Musicality of Portuguese: introduction to a sonority and phonetic acoustic in the Lusophone world

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Abstract

The Portuguese language comprehends the space where Portuguese is spoken and understood as the mother tongue of communication between the people who inhabit it. It is a linguistic landscape that includes sounds as different as the diversity of the countries that make up this Lusophone space. The plurality of accents and musical genres – colonial product of a time that was not only history-related – reflects a range of sound possibilities in an attempt to synthesize an accoustic *mediascape* based on the Portuguese language. This space frets against both the ear and the representation of the Portuguese-speaking countries, and it consists of the main object of reflection of this article: the acoustic possibilities of Portuguese language and music to create phonetic particularities that distinguish the Portuguese speakers in a Portuguese-speaking world of about 300 million speakers.

Keywords

Accent; Lusophone culture; lusophony; music genres; popular music

Resumo

A Lusofonia engloba o espaço onde a língua portuguesa é falada e entendida como a língua mãe da comunicação entre os que nele habitam. Trata-se de uma paisagem linguística que contempla sonoridades tão distintas quanto a diversidade dos países que compõem o espaço lusófono. A pluralidade de sotaques e de géneros musicais, produto colonial de um tempo que não ficou apenas na história, reflete uma panóplia de possibilidades auditivas na tentativa de sintetizar uma *mediapaisagem* sonora da Lusofonia. Este espaço de contrastes, tanto do ouvido como da representação dos países de expressão em língua portuguesa nas instâncias lusófonas, é o principal objeto de reflexão deste artigo, num recorte acústico das sonoridades da língua e da música de países de expressão lusófona que têm vindo, ao longo dos tempos e de forma particular, a criar particularidades fonéticas que distinguem os falantes do Português num mundo lusófono de quase 300 milhões de falantes.

Palavras-chave

Cultura lusófona; géneros musicais; Lusofonia; música popular; sotaque

Introduction

In recent years, the debate in Portugal on the implementation of the new Portuguese language spelling agreement has heard several voices of discord (Pacheco, 2017; Pereira, 2014). Many see the new agreement as an attempt to write the homogenization of a language that has expanded over the centuries, has "miscegenated" and has itself

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also been miscigenated all over the four continents. In 2012, records mentioned about 250 million native Portuguese speakers; however, there is little literature on Portuguese acoustics and accents.

The spelling agreement might implement a common way of writing the language, but the diversity of Portuguese will always be evidenced by the voice and the accent. It is possible to standardize the writing of a language through legislation, but its phonetics will only be mutable through intertextual contact with other languages or through the natural evolution of the language throughout history. The accent and its sonic characteristics demarcate themselves, as well as elements capable of demonstrating the diversity, multiculturalism and polyphony of the Portuguese speaking culture. This language, like many other languages that colonialism describes, has different sounds, as a result of distant territories where it left the track at the expense of colonization and cultural appropriation projects. It is, at the same time, through them that their former colony identity was densified, through a distinctive and unique Portuguese "color of sound".

European Portuguese has 10 dialects (Cintra, 1971), showing that, even in a small country, "Portuguese is one and there are several. This is its immeasurable richness" (Sartrini quoted by Soares, 2014, June 13th). Therefore, it is within the immense Lusophone space that we find the deepest richness of sound of the Portuguese language. One of the most difficult characteristics of Portuguese for those who learn it is as a foreign language is exactly its polyphonic character. A transcontinental use gave it a new spatiality in which different phonemes multiplied and merged, creating new sounds that often come to harden the understanding between Portuguese speakers scattered around the world. Such is the case of a certain layer of the population that, without having travelled to Portugal or that never contacted with Portuguese media, faces difficulties in understanding certain phonemes that are characteristic of the European accent. Disturbances in the understanding that are likely to occur since Portuguese radios stopped broadcasting on shortwave and Portuguese television channels are only available on Brazilian television for a fee. In Portugal, the result of long decades of exposure to Brazilian audiovisual products on Portuguese radio and television (since the 70s and the phenomenon of audiences of soap operas Gabriela, to present the live broadcast of concerts of Ivete Sangalo at Rock in Rio Lisbon music festival) has generated a complete understand of the Brazilian.

In Brazil, the immense size of the country contributes to a more remarkable polyphony of dialects and accent. Counting up to 16 dialects in Brazilian Portuguese[1], a country marked by contrasting regional differences between its 27 states (and even within the same state, as is the case of São Paulo), we observe in Brazil the paradigmatic example of the Portuguese language polyphony. Tupi, the common language of colonial explorers

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1 *Caipira* (in the interior of the state of São Paulo), the North coast (of the coastal region of the states that make up the northern part of the country), *baiano* (Bahia state), *fluminense* (from the Rio de Janeiro state), *gaúcho* (from the southwest, near the state of Rio Grande do Sul, near the border with Argentina), *mineiro* (from the Minas Gerais State), *nordestino central* (of the interior region of the states that make up the Northeast), *nortista* (from the interior region of the states that make up the northern part of the country), *paulistano* (from the city of São Paulo), *sertanejo* (spoken in the southwest, central-south and east of Mato Grosso, northwest of Mato Grosso do Sul, in the north-central part of Goiás, and in small portions of the west of Minas Gerais), *sulista, florianopolitano, carioca, brasiliense, amazónico* e *recifense* (Nascentes, 1961).

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("bandeirantes") who occupied the regions where the Caipira dialect is currently spoken (interior of the state of São Paulo, east of Mato Grosso do Sul, south of Minas Gerais, south of Goiás and north of Paraná), did not present some of the characteristic sounds of the Portuguese language, represented by the letters F, and therefore is classified as a synthesis of Portuguese and Tupi (Amaral, 1920; Castro, 2006).

In Africa, we find a phenomenon of great interest, not only phonetically but also linguistically and culturally: Creole. In Angola alone, Portuguese has four variants, in addition to all the other Creole languages spoken in the country. In other Portuguese-speaking countries and regions, we find the Cape Verdean, Guinean, Macao, Mozambique, Timorese and Galician variants of Portuguese. In fact, the Galician language is officially an autonomous body and identified as the root of the Portuguese language, both of which are included in the Galician-Portuguese language category, which belongs to the Roman languages family (Cunha & Cintra, 1996).

Although not all of them speak Portuguese in the Portuguese-speaking space – Creole in Portuguese-speaking Africa and Tetum for East Timor are the language of informal communication among the vast majority of the population of Timor, Cape Verde and Mozambique – the importance of the Portuguese language in affirming nationalism in the former Portuguese colonies in the post-colonial period resulted in an increase in the number of Portuguese speakers, especially in urban areas (Castelo, 2004). However, African national languages remain the mother tongues of the vast majority, especially in Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique (Martins, Gomes & Cá, 2016). In Mozambique, the writer Mia Couto reiterates that the Portuguese-speaking project can only succeed in this country if it "supports the defense of other Mozambican cultures. These cultures and languages with Baptist roots need to survive in the face of the hegemony of a certain uniformity" (2009, p. 96).

All these different sounds, which are also naturally reflected in semantic phenomena – idioms, vernacular, slang and jargon – are the material representation of the spoken word on the radio. These examples of different accents in their national, regional and even, as we observe, local representations, make radio the medium where the differences in accent become more evident, given its eminently sonorous characteristic. Phonetic and morpho synthetic differentiation represents, in the radio environment, the expression of a national, regional or local identity through sound. Each of these dialects is characterized by distinctive phonemes, which captured by the ear, are disassembled into stereotyped frequencies that, quite often, reflect a socioeconomic portrait of a cultural construct of the place from which this "way of speaking" comes. Therefore, we hold that sound can also interfere with socio-cultural connotations that "grid" the experience of hearing, allowing ideological meanings and cultural constructions of a place of origin to intervene in that experience. By this real standardization it also helps the radio, since it is a means for a construction of the acoustic reality (Meditsch, 1999).

We have therefore continued this reflection on the basis of the following research question: can sound be constituted as a conductor of several "Portuguese-speaking multiple identities", representing its diversity through improved acoustics? In search of

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answers, with the theoretical support of references in the fields of linguistics, radio studies and music studies, we continue this reflection through a process of active listening and observation of the processes of intercultural production on the radio, looking more deeply at the cases of Portugal and Brazil as the Portuguese-speaking world references.

The colour palette of Portuguese accents in the radio

In the field of media, when we reflect on the presence and impact of sound in representing the cultural identity of a framework, we cannot distance ourselves from the radio medium. In radio, the accent can be localized to the origin of programmed production, whether it is carried out locally in a Portuguese-speaking country or presented by a broadcaster who reterritorialized as member of the diaspora. Just as Rodero (2010; 2011) had reinforced, radio is a medium that is also expressed in non-verbal semiotic elements, such as sound effects and sound intensity. The accent, while the phonetic expression of a country of origin, is a mark that gives oral chains phenomena of identification or non-membership. The accents through their different phonetic representations, represent the kinesthetic mode, the color of the diversity of the Portuguese world of speech.

Therefore, we conclude that it is not only the shared language that generates identification phenomena (Carvalho, 2009), it is also the accent that generates it through oral communication. Globally, there is an hegemony of the Brazilian accent, especially the *paulista* and *fluminense* dialects[2], in the media that communicate in Portuguese. The world's most listened to accent is the Brazilian, where seven out of every 10 Portuguese-speaking people in the world are Brazilians. Naturally, the strong internationalization of soap operas in recent decades has contributed to these numbers, as well as the growing popularity of Brazilian cinema in international distribution networks, through films such as *Cidade de Deus* or *Tropa de Elite*.

In Portugal in the 90s, the paradigmatic case of a station that inaugurates a new model in the Portuguese radio market at the end of the 20th century must be highlighted. Rádio Cidade consisted of a radio station produced and carried out exclusively by a resident Brazilian team in Lisbon. It was an irreverent radio station that communicated to a target audience ranging between 15 and 25 years old, thus the tone of voice used marked forever a generation of young Portuguese people, after two changes in the paradigm of radio communication sprung the country: the informal treatment of the listener (using the "informal you") and the acoustic presence of the Brazilian accent:

> very different from shows for the integration and nostalgic rescue of the Portuguese community in Brazil, Portugal did not have a radio show specifically aimed at the Brazilian colony. In fact, there was also the mixture of accents, but in another dimension that began to be propagated in a "Brazilian" radio station made in Portugal. Rádio Cidade really prevailed because

[2] The São Paulo accent belongs to the state of São Paulo and the *fluminense* to Rio de Janeiro. The São Paulo-Rio de Janeiro axis, also known as the Southeastern Region of Brazil, is the richest zone of Brazil, where the largest producing industries of the country are concentrated and where a great part of the national GDP is generated.

of the dynamics, the fluency and the musicality of the Brazilian accent.
(Lepetri 2011, p. 327)

As for Lepetri (2011), the degree of innovation introduced by Rádio Cidade in the paradigm of radio production in Portugal is inverse to the level of nostalgic traditionalism that characterizes today's radio shows produced by the rooted Portuguese diaspora in Brazil (Monteiro, 2008). The very hybrid accent of descendant luso-Brazilians, marked by inflections closer to the Portuguese of Portugal in a few words and others more Portuguese of Brazil, seems to be assumed as its own brand territoriality identity. This accent is also an imprint of the Portuguese speaking sound and multiple historical roots of the Portuguese language of discoveries. Diaspora communities around the world produce pronunciations blending with different origins that follow the path taken by several Portuguese speakers.

Although the spoken word, denoting the accent, is the basis of communication in the radio medium, the constitutive element that takes up more space and time in radio programming in most contemporary stations, both in Portugal (ERC, 2016) and in Brazil (IBOPE, 2013), is in fact music. This fact will be considered when reflecting on the presence of sound of the Portuguese speaking identity on the spatial waves. Let's start, then, by analyzing the different musical genres that inhabit the Lusophone space.

MUSIC AS AN EXPRESSION OF THE PRESENCE OF THE SOUND IN LUSOPHONE CULTURE: THE CASE OF *FADO*

The several and diverse cultures inhabiting the Lusophone space are, in terms of musical expression, of an extensive diversity, quantifiable through a wide range of traditional musical genres coming from the various territories of the Portuguese language. Music is one of the cultural products of lusophony that has been best represented in the media over the last 40 years of post-colonialism. And because of its sound characteristics, music is also, in its genesis, the defining element of the most pressing Portuguese-speaking culture in mid-range radio:

> the cultural aspect associated with the term lusophony that has the greatest presence on the Internet is music. One of the constants observed in relation to the musical production of lusophony is the question of creativity in former colonies. In this sense, music is considered one of the signs of vitality of the Lusophone culture and a common language that allows the fusion between different cultures. (Ledo-Andión, 2011, p. 22)

Musically, the Lusophone panorama is characterized by a unique richness of sounds and roots. *Fado*, *samba*, Brazilian popular music (MPB) and quizomba are musical genres with the greatest presence on Portuguese radio at the present time (Alves, Rocha, Portela & Ibialpina, 2016). The first three have their primary genealogical roots in Portugal and Brazil, although it is believed that Samba may have been born from an intersection between African and Brazilian rhythms created to feed the dances they

perform. *Fado* is the most internationally recognized Portuguese musical genre, having become a national symbol of Portuguese culture. *Fado* may have been, itself, one of the first products of a cultural mix in the Portuguese-speaking world, a consequence of the migratory flows between Portugal and Brazil. And, therefore, we could even think of *fado* as a musical genre that is characterized by the fusion of aesthetic elements Brazil and Portugal, as a cultural product co-produced by the two countries.

There are several theories about the origin of *fado*, and none is consensual. There is no unanimous theory about the beginning of its history, as its process of oral transmission from generation to generation has made it difficult to have a credible record of its roots. Only in the 1920s were records with any reliability found, although also susceptible to having modified by oral transmission (Nery, 2004). One of the theories on the origin of *fado* is that it goes back to African and Brazilian influences, originally as a kind of black dance in Brazil at the end of the 18th century, based on singing *intermezzos* (Tinhorão, 1994). There is some evidence that, before a possible trajectory from Brazil to Portugal, *fado* would have been sung by female singers in São Paulo around 1740 (Giron, 2004). The most consistent thesis on the origin of *fado* seems to be Afro-Brazilian, arguing that the dances of *fado* in Brazil[3] already existed in the 18th century, and they would have travelled to Portugal in the next century, but only in its musical expression. In this way, the dance called *fado* was brought to Portugal in the 18th century by maritime traffic, which would have introduced it into the vicinity of Lisbon (Andrade, 2013), while *fado* musical expression would come to Portugal only after the return of King John VI's court from Brazil in 1821 (Lopes-Graça, 1978).

Given these suspicions, it seems feasible to hypothesize that contemporary *fado* is itself an acoustic (though first performative) product of the Portuguese language and the crossbreeding of the Portuguese language – the people who speak, then becomes the migration of products, such as communities today that spread internationally, through the routes of the Diaspora. According to some references to the state of the art of musical studies dating from the 1850s (Kennedy, 1980), the lexeme *fado* appears in the 19th century, both to describe the dancing in the colonial context in Brazil and also to designate the musical genre that has spread, especially in Lisbon, in the following decades (Nery, 2004). Following Tinhorão,

> although he can almost take it for granted that in Portugal it was already known that *fado* dance since the end of the 18th century – he considers the normal dynamics of cultural relations between the lower layers of the metropolis and the colony – was to be the return of King John VI and his court to Lisbon in 1821 responsible for the greatest impulse in its dissemination. (Tinhorão, 1994, p. 27)

From these theories, we believe that *fado* would have arisen from a crossover of musical elements between Brazil and Portugal. While *fado* was being danced, there was

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[3] *Fado* dances seem to have come from a mixture of *Fofa* and *Lundum* or *Lundu* dances, of Afro-Brazilian origin, and the dance of *fandango*, a probably Spanish style that was adopted in Portugal.

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improvised singing during the *intermezzo*, and supposingly that was when the *fado* song was born, as in the form of solo song. Arriving in Portugal, these *intermezzi* found some forms of traditional music in Portugal, such as the "corner to the loss by critics and the singing to the challenge of the spirit of humor" (Lopes, 1944, p. 46), and this composition evolved even more into more elaborate forms of stables and tenths. Alluding to these *intermezzi*, i.e., breaks or interludes, Fernando Pessoa wrote in 1929: "[*fado*] is neither happy nor sad. It's an interval episode. It roots in the Portuguese soul" (1979, p. 34).

Perhaps because it is a genre of plural complexity of cultural intersections, *fado* began to become popular in Portugal, especially in Lisbon, in taverns and brothels, that is, in bohemian popular places[4]. This artistic ferment was, at that time, a spontaneous creation of the lower layers of Lisbon-s society, resulting in a synthesis of all the musical influences brought to and by the importance of the city as port of arrival and point of geolocation, experienced over the centuries (Tinhorão, 1994).

Portugal was a settler actor in the Lusophone space, but artistic expression, particularly musical, shows that during the period of colonization, Portugal has been the subject of intercultural movements in reverse, i.e., cultural products have been exported to colonizing country, reimagining and reinventing their artistic expressions, such as *fado*. Therefore, Portugal may, during the so-called colonial period, have been culturally colonized in certain genres and styles of performance music by its own colonies.

In global terms, we talk about fusions between a number of genres that may have influenced and continued to influence genres of music in the African continent, as the intensification of the use of slave labor coming originally from the African colonies to Portugal and Brazil produced sound mixing phenomena by combining unusual instruments and sonorities from other corners of the world. For example, zouk, salsa, merengue, cumbia, rumba and flamenco are some of the possible genres that may be imbued with the rhythmic influences of certain traditional musical genres of English-speaking countries, bearing in mind that the history of transculturation processes has produced a plural fusion of sounds.

Popular music critics have adopted multidisciplinary lines of thought, such as Vega (1997) and Tagg (2003), for whom this concept is broad and integral, like "meso-music" or "the music of all". Popular music[5] is a musical tradition as old as scholarly music. Popular music is mass produced and distributed in markets where certain buyers do not correspond to producers of musical products, performers or distributors of the same product (Tagg, 1979). This means that it is possible to consider that the root of the concept of popular music is the same as that of the means of distribution and marketing. Like the mass media, popular music has been trained in production and distribution channels with, first, industrial revolution, and then technological revolution. There are authors who argue that the category of popular music cannot be reduced to a single

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[4] The fact that *fado* found in the popular strata its place of growth turned it into a musical genre of expression of social discontent expressed in the humorous, critical, and later loving tone of the first songs of *fado*.

[5] According to the Anglo-Saxon approach, what we mean by "popular music" can be interpreted as pop music (popular music) or folk music. We will consider the two, and then proceed with the concept of folk music in its folk approach (whose meaning is German is "people").

genre, or to a set of musical genres, but can be opposed to artistic musical productions, such as those recommended by jazz and classical music. Contrary to popular music, music as pure art prevails a socio-musical function that combines peer identification with an aesthetic perception of superiority.

> A significant amount of research on popular and traditional music (including indigenous music) has shown that musical genres are also native cultural constructions and the boundaries between them are flexible, shifting and open (Hoffmann 2011, Menezes Bastos, 2008). This is especially clear in the field of popular music, where the genre labels are mostly "umbrella-type", thus covering many genres. In addition, new genres with new labels can emerge in popular music (but not only in it). (Bastos, 2016, p. 8)

So here we will present, in alphabetical order, the musical genres selected for categorization of Portuguese speaking musical genres: axe, resistance song, *carimbó*, *Fado*, folklore, *forró*, *kuduro*, *lambada*, Brazilian popular music, Brazilian light popular music (commonly known as "brega", in English "corny"), Portuguese light popular music (commonly known as "pimba", in English "bing"), samba, sertanejo, soltinho and quizomba. Taking into account the extent of the unit of analysis in the Portuguese speaking music, the criteria for selecting these genres in an exploratory phase was their dissemination in radio in Portugal and Brazil (Alves, Rocha, Portela & Ibialpina, 2016). Therefore, we aim at a reflection on the musical genres, depending on their country of origin, in order to understand their roots in the history of Portuguese popular music – the world of speech and its possible genesis in other genres.

Lusophone musical genres: different sounds from common roots

Let us take the example of Brazil – the Portuguese-speaking country with the largest number of Portuguese speakers and where music is still one of the most exported cultural products. Among the extensive panacea of musical genres that have become popular in different regions of Brazil, we decided to take lundu and modinha as one of the first cases of globalization under the modern popular music of the West (Bastos, 2016).

Lundu and modinha seem to have been born from the same musical family of *fado*. The Portuguese-speaking Atlantic was established, especially in the 18th and 19th centuries, as an area of intense and continuous socio-cultural and musical relations. The Amerindian and African segments that make up this space – which places three continents in a triangular dynamic of exchange of influence (Europe, Africa and South America) – play active roles, since the musical relations intertwined in this space were based on a broad transatlantic system of different musical genres, mostly danceable.

On the Portuguese-speaking Atlantic coast, closest to the African continent, we find in Cape Verde a social preponderance of music that seems, even, to surpass that of Brazil. During our period of observation on the islands of Santiago, Sao Vicente, Santo Antao and Fogo, we noticed the constant presence of live music in local musical genres

in the bars, restaurants and even on the streets of the country, with an even more marked presence in Mindelo, the capital of the island of San Vicente, the creative birthplace of Cesária Évora and Tito Paris. Morna is the most popular and exported Cape Verdean musical genre. "Morna is a mestizo product like the language itself and man itself" (Rodrigues & Lobo, 1996, p. 10). It is essentially based on three elements: music, lyrics and dance. Three of the most important names in the Cape Verdean culture in the 20th century leaned towards the theme of the origin of the "morna" and its importance for the constitution of a Cape Verdean culture of its own strength: Eugénio Tavares, journalist, writer and poet, major name of Cape Verdean Creole literature; Francisco Xavier de la Cruz, musician from San Vicente, better known by the pseudonym B.leza; and Baltasar Lopes, major name of the cultural liberation movement linked to the magazine *Claridade*[6].

It is precisely Baltasar Lopes who suggests the term "morna" to designate this genre, since its origin refers to the feminine adjective of the Portuguese language "warm" and the Creole word that derives from it. Transmitted orally, and therefore revealing gaps in the record of its history and origin, we consider in this work that the morna belongs to the universe of traditional Cape Verdean literature. In the nineteenth century, the only textual record of a song of this genre is the "Brada Maria"[7], in the content of the Portuguese letter and great influence on the second generation of Portuguese romantic writers. Before the great ideological rupture occurred with the magazine *Claridade*, from the mid-30s onwards, the country did not have a national literary system (Lopes, 1949). Thus morna, in its creative exploration of Cape Verdean identity, only finds its own space after that decade, supported by the literary movement *Claridade* and the great impulse given by B. Leza (Rodrigues & Lobo, 1996).

Nowadays, new theories about the origin of morna are emerging, particularly the possibility that the roots of morna are associated with Jewish music, specifically the polka and gallop, which came to Cape Verde in the 19th century, brought by Europeans. Therefore, morna will not necessarily be grounded on an African origin, such as *fado* may not be originally Portuguese. Since the beginning of the 20th century, there were theories about the origin of morna based on its Cape Verdean origin, formally admitted for the first time in the rise of the New State in Portugal by the voice of the writer and poet Eugenio Tavares (1932). Tavares stressed the importance of Creole in Cape Verdean culture and pointed out that local governments had been negligent towards the importance of Creole, calling it "ignored poetry" (Tavares, 1932).

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[6] *Claridade* was a literary and cultural magazine that appeared in 1936 in the city of Mindelo, on the island of São Vicente in Cape Verde. It was at the centre of a movement of cultural, social, and political emancipation of Cape Verdean society. Its most significant names were Manuel Lopes, Baltasar Lopes da Silva (through the pseudonym Osvaldo Alcântara) and Jorge Barbosa, influenced by Portuguese neorealists. One of *Claridade* mottoes was to deepen the cultural bases of Cape Verdeanity, trying to understand its origin through differentiation from the culture of colonialism, and thus assumed the cause of the Cape Verdean people in their struggle for the affirmation of an autonomous cultural identity towards the coloniser. From a literary point of view, *Claridade* caused a revolution in Cape Verdean literature and began an aesthetic and linguistic contemporaneity, while at the same time seeking to permanently exclude Cape Verdean writers from the Portuguese canon, promoting Creole language production.

[7] Song lyrics recovered, according to some scholars, by the writer Eugénio Tavares.

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In addition to representing a sense of "caboverdility", the morna also fits into an exaltation of Cape Verdean identity that is exacerbated by distance, whether through voluntary emigration or forced exile (Cardoso, 1942). This centralism mixed the nostalgia for the country left behind with an exaltation of national culture, and it refers to two very special symbolic elements of the *fado* to the regime of Salazar: nostalgia and Nation (Rodrigues & Lobo, 1996).

The most internationalized interpreter of the morna genre is Cesária Évora, and she is admired precisely by her emotional interpretation of the genre, giving it a warm tone that is more intimate than its original nature. Morna sums up the identity elements of the Cape Verdeans: the emotiveness, the diversity of its execution and the importance of the word, which masks a certain conservatism of the music, having been that conservatism, even so, the reason for maintaining a certain tradition. Being a constituent part of the definition of "caboverdility", it stills contributes today to the continuity of a deontological and evaluative framework from one generation to the next, although "the transmission and dissemination of morna (and in its production) involves all social classes, not happening the same in relation to the other traditional texts where a layer has special importance" (Rodrigues & Lobo, 1996, p. 18). The lukewarm lyrics are written records that delineate the identity of Cape Verde, and thus have been framed in the field of literary studies, as pieces of folklore literature:

> but if "morna" can be considered the most complete text of what is being from Cape Verde, it is thanks to cucurtiçon, finançon, drums, tabanca, funaná and coladeira, plus the history, the conjectures, the proverbs, the legends and the songs – all of that, together, makes traditional literature. (Rodrigues & Lobo, 1996, p. 16)

Augusto Casimiro (1940) points out the proximity of morna's rhythm with Portuguese traditional rhyme songs: "it is the *fado* without the street degradation, it is the song of love and longing, in the shadow of the cup or in the land of exile" (Casimiro quoted in Rodrigues & Lobo, 1996, p. 14). In reality, it is difficult to distinguish which shades reveal the origin of morna:

> Cape Verde is a Creole diaspora experience, from the point of view of both Europe and Africa. Paradoxically, it has fewer African features, visible to the naked eye, than Brazil (...). As the Cape Verdean culture is the result of an encounter, of a fusion of two cultures, the tibia is, in its human dimension, in its essence and nature, in its formation, simply Cape Verdean music. Speculating on the origin is the product of what might be called a syndrome of greatness. It is therefore a product of these Atlantic islands and as part of a universal whole it will have aspects of this or that culture that is part of everything. (Rodrigues & Lobo, 1996, p. 19)

Portugal's influence in morna is reflected not only on the rhythm of the melody, but also in the vocal technique – Brava island's morna seems to have been influenced by

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the singing style of Portuguese Madeira Island (Rodrigues & Lobo, 1996). In addition, because it is intrinsically linked to each stage of Cape Verde's social, political and economic experience, the morna presents evidence of the diaspora at the level of the lyrical narrative and lyrics: "the Far-Earth, the countries of emigration, Brazil, Argentina, United States of America, the Netherlands and Portugal as the country of alienation" (Rodrigues & Lobo, 1996, p. 30).

Morna also differs from the other genres mentioned before because of its insular nature, in the supposedly characteristics of the people and different traditions of each island. In addition, the fact that nearly one million Cape Verdeans are geographically relocated abroad and are part of the diaspora is present in morna's narrative. The themes of nostalgia and the effect of distance that is so evident in emigration, as well as love or social criticism, are all part of the richness of morna.

Sao Vicente's morna, particularly that of Mindelo – famous music capital of Cesária Évora and Tito Paris –, seems to have been influenced by the tibia of the Brava and, subsequently, it is possible that it has suffered South American marks, such as from Brazil and Argentina. Of lesser international expression due to its reduced capacity of exportation, but equally important in Cape Verdean cultural rites, is the musical genre of funaná. Inspired by African rural rhythms and dances, its connection to slaves brought from the coast of Africa resulted in a sonority similar to Caribbean rhythms.

Marabenta is one of the most popular traditional musical genres in Mozambique. It is composed of a mixture of local energetic rhythms linked to traditional Mozambican dances, and the influences of Portuguese folklore, and is therefore a typical form of music and dance. It is a product of the Portuguese colonialism, and its name reflects that: a derivation of the word "blow off" ("arrabentar" in its local vernacular adaptation). Some theories state that this name referred to the musical instruments originally used in the interpretation of tin guitars and wooden boxes with strings, as its fragility and improvised construction made them susceptible to bursting easily. The origin of the word refers to the radical "breaking" of a cry of incitement (Prisco & Hancock, 2015).

During the colonial period, only music from Portugal could be played and danced in the territories of the colonies. Thus, this musical genre was born and developed as an expression of Mozambican national identity and a way of preserving local culture. With the advent of independence in 1975, marrabenta suffered from a certain devaluation of the intellectual layer, due to the fact that it is considered as a cultural product originating from colonialism (the same happened with *fado* in Portugal). Years later, marrabenta resurfaced in the late 1980s with bands like Eyuphuro and the Moroccan Star Orchestra of Mozambique. Even so, another decade condemned to oblivion will pass again and it is from the decade of 2000 that a new resurgence begins to happen, this time more consistent and sustainable, with artists like Mabulu (a mixture of rap and marrabenta), Wazimbo (orchestra vocalist Marrabenta star on his solo journey) and Neyma. Through the popularization of these marrabenta of artists, the genre seems to be experiencing a renaissance of popular interest and media coverage, similar to what happened with *fado* in Portugal in the 1990s.

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Presently, the lack of a recording industry and music promoters has prevented marrabenta from gaining international distribution (Prisco & Hancock, 2015). However, in times of globalized contemporary culture, a new sub-genre of dance music has been growing in popularity among the younger generation – Pandza, a mixture of the brown fruit style and ragga, a sub-genre of electronic music that emerged in Jamaica in the mid-1980s from the dancehall influences. Pandza, a mix of marrabenta and ragga, a sub-genre of electronic music that emerged in Jamaica in the mid-1980s from dancehall influences. Pandza is based on marrabenta but acquires the fastest beats of ragga and some hip hop from the border proximity to South Africa. Most of the lyrics of pandza songs are written in Portuguese, however, some perform in Shangaan, the Maputo dialect, which mainly deals with everyday subjects of the social life of young Mozambicans. While marrabenta only uses guitar and percussion, pandza adds other instruments and new rhythms and thus confirms its genre-fusion character.

Lusophone musical genres in the context of world music

When we try to categorize the several genres that involve traditional Lusophone music, we notice that all these are indistinctly included in the category of world music. This genre refers to traditional music or country-specific popular music created and performed by musicians belonging to that country or culture, or otherwise related to their roots (Nidel, 2005). This joint categorization brings together musical genres that are categorically different from each other, not least because they represent the popular culture of their country of origin. The term "world music" was first coined by Robert E. Brown in the early 1960s to define the set of performing arts that would like to promote harmony and understanding between cultures: the music of all countries of the world. Still, it is since the 80s that world music becomes more ontologically legitimate and a remarkable popularity. By 1991, world music had reached 2-3% of the market share of jazz and classical music genres in the United States (Taylor, 1997).

These days, even if it still represents one genre consumed by a niche market, it already enjoys a great deal of respect and credibility. Popularity levels of world music festivals show the dedication of its audience to the genre: Portuguese festival "Músicas do Mundo" in Sines welcomes around 100.000 visitors per year (Aporfest 2015, 13 December). We also see two public radio shows on the world of music in Portugal: on Antena 2, "Roots" is a daily show aiming at being "a space dedicated to world music"[8]; at EBC, the world music dedicated show is described as "the opportunity to meet different musical expressions from all over the world, famous or unknown artists. The space is democratic and aims to provide culture through music produced in different countries"[9].

This "trap" of different musical genres in a single category could be explained by the mass of popular (or pop) music from English-speaking countries, especially the United States and England. Even the American Grammy Awards already have a world of music

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[8] See https://www.rtp.pt/programa/radio/p1950

[9] See https://www.rtp.pt/programa/radio/p1950

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category, with the Portuguese Carlos do Carmo and the Brazilians Gilberto Gil and Sergio Mendes as past winners. Even so, pop music still seems to be the most consumed genre in the consumer records market in Portugal. And what happens in Brazil? Scanning the top 10 billboard chart, the pop music genre emerges as one of the most popular, but still supplanted by the musical compositions of Brazilian artists such as Marisa Monte, Ivete Sangalo, Jorge & Mateus, making the genre of MPB, country music and samba prevail (Gomes, 2016). If we ignore Brazilians artists in the list of the 20 artists who sold more CDs and DVDs this year in Brazil, we now face Adele, Lady Gaga, Beyoncé and the band Fifth Harmony: all women, English speaking pop artists.

We would also like to highlight the case of a Brazilian rock song that presents a perspective on how Portuguese culture is represented in Brazil, in this case, through music. The song "O Vira" was composed by João Ricardo and Luhli for the first 1973 album of the band "Secos e Molhados", a Brazilian band from the 1970s whose initial formation was composed by João Ricardo, Gershon Conrad and Ney Matogrosso (only until 1975, who from that year began his solo career of a thunderous success). The original song is influenced by the rules of Portuguese music by recurring to instruments in its sound as the accordion. The text also refers to the Portuguese tradition by mentioning the typical folk-dance laps.

The Brazilian rock genre represented with greater internationalization in the 70s, 80s and 90s through Secos e Molhados, Titãs, Turbarões, and also the soloists Raul Seixas and Roberto Carlos, whose participation in the heyday of the movement "Jovem Guarda" in the late 60s, paved the way for Brazilian pop and soft rock sedimentation. Jovem Guarda was a television program, broadcast on TV Record between 1965 and 1968, considered by some to be an avant-garde musical show from which an artistic movement started to rise, leveraged by the popularity of the Beatles in the United States. It has been singled out by many as a musical moment that captured crowds and propelled the Brazilian recording industry with artists like Roberto Carlos and Erasmo Carlos (Fróes, 2000).

Within the Portuguese music scene, it seems to be more acceptable to international artists of the hip hop and rap genres, being particularly successful in exporting these musical products to Portuguese-speaking countries, Portuguese artists descendant from Cape or Angola: Da Weasel, Sam el Kid and Boss AC. However, *fado* is now the most popular musical genre internationally.

Among the genres of African origin, the warmth seems to be what makes the most international diffusion possible, thanks to the popularity of Cesária Evora in the French-speaking world, whose work was discovered by RFI (Radio France International). As for the Portuguese-speaking territory of East Timor, our bibliographic research on Timorese musical genres was clearly insufficient to draw conclusions on its classification into genres and subgenres. They seem to be four main cultural events related to music and dance in popular Timor: tebe, tebedai, dansa and cansaun (Mário Soares Foundation, 2002). However, it was not possible to determine what their export capacity is – we only know that, in the analysis of the contexts in Portugal and Brazil, not any kind of distribution model for Timorese musical products was instituted. In relation to the musical genres of other Portuguese-speaking regions, there does not seem to be any penetration of

Macanese, Galician or Goenseans artists (although, perhaps due to geographical proximity, there are intermittent shows by Galician artists in Portuguese cities, but it is not usual to see those artists registered in the framework of lusophony).

Three factors can explain this urgency of music in the cultural context of media representation of lusophony. First of all, the fact that music is a product of popular culture perfectly inserted in the present consumer society, then, present good signs of acceptance among reception. Secondly, the simplicity in the distribution of musical products between countries, also simplified by communication in the same language. Finally, the growing importance of the fact that, since the 1980s and 1990s, the musical radio model has come to occupy the media market worldwide, with more on air time devoted to music in radio stations around the world. Portuguese speaking music, therefore, became our main unit of reflection, since it allows a more quantified observation of lusophony as the intercultural synthesis of an area of language that affected territories, which, geographically, did not belong together.

Conclusion

Throughout this article, we approached two objects of study that share the difficulty of their tangibility. Popular culture, with blurred boundaries between heritage, education and entertainment (Llosa, 2012), and Lusophone culture, which difficulty in delimiting its geographical and cultural space reflects the nature of an "imagined community" (Anderson, 2005).

Although the concept of a culture that is common to the Portuguese-speaking countries is a clear and evident reflection of abstraction, the idea of a Lusophone culture representing the diversity of the Portuguese-speaking countries' culture will always be evidenced by the sounds of their different accents. This diverse acoustic phonetics of the Portuguese language and the polyphonic sounds of each country's traditional popular music reflect the multiplicity of origins and manifestations of the Portuguese-speaking culture.

Etymologically, the word "lusophony" indicates the existence of a Portuguese phoneme – a polymorphic phoneme, with multiple accents, different forms of writing and even different signifiers. The Lusophone space as a cultural dimension is inherently multipolar (Lourenço, 1999; Martins, 2006). The "plurisound" Portuguese language spoken in different accents refers to a polyphony of meaning. The accents, through their different phonetic representations, become, therefore, the colour of the diversity of the Lusophone space.

Although *fado* in Portugal has continually been associated with the colonialist regime of Salazar since the democratic revolution of 1974 and until the early 1990s, this musical genre has ultimately complied with the designs of a decolonized cultural product, not only because it made the journey contrary to colonialism, that is, it left Brazil to settle in Portugal, and also because it was reinvented to miscigenate in the bohemian atmosphere of the port of Lisbon. In addition, folklore is historically a cultural product

resulting from an intense intertextuality and mixing of races, despite its association with a segment of popular culture of rural and unprofessional inspiration, very connected to the amateurism of the musical arts.

For all these reasons, we classify the sonority of the Lusophone space as polyphonic and (paradoxically) muffling. Polyphonic melodic sense – sounding the various traditional musical genres that make up the repertoire of popular music of each country – as well as phonetic sense – through the different accents of European Portuguese, Brazil, Africa, East Timor – reminding us that there is no solid representation of Portuguese-speaking media culture in the Portuguese media, but diverse cultures of Portuguese – world of speech represented by a small presence, especially in the medium musical radio. lusophony is then a community of sound that is as polyphonic as silenced: plural in what regards diversity of accents, silent in the representation of the smallest and most forgotten Portuguese-speaking countries of the world. lusophony itself can be understood as a rhizome, an off-centered system, and therefore the maximum expression of a multiplicity mixture and, as a result of the concentration in the distribution of power in the social body. We hope that this article can make some contribution to the debate on the inequalities in the distribution and representativeness of the various spatialities of the Lusophone space.

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