this "synthesized ferrinho" retains the timekeeping and musical function it has in acoustic funana. At one of our interviews, Norberto showed me how he constructs a rhythmic ostinato on the drum machine that he often uses in funana. The accent on what is shown in this illustration as the upbeat gives a drive and lift to the pattern. (Ex.18)



Norberto has chosen a synthesized voice that sounds like an accordion to replace the role of the gaita in his funana. The first section of Forti Bu Dan Cu Stango has this sound. In a pattern to be observed in both popular electronic and acoustic funana, the melody played by the "gaita" voice consists of chord outlines- an alternation between the root, third and fifth and octave of each of the two chords that make-up the song's basic harmonic structure. Transposing it up a half step, it could be played on a G/C gaita, fingering A minor on the pull and a G major chord with an E in the bass on the pull. Even the rather unusual F natural used in the first phrase which gives a dorian mode feel can be readily accounted for on the melodeon. In the section labeled C, Norberto expands the harmonic structure by adding an E major and a F# minor chord and increases the rate of harmonic change to two per bar.

This song's overall structure is based on the repetition and manipulation of four measure long sections or phrases and is closely related to the structure of the lyrics. These sections are general-

ly built of two short phrases of text within the four bars. These section are labeled on the transcription and suggest this form:

(Ex.19)

drums	A 4 bars	
4/4	_____/_____	played 2 times - <u>gaita</u> -sound solo
	B 4 bars	
	_____/_____	played 2 times - Refrain
	C 4 bars	
	_____/_____	played 3 times- Text
	D 2 phrases, each 4 bars	
	_____/_____	played two times- Text
	B 4 bars	
	_____/_____	played 2 times- Refrain
	E 4 bars	
	_____/_____	played 2 times - <u>gaita</u> -sound solo (second time with vocalization)
	F 4 bars	
	_____/_____	played 1 time- <u>gaita</u> -sound solo (second time with vocalization)

The entire structure repeats from the beginning, omitting the first measure. After completing the repetition, a section half as long as one repetition follows, consisting of the manipulation of the E and F section melodic materials. Norberto presents the material from the last two bars of section E and a part of section F in variation. The song ends by returning to the opening melodic material:

E 2 bars	F 4 bars	
_____/_____	_____/_____	2 times
E 2 bars	F 2 bars	
_____/_____	_____/_____	6 times- variation
B 4 bars		
_____/_____		2 times- Refrain

The vocal part with text has a range of an octave and a fourth. In the section where Norberto sings on the syllable "ba", (the

repetition of the material labeled E and F), he stretches the vocal range to two octaves. Vocalization or singing without words seems to be another characteristic of funana. Nearly all of the examples I have heard have some of this. Vocal harmony parts sung in parallel major thirds above the melody line are also common, especially on the refrain. Although Norberto is constantly making subtle changes in his voice, musical variation by way of dynamic changes does not seem to be particularly important to the funana I have heard.

Forti Bu Dan Cu Stango

(A)

Words and Music by
Norberto Tavares

Voice

Keyboard and Percussion

1. 2.

(B)

Musical score for section (B) in G major. It consists of three measures. The first measure has a fermata over the first two notes. The lyrics are "-bó mi-ni - na". The second measure has a fermata over the last two notes. The lyrics are "For-ti Bu Dan Cu Stan". The third measure has a fermata over the last two notes. The lyrics are "For-ti Bu Dan Cu Stan". The score includes a treble clef, a bass clef, and a grand staff. The key signature has three sharps (F#, C#, G#). The time signature is not explicitly shown but appears to be 4/4. A fermata is placed over the first two notes of the first measure. The lyrics are "-bó mi-ni - na" under the first measure, "For-ti Bu Dan Cu Stan" under the second measure, and "For-ti Bu Dan Cu Stan" under the third measure. A bracket below the first two measures is labeled "1." and a bracket below the last two measures is labeled "2.". A small "7" is written below the first measure.

1.

2.

(C)

Musical score for section (C) in G major. It consists of three measures. The first measure has a fermata over the last two notes. The lyrics are "-go E- go". The second measure has a fermata over the last two notes. The lyrics are "E- go". The third measure has a fermata over the last two notes. The lyrics are "Dia-sa na mun-". The score includes a treble clef, a bass clef, and a grand staff. The key signature has three sharps (F#, C#, G#). The time signature is not explicitly shown but appears to be 4/4. A fermata is placed over the last two notes of the first measure. The lyrics are "-go E- go" under the first measure, "E- go" under the second measure, and "Dia-sa na mun-" under the third measure. A small "10" is written below the first measure.

do N'ca objaba un femea sima BO

13

This musical system contains measures 13, 14, and 15. It features a vocal line in the upper staff and a piano accompaniment in the lower two staves. The key signature is three sharps (F#, C#, G#) and the time signature is 3/4. The lyrics are written below the vocal line.

Dia sa na mundo N'ca objaba un femea sima BO

16

This musical system contains measures 16, 17, and 18. It features a vocal line in the upper staff and a piano accompaniment in the lower two staves. The key signature is three sharps (F#, C#, G#) and the time signature is 3/4. The lyrics are written below the vocal line.

((D))

Musical score for measures 19-21. The score is in treble and bass clefs with a key signature of three sharps (F#, C#, G#). Measure 19 starts with a treble clef and a bass clef. Measure 20 has a treble clef and a bass clef. Measure 21 has a treble clef and a bass clef. The lyrics are: "Bo ô'do, bu boca, bu na-ri-z".

Musical score for measures 22-24. The score is in treble and bass clefs with a key signature of three sharps (F#, C#, G#). Measure 22 starts with a treble clef and a bass clef. Measure 23 has a treble clef and a bass clef. Measure 24 has a treble clef and a bass clef. The lyrics are: "e tu-do for-ma-do" and "Bu dente e bem ser-".

1.

Musical score for system 1, measures 25-27. The score is in treble and bass clefs with a key signature of three sharps (F#, C#, G#). The lyrics are: -a - do Bu ca-be-la é bem san-ta - do. The piano accompaniment features a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes in the right hand and a simple bass line in the left hand.

2.

(B) (whistles 2nd time)

Musical score for system 2, measures 28-30. The score is in treble and bass clefs with a key signature of three sharps (F#, C#, G#). The lyrics are: ta - do E - bo mi - ni - na. The piano accompaniment continues with a rhythmic pattern in the right hand and a simple bass line in the left hand. A double bar line is present at the start of measure 29.

1. 2.

Musical score for measures 31-33. The score is in E major (three sharps) and 3/4 time. It features a vocal line with two versions of the lyrics, a piano accompaniment, and a bass line. The first version of the lyrics is "Flan undi bu staba sucumeli' elo" and the second is "Flan qui leti dechi qui' pavi-". The piano accompaniment consists of a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes. The bass line provides a steady accompaniment. The score is divided into two systems, labeled 1. and 2., with a double bar line between them.

1. Flan undi bu staba sucumeli' elo
2. Flan qui leti dechi qui' pavi-

E- - bo

31

(E)

Musical score for measures 34-36. The score is in E major (three sharps) and 3/4 time. It features a piano accompaniment and a bass line. The piano accompaniment consists of a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes. The bass line provides a steady accompaniment. The score is divided into two systems, with a double bar line between them. The first system is marked with a repeat sign and the instruction "On the Da Capo, voice doubles the keyboard".

On the Da Capo, voice doubles the keyboard

34

(F)

37

D.S. (Short E)

D.S.

D.S.

40

(F)

Musical score for measures 43-45. The score is in treble and bass clefs with a key signature of three sharps (F#, C#, G#). Measure 43 shows a melodic line in the treble and a bass line. Measure 44 features a fermata over the first measure and a melodic line in the treble. Measure 45 continues the melodic line in the treble and the bass line.

(Short E)

Musical score for measures 46-48. The score is in treble and bass clefs with a key signature of three sharps (F#, C#, G#). Measure 46 features a melodic line in the treble with the text "And so on . . ." and a bass line. Measure 47 is a repeat of the previous measure. Measure 48 features a melodic line in the treble and a bass line.

(Repeats 2x)

(And so on...)

49

(A)

52

1.

2.

The image shows a musical score for piano and wolf whistle. It consists of three staves. The top staff is for the wolf whistle, the middle staff is for the right hand of the piano, and the bottom staff is for the left hand. The key signature is three sharps (F#, C#, G#) and the time signature is 3/4. The score is divided into two measures, labeled 1. and 2. at the top. In measure 1, the piano accompaniment consists of a series of eighth notes in the left hand and a series of eighth notes in the right hand. In measure 2, the piano accompaniment is similar, but the right hand has a half note with a fermata. The wolf whistle part is a single note in measure 1 and a single note with a fermata in measure 2. The text "(Wolf Whistle)" is written above the wolf whistle staff in measure 2. The number "55" is written at the bottom left of the piano staff.

Just because I have primarily discussed the music in the last examples, I do not want to give the impression that the words are not important to this genre. On the contrary, they give the music much of its meaning. For me, one of the most exciting aspects of learning about Cape Verdean music is finding out the meaning of its lyrics and beginning to understand why they are relevant to Crioulos. The next examples focus on Norberto Tavares's lyrics and my interpretation of them. Norberto and I spent a good deal of time trying to arrive at a satisfactory English translation of Forti Bu Dan Cu Stango. It was difficult the text consists of colloquial expressions with no equivalent in English. To explain how we worked, Norberto would describe what each sentence meant and we would both try to find an English sentence with close to the same meaning. The story these words tell is a simple one- a man is smitten with a girl he has just seen for the first time; love at first sight, if you will. Her beauty is without equal: he describes her wonderful qualities and wonders why he never came across her before.

(Ex.21)

Forti Bu Dan Cu Stango by Norberto Tavares

Ebó minina
Forti bu dan cu stango
[repeats]

Diasá na mundo
N'ca objaba un fémea sima bó

Bu ôdjo, bu boca, bu nariz
ê tudo bem formado
Bu dente é bem sarrado
Bu cabelo é bem santado

Ebó minina
Flan undi bu stába sucundido
Ebó Minia
Flan qui léti dochi qui paribo

Hey Girl!
You hit me right in the gut
[repeats]

A long time in this world
I haven't seen a girl like you

Your eyes, your mouth, your nose
are all beautifully formed;
Your teeth are in lovely
straight rows,
You hair is beautifully smooth.

Hey Girl
Tell me where you have been
hiding
Hey Girl
Tell me which woman's sweet milk
you were raised on.

Translation difficulties begin with the first line of text that gives this song its name; Forti Bu Dan Cu Stango. This expression is an example of "how they talk in the country," to quote Norberto. It is Santiago Crioulo. The differences in the dialects of Crioulo spoken on the various islands was made apparent when I asked a recent immigrant from San Vincent what this phrase meant. He recognized that it came from Santiago and that it was in Crioulo, but he did not know its meaning.

Norberto explained this expression to me, stating that it meant that the girl was being favorably compared to a good kind of food--an apt metaphor to express worth and desirability in a country whose people have historically often faced starvation. I suggested transliterations just as; "You look good enough to eat," "You are a feast for the eyes," "I am hungry for you," "You give me butterflies in my stomach," "You knock me out" or "I feel you strongly in my stomach," . . etc. However, Norberto was not satisfied with any translation. The best we could come up with is "You hit me right in the gut;" as if instead of moving through starry eyes to throbbing hearts, (as love-at-first sight is supposed to do in Western culture; think of Cinderella and the Prince), in Santiago, love makes itself felt like a punch in the belly.

Another interesting metaphor concerning food is in the line of text, "Flan qui l ti dochi qui paribo." Norberto explained to me that there is a saying that beautiful individuals owe their looks to being nursed by a mother with particularly sweet breast milk. Because the girl in the song is so beautiful, her mother must have sweet milk and he attempts to find out her identity via her mother.

This is a rather straightforward love song, not one of the songs in which Norberto expresses his political ideas. It is a popular song with his audiences, perhaps because it deals with an issue most everyone can relate to.

Nôs é Simente Fecundo (music example nine) is another funana by Norberto that shares many musical characteristics mentioned earlier. A transcription of part of this song has been included to illustrate some of these features and to make it easier to compare to other examples (Ex.22). Notice the nature of the opening melody that sounds like accordion: it could also be played on a gaita. In fact, although the song's harmonic structure has been expanded from the two chords G# minor and D# minor used in the opening measures to include C# minor, E major, F# major, and B major, the melody and chords could still all be played on a two row melodeon. Nôs é Simente Fecundo provides an example of Norberto's politically oriented funana lyrics.

(Ex.21)

Nôs é Simente Fecundo by Norberto Tavares

Jovens, Nu alegre,
Nu pupa, Nu salta,
Nu purbeta tempo, Nu celebra
bida

Youth, Be Happy, Shout, Jump!
Take advantage of time
Celebrate Life!

ô cu fomi ô cu fartura
ô cansado ô discansado
Vive sempre alegre
Bu bida é bu sabura

Whether you are hungry or full
Whether you are tired or rested
Always be happy
Your life is your joy

Mundo sta mariado
Mas ca bu decha é fetano
Nôs é geraçon abensoado
Nada ca ta spantanu

The world is in bad shape
but don't let the world's prob-
lems touch you
We are the blessed generation
Nothing can frighten us

Si sol ta nâci tudo dia
Nu tenta nâci, djunto qual
Nu cria nos própi filosofia
Pa nun dia qui manchi
Ca ser igua, Ca ser igual

If the sun rises every day
We should rise up with the sun
We should create our own philos-
ophy, so that every day
isn't the same, isn't the same

[spoken]
Nôs é nobû luz di mundo
Luz qui ta lumia pa diante
Conservadores ta fica pa trás
Pamódi nôs é simente fecundo

[spoken]
We are the new light for the
world
Light focussing forward
Conservative people will be left
behind
For we are fertile seeds

-sa-do O Dis-son-sa - do
Dech-a e Fet-a - no

Vi-ve Semp-er A-leg - re BU
Nós é Ceraçom A-lensã a-do

Bir-da ê bu sa-bu - ra Hah Hah
Nadu Ca tãspan - nu Hah Hah

D.C.

Si sol - ta Ná - ci Tu do Di - a Nu tenta Ná - ci Djuni - to

Qual Nã Cri-atos Pro - pi Fi lo - so - fi - a pa-ru Dia Qui Mar - chi Ca - ser I -

First ending 2nd ending

qual Ca - ser - i qual Si sol - ta Ná Returns to Chorus (Jovens... Nu Alegria - etc)

In this song, Norberto expresses a general message that hope for a better future is rooted in today's youth- that the sociopolitical conditions are more "fertile" for seeds of change. Although this song is not overtly political, a generation that has won independence and is in its first years of self-government undoubtedly feel their own power through it. After centuries of repression by Portuguese rule, Cape Verdean are seeing hope for freedom in a political system where all people can express their voices- a society without strong class and color divisions. In this song, Norberto tells his people to rejoice in this newly found freedom.

Norberto's message does not go unappreciated. As I researched and drafted this paper, the first multi-party electoral process was held in Cape Verde. President Aristides Pereira of the PAICV party²⁶, who has been at the helm of the Republic of Cape Verde since the country received its independence in 1975, ran against candidates from three other parties. On January 17, 1991, his party was defeated by the MPD party²⁷. Because of Norberto Tavares's role as a crusader for a democratic government and improved social conditions, he was asked to fly back to Cape Verde to participate in the MPD presidential election campaign. This request is a strong indicator of the political power of his music. In February 1991, Dr. Antonio Mascarenhas Gomes Monteiro from Santa Caterina, Santiago was elected as the new president of the Republic of Cape Verde. The new Prime Minister is Carlos Veiga, who is also from Santiago.

26. African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde.

27. An alternative Democratic party

Although Norberto Tavares is well-known for the political views he expresses in songs such as Nôs é Simente Fecundo, any performance of funana makes a political statement of sorts, whether its texts appear politically oriented or not, because funana has been at times forbidden. Political associations are intertwined in the musical style. Katherine Hagedorn has aptly described the power of the badiu musical genres in her ethnography on Batuko:

Batuko, funana, and other African-based traditions have been so strongly associated with the long-denigrated badius, and, by analogy with the oppression of all Cape Verdean people under Portuguese rule, that they have come to symbolize Cape Verdean freedom in a multi-faceted way: political freedom encompasses not only freedom from Portuguese rule and the remnants thereof, but also freedom from racial prejudice, freedom from a classist society, and, perhaps most important, freedom from a one-party system that allows no dissent (Hagedorn 1990:37).

To summarize the ideas presented in this section, I have argued that funana has a musical language that has developed around the limitations of the gaita, or two row single action melodeon. Nearly all of funana's musical characteristics from melody construct to harmonic rhythm can be traced back to this instrument. In addition, I have examined some funana texts. Norberto's use of funana to express sociopolitical concerns in the form of dance music suggests

that the music's function in Crioulo society has not drastically changed in its switch from acoustic to amplified instruments. I would argue that in both functional and musical terms, funana is one musical tradition with a harmonic language derived from the gaita whose boundaries are wide enough to allow for a variety of performance interpretations under the name funana.

A Funana Player's View of His Music

Through his thoughtful comments on the subject of funana expressed in interviews, Norberto Tavares has told me much about his music: why it is important to him, how he sees its role in the context of all Cape Verdean music, how he learned to play it, and how he composes it. He has told me what he thinks is unique about funana and has described the elements that he considers essential or basic to this music. Perhaps more than anything else, Norberto has impressed upon me the notion that the most important things about funana can not be understood by studying its musical structure: that funana is as much an expression of thoughts, feelings, and associations with badiu culture as it is a combination of musical traits.

I have transcribed selected passages from interviews that specifically deal with aspects of funana. From these passages, I hope to condense Norberto's statements into a series of principles that express his understanding of this subject; to list some of the characteristics he has seen fit to mention when defining what funana is to him. That is not to say that my interpretation and summary of Norberto's words are any more valuable than his own words: he expresses his thoughts very clearly. Rather, his concepts may be easier to synthesize when presented in a condensed form. I hope that this list of principles will provide some insight into the nature of funana as understood by one person who is intimately familiar with it.

Of course, Norberto has not told me everything he knows or thinks about this subject, nor would he consider himself the utmost expert on funana and badiu culture. There are certainly

things about his music that he could not or would not discuss with me. In addition, he would be the first to say that he has been away from "the source" of funana for some years, although he did return to Cape Verde in the summer of 1990. One must also keep in mind that his concept of funana may greatly differ from that of a gaita player living in the interior of Santiago. Nevertheless, funana is Norberto Tavares's music and I believe that valuable ethnographic information and a greater understanding of funana can be gained from this individual's views.

The interview methodology that I used in interviews with Norberto evolved as we got to know each other better. In the beginning, I had a list of questions that I wanted answered and rather formally raised one topic after the other. I found Norberto to be quite shy and inclined to give me "yes or no answers." I eventually found that I learned more from him when I backed off and let him lead the conversations. Over time, my relationship with Norberto has developed into a close working friendship, a collaboration in which we have helped each other on many projects and are always in contact. To name just a few of these joint projects, Norberto has helped me translate letters into Portuguese and Crioulo, has made phone calls for me, has read the papers I've written, and has played at dances at Brown University several times. I have written up publicity material for him and have gotten other people excited about his music, have played horn on his latest album, and have transcribed some of his songs for him. Norberto is as fine a person as they come; he's a man of the highest integrity. I am

extremely fortunate to have him for a friend and recognize that platonic friendships between married people of the opposite sex are unusual in Cape Verdean culture (and maybe in my own culture!).

Concerning the interview transcriptions, I have left these passages in the manner that they came about in conversation: my questions and comments are indicated by an S and Norberto is represented by an N. The texts have been edited to make them read as smoothly as possible, rather than striving for a transcription that is particularly close to the way the words were spoken. Natural speech redundancies and some grammatical errors have been edited out, but I have tried to remain as close to the spoken text as possible. Brackets are used to add editorial corrections or comments.

S: If your father didn't teach you to play music, how did you learn and what kind of music did you play when you were first learning?

N: I was trying to play the "folklore," you know, the Cape Verdean music; morna, coladera, and also funana was a kind of music from the people in the country. . . I was fascinated with the funana, . . . sometimes I would go to the countryside to hear the people singing and playing funana. I was the first to put the funana into recording, when I came to Portugal. But going back to the question, . . usually I learned by myself because I play guitar left-handed and nobody could teach me so I tried to learn by myself. I remembered the chords my father played, . . .I remembered the sound, . . and I tried to put the sound into the instrument until I got it. When I learned to play, I even didn't know the name of the chords. .. but I discovered all the chords without knowing the names.

S: That's something! It must have been difficult. Did your father play guitar, too?

N: Yes, he played accordion, guitar, ten-string guitar; that's a different kind of instrument that I haven't seen in America. It's almost like a 12-string, but it has ten strings. He played almost everything.

S: If you play guitar the other way around, does that mean you tune the guitar the opposite way?

N: No, no; I just tried to discover the sound the regular way. I didn't know I was supposed to change the strings to play, so I learned that way.²⁸

Although Norberto's father was a musician, he died before Norberto was old enough to learn to play music from him. Additionally, his father was not a funana player; he played the string instruments associated with more European influenced music like the morna. In other interviews, Norberto mentions that his father was particularly respected as a violin player. Norberto grew up in the village of Assomada in the Santa Caterina region and had to walk away from the town and into the hills of Santiago to hear funana, and in fact, when he was a young man, rediscovered and fell in love with the "real tradition" [Norberto's words], the music of badius living in the countryside. He explains more about this.

S: You aren't ethnically badiu, are you? Is that your origins?

N: Yes, Praia, Santa Caterina; I was born in Santa Caterina and that's badiu. Sometimes I'd go to visit my uncle far away in the country where I learned the real tradition. Because I was from a village and usually in the village, you don't learn the real tradition of your people, I felt lucky to be able to go into the countryside and see the tradition.

S: Yeah, you went to school in Cape Verde, didn't you?

N: Yeah, in the village. A lot of people from the countryside had to walk a long way to come to the village for school.

S: I see. You didn't learn any music in school, did you?

28. From an interview on February 2, 1990.

N: No, there wasn't any music in school at that time. Sometimes when we need an instrument, we can not afford it and that's why I came to the church, to play the organ.

S: Which church would that be then? the Catholic church?

N: Yes.²⁹

From these passages, the following principle about funana can be derived:

The traditional funana style is practiced by the badius living in the countryside, not the in the village.

The issue of traditionality is one that often came up in our conversations. Norberto values traditionality: he respects artists that he considers traditional, as this conversation about the well-known Cape Verdean morna singer Bana indicates:

N: Bana is one of the best morna singers; He's been singing it for a long time; more than twenty-five years, I guess. He's coming to play in America next month, in May.

S: No kidding! Here somewhere?

N: It must be between Boston and Providence.
[The conversation changes to some other Cape Verdean recordings I found and then returns to Bana].

S: So this Bana is still around. Do you like him?

N: I like him; I respect him because he always sings the traditional coladera and morna and the other guys always sing, like, Brazilian and cumbia, do you know cumbia? It's from latino style. There was a lot of influence in Cape Verde when Bana was starting, they recorded a lot of cumbias and things, but Bana always kept doing Cape Verde songs, so that's why I respect him, for that.

S: So you would call him traditional?

29. From an interview on February 2, 1990.

N: Yes

S: Are the words traditional and folklore almost the same in Portuguese [as in English]?

N: Almost the same, yes.³⁰

In the same interview, Norberto explained the role of the band, Bulimundo, in the popularization of funana and expressed his respect for them, in part because they remain true to the funana "source." Although Norberto strives to be traditional, he expresses some regret he is not more so, stating that his lack of proximity to his county, specifically to traditional funana players for inspiration and help, have affected his music. From these two conversations, another principle can be formulated.

Traditionality is to be valued in Cape Verdean music-making, but it is difficult to remain traditional when living far from its source.

S: There is supposed to be a group which I'm sure you must know about called Bulimundo. Who are they? How do they fit in to the . .

N: Yes, they are a musical group

S: Are they really popular?

N: They were the ones that made funana popular. I started; I recorded funana first, but I didn't have a lot of guys that know the funana to help me, so they are the one who did all the job to make the funana, to make the people accept that concept of music. Because before, they used to say, "Ah, this is song from the people of the countryside." They don't care about that music, but Bulimundo was the one who insisted in playing that kind of sound until the people from the city and village began to accept this kind of music.

S: Are they still popular now?

30. From an interview on April 4, 1990.

N: Well, the original guy who was the founder of this is dead now- in a car accident, but there is another group of guys trying to use this name but they are not accepted fully by the people. They like more the original Bulimundo.

S: Is the music that they play much different from what you play?

N: It is not much different, but they are on the source, you know, they pick up things from the people directly: I am sixteen years outside of Cape Verde.

S: That makes me think of another thing I wanted to ask you. Do you see a sharp difference between say, traditional funana and . . . Where do you see the boundary? Do you consider yourself a traditional musician?

N: I try to be, but of course, I've been living now outside for sixteen years; I can not say, you know, my music is purely traditional, you know, because you pick it up from different directions; especially when you are outside.

S: Well, you have to make a living, too.

N: Yes!

S: But from what you were describing about this band, it is not entirely traditional, either, right? Anyhow, what is traditional, that is the problem. Is it even desirable or important to be traditional?

N: It's not entirely the tradition, but this ^{is} the band we could say is more traditional than any other ones.³¹

In our interviews, we spent much time talking about how funana is constructed. Norberto clearly spelled out what he thinks is essential to the genre on several occasions:

S: Can you explain to me a little bit about how funana is put together? or how you've worked it in to the music you're playing now?

N: Funana, . . . usually they use a small accordion, you know- those accordions with just two- I don't know if you have seen those kind of accordions; it just has two rows of buttons. That was limited, so you don't have all the sustenidos and

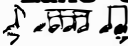
31. From an interview on April 4, 1990.

bemols, . . the flat and sharp notes. So . . .

S: Wait, wait, what did you call them again? B Molls?

N: Bemol, that's flat and sustenido, that's sharp. So the funana was born into that conception that you don't have all the notes to play. Usually they use just like . . . let me show you on the guitar. [He picks up his guitar] Usually they use two notes, two minors, you know, like . . [plays a minor and e minor chord], . . just these. Into these two notes, they make a lot of variations but the limitation from the accordion made us . . . Basically, the music is this [plays the two chords again] you know?.

S: Is there a typical rhythm that goes with that?

N: Yeah, of course. There's a fast paced rhythm. They use a kind of steel to make the rhythm. [He demonstrates this rhythm on the guitar ]; a fast paced rhythm. Of course, right now we use a lot of other paces³² after the musicians try to use electronic instruments. Right now, the funana is more open to other kinds of chords.

S: Do a lot of the songs have the same subject? The words- are they often about the same sort of thing?

N: Usually a morna, you know, the kind of slow one, talks about love, but funana is the one that talks about different kinds of subjects, . . usually all the . . . all the sad things you feel. You can put any kind of subject into funana, like politics. Usually, I use funana to say a lot of things that are kind of political, . . .

S: I was really happy that night when I heard you, that you dedicated, . . that you celebrated Mandela's release.

N: Yes.

S: It seems like you don't avoid political issues at all in your music.

N: No, I never felt afraid of telling what I think. A lot of people in Cape Verde think I didn't go back because I said things in my songs, but that's not the point because the Government invited me about three or four times for me to go

32. This word is pronounced like "passes" but I think Norberto means "paces." After telling me that funana has a fast-paced rhythm, he demonstrated it for me on the guitar by playing a rhythm produced by a rapid strumming pattern. I think that he equates "paces" with strumming and in this sentence he is saying that many different strumming patterns and rhythmic figures are used electronic funana.

there. I never had a chance to go. Finally, I'm going this year in June.

S: In the songs that I heard in the video, I wasn't sure if the man was making up the words as he went along or . . .

N: Yeah, sometimes they do that. Sometimes they improvise. Sometimes they have a song and in the moment, they add something else, they do a lot of that.

S: How does batuco fit in with funana?

N: Batuco mostly comes from Africa, but it is the same kind of music people from the countryside used to play and sing. It has a different rhythm, but it has the same kind of sentiment as funana.

S: But mostly women sing that, right?

N: Yeah, mostly women. Some men, but few, very few.

S: Like that one in the film. He was good. A woman wouldn't play funana by herself, would she? or maybe?

N: No, no. Sometimes they sing it, but they must have some men to play the accordion.

S: Oh, that's right! I remember there was a woman who sang in the film. It's very nice music. In the film, it talked a little bit about how the people who lived in the interior of Santiago are very proud because they were able to stay independent of the Portuguese. Is there still some sort of that feeling now?

N: They still have that feeling. As a matter of fact, there is this kind of people that never accepted nothing from the Portuguese. They called them rebellados. They live sometimes in the mountains, sometimes in some holes or kind of caves. They never bothered with things from the Portuguese or things that came from Europe. They felt proud of themselves until now.

S: Say of the people from Cape Verde who live now here in New England, are many of them these people, or is it hard to say?

N: No, no. Most of the people came from Brava and Brava has a lot of people who came from Portugal so there is a different kind of tradition, a different kind of people. In Praia, there are more people that came from Africa, so there is a different mentality.³³

33. from an interview on February 19, 1990.

From the previous excerpt, it is possible to produce an extensive list of funana characteristics based on what Norberto has explained. He indicated that:

A type of button accordion called gaita is used to play funana

The gaita can only produce a limited number of tones. A chromatic scale, for example, can not be played on it. Funana is "born into the concept that you do not have all the notes to play." In other words, funana style is directly related to the gaita. Even though new instruments can play more pitches, the musical aesthetic of funana style demands the gaita pitch group.

The harmonic material essential to funana style is built on the alternation of two chords; for example, the alternation of e minor and a minor. Variations are made on these two chords, but the pitches available on the accordion limit this.

Funana has a rapid tempo and a high rhythmic density. In the examples Norberto played, the pulse or tempo was approximately MM = 140. He subdivided each of these pulses into eighth and/or sixteenth notes.

The ferrinho, a metal rasp scraped with a metal peg is played with the gaita in funana. The rhythmic patterns that are played on the ferrinho and its distinctive sound are important to funana style.

When this rhythm is written out in Western notation, it sounds like

In funana played today, its harmonic structure based on the alternation of two chords has been expanded to include other chords.

In contrast to morna texts, funana lyrics deal with many subjects, "usually all the sad things you feel." Funana lyrics are not limited to any particular topics, however.

Singing is a part of funana.

Norberto uses funana texts to comment on social and political issues that concern him. He is not afraid of asserting his views in his songs.

Funana texts are sometimes improvised. For example, words may be added to a song during a performance.

Batuco originally came from Africa and, like funana, is also performed by badius who live in the country side of Santiago.

From earlier excerpts, we already know that they practice what Norberto refers to as the "real tradition."

Norberto mentioned that batuco and funana "share the same sentiment." By this, he is referring to the attitudes and emotions expressed by their performers through these musical forms, which are a direct result of their shared badiu experiences.

Women usually perform batuco, although a few men take part in it as well. Women sometimes sing funana, but only men play gaita.

In another conversation, Norberto explained how he composes funana and told more about the characteristics he considers to be essential to funana:

S: What does one have to do to be a successful composer?, what do you think makes a song good?

N: I believe what makes the songs good, the songs you do must have a relationship with the people; you can not create a vague thing, . . . far away. You have to relate to the people what happens with the people in every day life. I think that's why they like my music, in Cape Verde, especially.

S: Do you think people react more to the words or to the music or to a combination of both?

N: Right now what is dominating the music scenery I think is the music-the beat- those kind of things. But still there are a lot of people who appreciate good words. In my music especially, I think they like more the words.

S: Would you write a different kind of words if you were writing a funana style song than if you were writing another kind?

N: Yes

S: What kind of words would you write for funana? How would you describe them?

N: I think the funana can accept more different concepts of words, but if I'm writing a morna or a coladera, there's a limitation on what I can write about. In funana, you can talk about politics and other kinds of stuff, but you can not do that with morna or coladera.

S: Does every funana song have the same kind of a form? you know, like, say, one section introduces, then another one, then it comes back to the beginning, or anything like that, or?

N: Yeah, yeah. There is a form. Funana is, . . . for example, you say four lines, and the instrument, the gaita, the accordion, does and you do the lines like the two are talking to each other.

S: Four lines of text, of words, and then four lines of accordion?

N: Yeah, accordion, then again, . . . you know.

S: And would any section repeat again? The first words you say, do they get repeated again every time? or not always?

N: Yes, sometimes you repeat- it depends on the composer. Sometimes there is a kind of composer that has a lot of things to say and other ones just have eight lines that they keep repeating.

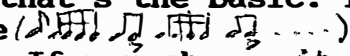
S: But it seems to me that the mornas you sang for me, well, you sang several of them- had a distinct style where one phrase would repeat again and then there would be a middle section. that would come back and then there'd be something at the end. But how do you end a funana? Is there one way that you always do it?

N; No, you can end in different ways. Like I told you, funana can accept different conceptions- you can even put jazz to funana. With coladera, you can not do that. I don't know why- if you try to do that, it doesn't sound good.

S: How far do you think you could change a funana? . . . what's the most important thing that keeps it still being funana? How much can you change it until it stops being. . . that kind of song any more? How different could you make it? What always remains the same?

N: No, it doesn't remain the same because, like I told you, funana can accept a lot of changes and a lot of musicians are trying to put more things into funana.

S: But what I'm still wondering about is - something in all these songs still must stay the same so that you can call it funana. What is it?

N: Oh yes, yes, that's the basic. The basic is like the way the drums go, like () . Those kind of things you can not change-If you change it, you'll lose the character of the song. And also the melody fluctuation is very important to give a character to this kind of music. .

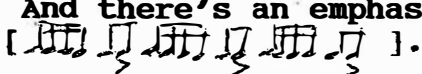
S: What is it like?

N: The way you sing,: You can not sing a funana like you sing a rock, that's not funana. I believe all kinds of music has his

own way of melody fluctuation. I don't know if you understand what I'm trying to say...

S: No, I see what you're saying. . . What is the rhythm again?

N: it's like [taps ].

S: And there's an emphasis on the fourth beat- like
[].

N: Also you have to have that sound, the accordion sound to give the character to the funana.

[After a diversion to another topic, we return to the subject of funana]

S: You know when you were talking about this lambada? What does it really have in common with funana?

N: It has a lot in common. I can tell you that right now funana should be the one, you know, doing this success. Lambada took a lot from funana, even the kind of "dirty dance," there is nothing to lambada; it's not a new kind of music, they just put together some latino and Brazilian and Cape Verdean things together, but it's not a real new kind of music and what gave the lambada the emphasis was that "dirty dance" that we have in funana, too. It's almost the same, you know.

S: In that film- [Songs of the Badius by Gei Zantzinger] I thought the dance was great! It must be hard to learn. Do the people when they dance to you around here, do they just do a sort of a scaled-down version of what we saw? How do they dance when you play funana?

N: Yes, they try to do their best, but the original funana is more dirty than what you see around here.

S: Yeah. In the film it was really great . . . When you were talking about the melody shape of funana, how do you decide [what to sing]. You just know because you know the style.. you know how it is supposed to go. Right? Can you describe it, though?

N: There is something I think is very peculiar. It is the only kind of music I see [that is] a fast-paced music with so mellow and melancholy [a feeling], you know. You can't find melancholy in this fast meter, I can not see that in any other kind of music.

S: That's true. That's interesting. How about the voice quality? I noticed that . . . well, it doesn't sound like rock. It doesn't have the same voice quality as rock too much . . .

N: . . but it has a little bit. There is one guy we consider the best one of funana; it's this guy here, Zeca [shows me a

photograph from a record album] He was from the original Bulimundo. I'm going to show you a poster [He leaves the room to get a poster from his Portugal concerts performed in March 1990]. So this was in Portugal when we went to play in Portugal now. This is Zeca. . .

S: So you are on the same poster. . .

N: This is me and this is him- the two attractions.

S: You look a little bit different in this picture [giggling].

N: It was twelve years ago.

S: So there is still a band called Tropical Power?

N: Yeah.

S: So your brother went with you. I thought you went with your new band.

N: No, we just play around in clubs. When I have a special thing, I take them to play with me. But anyway, those two guys play with me in the new band. We consider Zeca the best singer of funana.

From that last excerpt, the list of funana principles grows longer:

Good funana songs texts must relate to what happens to people in everyday life. Because Cape Verdeans can relate to the words of Norberto's songs, they like them.

At the present time, "the beat" is dominating the music scene rather than good texts, but there are still people who appreciate good words.

Funana form consists of the alternation of four lines [phrases] of text with a section played on the accordion, as if the musical voices were speaking to each other.

There is no set rule about repetitions of text in funana. The amount of text and its repetition is governed by how much the composer has to say.

There is no rule dictating how to end funana.

Musical concepts or styles, such as jazz, can be worked into funana without negatively influencing the composition.

Along with the rhythm and the accordion sound, a distinctive

"melody fluctuation" (the way the melody line is sung: the musical style) is basic to the concept of funana.

In reference to the melody shape or "melody fluctuation", Norberto states that he finds funana unique because it is the only music he knows of that is fast, yet mellow and melancholy.

The funana voice quality that Norberto considers to be the best has a little bit of raspiness and harshness. He considers Zeca, formerly of Bulimundo and now in Finaçon, the best funana singer. [The somewhat raspy voice quality preferred in funana performance is quite likely an African influence. Morna singers perform in a fluid, trained vocal style that is closer to that of popular recording artists from Southern Europe].

The dance, funana is also considered to be an important part of the total concept of funana. In Cape Verde, it is performed in a more suggestive manner than what is now done in clubs in New England.

Norberto talks at some length about the process of composition.

From the next excerpt, a few details about the nature of funana and the way that a funana composer works can be ascertained:

For Norberto, composition is a natural process. No one taught him how to do it. When he is inspired, he writes a song. When he is not, he does not.

He writes songs three different ways: he composes a melody first and finds words for it afterwards; he writes a poem and then sets it to music; and he composes words and music simultaneously, working from his guitar.

Norberto finds that the arranging aspect of composition is more of a burden than song writing which comes easily to him.

S: Tell me about how you write songs; we talked about it a little bit before; . . . did anyone teach you to compose?

N: No, no, I guess it's a kind of natural thing, you know, I never struggled to write the song; if I have a inspiration to do it, I do it. If not, I don't do it. Right now I have about 240 songs without a recording. I've recorded about 40 already.

S: You say you just naturally learn, but still, can you break down how you do it?

N: How I write the song?

S: Do you have any tricks that help you?

N: No, sometimes I feel like picking up the guitar and start to do the song. Sometimes I feel like writing a poem and after, I put the sound to that- and sometimes it comes out together- sound and words together.

S: Do you have to be in a certain sort of a situation- to be by yourself or anything like that?

N: Yeah, that helps a lot. I don't know why, but I haven't composed for almost a year, maybe it's because I'm worrying about the recording, or those kind of things, but before, I used to make more than five songs a month.

S: Because you've thought too much about the technical aspects?

N: Maybe it's that, the technical aspect of music is taking away the, you know, the inspiration for creation.

[At another time, he adds more on this subject:]

N: First I have the words and the melody- and after you have a lot of work with the arrangement. That's the part I don't like. . . because when I compose a song, it comes so natural- so quickly- I can maybe write the song in ten minutes, but when it comes to preparing and making it ready to record, that takes a lot [of time].

Whenever I asked questions about the structure and content of funana, Norberto made it clear that funana could not be understood as a technical way of playing or through a system of tightly governing rules; that the music was meaningful only if one had that right feelings about it. This idea must top the list of principles and override all others.

Funana is not just a technical way of playing. A certain feeling is essential to it. With out this feeling, you are not playing funana.

The next excerpts provide examples expressing this view.

N: [You have to have the feeling] because the funana is the

feeling, you know. Even the other people who were born on the other islands couldn't understand the funana from the beginning. Now they begin to accept it, but step by step.³⁴

[He expresses a similar idea:]

S: Let me try one more time to explain what I was trying to ask before. You know how, if you are trying to play blues, there is a certain scale that you use. You say, I'm going to play Blues in G, and there is no real melody that is always Blues in G- it's more of a style of playing. Is that the way funana is? Or not really?

N: I think there is more to it, you know. It's not just a technical way of playing- you have to feel it.³⁵

This last excerpt reveals some aspects of badiu world outlook that perhaps helps to produce the feelings and sensibilities that Norberto alludes to:

S: It said [in the film, Songs of the Badius] that funana and batuko have been encouraged by the government and that funana has become practically the unofficial music and dance of the Cape Verde islands since independence. Why do you think that that kind of music was chosen, instead of say, morna or coladeira? Are some of the folklore elements of Cape Verde from Santiago tied to some sort of an appreciation of African roots? Like a Black Pride movement here in the States, too?

N: I guess it has something to do with the African roots, because it took a lot for the people from the other islands to accept funana, but right now they accept it.

S: How is it in terms of discrimination? Or how has it traditionally been in the islands? Do people who look more Portuguese consider themselves better?

N: Of course, of course!

S: Of course? You think it is really obvious?

N: It's more obvious than in Portugal. I believe sometimes you can see more racism in Cape Verde than in Portugal, you know, sometimes that happens because those people who believe they

34. From an interview on April 17, 1990.

35. From an interview on April 10, 1990.

believe they're better, they show it to you.

S: You mean, just on the basis of the color of skin mostly, or what?

N: Not just on the color of skin, but if they have just a little bit more money than you, they try to show it. They try to imitate Portuguese, For example, there is one thing I criticize a lot in my songs that I haven't recorded yet; it's like to have, . . . you know, poor people trying to have a maid in their home to do all the work for them, but they're poor like you, but they try to imitate the Portuguese that went there

S: So who is discriminating against who then? Portuguese are discriminating against Cape Verdeans or would you say that here's some sort of division within the population? I still don't quite understand.

N: It's obvious if a Portuguese shows you discrimination, but sometimes you see it in your own people. They think they are better than you just because they work in this place, so, . . . you know, this kind of thing.

S: So that's not really something to do with race, it's more to do with class, it's more to do with money.

N: More class, like a different class; they try to push their way up. I know this guy who was very black, but he always thought he was white because he had money, you know, and the guy was real black.

S: When the Portuguese were there-when there was more Portuguese influence, was there some sort of a thing like that people who have darker skin are discriminated against? or not?

N: You can always feel it, but sometimes it hurts more when your own kind is trying to be distant and be more like a Portuguese than your own, you know?

S: Yeah, I see. Everyone in Cape Verde is a mixture, anyhow. Aren't they?

N: Yeah.

S: It seems silly. . . to try to [judge] that some people are more European than others. Would you say this is a pretty big theme in your songs? Something you often talk about then?

N: Yes, I didn't start recording this kind of message yet, but I'm going to start pretty soon to do it.³⁶

36. From an interview on April 10, 1990.

In Dierdre Machado's dissertation, "Cape Verdean-Americans: Their Cultural and Historical Background," she suggests that trying to view racial discrimination as the clear cut white vs. black issue understood by most white Americans is inadequate when looking at Cape Verdean culture. The last interview section with Norberto seems to support her hypothesis. Quoting Machado:

Certainly the concept of "race" prevalent in the Islands differs in several important respects from that which Cape Verdeans have encountered in the U.S. The latter is characterized by a two-category system of "racial" classification consisting of white/non-white categories, placement of individuals being determined by the principle of hypodescent: i.e., persons of "mixed" ancestry are automatically consigned to the lower status category (Cf. Harris 1970; I; Banton 1967; 275-6). In contrast, the Cape Verdean system of classification comprises many terms. Classification of individuals is subject to disagreement among those doing the classifying; moreover, placement of individuals, based more often on appearance than descent, can also be influenced by factors such as wealth, prestige, as well as the social context in which the classification is made (Machado 1977:134).

This quotation helps to explain the problems I had in understanding the nature of discrimination described by Norberto. The discrimination he has at times felt is more complex than racism in the United States. From this conversation, several more ideas can be extracted that help to give an impression of what it is to be a badiu.

In the past, Cape Verdeans from islands other than Santiago did not appreciate the cultural contributions of the badius, because badiu folklore is tied to an appreciation of African roots. Now Cape Verdeans are gradually beginning to appreciate these roots.

Discrimination has existed based on a series of classifications whose divisions were made on racial grounds, as well as eco-

conomic and cultural differences (e.g., the adoption of "Portuguese behavior"). All things Portuguese including personal appearances were considered of more worth than things African.

By grouping these concepts into topics, a larger picture of the nature of funana and its cultural context as described by Norberto Tavares begins to come into focus.

CAPE VERDEAN CULTURE

Traditionality is to be valued in Cape Verdean music-making, but it is difficult to remain traditional when living far from its source.

In the past, Cape Verdeans from islands other than Santiago did not appreciate the cultural contributions of the badius, because badiu folklore is tied to an appreciation of African roots. Now Cape Verdeans are gradually beginning to appreciate these roots.

Discrimination has existed based on a series of classifications whose divisions were made on racial grounds, as well as economic and cultural differences (e.g., the adoption of "Portuguese behavior"). All things Portuguese including personal appearances were considered of more worth than things African.

BADIU CULTURE AND GENRES

The traditional funana style is practiced by the badius living in the countryside, not the in the village.

Funana is not just a technical way of playing. A certain feeling is essential to it. With out this feeling, you are not playing funana.

Badiu folklore is tied to an appreciate of African roots.

Batuco originally came from Africa and, like funana, is also performed by badius who live in the country side of Santiago. From earlier excerpts, we already know that they practice what Norberto refers to as the "real tradition."

Norberto mentioned that batuco and funana "share the same sentiment." By this, he is referring to the attitudes and emotions expressed by their performers through these musical forms, which are a direct result of their shared badiu experiences.

Women usually perform batuco, although a few men take part in it

as well. Women sometimes sing funana, but men play gaita. [Although I have not heard of a woman playing gaita, in the film Songs of the Baduis, a woman accompanies her husband on ferrinho during a funana performance. It seems that there is some flexibility in music-making and gender roles in Cape Verde, although men do tend to predominate as instrumentalists].

The dance, funana is also considered to be an important part of the total concept of funana. In Cape Verde, it is performed in a more suggestive manner than what is now done in clubs in New England.

FUNANA INSTRUMENTATION and MUSICAL STRUCTURE

Singing is a part of funana.

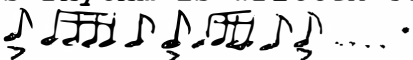
A type of button accordion called gaita is used to play funana

The gaita can only produce a limited number of tones. A chromatic scale, for example, can not be played on it. Funana is "born into the concept that you do not have all the notes to play." In other words, funana style is directly related to the gaita. Even though new instruments can play more pitches, the musical aesthetic of funana style demands the gaita pitch group.

The harmonic material essential to funana style is built on the alternation of two chords, for example, the alternation of e minor and a minor. Variations are made on these two chords, but the pitches available on the accordion limit this.

Funana has a rapid tempo and a high rhythmic density. In the examples Norberto played, the pulse or tempo was approximately MM = 140. He subdivided each of these pulses into eighth and/or sixteenth notes.

The ferrinho, a metal rasp scraped with a metal peg is played with the gaita in funana. The rhythmic patterns that are played on the ferrinho and its distinctive sound are important to funana style.

When this rhythm is written out in Western notation, it sounds like  .

In funana played today, its harmonic structure based on the alternation of two chords has been expanded to include other chords.

Along with the rhythm and the accordion sound, a distinctive "melody fluctuation" is basic to the concept of funana.

Funana form consists of the alternation of four lines [phrases] of text with a section played on the accordion, as if the musical voices were speaking to each other.

There is no rule dictating how to end funana.

There is no set rule about repetitions of text in funana. The amount of text and its repetition is governed by how much the composer has to say.

In reference to the melody shape or "melody fluctuation", Norberto states that he finds funana unique because it is the only music he knows of that is fast, yet mellow and melancholy.

Musical concepts or styles, such as jazz, can be worked into funana without negatively influencing the composition.

FUNANA AS SONG

Funana texts are sometimes improvised. One example of this occurs when words are spontaneously added to a set song during a performance.

The funana voice quality that Norberto considers to be the best has a little bit of raspiness and harshness. He considers Zeca, formerly of Bulimundo and now in Finaçon, the best funana singer. [The somewhat raspy voice quality preferred in funana performance is quite likely an African influence. Morna singers perform in a fluid, trained vocal style that is closer to that of contemporary popular recording artists from Southern Europe].

Good funana songs texts must relate to what happens to people in everyday life. Because Cape Verdeans can relate to the words of Norberto's songs, they like them.

At the present time, "the beat" is dominating the music scene rather than good texts, but there are still people who appreciate good words.

In contrast to morna texts, funana lyrics deal with many subjects, "usually all the sad things you feel." Funana lyrics are not limited to any particular topics, however.

Norberto uses funana texts to comment on social and political issues that concern him. He is not afraid of asserting his views in his songs.

FUNANA COMPOSITION

For Norberto, composition is a natural process. No-one taught him how to do it. When he is inspired, he writes a song. When he is not, he does not.

He writes songs three different ways- he composes a melody first and finds words for it afterwards; he writes a poem and then sets it to music; and he composes words and music simultane-

ously, working from his guitar.

Norberto finds that the arranging aspect of composition is more of a burden than song writing, which comes easily to him.

SUMMARY

In this study, I have examined the musical genre funana, from many different angles. In the first section, I discussed the Cape Verde Islands in general, maintaining that funana was one of several musics associated with the badius, a sub-group of Cape Verdeans who have retained cultural links to Africa. I also introduced Norberto Tavares, my primary source of information on Cape Verdean music.

In the next section, I attempted to put funana in the cultural context of New England Crioulo communities. I discussed the importance of music to Cape Verdean immigrants as an ethnic marker and suggested that the Crioulo communities in Europe and Africa are other places where funana has a home outside of Cape Verde itself.

The third section of this paper is a musical analysis of funana. I isolated and described its musical characteristics and compared acoustic and amplified funana performance. I argued that funana's harmonic language is derived from its origins as a music played on the gaita, showing this relationship through transcriptions. In addition, the texts of several of Norberto Tavares's songs were analyzed and interpreted.

The last section of this study of a musical genre presented transcriptions of Norberto Tavares's view of his music. He explained what he thinks is important to the genre, stressing that an analytical approach to funana will not bring you any closer to understanding what is meaningful about it. The essence of funana is a sentiment that can perhaps only be understood by people who have

shared his experiences. Although he cautioned that music analysis is not the way to truly understand funana, he described it in Western musical terms very well. He also explained more about the context and performance of funana in both the Cape Verde Islands and the New England Crioulo community.

It is my hope that these various approaches to funana begin to give the reader an understanding of this genre- that these approaches have indeed identified some of the cluster of musical and extramusical traits that make-up this genre.

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As you can imagine, funana melodic structure is limited by the constraints of the instrument, although vocal melodies can take more liberties. Funana gaita melodies have much disjunct motion, especially arpeggiation of chords. In analyzing funana pieces from recordings by popular bands, I have found that they remain so true to the melodeon melodic structures that they can still be played on the original instrument. In fact, I have found that there is little boundary between "traditional" and popular funana players: they feed on each other for inspiration. This idea will be illustrated and elaborated upon in later musical examples.

The two or three-row, single action button melodeon is widely-used instrument in Europe, South America, Latin America, and Africa. It was first put into commercial production by the M. Hohner harmonica factory in Trossingen, Germany and was widely distributed by the 1940's (Watson 1981:5). Although it seems that this type of instrument is the one most often used in Cape Verde, other types of accordions were and undoubtedly are played in Cape Verde as well. Norberto has said that funana is a flexible (and pragmatic) music: instruments are expensive luxury items for most Cape Verdeans²¹ and people will make music with the instrument that is available to them. For example, Norberto learned to play a large chromatic double action piano accordion as a teenager. The history of the introduction of -----

21. A new Hohner two-row melodeon costs about \$250 if purchased in Boston, MA. A three-row instrument costs more than \$600, an expensive purchase for people who only make a few dollars a day. I believe that most of the instruments in Santiago were bought at somewhat lower prices by Cape Verdeans working in Portugal or Italy and were brought back to the islands. During the summer of 1992 when I was in Praia, I did not see any store that sold any musical instruments- all instruments had to be sent or brought back to the islands from elsewhere.