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Source: *Ethnomusicology*, Vol. 49, No. 1 (Winter, 2005), pp. 75-119

Published by: [University of Illinois Press](#) on behalf of [Society for Ethnomusicology](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20174354>

Accessed: 04-01-2016 20:47 UTC

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“You Shake Your Hips Too Much”: Diasporic Values and Hawai’i Puerto Rican Dance Culture

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Prologue: “Shaking My Hips”

The title of this paper originated in remarks made to me by a sixtyish Hawai’i Puerto Rican lady acquaintance early in my research. We were chatting during a Sunday afternoon jam session at the United Puerto Rican Association in Honolulu. The *conjunto* (ensemble), with vocalist, modern Puerto Rican *cuatro* (a creole, ten-string, five-course lead guitar), six-string guitar, electric bass, *güiro* scraper, and bongos, was playing local-style Puerto Rican dance music (sometimes called *kachi-kachi*). The group struck up a lively *seis*, and I asked her to dance. At that time, I had done but little Latin dancing, apart from a little inept salsa, and thus naturally brought my impressions of that technique onto the dance floor. As we returned to our seats and to her husband I told her how much I had enjoyed the dance. A friendly but blunt lady, she replied by telling me that I had good rhythm but “you shake your hips too much.” To my debonair retort of “Oh,” she continued, cryptically, “You don’t know what it’s like to be a Puerto Rican in Hawai’i.” Exploring the implications of this seeming *non sequitur*, apparently linking hip-shaking and Puerto Rican identity in Hawai’i, circuitously led to this paper. This brief encounter provided a metaphor for much that followed. It became apparent to me during my subsequent research that these statements reflect the roots and particular trajectory of Hawai’i Puerto Rican dance and music culture, which intertwine sometimes tortuously with the complexities of self-image.

Members of the “local”¹ homegrown Puerto Rican community in Hawai’i consider themselves largely descended from *jíbaro* peasant farmers brought to the islands as plantation laborers in the early 1900s. Citing Alonso ([1849]

1986), Laguerre (1968), and other works, Arlene Dávila describes how an important ongoing national trope in Puerto Rico is that of the jíbaro “of the mountains” who:

is usually portrayed as a white male whose main influence comes from his Spanish predecessors although he has a tinge of Indian heritage. An African contribution to the jíbaro is never acknowledged or emphasized. (1997:71-72)

Dávila goes on to speak of the “dominant presentation of the jíbaro as a white peasant” which

belies the historical reality of racial intermingling on the island . . . It conceals that the Puerto Rican peasantry was characterized by racial intermingling from the earliest period of Spanish colonization, and that peasant adaptations were never limited to rural, more “whitened” areas but rather developed alongside the [coastal, peopled primarily by Afro-Puerto Rican laborers] plantation system.

This geographical/racial construct persists in Puerto Rico in spite of clear evidence of both racial and cultural (including musical) mixing; it strongly resonates with Hawai’i Puerto Rican self-conception, and, as we shall see, it provides a template for the adaption and retention of music and dance. Regardless of interculturalization both predating and subsequent to the migration, Hawai’i Puerto Ricans (hereafter “HPR’s”) most closely identify with jíbaro musical culture of the early plantation era in Hawai’i: musical instruments such as the cuatro, güiro, and guitar (the nucleus of nearly all local HPR ensembles); the *seis*, *vals*, and *guaracha*, which (along with the much more recently introduced bolero and merengue) make up most of the dances of a given evening; and the Iberian *décima* (see below), sung to the music of *seis*, as its most emotionally charged poetic form.

The HPR community is now largely monolingual in English, although many in their seventies and older can understand and speak some Spanish. HPR’s may be found on every island, but Puerto Rican culture thrived primarily in the sugar plantation areas of Hawai’i (“The Big Island”), Oahu, Kaua’i, and Maui. While often concentrated during the plantation period in ethnically defined “camps” within plantations, they did not in later years congregate in “Puerto Rican barrios” or neighborhoods after departing those plantations for urban areas. They tend to intermarry more readily than do most of the local Asian ethnic groups (Carr 1989:306). Allegiance to traditional Puerto Rican music and dance rather predictably varies in direct proportion to age, with many younger HPR’s preferring rap, hip-hop, rock, reggae, and other varieties of mainstream American popular music. Even devout practitioners of HPR music are often competent in country, Hawaiian, or other traditions. The adaptation of Polynesian Hawaiian folk/pop music,

for example, probably began almost immediately upon arrival in Hawai'i. Varying degrees of proficiency in this tradition (e.g., playing 'ukulele, "slack key" guitar, singing Hawaiian songs, etc.) have been common among Puerto Ricans for many decades.²

Characteristic features of the Puerto Rican diaspora in Hawai'i include the following: first, it builds upon the cultural preferences of a particular and limited component of the population of Puerto Rico, the jíbaros; second, it occurred before the exponential intensification and acceptance of the twentieth-century mestization process in Puerto Rico; and third, the diaspora developed in the context of a general feeling of social and cultural isolation and defensiveness in which music and dance are important bulwarks. Through musical culture, this community has grappled with the complexities of an ethnic identity narrowly jíbaro vis-a-vis more general identities such as "Puerto Rican," "Hispanic," and "Latino."

In this paper I wish to explore the following general hypotheses: first, Hawai'i Puerto Ricans define themselves ethnically and culturally as "jíbaro" primarily through music and dance. Secondly, this ethnic identity allows change through what I have elsewhere referred to as a jíbaro "filtering legitimization process" (Solís 1995:124), according to which cultural changes in music and dance must be legitimized by "being jíbaro." Clearly, this self-conception allows for much counter-intuitive self-rationalization of what constitutes "jíbaro," "Iberian," or "white." (See, e.g., discussions below concerning the introduction of bongos, and the rationalization of dark skin as "Amerindian"). Thirdly, this sense of "jíbaro-ness" has assumed implicit and sometimes explicit racial dimensions relatively specific to the Hawaiian context, in which "hips" in dance can be seen to represent a symbolic focal point for a conjuncture of class and race: a transfer of alienation from the old "traditional" jíbaro class marginalization in Puerto Rico to one incorporating American racial ideas in the new context.

HPR's have until comparatively recently experienced scholarly as well as geographical isolation. Most of the relatively few, short publications concerning the community have appeared and been disseminated locally. Most are funded or co-funded by one or another of the Puerto Rican civic associations (e.g., Camacho Souza and Souza 1985), by state arts councils (Martin 1990), or the Hawai'i Department of Education (Carr 1980) in connection with "multicultural awareness" exhibits and festivals. Blase Camacho Souza has for decades documented Puerto Rican life and folklore through articles in local publications and assorted exhibits. The most extensive historical overview is Norma Carr's 1989 University of Hawaii Ph.D. thesis "The Puerto Ricans in Hawaii: 1900-1958."

The Migration

The Hawaii Sugar Planters' Association in the nineteenth century was perennially in search of new sources of labor. Each imported ethnic group, beginning in the 1850s with Chinese, followed by Japanese, Portuguese, Korean, Filipino, and others, provided plantation laborers, but within a few years workers would inevitably begin drifting to urban areas and demanding higher wages and better working conditions. In order to defuse the power of the preceding assertive group, another outside ethnic group would then be targeted for recruitment.

By the turn of the century Puerto Rico was considered a potentially important source of labor. The island had just been devastated by the great hurricane San Siriaco of 1899, which destroyed crops and infrastructure. Jibaros made up a high percentage of the Puerto Rican sugar labor importations to Hawai'i in the early 1900s (Camacho Souza and Souza 1985:30). Their small inland coffee and tobacco landholdings in Puerto Rico had been devastated by the hurricane, and many campesinos left the land for the cities, accelerating the process begun earlier in the nineteenth century with the encroachment of haciendas and plantations (Duany 1984:194; Glasser 1995:21). Their agricultural expertise and presumed ability to endure hard agricultural labor made them prime candidates for recruitment by sugar emissaries from Hawai'i.

Hawai'i Puerto Ricans (numbering some twelve to fifteen thousand, although no precise figures are available) overwhelmingly descend from two early-twentieth-century migrations under the auspices of the Hawai'i Sugar Growers' Association. The largest and earliest Puerto Rican groups, some five thousand men, women, and children, migrated to Hawai'i in 1900–01.

Until relatively recently (the late 1960s), little contact existed between HPR's and their ancestral homeland. Few on the plantations were able to save enough to buy even minor luxuries, let alone visit Puerto Rico, far away in another ocean. Many who first arrived were functionally illiterate, unable to effectively communicate with their relatives in Puerto Rico. Norma Carr refers also to the common practice of what I might term "Portuguese-ing" their names (e.g., "Rodríguez" became "Rodrigues," "Díaz" became "Dias," "Caraballo" became "Carvalho," and so forth). Many also manipulated combinations of their dual (matronymic and patronymic) nomenclature—using only one or the other as their sole "American" family name—creating new identities in order to break their contracts and work on other plantations, often on another Hawaiian island. As a result, "by the third generation although some people knew that they had blood relatives on one or more of the other islands in the Territory, they [often] did not know how to find each other" (Carr 1989:184).

This isolation strongly contrasts with the situation of New York Puerto

Ricans, whose culture has long been paradigmatically one "of commuting, of a . . . back and forth transfer between two intertwining zones [New York and Puerto Rico]" (Flores 1993:104). Flores borrows Luis Rafael Sánchez' (1987) metaphor of the *guagua aérea* (the "air bus") which transports Puerto Ricans, "a people who float between two ports."

The isolation of Hawai'i Puerto Rican culture has ensured that it developed differently from cultures of Caribbean and U.S.-mainland Puerto Ricans. Owing both to isolation and cultural self-image, HPR's preserve as everyday social dance and music older jíbaro genres and, to an extent, performance practices which in Puerto Rico, New York, and other parts of the diaspora have largely been lost or preserved only in self-consciously revivalist or "folkloric" music/dance troupe contexts. Unique among subcultures of the Puerto Rican diaspora, jíbaro music in Hawai'i has provided and remained the foundation for popular music and dance.

Jíbaro Image

For Hawai'i Puerto Ricans, the word "jíbaro" carries connotations far more positive than those encountered in Puerto Rico and New York, where connotations are both positive and negative. On the one hand, in Puerto Rico, jíbaro symbols are foregrounded positively: icons such as white, dark-brimmed "Panama" hats, güiros, and cuatros have become pan-Puerto Rican symbols. Jíbaro musics (especially the seis and *aguinaldo* genres) and food (*lechón, pasteles*) blanket Puerto Rico during the Christmas season, a time of great communal interaction. This music is also heard in folkloric festivals and intermittently sponsored *concursos de trovadores* (sung poetry improvisation contests), which emphasize the *décima*.³ On the other hand, jíbaro music is much less commonly heard outside of these contexts, and represents a cultural complex which is valued but marginalized. Jíbaros themselves in Puerto Rico are often stereotypically derided for their "backward" characteristics. For many Caribbean-island and New York Puerto Ricans, "jíbaro" is analogous to "hillbilly" or "redneck." Manuel has stated that

Jíbaro music [in Puerto Rico and the U.S. mainland] has . . . suffered from an ongoing popular disaffection with jíbaro culture in general, whose allegedly archetypical characteristics—including passivity and illiteracy—have come to be seen as incompatible with modernization. (1994:257)

Esmeralda Santiago refers to the ambiguity, in the Puerto Rico of her youth, of jíbaro identity:

Early each morning the radio brought us a program called "The Day Breaker's Club," which played the traditional music and poetry of the . . . *jíbaro*. Although the songs and poems chronicled a life of struggle and hardship, their message was

that *jíbaros* were rewarded by a life of independence and contemplation . . . and a deeply rooted and proud nationalism. I wanted to be a *jíbara* more than anything in the world, but Mami said I couldn't because I was born in the city, where *jíbaros* were mocked for their unsophisticated customs and peculiar dialect . . .

"Don't be a *jíbara*," she scolded, rapping her knuckles on my skull, as if to waken the intelligence she said was there. (Santiago 1993:12)

Such associations notwithstanding, *jíbaros* are also traditionally lauded for their stubbornness, feistiness, self-sufficiency, hardiness, individuality, and hospitality. These are the very values which HPR's hold most dear, and which they constantly reiterate in discussions about Puerto Rico, their ancestors both in Puerto Rico and Hawai'i, their ability to cope with the vicissitudes of the migration to Hawai'i, the plantation period, and their relationship to other segments of American society.

Manuel notes the emphasis outside Puerto Rico on Cuban, as opposed to home-grown Puerto Rican genres:

Conditions favored the transplantation and flourishing of certain genres more than others; thus trios and quartets playing Cuban-style *guaracha* and bolero at parties and clubs proliferated throughout the 1940's, while *jíbaro* music and *bomba* do not seem to have thrived outside the island [Puerto Rico]. (Manuel 1995:66)

This general neglect of *jíbaro* music outside folkloric contexts is largely true of Nuyoricans and Puerto Ricans in most parts of the diaspora, certainly insofar as everyday popular dance and entertainment music are concerned. Significantly, while Juan Flores states that the first part of the title of his *From Bomba to Hip-Hop: Puerto Rican Culture and Latino Identity* (2000) "is intended [to incorporate] the constituents of a genealogy of Puerto Rican popular culture," the word "*jíbaro*" does not appear in the index. Ruth Glasser's few references to *jíbaros* in New York primarily make the case that their music was presented as "performance" (1995:105). She also cites Rafael Hernández' iconic "Lamento Borincano," which, even while depicting an unhappy *jíbaro* farmer, "used an internationally recognized genre, the bolero, rather than a traditional Puerto Rican folk style such as the complex *décima* of the *jíbaros* themselves to articulate one symbolic farmer's experience" (1995:165). Her overarching thesis is that Puerto Rican musicians moving to New York, regardless of their professional or racial backgrounds, very quickly found themselves obliged to adapt by providing social dance/cabaret/"club-date" music of the American and pan-Latin, Cuban-dominated styles very much more in demand than more traditional styles. *Jíbaro* cultural marginalization is also reflected in the relatively scant amount of scholarly attention devoted to *jíbaro* music (cf. López Cruz 1956, 1967) compared to that accorded *bomba*, *plena*, and especially *salsa*. As I have indicated, however, such marginalization of *jíbaro* culture does not obtain

in Hawai'i (nor among those Hawai'i Puerto Ricans who have established their own idiosyncratic but related secondary migration culture in the San Francisco Bay Area).

Class and Race

At least some evidence exists that the Hawai'i Sugar Planters' Association consciously tried to maintain a preponderance of "white" jíbaro recruits. Carr quotes a 1931 letter from J.K. Butler, Secretary-Treasurer of the HSPA to then Secretary of War Patrick J. Hurley concerning recruitment:

Political difficulties . . . would certainly be the outgrowth of our attempt to confine whatever labor movement we might have from Porto [*sic*] Rico to Hawaii to the white, or "Jíbaro" class but the mulatto being in the ascendancy politically in Porto Rico would undoubtedly resent and create many complications which might destroy our efforts to get only Jíbaros. (Carr 1989:358)

This letter was sent after the principal migrations (1901 and 1921); it is not clear to what extent the HSPA had tried to adhere to this racial policy from the beginning. Many blacks from the Puerto Rican coasts would have been available for recruitment in 1901; a large percentage of Puerto Ricans who came, however, were jíbaro (Camacho Souza and Souza 1985:30).

In Hawai'i, race, national/ethnic, and class identities have interacted to create boundaries which have proven both constructive (in forming a relatively stable nucleus for a Hawai'i Puerto Rican musical culture) and conservative (rejecting or strongly scrutinizing ongoing contemporary trends in Latin musics). In the more than ninety years since the principal migrations to Hawai'i, extensive urbanization and cultural homogenization in Puerto Rico have blurred its Hispanic-African cultural polarity. The great (albeit already steadily declining) cultural gap between highland jíbaros and lowland Afro-Puerto Ricans which existed at the time of the first migration has considerably narrowed in Puerto Rico itself since that time, under the pressure first of the large incorporated plantations (largely U.S.-owned), and later of industrialization. These processes had the effect of drawing jíbaros from their individual shareholdings, ultimately urbanizing the island, and throwing disparate racial groups together. The result was an inevitable acceleration of the physical and cultural mixing which had actually been taking place since the early colonial period:

The dissolution, especially, of the mountain region enterprises converted the highland farmer and the sharecropper more and more into migrants seeking work on the coast, and the process, already under way before 1898, was accelerated by the rapid decline of coffee production after that date. And while the process had its compensating features—it facilitated, for example, the growth of social fraternization between the white highland peasant and the Negro coastal

plantation employee—its main effect, sociologically, was to stimulate a rapid disorganization in the life of the communities it visited. (Lewis 1963:95)

The interaction continued in New York and, indeed, has become a trademark of Nuyorican identity. Juan Flores refers to a Chicano friend who, in comparing Los Angeles Chicano and New York Puerto Rican barrio cultures, made note of

the intensity and extent of influence between Black and Puerto Rican cultures in New York. El Barrio flows off imperceptibly into Harlem, Williamsburgh into Bedford-Stuyvesant, while by contrast, sharper lines seem to separate East Los Angeles from Watts, and other Southwestern barrios from their adjacent Black neighborhoods. Wherever he looked and listened, Francisco witnessed young Puerto Ricans and New York Blacks talking and walking in the same manner, singing and dancing with the same style and often seeming indistinguishable in appearance and action. (Flores 1993:183)

Duany refers to this coalescence process as it applies to musical acculturation in Puerto Rico:

Shared misery and lack of opportunity have bred highly egalitarian social relations along with further cultural and racial mixing among the urban migrants. Thus, the daughter of Utuado peasants has learned to dance the *plena* while the descendant of black slaves has come to improvise *décimas*. From this intense and continuing syncretization has emerged the music of *salsa*, neither black nor white, African nor European, but *negriblanca*. Salsa should be understood as part of this displacement of poor Puerto Ricans from the countryside to the coastal cities and, beyond, to the United States. (Duany 1984:195–96)

Glasser (1995:86, 91, 158) extensively discusses the adoption, perforce, of Afro-influenced Cuban genres as the *lingua franca* of gigging Puerto Rican musicians early in the Puerto Rican migration to New York.

On the other hand, the specifically Puerto Rican (as opposed to Cuban) Afro-Caribbean bomba and “mulatto” plena have been used in recent years primarily as political, ethnic, folkloric, and communal symbols rather than as mainstream popular music. The bomba and plena require far fewer “elite” poetic and musical skills than do the jíbaro seis and aguinaldo, with their complicated décima poetry and vocal and cuatro solos; they lend themselves to relatively unlimited informal accretion of both performers and ad-hoc instrumentation, and incorporate easily learned choral responses (see the “Postlude” to this article for an example of the bomba performed in this way). Juan Flores speaks of Nuyorican *casita* (Caribbean-style communal huts) events in which bombas and plenas predominated:

It was these African-based forms of Puerto Rican popular music that got everyone moving, clapping and shouting in chorus . . . by the last hour the porch was overflowing with men and women of all ages singing and keeping the beat with *panderetas*, *güiros*, or whatever else was at hand. (Flores 2000:67)

The plena, notes Manuel, "is routinely performed by meandering ensembles at informal street parties . . . by protesting students, and by striking labor unions in front of targeted workplaces." While a stylized form of the bomba enjoyed a period of popularization through the recordings of Rafael Cortijo, and the plena through those of Manuel Jiménez "Canario," Cesar Concepción, and Cortijo, "in the realm of popular dance music and the mass media, they have given up their niches to mainstream salsa, rock, merengue, and other contemporary styles" (Manuel 1994:260).

Much of this Puerto Rico and New York cultural coalescence bypassed Hawai'i Puerto Ricans. Strongly identifying with jíbaro culture, they have had difficulty coming to terms with race, whether in the Latin American sense (characterized by a loose equation of color with class, within a broad continuum of color-feature categories) or that more typical of the USA. By the latter I mean the *absolute* categories of either "black" or "white"—what Marvin Harris has termed "hypodescent" (1970:86),⁴ stemming largely from the psychological construction of *any* degree of African heritage as a sort of "pollutant" or dominant trait which overwhelms other parts of one's racial identity. HPR's apparently relate to both types of conceptualization: individuals of various "racial description" co-exist easily within the category of "Puerto Rican," which constitutes certainly a more sophisticated variety within the "black-white" continuum than would be acceptable in the Anglo/haole world. On the other hand, this co-existence and acceptance is largely circumscribed by an atmosphere in which obvious differences in *stereotypical* racial traits are either not acknowledged or are explained away. I maintain that the U.S. racialized discourse has influenced Hawai'i jíbaros, insinuating itself into and syncretizing with a pre-existing sensitivity born of the old Puerto Rico "hillbilly" image alienation.

Rather than overtly acknowledging this African presence, they tend to cling to a perceived and idealized Iberian and Taino Caribbean Amerindian heritage. Hawai'i Puerto Ricans commonly claim part-Taino ancestry to explain away dark skin or "nonwhite" features.⁵ They have, moreover, implicitly and sometimes explicitly rejected overtly African or Afro-Latin musical and dance features, while embracing Iberian-derived qualities of their traditional culture, including the *décima*. Musical selection procedures at every level, whether with regard to genre, improvisation practices, dancing style, or musical instruments, have been influenced by this general preference scheme.⁶ Conscious rejection has not, however, by any means precluded the gradual and occasional abrupt adoption of "Afro" genres, musical instruments, and performance practices; clearly, contemporary HPR music/dance culture is by no means "frozen in time," but contrasts dramatically with that of the early 1900s, change having primarily been negotiated through the mediation of the "jíbaro filter" mentioned earlier. Bongos, for example, first became widely

known via Cuban *son* recordings in the 1920s, and were thence adapted to many other genres in Cuba and the rest of the Hispanic Caribbean. They did not appear in HPR ensembles until late in WWII, having been introduced by Caribbean or mainland U.S. Puerto Rican servicemen who, individually, sought out local Puerto Ricans and “sat in” with them. An individual Hispanic serviceman could “jam” on bongo with local jíbaro-oriented groups without generating more complex Afro-Cuban implications (e.g., interlocking composite rhythms with congas, timbales, bells, piano, and responsorial *montuno* structure) typical of mainland U.S. and Caribbean urban contexts. Rather, the bongo was appended to a nuclear ensemble—güiro, guitar(s), cuatro—whose genres and performance practices were already conceived to be “jíbaro” and relatively fixed. When, in the 1950s and 1960s LPs of jíbaro musical icons Ramito, Chuito, and others began appearing in Hawai’i, they often incorporated bongos and electric bass guitar, thus providing the ultimate “jíbaro imprimatur.”

Figure 1. “Jolly ‘Ricans” (largely composed of Pagan family members), in ruffled “rhumba shirts,” with “exhibition rhumba” dancers. Kewalo Inn nightclub, Waikiki, Honolulu, c. 1945. Seated, L-R: John Trusdell, bongós; Raymond and Louis Pagan, guitars; George Acia, lead tenor guitar (adapted from Rickenbacker brand solid-body electric steel guitar tuned as a cuatro antiguo, with four sets of double strings); Albert Pagan, guitar; Frank Lopez, claves; Standing, L-R: John Santiago, maracas; Hattie Pagan; Danny Rivera and Alice Flores, exhibition rhumba dancers; Beatrice Pagan, vocal. (Photo courtesy of Raymond Pagan)



Figure 2. "Silva's Rhumba Kings," Honolulu, c. 1954. L-R: leader Silva Rivera, maracas; Eddie Riviera, lead tenor guitar (similar to that shown in Figure 1); Raymond Rodrigues, guitar; Bobby Rodrigues, bongos; Danny Rivera, güiro and vocal; Peter Rivera, claves; Ernest Rivera, guitar. (Photo courtesy of Eddie Riviera)



Maracas (rattles) and *claves* (concession sticks, commonly called "*palitos*," lit., "little sticks" by HPR's) were included in many Hawai'i groups from the latter 1930s through the mid-1950s (see Figures 1 and 2), when they gradually faded in popularity. Maracas still commonly replace the güiro in boleros, and are frequent ad hoc additions to performances (see, for example, the "Postlude" to this article). Aural, perhaps partly subliminal awareness of both instruments probably developed through imported recordings before they physically appeared and were played locally. Like bongos, both were first heard on widely popular recordings of Cuban son groups in the 1920s. However, by the time 78 rpm records were relatively easily available (in the early 1930s) in Hawai'i, Puerto Rican recordings from New York already commonly included maracas and claves. "Los Borinqueños," recorded in New York in September 1929, for example, used both (Spottswood 1990:1695). Thus, as with bongos, these instruments bypassed direct "Afro" musical connotations, and HPR's could maintain the trope that they were at least "Puerto Rican." Like bongos, neither is overtly African; maracas are in name and origin Taino Amerindian, claves are probably ad hoc (but visually very

different) adaptations of African bells, and bongos are ultimately of European origin, having developed as Cuban rural versions of *pailas* or *timbales*—themselves creolized timpanis used in Cuban flute-and-violin-dominated *charanga* ensembles.

The “Kachi-Kachi” Controversy and Social Alienation

The stereotypical jíbaro qualities of self-sufficiency, stubbornness, and feistiness were generally viewed by others in Hawai‘i as “touchiness” and volatility; these qualities (along with the HPR’s captivating dance music) helped create an enduring external image.⁷ Although Hawai‘i Puerto Ricans accept the stereotype with varying degrees of humor or even pride, many have felt marginalized and defensive about their ethnic identity (a matter separate from the generally off-limits subject, examined earlier, of racial variety within the community). “Trouble-making” arises repeatedly as a subject, and has clearly contributed to a certain closing of cultural ranks. It has also no doubt exacerbated the tendency toward flight from the community by some upwardly mobile Puerto Ricans who have managed to acquire higher education. The Puerto Rican population has long remained near the lowest rung educationally and economically (which partially accounts for the very small amount of reflexive scholarly self-interrogation arising from the group); rightly or wrongly, many in the community attribute this position to discrimination in employment born of image problems. This resentment especially holds true for their attitudes toward the hard-working, educationally motivated, upwardly mobile Japanese, who for a long time constituted a plurality among Hawai‘i ethnic groups. (I have never heard these comments made about Chinese or Koreans.) As one Puerto Rican born in the late 1920s told me,

People thought we [Puerto Ricans] were troublemakers . . . that we were very touchy . . . they were afraid to go to Borinque⁸ dances . . . The Japanese are like Avis: “they try harder.” *We* don’t try hard . . . [Then perhaps “externalizing” the blame:] The newspapers openly said “Japanese preferred” [in employment].

A propos, a controversy has developed over the term “kachi-kachi.” All agree that the term, referring to Puerto Rican dance music, was coined early in this century on the island of Kaua‘i by Japanese plantation workers. They disagree, however, on its genesis; most are convinced that the sounds derive from the Japanese attempt to pronounce English “cut-cut,” reflecting the supposed association of Puerto Rican dancing with knives and violence. I personally disagree with this version, on both phonetic and logical grounds; kachi-kachi is the bona fide Japanese onomatopoeic for “dry,” or “scratchy,” and a far more likely explanation is that the term imitates the omnipresent scraping sound of the güiro in Puerto Rican dance music. Puerto Ricans

themselves, however, refer to the commonness of knifing at dances, especially later in the evening, after alcohol had circulated. Several told me things like, "The lights would go off and the knives would come out," or "The men started to pull their knives out and I [a woman young at the time] climbed out the bedroom window."

Whatever the accuracy of these self-perceptions, they have served to help maintain community isolation and generally low visibility. Comments by an older Puerto Rican with considerably more formal education than the average brings perspective on the complex interrelationship of racial, ethnic, and social identity: she states that in her youth people often denied being Puerto Rican "unless they were too dark to avoid it." She herself, "white" in appearance, often noticed "a coolness" on the part of non-Puerto Ricans in Hawai'i when they found out she was Puerto Rican. She told me "I am taken for white, so I don't get [the negative side of association with that identity]." Thus race, tenuous and underacknowledged here as it may be, interacts in a complex fashion with socio-behavioral image to emphasize cultural differences with the broader society.

Plantation Dance Contexts

Dance culture as it evolved in the old country and developed in Hawai'i both reflected and maintained these potently influential stereotypes. Salvageable and transplantable vestiges of Puerto Rican jíbaro life and values constituted the nucleus of Hawai'i Puerto Rican music and dance genres, instruments, performance practices, and behavior codes. They have essentially remained so, with an accretion of genres and instruments, until the present.

The re-creation and examination of a social dance event as it might have taken place on a Hawai'i sugar plantation sometime during the first two decades of the century involve problems. I have never seen a cohesive written description of dances; scarcely any written observations of musical life remain from the early Puerto Rican plantation period in Hawai'i, nor are many photographs or *any* recordings available. Only a small handful of people who were young children in the early 1900s survived into the 1990s. My HPR research in general has been heavily dependent upon oral history; homemade recordings mostly began in the 1950s and later, and few plantation workers early in the century possessed even the simplest technology for recording the documentation of their lives. Even few letters or diaries exist. In interviewing the daughter of a near-legendary Puerto Rico-born musician, Juan Rodrigues, who died in his nineties in 1951, I had to rely upon the hagiographic remembrances of older musicians from the Big Island. In the words of his daughter, eighty-four at the time, "Who [on the plantations of her childhood] had a camera?"

My reconstruction is thus by necessity a composite, drawn from the recollections of musicians and dancers who were children sixty, seventy, and even eighty years earlier, of conditions from the 1910s through the 1930s, when many Puerto Ricans were still on plantations. Many of the sugar plantations were for long periods relatively segregated by ethnic group. The resulting “Japanese camps,” “Filipino camps,” “Puerto Rican camps,” and the like, were nurturing islands of traditional culture. Workers lived with their families in company houses, and the typical dance occasion during those years was the “house dance.”⁹ Very few such houses remain; photos of houses from a “Puerto Rican camp,” reassembled in the “Hawai’i Plantation Village” near Honolulu, give some idea of the very modest space available, one which clearly influenced dance dynamics. The typical small wooden house had a porch, a small living room, and two narrow bedrooms. Sanitary plumbing was outdoors, and a small shed next door served as a cookhouse. Around the outside of the house were small vegetable gardens in which the inhabitants grew specialty items not available in the company store, such as *achiote* pods for food coloring, and *gandules* (“pigeon peas”). Furniture and adornment were all very spartan: a few simple chairs, benches from the porch brought into the living room, a few pictures, and wooden beds.

All the Puerto Ricans of this plantation would have known at whose house this Saturday night dance, the weekly social highlight of “Puerto Rican Camp,” would be held, its location having been announced at the last dance. Food would be prepared by the women of the house and their friends and relatives, and beer made available. The participants began arriving around sundown; dancing started around 6:00 or 7:00 pm. The musicians arrived and set up in the living room after the rug was removed. The normal instrumentation would have been a trio: six-string guitar, güiro, and four-stringed or four double-stringed cuatro of the kind retroactively called *cuatro antiguo* (“old cuatro”) in Puerto Rico, or “keyhole cuatro” in Hawai’i due to its frontal view resembling an old-fashioned keyhole (see Figure 3). It differed considerably both in appearance and in technical potential from the modern curvaceous “violin-like” instrument. This instrument was used in Hawai’i until the early-mid-1930s, when it was replaced there by various forms of American tenor guitar (see Figures 1 and 2), generally tuned and played by HPR’s like the cuatro, which was, beginning in the late 1960s, in turn gradually replaced by the modern cuatro. This organological chronology reflects both the isolation and acculturation experiences of HPR’s (Solís 1995).

Occasionally the cuatro was replaced as a lead instrument by the *sinfonía*, or diatonic button accordion, more generally called *acordeón* in the Hispanic world. Because of its relative loudness, it was seldom played together with the cuatro, which it tended to overpower in the days before electronic amplification.

Figure 3. Natalio Santiago with "keyhole cuatro" (cuatro antiguo), and Luciano Alvarez (?), guitar, island of Hawai'i, c. 1920. (Photo courtesy of Eddie Riviera and Sarah Santiago Riviera)



Admission might be free, or minimal (some fifty cents in the 1930s); the oldest informants recalled free admission in the early decades of this century. Musicians played gratis or for a few dollars; musician Miguel Rodrigues (1904–96) remembered being paid five dollars for the trio, for playing until the early hours. Singer/accordionist Charlie Figueroa (1916–94) remembered playing without pay at Saturday night house dances on the island of Kaua'i, but being paid five or six dollars for big weddings. One common informal, ritualized

means of defraying costs, from early plantation days through WWII, was the impromptu and intermittent “*paloma*” (lit. “dove,” with a signification now lost) in which, after one of the musicians yelled “*paloma*,” the hat was passed among all the dancers. In dances with admission charge, the same technique might be used to target “freeloaders” by directly soliciting non-paying dancers.

Whatever the minimal cost of admission or pay for the musicians, these dances were a communal ritual, with each participant contributing according to means and ability. The dances were their primary means of recreation after long working hours, exhaustion at the end of the day, and minimal entertainment technology (few could afford radios or phonographs until the 1930s). Most available sensual pleasures were crammed into the Saturday night dance: Puerto Rican “soul food”; games of chance (one of the small bedrooms was often set aside for the men to gamble); traditional artistic reaffirmation; the release of tensions generated by plantation conditions; and, at least as important as all the others combined, sanctioned opportunities for the sexes to meet.

Most of the dance ritual codes described by older Puerto Ricans attest to the potency attached to sexual contact and behavior; fifty, sixty, and seventy years later they vividly remembered protocol, and the unpleasantness and even violence resulting from the transgression of these codes. Models for this behavior can be found in the *jíbaro* past, in Puerto Rico (and, of course, earlier, in Spain). Manuel Alonso wrote in 1849,

The *garabato* [lit., “scribbled,” i.e., informal and unpretentious] dances [i.e., of the folk] have their rules, which are observed with much rigor, and from which no participants are exempt . . . A step on the foot, a push, the jealousy of a lover, the smile of a spectator, and other such things give way not infrequently to a knife fight. (Alonso [1849] 1986:57; translated by the author)

This description would be familiar to any Hawai’i Puerto Rican from the early years of the century even through the 1950s. Rodney Rodrigues (b.1945) recalls that even in the 1950s, at Silva’s Ballroom (a popular Puerto Rican center for socialization until the 1980s), it was the custom to ask whether one “could have the honor of dancing with your wife.”

A strict enforcement of contact codes between the sexes framed the dances: the men stood at the edge of the dance floor, or on the porch, while the women waited together in a bedroom. Men would approach the bedroom door and request a dance. Young men and women might catch each other’s eye through the door, before the approach, thus pre-arranging a dance. No woman was allowed to frivolously refuse a man’s invitation to dance; the rule that one refusal of an invitation meant the end of the dance for the refuser was strictly enforced. Clearly, one man who was refused a dance only to subsequently see the woman dancing with another, might

take offence, with possibly violent consequences. According to Tanilau Dias (1908–98), parents would stress to their daughters, "Anyone who asks you, dance with him."

The householder and older people in general were the principal arbiters of dance etiquette. A man could not talk into a woman's ear or dance too closely; in 1990 one woman, referring to an unattached man who liked to dance with various women, complained that "X holds women too close; in the old days they couldn't do that." "Cutting in" could only take place after the "third *merengue* [of the *danza*]." ¹⁰ This rule no doubt insured that the first man, whose claim to the dance was strongest, would be allowed to spend the maximum amount of time with the woman.

They would also direct the couples to dance only in one direction, thus avoiding collisions. With the waltz especially, according to the late Joseph Torres of Maui (b. 1909), only six couples would be allowed: they might announce "Sei' na'má'!" (no more than six). Miguel Rodrigues, even older, mentioned a limit of only four couples; he remembered the master of ceremonies announcing "Otro cuatro!" ("another four" [couples]); perhaps the music would be halted in the middle of a dance to allow this change. Although the *polca* and *mazurca* were vigorous dances, involving a degree of virtuosity demanding more operating space than some of the others such as *seis*, *guaracha*, and *danza*, no such restriction on the number of participants appears to have been enforced. This may have been due to the somewhat self-limiting nature of the *polca* and *mazurca* due to the virtuosity required to execute them. Elderly Puerto Ricans remember that "only certain people" were capable of dancing these (see below), whereas nearly everyone could dance *seis*, *danza*, *guaracha*, and *vals* (waltz). Therefore, among the dances accessible to ordinary dancers, the *vals*, with its characteristic clockwise couple turns made while simultaneously moving counterclockwise about the floor, posed the greatest risk of mishaps.

Dances of the Plantation

These early twentieth-century plantation dances included the genres already mentioned (*guaracha*, *seis*, *danza*, *vals*, *mazurca*, *polca*); the names of others mentioned to me without explanation include the *bella forma* and the *sambirón*. The *plena* was apparently not heard in Hawai'i until the early 1920s (see below).

Alonso, in *El Jíbaro* ([1849] 1986:50) makes a distinction between

"society dances" . . . which are nothing but the echo of those of Europe; and others, called "garabato" [see above], which are of the country itself, although they stem . . . from the Spanish [dances] mixed with those of the primitive inhabitants.

Under the first category he lists “*contradanza [con] . . . figuras, vals, rigodón, galop, mazurka, britano, cotillón, polka,*” etc. Under the second, *cadenas, fandanguillo, sonduro* or *matamoros*, the *caballo*, and the seis. By the time of the Hawai’i migration in 1900–01, the “society dances” had clearly become those of the rural Puerto Rico jíbaros: the vals, mazurka, and polca were important dances in Hawai’i. Of this group only the vals (see below, under “Urbanization”) remains there in the core dance repertoire. I never heard the *rigodón* mentioned by Hawai’i Puerto Ricans.

I limit my discussions of individual genres to those which either up to the present or within the span of living memory (quite tenuous in the case of the mazurka) have remained in the core dance repertoire. Each in its own way both reinforces and adapts to aesthetics born of the Hawai’i Puerto Rican diasporic parameters I introduced at the outset of this paper: a specific and limited population; rejection of racial urban “modernism”; societal and cultural isolation and defensiveness.

The Guaracha as Mediator

Over the years, some genres have absorbed others, and some have undergone coalescence and homogenization within their own general categories. The guaracha, like the danza, as discussed below, has served as an important point of mediation (Solís 2001) among a number of these genres, absorbing here, contributing features there. That this influence has extended to the danza, seis, and plena, which are socio-historically and musically so different from one another, indicates the guaracha’s powerfully evocative musical qualities, as well as its adaptability and relative looseness of parameter.

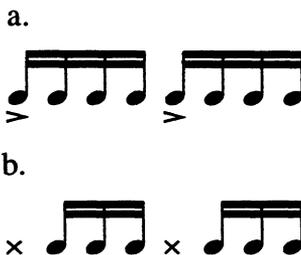
The guaracha was brought from Cuba to Puerto Rico (its closely associated colonial partner) in the nineteenth century, apparently via Cuban *bufo* (light theater) troupes (Glasser 1995:23) and has been firmly entrenched there for well over a hundred years. Guaracha texts are usually light and/or amorous. In Cuba and Puerto Rico the guaracha is most commonly performed as duple-metered dance-song in medium to fast tempo, usually strophic, with a verse/chorus structure. In Cuba, under the growing influence of the rumba, son, and other Afro-Cuban genres, the guaracha acquired a final montuno, in which a harmonic ostinato, solo vocal “call” and choral “response,” and more “Afro,” complex percussion accompany solo vocal improvisation. Consistent with the (at least initial) general rejection of overtly “Afro” stylistic gestures and instrumentation, this montuno section (which, significantly, became part of the guaracha complex in the Caribbean after the 1900 migration) is seldom applied to musical genres in Hawai’i except as performed by self-consciously Cuban-oriented or salsa groups. In general, therefore, the montuno may

be discounted as a typical stylistic feature and does not play a role in the mediative process between guaracha and other genres there.

Rhythmic patterns based upon the *tresillo* ("Caribbean triplets") which may be written as two dotted quarter-notes followed by a quarter-note) permeate its texture, and inform its step and bass patterns. Güiro players today generally employ what Caribbean Puerto Ricans might call a "guarachada" ("guaracha style") pattern using fast alternating down and up strokes (which may be written as sixteenth-notes). The first of each set of four sixteenth-notes is a longer down-stroke, thus imparting a stress accent (see Example 1a). The guitar accompaniment reflects güiro rhythm and technique, consisting as it does of strummed block chords in alternating sixteenth-note up and down strokes, the first in each set of four strokes being damped with the heel of the right hand (see Example 1b). In Puerto Rico and among some of the oldest HPR's the pattern is called "habana'o," (lit. "Havana-d"), probably in recognition of the Cuban origin of the Puerto Rican guaracha. In Cuba, Puerto Rico, New York, and other areas in contact with the Latin mainstream, under the powerful influence of the Afro-Cuban son, both the bass pattern (and often the guitar strum) were sometimes characterized by what is now commonly called the "anticipation" principle.¹¹ This technique demands a considerable musical sophistication, involving the ability of the bassist to: (1) play the first, *tresillo* (see above) measure of the typical two-measure son clave pattern; (2) mentally reduce this to a two, rather than three-stroke pattern in which the first stroke of the clave is silent (or, more properly speaking, the preceding bass stroke is carried over); and (3) anticipate by one beat the harmonic structure of the next measure. The resulting layered rhythmic texture helps impart an important harmonic-rhythmic drive to many Cuban and Cuban-influenced musical genres. While this technique was already well-established elsewhere well before the 1930s, it was not, as far as I can establish, adopted by HPR's until well into the 1960s, after *jibaro* LP's had begun appearing in Hawai'i.

In addition to denoting traditional pieces actually known to be guarachas, that term is used in Hawai'i more generically to describe fast Latin dance pieces of uncertain category (that is, "uncertain" to the average HPR, not necessarily

Examples 1a and 1b. a: guarachada güiro pattern; b: habanao guitar strum.



to a Caribbean Latino, who may readily recognize genres like plena, guaracha, son, and rumba). By the time a given piece of whatever type has made the quick transition from its recorded source to its public presentation in a Hawai'i dance context, its origin may have been completely obscured, and its melody, with or without lyrics, may have been "cannibalized" to provide yet another guaracha. As I mention below, this same process occurred with regard to the classic bolero-son "Lgrimas Negras," converted in Hawai'i to an instrumental danza.

It is noteworthy, however, that although the seis has borrowed musical and choreographic features from the guaracha, its harmonic and poetic structures are quite distinctive and the two are seldom if ever confused with one another. Likewise, although the Dominican merengue (like the guaracha) is a medium to fast duple-metered dance, it has such distinctive rhythmic patterns—the percussion pickup phrase and the march-like "two-step" bass, corresponding to its simple steps—that it has not been heavily influenced by the guaracha (although some güiro players have adapted the guarachada stroke pattern to the merengue).

"Plenas y Porquería"

That the plena is often confused with the guaracha is not surprising, as they share some basic elements: duple meter, simple harmony, and a verse-chorus structure (the chorus optimally being sung by two or more vocalists). Although plenas became popular in Puerto Rico during World War I, it is unlikely that many were heard in Hawai'i before being brought by migrants in 1921. In 1990 Miguel Rodrigues (1904–96) remembered members of this second, smaller labor importation from Puerto Rico as having brought "*plenas y porquería*" ("plenas and other such junk"); the implication is that of an "un-jíbaro" accretion to the traditional repertory introduced by more recent arrivals, unwelcome reminders of the racial-cultural intermingling which had intensified in Puerto Rico during the twenty years since the first generation had left. The plena grew out of the Afro-Puerto Rican coastal tradition and thus retained some of the "dangerous" Afro-Caribbean connotation. Its typical accompaniment in Puerto Rico included one or more *panderetas* (round frame-drums, like jingle-less tambourines). These (in spite of having come to the Caribbean from Spain) were perceived by Hawai'i Puerto Ricans as tangible evidence of the denied Afro-Caribbean heritage. They were thus never played by more than a few musicians, and apparently not in the multiple, stratified manner characteristic of such modern Puerto Rican folkloric ensembles as Los Pleneros de la 21 (Solís 1995:143).

I have found no evidence that the plena in Hawai'i was danced, or that its guitar or percussion, or, later, bass accompaniment patterns were played

in any way differently from those of the guaracha. The very first homemade recordings of Puerto Rican groups in Hawai'i were made in the early and middle 1940s; by that time, the plena was likely already well into the process of assimilation into the broader "guaracha" category, as indicated above.

The Danza: Faded Colonial Memories

The *danza puertorriqueña* belongs to the great Euro-American continuum originating in the English country dance and its offshoot, the French *contredanse*. The latter evolved in Cuba into the *contradanza*, *danza*, *danzón*, *mambo*, and ultimately the *chachachá* (although this family tree of dances ended in Puerto Rico with the *danza*). Essentially an upper-class ballroom dance in Puerto Rico, the *danza* was also cultivated in rural folk forms in the nineteenth century. At the time of the first Hawai'i migration, *danzas* were among the most popular jíbaro dances; older Puerto Ricans stress the degree to which members of the migrant generation "loved their *danzas*."

Like its Cuban relative the *danzón* and other dances in the continuum, the *danza* is usually instrumental only; its melodies are longer and its harmonic schemes considerably less predictable and more complex than those of the *seis* and *guaracha*. Melodic phrases are typically built around the *cinquillo* ("Caribbean quintuplets," which may be written as a quarter-eighth-quarter-eighth-quarter-note pattern). *Danzas* are sectional, marked by modulations and shifts in rhythmic intensity. The up-tempo episode sections (as earlier stated, called "merengues") were traditionally preceded by a slower introductory section in which couples promenaded side by side, counterclockwise, moving to "closed" ballroom position when the faster *danza* proper began. In Puerto Rico the promenade is called *paseo*; more common in Hawai'i is the term *despaseo* (which may through the process of "folk etymology" combine *paseo* ["promenade"] with *despacio* ["slowly"]).

A number of *danzas* of the category known in Puerto Rico as *danzas festivas* ("lively *danzas*") may be heard in Solís 1989 and 1994. All but one (which the performers learned from a record) are traditional pieces learned long before from older musicians but seldom played nowadays. Virtually no new *danzas* have been introduced in many decades, whether through composition or recordings. The names of most *danzas* have long been forgotten, not only because of their antiquity, but probably also because they typically lack the texts with which titles are associated. Probably because of their melodic/harmonic structures, which were relatively complex compared to those of *guarachas* and *seis chorreaos*, they are normally played with little improvisation. Interestingly, when requested to play an "old *danza*," three sets of musicians on two recordings (see Solís 1989 and 1994, recorded examples and notes) quite independently played "danza" wholly instrumental

versions of “Lágrimas Negras” (two of the three not knowing or remembering its name). The piece was originally a bolero-son by Cuban composer Miguel Matamoros, popularized by his Trio Matamoros and other interpreters, and has remained an enduring favorite for over six decades. The text is an important part of this composition; how 1930s listeners in Hawai‘i processed that information in ultimately designating it as a danza, in view of the fact that danzas are normally instrumental, is impossible to determine. Perhaps the prominent *cinquillos* which typically pervade the accompaniment of the first section of this particular piece led to its misidentification as a danza. As a son, its text is longer, more complex, and more loosely aligned rhythmically with its accompaniment than is typical of the Hawai‘i Puerto Rican repertoire. Accordingly, HPR’s perform a simplified form of this piece, with regularized phrases, and inclusion of the final *montuno* melody without, however, “*montuno-like*” call and response or numerous repetitions, reinforcing my earlier statements about the general rejection of overtly Afro-Caribbean features. It may, at the time of its first hearing in Hawai‘i, probably in the 1930s, have been consciously converted in live performance to a danza and thenceforth identified as such. Competence in Spanish sixty years ago was much more extensive than it is today, and the piece may originally have been sung. With the decline of that competence, the piece may have been able to exist solely on the merits of its haunting melody. As a bolero-son, the original version would naturally not have included a *paseo*; none of the three versions of this piece I recorded included any sort of *paseo* added *pro forma* after the fact (a common practice in adapting borrowed melodies as *danzones*). At any rate, this sort of cross-genre borrowing is common both in Hawai‘i (see also “Recordings and Reinterpreted Repertoire,” below) and throughout the wider world of Latin music; see, for instance, Manuel’s discussion of *fusilamiento* (lit. “firing up,” “shooting”), i.e., borrowing, especially in adapting a tune of another genre as a *merengue* (Manuel 1995:113–14).

The Cuban *contradanza*, a forerunner of the Puerto Rican *danza*, had evolved into a couple dance without figures well before the Hawai‘i migration. Valle Atilas commented in 1887 on the general tendency for dances in Puerto Rico to gradually eliminate their complicated figures:

(In urban] society they eliminated those [dances] with figures; and in the countryside now the same thing is happening, to the detriment of the unique character of the dance. (Valle Atilas 1887:112, translated by the author)

The episodes of the *danza* proper (as opposed to the *paseo*), like the *plena*, are now danced identically to the *seis* and *guaracha*; I have no evidence that it was danced differently early in the century. The structure of the *danza* consisted of a moderate tempo *paseo* which, rondo-like, repeated

three to five times, interspersed between cycles of the faster danza itself, which consisted of two or three distinct sections in the same tempo played without a break (although a number of people categorically remembered four sections to be the standard) (See Solís 1989 and 1994 for recorded examples). Sarah Riviera (b. ca. 1925) remembers this form was called "danza de cuatro merengues" (danza with the livelier section repeated four times, interspersed with the paseo).

The paseo is all but extinct at dances now (as happened with the paseo in the Dominican merengue [Austerlitz 1997:43, 96]). Some older Puerto Ricans were able to demonstrate the paseo for me, but I have only seen it at formal dances twice. (Both occasions were on the island of Kaua'i. Music and dance on the "outer islands" have remained somewhat more conservative relative to the more mainstream, *au courant* island of Oahu, with its cosmopolitan metropolis of Honolulu nearly always constituting the *entrepot* for externally generated innovation.)

The paseo was danced in Hawai'i in couples with the man on the left. The couples either crossed their arms over their own bodies to grasp their partners' hands, walked arm in arm, or simply held their partner's hand at the side. Unlike the paseos of the classic danza in Puerto Rico (such as those of Juan Morel Campos, or best known of all, the Puerto Rican unofficial anthem, "La Borinqueña"), nearly all the paseos I have heard in Hawai'i resemble schottisches, with short phrases, regular tempo, and dotted rhythms (see Examples 2a and 2b). Paseos are, in fact, danced with steps closely related to that of the schottische (which was never mentioned as a Hawai'i plantation

Examples 2a and 2b. Paseo melodies. a: transcribed from Solís 1989, band 14. **b:** transcribed from Solís 1994, band 9.

a.



b.



dance): in duple meter, with a quick-quick slow rhythm (eighth-note, eighth-note, quarter-note, with the downbeat on the first eighth-note) rhythm. I also believe that paseos, in the process of fading from memory, passed through a stage in which they existed somewhat independently of their danzas; I've heard a very limited number of paseos, with the same paseo often serving for different danzas.

Becoming a “Seis Caliente”

The several types of seis, named variously for descriptive qualities, towns, performers, composers, or hybrids with other forms, and its décima poetry often replete with jíbaro imagery and *Weltschmerz*, is the genre with which jíbaros most typically identify and to which they remain the most fiercely loyal. Some of the very oldest Puerto Ricans remember specific seis genre names from early in the twentieth century. Tanilau Dias, for example, included the following among those he remembered from the plantation: *lorenzillo*, *cagueño*, *de Andino*, *la una y una*, and *bombeada*. Raymond Rodrigues (1904–93) cited *villarán*, *chorreao*, *milonga*, *marumba*, *garrao*, *valseo*, and what he called “regular seis” (see below). Only half a generation later, however, awareness of those distinctions was eroding: Frank Fraticelli (b. 1918), speaking of the late 1920s and '30s, said “We used to say just ‘seis,’ not ‘seis montuno,’ ‘seis fajardeño,’ [etc.] . . . We learned the types [much later] from Ramito records.” Beginning in the 1950s, New York- or Puerto Rico-recorded LPs featuring popular jíbaro singers such as Ramito and Chuito began to find their way to Hawai'i. Many had flamboyant record jackets foregrounding stereotypical jíbaro symbols such as machetes, straw hats, cockfights, sugar cane fields, and the like.¹² For many Hawai'i Puerto Ricans, the albums became a foundation for subsequent re-contact with contemporary Puerto Rico. The recordings included most of the traditional jíbaro musical genres mentioned above, many of which had not been heard or specifically named (apart from the fading memories of the oldest in the community) for decades. While they formed the basis for a resurgence of musical traditionalism, this new mediation has made it increasingly difficult to distinguish pieces learned “from the parents” from those acquired through later contact with visiting musicians from Puerto Rico or their recordings. I found that even some elderly locals who, although sincerely convinced they had learned specific pieces in the laps of their Puerto Rican-born parents, had actually drawn verses or whole songs from recordings.

In actuality, not all musicians were interested in such fine nomenclature distinctions among genres and sub-genres. Except for a very few exceptionally folkloric heritage-minded musicians, the rich variety of seis to be found in Puerto Rico is lost to most contemporary Hawai'i Puerto Ricans. What

Raymond Rodrigues referred to above as "regular seis" is the preferred Hawai'i up-tempo amalgam of rhythmic, harmonic, and melodic gestures drawn from versions of seis chorreo (see Examples 3a, 3b, and 3c), often generically referred to either by that name or (uniquely by HPR's), most typically, as "seis caliente" (hot seis).¹³ Both "regular seis" (or a Spanish equivalent) and "seis caliente" are Hawai'i creolisms unknown in Puerto Rico. This reduction of seis varieties occurred in Puerto Rico as well, as noted by López Cruz:

Many musicians limit themselves to playing the seis chorreo, the seis con décimas, and the [seis] fajardoño . . . many are ignorant of the many types of "seis" which exist. (López Cruz 1973:56; translated by the author)

The intricate group step patterns of the colonial period seis (described in Alonso [1849] 1986:56) have also been simplified; the seis in Hawai'i is now a couple dance whose steps, like those of the danza, have been assimilated to those of the guaracha; all three are danced identically in Hawai'i.¹⁴

One form of the seis very distinct from the others, and well-remembered by many, is the *seis bombeao* (not to be confused with the very different coastal Afro-Puerto Rican bomba). This genre, once important in plantation dances, and also common in Puerto Rico, is remembered only by the oldest in Hawai'i, who usually call it simply "bomba." The term bomba is applied to this genre in two ways. After an instrumental introduction, someone would call out "Bomba!" ("Silence!" "Attention!") plus the name of one of the dancers. The music stopped and the chosen one was obliged to improvise

Examples 3a, 3b, and 3c. *Seis caliente/seis chorreo*. a: Puerto Rico: introduction (López Cruz 1967:18). b: Hawai'i: intro and ostinato (tr. from Solís 1994, band 2). c: Hawai'i: intro/ostinato (tr. from Solís 1989, band 4).

a.



b.

intro (intro very rhythmically flexible) ostinato

accompaniment ends

c.

intro and ostinato

etc.

a bomba (“piece of news”). The music would continue until the next cry of “Bomba!”; men and women often engaged in bomba duels.

Engaging in the seis bombeao required special expertise; according to octagenarian Joseph Torres, the musicians would announce “Este va a ser/vamos a tocar un seis bombeao [“This is going to be/we’re going to play a seis bombeao”]. Those not up to the demands would move off the floor. Six or seven couples would dance in a circle; when any couple passed opposite the band, the musicians might call out “Bomba!” and the music would stop. The man would improvise a verse, after which music and dance would resume. The next time the couple passed before the musicians, they would call another bomba, and the woman would respond in kind. Sometimes the musicians would stop playing without warning, and arbitrarily call upon someone to recite a bomba (as with the text examples provided below). The late Danny Rivera (b. 1918) remembered participants penalized by putting fifty cents in the guitar’s hole if unable to provide a bomba upon demand. The text was often based (sometimes only loosely, as below) upon the poetic form of the four-line strophe, with rhyme scheme abcb, abab, or abba. This bomba-making process and that described by Rosa-Nieves (1957:56) for Puerto Rico are quite consistent with one another.

Some bombas of accordionist/vocalist Charlie Figueroa (1916–94) recorded in 1985 (see Solís 1989) give an idea of the picaresque, and sometimes surreal or nonsensical nature of these improvised or remembered verses. Figueroa, by way of demonstration, both called for and provided three bombas, including the names of friends and the verses they improvised long ago.

[Spoken:] *Una Bomba replica de Puerto Rico:*

[Shouted:] *Bomba Fermín, Bomba!*

[Bomba 1:] *A mí me llaman Fermín “de Tomo”*

porque tomo no será por lo geno [generalmente] no lo tomo, tomo caña nada más—bomba!

[Shouted:] *Bomba, “El Río,” Bomba!*

[Bomba 2:] *A mí me llaman “El Río” porque no me atrevo a sacar de mi garganta un berrido.*

[Shouted:] *Bomba!*

[Bomba 3:] *Bomba te pido y bomba te doy coje la bomba de ese quinqué.*

[Spoken:] A bomba from Puerto Rico

[Shouted:] It’s Fermín’s turn to give a *Bomba!*

[Bomba 1:] They call me “I drink” Fermín,

because I don’t drink
Generally I don’t drink,
I only drink rum—bomba!

[Shouted:] It’s El Río’s turn to give a *Bomba!*

[Bomba 2:] They call me “The River” because I don’t dare pull from my throat a bellow.

[Shouted:] *Bomba!*

[Bomba 3:] Bomba I ask of you and bomba I give you
Take the bomba [glass globe, a pun] from that kerosene lamp.

The seis bombeo has clearly become extinct in common practice for many decades; none of the home-made tape recordings I have collected from the late 1940s on include one. The genre probably became obsolete in the 1930s due to the decline in Spanish proficiency after migration from Puerto Rico ended, beginning a period of near-total isolation of Hawai'i Puerto Ricans from the old country. As with *décima* improvisation (see "Language Proficiency," below), eventually very few people commanded sufficient Spanish vocabulary and the oral culture referents necessary for the types of word-play used in *bombas*.

The interchange of *bombas* is more suited to a small space like that of a living room, rather than shouting across a large hall. Urbanization, during which dances moved from houses on the plantation to gyms and hired halls in town, thus also contributed to the decline of the *bomba*.

Polca, Mazurca, and "Mapolca"

Neither the polca nor the mazurca has been commonly danced for decades, with the polca almost certainly persisting longer.¹⁵ As we shall see, the two appear inextricably linked in the minds of older HPR's who remember, or think they remember them. One thing agreed upon by most with any memories of the earlier period is that watching the polca and mazurca was especially pleasurable, involving a sort of passive connoisseurship not generally characteristic of the vigorously terpsichorean Puerto Ricans. Elder Puerto Ricans commented to me, "The old folks who could dance [polca and/or mazurca], boy, they were terrific," and, "It was beautiful to watch the old folks dance the polca and mazurca." Such remarks are not heard about other dances, such as seis, guaracha, and vals. These latter were apparently dances which everyone could do; by contrast, polca and mazurca involved a degree of virtuosity. It was always "the old folks" who could dance these well (as with the polca) or at all (in the case of the mazurca); the floor would clear and be re-assembled when one of these dances was announced. When in 1994 I mentioned the polca to Lucy and Rose Santiago (relatives in their late-50s), they remarked that "The polca is almost like a minuet—like a Puerto Rican minuet." Surprised at the reference, I asked them to qualify their statement: from where did they derive their familiarity with the minuet, why was it like a polca, etc. They said they had learned the minuet (not any sort of Puerto Rican minuet) at school (in a physical education class?). Then, giggling, they rose to their feet and began imitating the minuet, hands elegantly raised, turning around each other. "The polca was like that [i.e., elegant]—beautiful to watch."

The basic step of the plantation-era polca appears similar to that of the German/Central European variety: duple meter, with a rhythm of quick-

quick-slow (eighth-eighth quarter note, with the downbeat on the first eighth-note), including backwards or forwards kicks “like Lawrence Welk does it” or “jumping steps” (a la Chicago/Polish hop). Many people also mentioned variations or nuances. One of the most common was “crossing the feet” (called by one octagenarian *la polca cruza[da]*). Demonstrated, this appears a sort of sidewise skip (side-by-side position, the man at the left, holding his partner’s left hand with his right). Sometimes they combined *cruzado* with *punteao*, (“pointing”) the feet, in a technique related to that of the “heel and toe” polka. Another technique seems to show influence upon the polca of the widespread Ibero-American *pañuelo* (handkerchief) dance technique; it involved the couple slightly separated although maintaining the step, the man raising a handkerchief or kerchief and the woman dancing around him or, more typically, around the suspended handkerchief (sometimes lightly grasping its top beneath his grip). These assorted techniques of jumping, crossing the legs, pointing the feet, handkerchief-waving, and revolving (all sometimes simultaneously) no doubt provided considerable challenge to one’s coordination, stamina, and, most important, ego. It is not surprising, therefore, that the floors would clear in deference to the specialists. How early this “specialization” began, however, is not entirely clear to me. At the time of the main migration in 1901 could nearly *everyone* dance the polca, or did significant segmentation by expertise exist even then? Three individuals considered by the community to be fine dancers do not reveal an apparent generational pattern: Mary Rodrigues (b. 1912) was able to describe and demonstrate, obviously as a proficient dancer, many intricacies of the polca. Danny Rivera (b. 1918), although an outstanding dancer of his generation (in his day an “exhibition rhumba” dancer as well as a fine social couple dancer), waxed rhapsodic over the beautiful dancing of “the old folks,” but had seldom or ever danced the polca himself. Virginia Rodrigues, eleven years younger (b. 1929), was able to vigorously demonstrate all the specialized polca steps I have mentioned.

The very names polca and mazurca have been fused; informants often refer to “mapolca” rather than “polca,” possibly employing a form of “folk etymology,” as with the term *despaseo*, above. The fact that, when I requested lists of dances old folks remembered from the plantation era, polca and mazurca or mapolca turned up, led me in pursuit of information about them. When, however, I attempted to elicit and record compositions, or observe mazurca steps, my efforts were usually fruitless. Those claiming to be dancing or singing a “mazurca”—generally in response to my queries—would nearly always provide a polca instead. Typically, if I asked, “Do you remember any mazurcas?” my informant might answer, “Mazurca, mazurca . . . uh . . . Mapolca? Yes, let me think, let me think.” Then, he sings or dances a polca phrase, and asks, “Isn’t this a mazurca?” and I reply, “I think that’s

a polca." Sometimes they would ask me for a reminder of the sound of the mazurca. I might then hum a few bars of a Puerto Rican mazurca I heard somewhere, emphasizing the genre's characteristically strongly accented second and third beats. (I confess to once or twice, my memory failing, falling back upon a Chopin mazurka.)

Of the many HPR's with whom I discussed these old genres, only two—cuatro player Miguel Rodrigues (b.1904) and accordionist/guitarist George Sepulveda (b.1928)—were able to sing or play an unequivocal mazurca. Rodrigues was looking back to the 1920s, when he was first active as a musician; Sepulveda, on the other hand, although much younger, is the son and disciple of prominent Puerto Rico-born accordionist Juan Fiol, who died in the early 1950s. He was in contact with Fiol's repertoire, including mazurcas and danzas, well after such genres had fallen from popularity.

As we have seen, the mazurca is nearly always mentioned in the same category as the polca, i.e., as a challenging "specialist" dance. Furthermore, many elderly Hawai'i Puerto Ricans find similarities between polca and mazurca steps and demonstrate polca steps when asked for those of the mazurca. The late George Ayala (1911–89) went so far as to assert that "the polca and mazurca have the same steps: mapolca." Other than their Central Slavic European origin (the first Bohemian, the second Polish), a relationship between the two dances clearly existed. Jumps, foot-tapping, and foot-pointing (polca techniques) were certainly also idiomatic of varieties of the mazurca and/or its derivatives. Richardson refers to the mazurka's "considerable importance, as it exercised an undoubted influence on other dances." It was, he states, "a dance in which much extemporisation was permitted and expected" (1960:96).

The mazurka, like the polka, combined with other dances to create hybrids. Richardson mentions "the Polka Mazurka [which] appears to have been an invented dance based on a Polka danced to Mazurka music" (1960:97). It may be that the popular polka steps encroached upon those of the mazurka, which were relatively demanding even in their basic form (not to mention their increased complexity with the addition of extemporization). The adaptation of steps from a simpler dance to a more complex one, indeed, one in quite different meter, is not uncommon, as in the case of the nineteenth-century *vals à deux-temps*, in which the essentially simple duple-meter *galop* skipping step came to be performed to the music of the waltz (Richardson 1960:77).

At any rate, the polca persisted in the Hawai'i Puerto Rican corpus until more recently than the mazurca. Both, however, probably for similar reasons of specialization and technical challenge, now exist only in increasingly dim memories.

Urbanization and the “Dangers” of the New Repertoire

By the mid- to late-1930s a large proportion of the HPR population had moved from the plantations to Honolulu and smaller urban centers. This urban migration represented the end of an era of relative cohesiveness in the plantation camps, which were often segregated by ethnicity. Gymnasiums, social halls, and ballrooms replaced living rooms as dance settings. Plantation life had served to preserve traditional musical culture, while urbanization accentuated and accelerated the process of adaptation of Hawai'i and mainstream American musical values.

The musical integration of HPR's in the 1930s, involving considerable adaptation of musical instruments, performance techniques, and genres significantly different from those of their migrant parents, was well underway. Most of those remaining Puerto Rico-born musicians with substantial memories of the old country would have been in their sixties or older; however, most active musicians were now of the second migrant generation, had never seen Puerto Rico or even communicated with their relatives there, spoke only English in daily discourse (whether or not they knew any Spanish), and may have seen, but probably never played an old “keyhole cuatro.”¹⁶

We can probably safely assume that the sometimes traumatic process of redefining “suitable” repertory in Hawai'i began as soon as the newcomers arrived in 1901. Little hard evidence about acculturation or repertoire acquisition at that time is available. We have already spoken of the smaller labor importation from Puerto Rico in 1921¹⁷ and its supposed introduction of the plena, which was and remains for many a dubious Afro-Puerto Rican intrusion.

Language Proficiency and Generational Distance

The growing language gap with each subsequent generation was a perennial source of frustration for both young and old. Angel Santiago (b. 1929 in Oahu) and Rodney Rodrigues (b. 1945 in Oahu), both spoke of their childhoods, and of the complex attitudes of first-generation Puerto Ricans concerning their use (or non-use) of Spanish. Santiago recalled, “In those days, if you tried to talk Spanish, they called you ‘lengua de trapo’ [“rag tongue”; i.e., incompetent speaker], or said ‘El no sabe ná’ [he doesn't know anything].” On the other hand, Rodrigues remembers being chastised by his grandparents (with whom he lived during his early years) for speaking English at home. His grandfather would say “En esta casa se habla ca'tellano [“In this house we speak Spanish”], Rodney fruitlessly answering “Pero en la escuela se habla inglés” [“But in school they speak English”]. Younger Puerto Ricans were thus in a double bind, criticized both for preferring English to Spanish, as well as for attempting Spanish in a way viewed to be incompetent.

HPR's thus for the most part no longer improvise verses in Spanish, and probably have not done so for decades.¹⁸ The popularity of the *seis*, whose texts are invariably set to *décimas*, does not, however, appear to have suffered. It would appear that the proportion of purely instrumental *seises* has increased since plantation days. The sonic emotional symbolism and evocative qualities of the *seis*, with its characteristic structural pauses in the poetry, and the ostinato tonic-subdominant-dominant harmonic progressions are profoundly moving to HPR's, regardless of whether they understand Spanish. Note in this regard Peter Manuel's relevant and analogous commentary on Indo-Trinidadians, who, although they "seldom understand the Hindi lyrics . . . intuitively recognize the formal structure [of their songs], which carries its own musical momentum and flow" (Manuel 2000:177), and who "cherish and enjoy the sound of Hindi for its cultural resonance" (178). At the sound of the characteristic rising arpeggiated pickup phrase of a *seis caliente* played by the lead *cuatro* at a dance, one usually hears from the assemblage a collective welcoming sigh of warm anticipation.

Décima text composition and extemporization, however, are for all extents and purposes extinct. One of the most respected Puerto Rican musico-literary traditions at the time of the migration, and still today in Puerto Rico, is that of the *trovador*, who composes and improvises *décima* poetry to the music of the *seis*.¹⁹ Hawai'i plantation Puerto Ricans relished these displays and announced them beforehand as pleasurable and culturally affirming community events. Due to the erosion of Spanish in everyday speech the art of improvising *décimas* has been lost in Hawai'i.²⁰ Very few Hawai'i-born singers speak or understand Spanish, apart from isolated phrases. A "culturally proficient," even functionally monolingual Hawai'i Puerto Rican feels proud to be able to furnish *décima* verses at appropriate moments. Performers therefore display verses they have previously learned, sometimes juxtaposing stanzas learned from different sources and thematically unrelated to each other. Thus, for example, I once recorded two sets of alternating *décima* verses from what would have, forty years earlier, been termed a "*controversia*" ("controversy" or poetic duel); one ("Ser vago es una carrera") is self-laudatory, extolling the virtues of a loafer's life, while the other ("La Independencia") exhorts Puerto Rican patriots to fight for independence from America.²¹ Such "impromptu" *décimas* satisfy the requirements of the situation in form, rather than content; the *controversia* process here is symbolic rather than literally discursive. Few people understand more than a few words, but all respond to the poetic phrase rhythms and rhyme structures. The stereotypical body language with which singers deliver these "mix and match" verses, clearly passed on through the generations in Hawai'i, is practically indistinguishable from that used by *trovadores* in Puerto Rico.

Even a minimal knowledge of Spanish brings with it some cachet. The

few competent Spanish speakers among the musical community, whether they be of the older generation, younger with circumstantially exceptional exposure to Spanish, or from New York or the Caribbean, are valued as singers, translators, text transcribers, or group leaders.

One musically well-regarded performer in his late thirties discussed his clearly conflicted feelings about Puerto Ricans from the Caribbean, focusing upon the language distinction, and maintaining his scrupulousness about proper reproduction of the memorized lyrics:

They don't think we're Puerto Ricans, because we can't talk Spanish . . . but *we* know Puerto Rican music [i.e., traditional jíbaro music]. *They* don't; the jíbaros are from the mountains [i.e., not like the urban Afro-Puerto Ricans and Nuyoricans so much more common among the servicemen] . . . I always understand what I sing, not like X [another Hawai'i musician]. I get help from Y and Z [both Puerto Ricans born in Puerto Rico who have assimilated into the local scene]; they help me with the lyrics [i.e., transcribing them from records]. [On the other hand] X sings the words like he thinks they sound, but I make sure. I tell X, "What if you're singing, and someone walks in who knows Spanish, and you screw up the lyrics?"

Recordings and Reinterpreted Repertoire

I have earlier noted the symbolic importance of imported jíbaro recordings, including their stereotypical jacket covers, in connection with a sort of "renewed sophistication" in *seis* nomenclature. For younger HPR's, poignantly aware of the broken link with Puerto Rico, these recordings have in a sense come to serve as surrogate ancestors. They constitute what, in another context, I have neologically called "a 'pathoscape,' an emotional [sound] landscape" (Solís 2004:234).

Attitudes toward the introduction of unfamiliar musical practices, genres, and instruments have likewise proven complex and often ambiguous. Many members of the migrant generation, musicians and non-musicians alike, appear in general to have had their musico-aesthetic preferences "frozen" in the time frame of that migration. Musicians repeatedly attest to the strong-willed opposition to change, characteristic of most of the old-timers. Frank Fraticelli (b.1918), discussing reactions to his music and that of others who to any degree embraced musical genres and performance practices not characteristic of the period of the first migrations, recalls their saying "Se dañaron" ("they got spoiled"), or "Dañaron la música" ("they spoiled the music"). This sort of interaction has replicated itself each generation, as the young reassessed their music and identity, creating new schisms and confrontations between conservatives and innovators. New genres, musical instruments, and performance practices have accrued and were ultimately embraced by conservatives as part of the "canon" repertoire. This process has

continued to the present, in which attitudes about salsa music and dancing, for example, widely diverge.²² We can logically assume that even in the early 1900s some musically adventurous Puerto Ricans met with disapproval from at least some of their peers and elders for cross-cultural musical attempts.

By the 1930s, excepting the smaller, aforementioned 1921 labor importation, musicians had been culturally isolated from Puerto Rico for three decades. The economic lot of Hawai'i Puerto Ricans had improved at least to the extent that even some plantation workers could afford gramophones and 78 rpm records. Plantation stores stocked Latin American records in small numbers, sometimes by order. These were for the most part produced in Mexico, Cuba,²³ or New York, where the largest Latin American recording industries existed. Old, orally transmitted pieces apparently still formed the nucleus of the early 1930s repertory. However, as we have seen, the creation of new compositions became increasingly rare, due to the loss of competence in Spanish. Thus, new recordings were important in expanding the corpus, and ultimately came to comprise most of the repertory.

Relatively few of the 78s reaching Hawai'i featured *specifically* Puerto Rican genres, although many of the guarachas, *canciones*, vales, boleros, and other Cuban/pan-Latin genres were composed and/or performed by Puerto Ricans. Manuel (1994) has addressed the degree to which Puerto Ricans have identified with overtly or adapted Cuban musics. Even most Puerto Rican musicians of the 1920s-'30s who had performed jíbaro or Afro-Puerto Rican genres in Puerto Rico were obliged to accede to the demand for Cuban music in New York, whether in dance clubs or in the recording industry. Caught between a drastically declining local creative production and the lack of availability of recordings of jíbaro music, Hawai'i Puerto Ricans had to adapt repertory.

It is a measure of their allegiance to traditional repertory that they adapted such distinctive genres as Mexican *corridos* and Cuban popular orchestral rumbas, sones (such as the 1930 Cuban "rumba" "El Manisero," actually a *son-pregón*) and other genres onto the procrustean bed of the plantation-style guaracha. The Puerto Rican vals was then and still is an indispensable part of the corpus, second perhaps only to the seis in terms of its communal associative qualities. I have, however, documented very few waltzes of Caribbean origin on 78 rpm records. Thus, numerous Mexican and some South American waltzes (or creolized variants such as the *marinera*, *pasillo*, or *vals criollo*) were adapted to Puerto Rican style. Many of the Mexican "waltzes," although in danceable triple meter, were originally *corridos* with narrative strophes, or emotional barroom-style rancheras primarily intended for listening rather than dancing. "Puerto Ricanization" often consisted of eliminating the lyrics, many of which were Mexican-oriented in any case. The guitar and güiro accompaniment patterns of the

Puerto Rican waltz are closely related to each other, as they are in the case of the guaracha (see above). The güiro maintains a steady down/up pattern of six eighth-note strokes per $3/4$ measure, with the first stroke long and accented. The guitar rhythmic pattern is similar; the first chord in each set of six eighth-note strums is damped with the heel of the right hand. This technique is quite different from that used by Hawai'i Puerto Rican musicians who wish, for whatever reason, to impart an exotic "Mexican" quality to a waltz. In that case they play only three main accents per bar of $3/4$, plucking the bass on beat one, and strumming chords on beats two and three. Such songs are sometimes sung with enthusiastic stereotypical Mexican-style yells which irritate some traditionalists who consider the practice undignified and "un-Puerto Rican." Musicians also seem to have converted Mexican polca-rhythm corridos into guarachas, eschewing the polca's march-like two-step bass and very binary, un-syncopated rhythms for the pervading tresillo and Caribbean syncopations of the guaracha.

The "exhibition rhumba" [*sic*] was largely derived from the Havana cabaret style (Moore 1995:175), which first appeared in New York about 1930 (Roberts 1979:76). It was most likely promulgated in Hawai'i in the late 1930s and '40s via escapist Hollywood musicals (which featured "white" cabaret bands, reflecting the contemporary strict segregation of casinos in Cuba). It was usually danced in Hawai'i by one man and woman in typical ruffled "rhumba costumes," accompanied by enlarged ensembles (Hawaiian versions of American cabaret "rhumba bands") with several guitars, maracas, bongos, and claves (see Figure 1). The exhibition rhumba dance's flamboyant, "Afro," and individualistic (i.e., open, solo position) qualities were quite distinct from those of the established jíbaro dance culture, and bore little resemblance to any ballroom dance. Its presence in Hawai'i, however, indicated the ongoing allure, albeit contested, of Afro-Cuban music and dancing for this community.

The mambo certainly *was* a ballroom dance, and a 1950s international craze at that. Like the exhibition rhumba, it was virtuosic, highly syncopated, and danced individually, often in "open" position (i.e., dancing together individually rather than holding one another in "ballroom" position). As performed by Tito Puente and others, its musical sound, especially in venues and recordings catering to Latinos, was even more overtly Afro-Caribbean than that of the exhibition rhumba, which tended toward smooth nightclub Cuban orchestral accompaniment.²⁴ Hawai'i Puerto Ricans embraced neither the mambo nor its somewhat more restrained offshoot, the chachachá. The very small number who took professional ballroom dance lessons and encountered these genres were generally obliged to attend mainstream nightclubs in tourist centers like Waikiki to dance to them. Those bands which today offer a mambo or chachachá (or *son montuno*, whose rhythms

and steps resemble those of the chachachá) to local Puerto Ricans can be reasonably assured of an empty or near-empty dance floor for those pieces. Hawai'i Puerto Ricans, however, readily embraced the Dominican merengue in the 1950s, especially once jíbaro singers in Puerto Rico began recording them. In the words of one of the staunchest defenders of (what he believed to be) traditional jíbaro music, "Merengue is OK, if it's the jíbaro kind: Ramito, Odelio Gonzalez, Chuito [Puerto Rican jíbaro singers]—that's nice; it's not like the Dominican Republic style."

As danced in Hawai'i, the merengue (a unified couple dance *par excellence*) conformed to the unstated but clear jíbaro aesthetic of unity of couple movement and erect posture, without the pronounced hip undulation employed by Caribbean Hispanics. As we have seen, overt hip movement (often called "Cuban motion" by the professional ballroom dance community) is a potent symbol of Africanism among Hawai'i Puerto Ricans. "The old folks always said '[dance] *derechita*' [straight, erect]," said one elderly Puerto Rican. Another stated that his mother would slap him if he moved anything but his legs when she was teaching him to dance.

Conclusion

The negotiation of features constituting the Hawai'i Puerto Rican music/dance complex strongly reflects the broad processes characterizing that diaspora. Its general temporo/physical context, which might be described as *diasporicus interruptus*, was characterized by the following features: (1) the brevity of the migration periods (1900–01 and 1921); (2) the distinct social stratum (jíbaros) whence the migrants came; (3) the limited nature of contact with the homeland after the initial migration; (4) subsequent contact (from the 1960s) with a homeland much changed, especially by its movement toward an more inclusive "national" culture than that which obtained at the time of the migration; (5) the predominant role of the mass media in that reintegration; and lastly, (6) the re-examination of musical orthodoxies in the face of this mediation.

The relatively limited educational level of HPR's and their inability to network internationally contributed to the isolation and development of idiosyncratic cultural forms. (By contrast, one might note how the much more numerous and educationally upwardly mobile Hawai'i Chinese and Japanese maintained considerable contact with their home countries and cultural changes occurring there.) The class and geographical alienation of pre-migration highland jíbaros in Puerto Rico took on new significance in Hawai'i. This "old" alienation absorbed and coalesced with American concepts of black-white racial absolutism, whereupon a rejection of unacceptably overt Afro-Caribbeanisms (primarily via Cuba) emerged as a

dominant criterion for musical acquisition and adaptation. Actual physical contact with the homeland having been very limited, the mass media served as a “surrogate ancestor.” Cut off from their roots, increasingly lacking competence in Spanish, HPR’s have felt themselves able to take refuge in at least the perceived musical “purity” of their (“white,” “Iberian”) jíbaro culture, relative to that of Caribbean Puerto Ricans and Nuyoricans, who they feel have been co-opted by the blandishments of flashier Afro-influenced musics such as salsa. As the old Puerto Rican expression goes, Hawai’i Puerto Ricans are “more Catholic than the Pope.” Their concept of Puerto Rican authenticity essentially means “jíbaro”; they have clung to that concept even more tenaciously than modern Caribbean jíbaros themselves, who after all live in modern, multiracial, and musically integrated Puerto Rico. In the sense that they consider themselves guardians of the “true” jíbaro tradition, they somewhat resemble (albeit under different conditions) Indo-Trinidadians, some of whom “regard themselves . . . as more in touch with heartland Indian culture than the Asians [Indians]” (Manuel 2000: 181).

Subsequent musical developments have almost exclusively involved what we might call “neo-traditional” processes, inasmuch as they derive from traditional Puerto Rican and other Latin music sources, selectively and creatively re-combined in ways very different from those of contemporary Puerto Rico. The targeted and limited migrant recruitment pool, consisting largely of jíbaros, created a sort of “filter” through which innovations were interpreted, re-signified, and either adopted or discarded. Locals dealt with their self-perceptions by iconicizing certain genres which were symbolically charged for them, maintaining and strengthening them through homogenization, simplification, and coalescence. Most dances performed today still largely derive from the plantation period, reflecting in turn those types brought from the old country at the turn of the twentieth century. Over the years that corpus was modified both through attrition and accretion.

Attrition resulted largely from processes of simplification brought on through urbanization, democratization, and “Americanization.” We have seen that two of the very popular plantation-era dances, the polca and the mazurca, most likely became extinct because of a lack of accessibility to all dancers. They now exist mainly in popular memory and folk etymology, as an unlikely and “unreal” amalgam: the “mapolca.” Requiring athletic steps and considerable coordination between partners, they were the domain of dance specialists, and were danced by only a few couples at a time. It may be that obliging the majority to wait out certain dances was less appropriate to large urban dance halls and gymnasiums than to plantation house dance living rooms. These processes almost certainly helped account for the decline of the once very popular seis bombeao: in an era before “clip on” microphones, impromptu exchanged bomba verses would not have been heard across the

larger dance floors, even if the younger generation had possessed sufficient command of Spanish to extemporize in a poetically appropriate manner.

We also have seen simplification at work in the coalescence of genres. The sophistication required to distinguish among many varieties of seís, each (although based on the *décima* poetic form) with its particular *ostinato*, characteristic melodic phrases, and structural rhythms in poetic delivery, rested largely upon Spanish language competency. The form in which the seís is generally heard today in Hawai'i is as the *seís caliente* (whose name itself—"hot seís"—is a neo-traditional Hawai'i creolism). The *seís caliente* combines from a number of seís categories some of the most stereotypical features (harmonic structures, *ostinati*, instrumental interludes, vocal melodies), tends toward rapid tempi (emulating such seís varieties as the *seís chorreao*), and coalesces assorted *güiro* patterns into one, derived from that of the *guaracha*. The local repertoire's almost complete absence of medium- and slow-tempo dances (apart from the *bolero*) reflects the discarding of those slower seís varieties primarily associated with *décima* improvisation in favor of more lively "danceable" varieties. The relatively high proportion of instrumental seís performances compared to yesteryear, and, most strikingly, to modern Puerto Rico, where the seís serves almost exclusively as a vehicle for vocal *décimas* verses, likewise appears attributable to Spanish language loss. Similarly, we have seen how the Cuban vocal *bolero-son* "*Lágrimas Negras*" became reinterpreted as an instrumental *danza*.

The *guaracha* serves as a powerful symbol for this simplification, while serving simultaneously as a mediator among various musical categories (having itself internalized some Afro-Cuban musical features even before introduction to Puerto Rico from Cuba). It facilitated the adjustment of sociologically changed conditions by lending enough of its familiar, *jíbaro* features to more racially and sociologically "dangerous" genres (such as the Afro-Puerto Rican *plena*, with which it shared some important features) to render them acceptable. It also sheltered more complex genres, such as the *danza*, within its "stylistic umbrella" (albeit at times almost unrecognizably) in simpler, more modern and manageable forms. Thus, HPR's might, for want of more specific nomenclature, designate as "*guaracha*" a piece of uncertain classification. The *guaracha*'s fast tempo and regular, clearly marked phrases served as an important structural model: note that locals, in adapting many Cuban *sones*, usually "regularized" those phrases with more free-floating rhythms, so as to more closely conform to the *guaracha* model. Its simple step pattern became standard for all varieties of seís, *danza*, and *plena*, while its simple, powerful and compelling *güiro* stroke pattern supplanted all others used in fast duple-metered dances. Much of this simplification was, as with the seís, attributable to the decline of competence in Spanish and in distinguishing among the rich variety of text patterns.

In addition, the degree to which, during the five decades essentially without contact with the mother culture, musicians adapted available musics (sometimes as different as the Mexican corrido) to their symbolically central genres demonstrated the vitality and symbolic importance of these musics. Through the adaptation process they were able to both maintain ethnic identity and channel their creativity from the generation of material in an old traditional style to the imaginative reinterpretation of “exotic” materials.

As we have seen, most Latin music recordings available to the Hawai'i community during the long period of little contact came from non-Puerto Rican sources, and only a small number even of the Puerto Rican recordings (most produced in New York) could be termed “jíbaro.” Whether South American, Mexican, or (statistically the preponderant group) Cuban, the repertoire Hawai'i Puerto Ricans drew upon with the decline of local composition was overwhelmingly Latin. HPR's seemed to demand Spanish lyrics or at least a Spanish title on the record label. Little intercultural borrowing took place of the sort associated with the U.S. pop chachachá craze of the 1950s or earlier during the heyday of the danzón in Cuba and Mexico.²⁵

Likewise, little significant “creolization” with the musics or dances of the local plantation populations took place.²⁶ Despite the pervasiveness of indigenous Hawaiian cultural ambiance (including Hawaiian music stations, dress, foods, and the use of dozens of Hawaiian words and phrases in everyday life), Puerto Ricans have maintained a clear compartmentalization. This involved for HPR musicians a sort of typical bi- and trimusicality. Wives and daughters may be able to perform a hula, perhaps learned in public school, and Puerto Rican musicians can usually sing at least a few folk and popular Hawaiian songs; many can play the 'ukulele and some even are adept at the more technically demanding “slack key” guitar technique.²⁷ HPR groups may occasionally play a dreamy touristic song of the “Sweet Leilani” variety as a bolero (see Solís 1989 and 1994), and some cuatro players occasionally incorporate the barre technique or harmonics associated, respectively, with Hawaiian steel or slack key guitars. However, these practices are better regarded as relatively superficial rather than integral coalescences with local genres. Apart from a few “novelty” numbers, no institutionalized “hula-bolero” (which, we can waggishly presume, would ultimately through folk-etymology evolve into something like “hulaboloo”), or “slack-key guarachas” analogous to Trinidad's “chutney-soca” has developed. Conversely, I am not aware of any Puerto Rican influence whatever upon local Hawaiian music; the tresillo and cinquillo rhythms often found in slack key guitar and up-tempo Hawaiian folk and popular songs almost certainly originated in popular pan-Latin recordings of the 1920s-'40s, with perhaps some influence from the “paniolo” tradition of Hawaiian cowboys, some of whom many decades ago were Mexican.

Postlude: "We're All Puerto Ricans"

As we have seen, ideas dealing with jíbaro, Puerto Rican, and racial identity play themselves out repeatedly through music and dance behavior. I will in conclusion recreate and interpret one scene (documented in Solís 1989) which took place at Lanakila Park in Honolulu during a Spring Puerto Rican Softball Association League game.

Since Hawai'i Puerto Rican leagues were formally organized more than sixty years ago, baseball and, more recently, softball, have provided an important means of socialization among HPR's. Women's and men's team names, prominently displayed on t-shirts, reflect Puerto Rican memories (or, more accurately, the memories of their grandparents) of places and iconic cultural symbols, such as "Guánica" and "Mayagüez" (towns), "Los Tainos" (Caribbean Amerindians), and the like. Players, families, friends are chatting, eating, and drinking beer and soft drinks under shady trees at the edge of the field. In time-honored tradition, a small conjunto of cuatro, guitar, güiro, bongos, and electric bass is playing typical kachi-kachi music within a concrete one-sided shelter. The set is typical of what one might expect at nearly any dance from the 1950s through the 1990s: vals, guaracha, an instrumental seis, a merengue and, after a brief break, another guaracha, a bolero, and a medium-fast vocal seis caliente. A half-dozen couples are dancing on the concrete floor of the shelter next to the band. All are HPR's, and all interact as if close family members or old friends.

During a lull in the music, some Puerto Rican servicemen, most from Puerto Rico and/or New York, stationed at some of Hawaii's military establishments, casually move into the concrete shelter. Some are members of an all-servicemen's team, the "Piratas," which also plays in the Puerto Rican League. They bring with them a set of congas, sit in the chairs now temporarily vacated by the local musicians, and begin to jam with rhythms and vocal inflections of the Afro-Puerto Rican bomba, a song/dance percussion genre now quite familiar to many Caribbean Puerto Ricans and Nuyoricans (see above). For a few minutes two of the local musicians participate with them: one plays bongos, the other, normally a cuatro player, picks up maracas. They continue to play bomba rhythms and move into bomba-like renditions of "Quimbamba" and "E Mamá," (associated with Celia Cruz) and Bobby Capó's famous guaracha "El Negro Bembón," (popularized by Puerto Rican bandleader Rafael Cortijo and his vocalist Ismael Rivera), including an imitation of the tongue-in-cheek "Chopin funeral march" interlude in Cortijo's arrangement. The performers do not harmonize or provide a vocal counter-melody, but rather a typical bomba-style vocal delivery emphasizing rhythmic articulation somewhat at the expense of rich vocal quality. All locals, excepting the maracas and bongo players and a few somewhat bemused local

bystanders observing the proceedings, have moved away from the music. This behavior is conspicuously different from that customary when locals are playing at softball games, where the band typically becomes a focus of activity, with numerous dancers, onlookers, individuals grabbing güiros, maracas, and the like.

One of the servicemen, noticing the conspicuous exodus from their space, grabs the microphone, while the bomba continues, pleads for people to come back and dance, exclaiming, "We're all Puerto Ricans." No one responds. The servicemen play another few minutes and stop playing. There has been no obvious hostility from the locals, but rather, a sort of impenetrable blankness, a withdrawal behind some invisible bulwark.

How to interpret this scene? One of the servicemen with whom I spoke later stated that he and his fellow servicemen enjoyed encountering local Puerto Ricans, whom they sought out when they arrived in Hawai'i and learned of their presence. They found that the locals played seises, guarachas, valsés—"the music of their fathers." Even though the servicemen themselves were more attuned to bomba, salsa, and the like, they enjoy this music for sentimental reasons. This reaction is entirely typical of that of Puerto Ricans from other places: Hawai'i is viewed by many of them as inhabited by what I might call "contemporary ancestors," whose cultural "quaintness" is regarded as charming, although viewed with a mixture of benevolence and patronization typical of that accorded members of a diaspora by those remaining in the motherland. The serviceman with whom I spoke perceived the lack of response to their pleas to dance, however, to be representative of a general ongoing reluctance (especially among older locals) to mix with them socially. (They were exceptionally grateful when the two local musicians joined them, briefly, on maracas and bongos.) They are somewhat bemused by this reluctance, attributing it partly to intimidation stemming from the general local lack of competence in Spanish. This is certainly true to an extent, but we have seen that the reasons lie much deeper.

A local Puerto Rican musician (one of the two who had joined the servicemen), discussing the bomba "incident," said that he had wanted to be hospitable, but did not feel comfortable playing bomba with them for any length of time. He said that "that stuff is OK for a while, but you've got to change off with other stuff. It's just drums; the people get restless." It is, of course not a matter of "just drums," but rather the *connotation* of these drums (all the more when played by themselves), the African-derived call and response, the dark skins of the servicemen performers, and their undulating hips when dancing. The locals' response exposes the trajectory of Hawai'i Puerto Rican history. Music and dance genres and performance practice, as always, create potent boundaries and, as in most societies, combine to form a litmus test of cultural attitudes. Through musical culture, this community

has grappled with the complexities of its ethnic self-image as jíbaro vis-a-vis more general ethnic identities such as "Hispanic," "Latino," and even "Puerto Rican." In contrast to the twentieth-century Puerto Rican equivalent of the "rainbow coalition" encompassing, synthesizing, and treasuring disparate racial traditions such as those of the Afro-influenced coastal lowlands and the "Iberian" jíbaro highlanders, we see that these original regional and racial identities have never merged in Hawai'i into a unified image of the "Puerto Rican," but rather remain distinct images. Jíbaro cultural values and primary self-identification have been strained through numerous "colanders": independence from Spain, colonization by the United States, migration to Hawai'i, American linguistic acculturation, Hawaiian statehood, and a Latin American mass media onslaught. Nonetheless, these jíbaro values endure in music and dance, in which hips and straight, erect body carriage symbolize the straight, jíbaro, path.

Notes

1. "Local" normally implies, in Hawai'i, either native Polynesian Hawaiian or descendants of long-domiciled non-*haole* (non-Anglo/Caucasian) populations such as Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, Filipinos, Koreans, and others.

2. For recorded examples of Hawaiian songs adapted to Puerto Rican rhythms and instruments—and vice-versa—see my CD/cassette recordings Solís 1989 and 1994.

3. The *décima* is a traditional Iberian ten-line, generally octosyllabic poetic form found throughout Latin America. A number of *décima* schemes exist, but the most common in Puerto Rico and elsewhere is the *espinela*, whose rhyme scheme is *abbaaccddc*. While the dominant jíbaro genres of *seis* and *aguinaldo* both use *décima* form, verses of the yuletide *aguinaldo* are hexasyllabic. Using this complex verse form, trovadores would be expected to improvise upon topics, sometimes with the additional challenge of a *pie forzado* ("forced foot"), a final line presented to them *ad hoc*, and with which the preceding improvised poetic scheme must appropriately fit.

4. Harris uses the term "hypodescent" in connection with the North America designation of anyone with even "a drop" of African blood as "black." "Hypodescent," he writes, "involves the assignment of the children of a marriage between spouses of unequal status to the descent group of the lower-ranking parent" (Harris 1970:86). He contrasts this with the typical Latin American racial continuum incorporating a variety of racial feature combinations, each with its own named category.

5. Duany (1994:69), Largey (1994:112), and Lewis (1963:501) refer to this same rationalization for the Dominican Republic, among Haitian creoles, and West Indian migrants to New York, respectively.

6. See Solís 1995 for an examination of ways these attitudes affect musical instrument choices.

7. Carr (1989) devotes considerable space to refuting local stereotypes about HPR's.

8. "Borinque," typically pronounced "Brinkee" by non-Puerto Ricans in Hawai'i, is a common nickname for local Puerto Ricans, almost certainly entering local slang during the early Puerto Rican plantation period. Borinquen was the indigenous Taino Indian word for Puerto Rico. Puerto Ricans sometimes use it in poetic reference to their island and often refer to themselves as Borinqueños.

9. By contrast, most dances in any way documented from the late 1930s on took place

publicly in civic and school gymnasiums and clubhouses, with consequent changes in performance practice and protocol.

10. The danza typically has a rondo-like structure with a recurring paseo, or stylized promenade, and up to four different episodes, called “merengues” (not to be confused with the Dominican merengue).

11. See, for example, Manuel 1985.

12. At the same time jíbaro culture was declining in the Puerto Rico countryside, jíbaros were in the process of becoming at the national level what Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1995:45–54) calls “museums of themselves.” Successive Puerto Rico governments have found jíbaros (in their folkloric roles) a safe and useful pan-Puerto Rican symbol.

13. For a discussion and examples of a wider variety of seis types recorded in Hawai‘i, see Solís 1994.

14. Guitar and güiro accompaniment rhythms have likewise generally merged in Hawai‘i (see Solís 1994 and 2001).

15. Only once, during the “DJ interval” at a Puerto Rican dance in 1985, did I see HPR’s dancing a polca, specifically, the well-known Mexican *polca-ranchera* “Jalisco” (“Ay jalisco no te rajés”), complete with Mexican-style *gritos* (yells).

16. The old cuatro was largely replaced by the American tenor guitar (Solís 1995). Tenor guitars were cheap, readily available (providing an alternative to the old cuatros which few knew how to construct and repair), and had longer necks on which a higher range was more easily accessible. Tenors had fourteen frets above the body (compared to the cuatro’s nine), plus four or five more on the body, and often greater sound projection capabilities. The four-stringed tenor guitar in the 1920s and early ‘30s was tuned in fifths, like the strummed, “Five Foot Two”-variety tenor banjo which it displaced (serving as a transition to the six-string F-hole “archtop” guitar on which most jazz guitarists eventually settled). Hawai‘i Puerto Ricans, however, apparently tuned them, like the cuatros, in a combination of two fourths and a fifth, including the double-course format which had by the 1930s had become standard for cuatros. Whereas the old cuatro was directly replaced by the tenor guitar in Hawai‘i, in Puerto Rico it was evolving (apparently before the 1920s) into the modern instrument. A 1916 photo (in Quintero-Rivera 1992:47) of the quintet Estrellas de Borinquen, for example, shows a narrow “violin-like” cuatro.

17. Some second- and third-generation Puerto Ricans recall their Puerto Rico-born parents or grandparents referring to the 1901 generation as “los viejos” (the elders), and those of 1921 as “los nuevos” (the new ones). Philip Ayala (1908–96) recalled that the Puerto Rico-born, especially, also used the terms “puertorriqueños” for those born in the Caribbean, as opposed to “puertorriqueños hawaianos” for the Hawai‘i-born.

18. One of the very few Spanish song texts composed by a Hawai‘i Puerto Rican in recent years is the late Louis Rodrigues’ (b. 1925) charming but relatively simple plena “Una Palomita,” which can be heard on Solís 1994.

19. By some accounts, Hawai‘i trovadores also improvised décimas to the music of the *punto cubano*, a non-danced form sung to guitar accompaniment. This genre is popular among Cuban *guajitros*, who are ethnically and socially somewhat analogous in Cuba to the jíbaros in Puerto Rico.

20. Roberta Singer attests to the rarity of décima extemporizers even among the largely bilingual Nuyorican population (p.c.); basic competence in Spanish may not by itself provide the linguistic and culturally referential erudition considered the trovador’s stock in trade.

21. Solís 1989, example #16, “Seis Con Décimas.” For another example of such a “pseudo-controversia” with unrelated “dueling” verses, see Solís 1994, example #3, “Group Seis Chorreo.” Margaret Sarkissian notes a similar process in the Portuguese/Malay settlement in Malacca, where singers no longer “duel” with improvised verses in the *branyo* genre, but rather “collect and memorize fixed verses which they juxtapose without particular attention to textual continuity” (Sarkissian 2000:115).

22. At any given time, two or three salsa bands, mostly composed of Latino servicemen, exist, playing largely at service clubs. These dances are advertised in the networks of local

Puerto Ricans, who attend these dances only sporadically. See Solís 1995 for more information about local attitudes toward salsa instruments and music.

23. Tanilau Dias, trained as an electrician and active as a band leader in the 1930s, habitually listened via short wave radio to a Havana station which offered the 78s they played for sale, and ordered many of the selections he heard (mostly Cuban) by mail.

24. See such representative Havana cabaret orchestra recordings as *Orquesta Casino de la Playa: Memorias de Cuba* (RCA Camden CAMS-712, 1974).

25. In both these cases, both because of the novelty of familiar melodies in a strikingly different context, and because of sheer unsatisfied demand for "new" pieces, arrangers adapted material from many, often incongruous sources. Note classic danzones "Jovenes del Danubio" (based on "The Blue Danube"), "Rigoletito" (based upon the Verdi aria "Bella Figlia Del' Amore") and "El Cadete Constitución" (based on the U.S. "Marine Hymn"!), plus such "classic" U.S. pop "chachas" as "Tea For Two."

26. Although Puerto Rican musical activity was and is largely limited to Puerto Ricans, some local ethnic Portuguese and Filipinos have enthusiastically embraced Puerto Rican music and dance. It appears that this affinity stems from the Iberian background which, alone among the plantation populations, they share (Filipinos through colonization) with Puerto Ricans. Boleros, in particular, are firmly entrenched in Filipino popular culture (as in the case of the bolero "Dahil Sa Iyo," a Tagalog-language film song hit of the 1930s). Among the most culturally assimilated of the old plantation groups, some Portuguese, with the erosion of their own vibrant ongoing social dance traditions, have been attracted to those of the Puerto Ricans, with whom they share an Iberian heritage.

27. For the "slack key" guitar (Hawaiian: *ki ho 'alu*) style, performers loosen the six strings so that open strings sound some form of a major triad. Melodic and rhythmic patterns are derived from the hula tradition. Performers frequently use parallel chords, harmonics, and "hammering." In one recorded selection (Solís 1994) Eva Rodrigues (also proficient in cuatro) plays slack key guitar along with Latin percussion instruments, affecting a quasi-guaracha rhythm which syncretizes somewhat uneasily with her traditional slack key patterns.

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