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From Scarlatti to “Guantanamera”: Dual Tonicity in Spanish and Latin American Musics

PETER MANUEL

The chord progression to the familiar Cuban song “Guantanamera” might seem the epitome of common-practice simplicity, consisting of an uninterrupted harmonic ostinato in the apparent pattern I–IV–V (typically, C–F–G). As any Cuban musician knows, however, this song—and many others like it—traditionally and properly concludes with a cadence not on the “tonic” C chord, but on the “dominant” G. A guitarist friend of mine who plays club dates with diverse bands discovered this on the job one evening, when performing “Guantanamera” without rehearsal with some Latino musicians. At the conclusion of the song he added a vigorous C chord after the band’s final cadential G and found himself reprimanded by the Cuban bandleader, who exclaimed, “Oh no, don’t do that—that’s the gringo way of ending it!”

The ending on the “dominant” chord, far from being a mannerism of one particular song, is a standard feature of an entire corpus of Latin American and Spanish song genres, dating back at least to the eighteenth-century keyboard *fandangos* of Domenico Scarlatti and Antonio Soler. Rather than constituting a mere cadential idiosyncrasy, it is the most salient indicator of a system of tonality that is somewhat distinct from Western common practice. Properly understood, it represents a form of dual tonicity emerging from related traditions of modal harmony.

In a previous article, I examined a similar modal harmonic system operant in a set of Mediterranean genres, notably Andalusian music (including flamenco), Greek bouzouki music, Turkish popular music, and Eastern European idioms like klezmer.¹ In the present essay I again commence with Andalusian tonality, which is related but not identical to that focused on here; I then proceed back in history to the Spanish baroque and from there westward to the Americas. In the process I seek to call attention to this fairly widespread alternate form of tonicity, to suggest some tentative outlines of its

1. Peter Manuel, “Modal Harmony in Andalusian, Eastern European, and Turkish Syncretic Musics,” *Yearbook for Traditional Musics* 21 (1989): 70–94.

evolution, and to argue for the need to revise conventional musicological and theoretical approaches to it.

Andalusian Harmony

The tonal system discussed in this article can in some respects be seen as a sibling or variant of the better-known Andalusian or “Phrygian” tonality, which has been described in numerous sources and must be considered here.² This tonality appears to have evolved as a product of the confluence of Gregorian modality, European common-practice harmony, and most importantly, the musical legacy of the Moors (ethnic Arabs and Berbers) who ruled Andalusia from 711 to 1492. While documentation of Moorish music is scanty, like most traditional Arab music today it was grounded in a set of modes (*maqāmāt*, sing. *maqām*), the most important of which resembled those in use in modern Arab musics.

Andalusian Phrygian tonality reflects particular affinities with two popular and important *maqāms*: *Bayātī* and *Ḥijāz*. The scales of these modes, taking E as tonic, are roughly as follows (“F♯” and “C♯” are neutral, half-sharp degrees):

Bayātī: E F♯ G A B C D e D C B A G F♯ E
Ḥijāz: E F G♯ A B C♯ D e D C♯ B A G♯ F E

In both modes, the fourth degree (here, A) functions as a secondary tonic and as a relatively stable resting pitch.

In Andalusian Phrygian tonality, chordal accompaniment plays an important role, but its triadic vocabulary is drawn primarily from the pitch resources of the *Bayātī* and, to some extent, *Ḥijāz* modes. In this sense the tonal system is best seen as a form of modal harmony (quite distinct, however, from medieval European forms). With their neutral intervals “rounded off” downward, these modes generate minor triads on the fourth and seventh degrees (here, A minor and D minor), and major ones on the second, (lowered) third, and sixth degrees (F, G, and C). The standard use of a major tonic triad (i.e., E major) rather than a minor one suggests affinities with the *Ḥijāz* mode insofar as it occasions the use of the raised third in some melodic contexts, affording the characteristic augmented second interval of *Ḥijāz*. Chords built on the

2. See, for example, *ibid.*; E. M. Torner, “La canción tradicional española,” in *Folklore y costumbres de España*, ed. F. Carreras y Candi (Barcelona, 1931), 2:7–166, esp. 18–31; J. A. de Donostia, “El modo de *mi* en la canción popular español,” *Anuario musical* 1 (1946): 153; and Marius Schneider, “A propósito del influjo árabe,” *Anuario musical* 1 (1946): 31–141.

Readers of Spanish sources should be aware of the potentially confusing Spanish and Latin American musicological tradition of referring to the Andalusian Phrygian (“E”) mode and the “Andalusian cadence” as “Doric,” or more specifically as the “Greek descending Dorian scale,” in accordance with early Greek and Byzantine (as opposed to Gregorian medieval) nomenclature. For the same reason the Mixolydian (G) mode is often referred to as “Hypophrygian.”

fifth degree (B) are avoided. Rather, the role of the "dominant" (i.e., the chord most strongly demanding resolution to the tonic) is played by chords on the lower and, more importantly, the upper leading tones to the tonic (D minor and F). The quintessential and most basic chord progression, often referred to as the "Andalusian cadence," would be Am–G–F–E, which should be understood not in Western terms as i–VII–VI–V, but as iv–III–II–I. Thus, while the iv (A-minor) chord may serve as a temporary resting point, it remains subsidiary to the E chord, which functions as tonic and finalis.

Certain affinities are notable between, on the one hand, these Arab modes and their harmonizations, and, on the other, the Gregorian Phrygian mode and its presence in European Renaissance and Baroque polyphony. Particularly similar is the special prominence and stability—noted, for example, by Zarlino in 1573—of the fourth degree in the Phrygian mode. While the Gregorian modes were of course present in Spain and may have contributed indirectly to the development of Andalusian tonality, the Arab modes appear to have been more important in this regard. The strongest evidence for their seminal nature lies in the fact that while Phrygian-type modal harmony essentially died out elsewhere in Europe, the harmonic scheme described here thrived in precisely those areas exposed to prolonged Arab or Turkish rule, and concomitantly to Arab modal influence (Andalusia, Greece, and the Balkans). Thus the term *Phrygian tonality*, as used here and by others to describe Andalusian music, does not imply identity with or direct historical links to Gregorian modal practice.

Phrygian tonality is basic to flamenco, a stylized, elaborated form of Andalusian music cultivated especially by professional gypsy musicians over the last two centuries. It is particularly overt in flamenco *cantes* (song types) like *siguiriyas*, *bulerías*, *tangos*, and *soleares*, which, in terms of harmony, generally sit on the Phrygian (but major) tonic, oscillating with II and making occasional forays to iv and thence downward. Even in flamenco, however, Andalusian tonality coexists with more standard European chordal practices (such as prevail in other Andalusian genres like the *pasadoble*). This sort of synthesis is perhaps most overt in the Andalusian fandango, which is of special relevance to the alternate tonality examined in this article.

Throughout much of Spain and Latin America in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the term *fandango* was applied to any sensual, lively dance with music accompaniment. The word thus came to denote a wide variety of specific song and dance forms. In Spain, perhaps the best-known and most coherent body of these are the members of the Andalusian fandango family of song types, which include regional genres such as *malagueñas*, *verdiales*, *rondeñas*, *granadinas*, and *fandangos de Huelva*. These are perhaps the most representative and popular of Andalusian folk-song genres, and also constitute, in elaborated forms, essential parts of the flamenco repertory. Generally, the Andalusian fandango alternates sung verses (*coplas*), accompanied by I–IV–V (do–fa–sol) harmonies, with instrumental interludes (ritornellos,

paseos) consisting primarily of reiterated and ornamented iv–III–II–I (la–sol–fa–mi) progressions, in the tonal relationship schematized in Figure 1. Thus, simple common-practice tonality is employed in the verses, and Andalusian modal harmony in the ritornello, with the F (fa) triad serving as the modulatory pivot chord (IV in C/do major, and II/fa in E/mi Phrygian).

As noted above and discussed in my earlier essay, Andalusian Phrygian tonality bears close affinities to other Mediterranean systems of modal harmony (Greek, Turkish, and Eastern European), which represent similar confluences of Middle Eastern modality and European chordal practices. Although Andalusian modal harmony also surfaces in various Hispanic-derived New World genres, more germane to the topic of this article is a related vernacular tonality, first documented in a stylized baroque variant of the fandango, to which we may now turn.

Courtly Fandangos of the Eighteenth Century

The classical music establishment flourishing in eighteenth-century Spain reflected a certain ambivalence toward local popular musics. On the one hand, elite and clerical moralists repeatedly denounced “vulgar” dances like the fandango, and some of the country’s French Bourbon rulers had a distinct disinterest in plebeian forms of Spanish music. Nevertheless, the Spanish public as a whole was infatuated with the new folk-song and dance genres, especially those coming from the New World, such as the *chacóna*, *pasacalle*, *zarabanda*, and—also possibly in this category—the fandango. Hence it is not surprising that several courtly composers cultivated stylized and elaborated forms of these genres, which in fact went on to enjoy illustrious careers in the hands of J. S. Bach, Mozart, and others. Particularly celebrated in the eighteenth-century repertory are the harpsichord sonatas of Domenico Scarlatti, who although Italian-born, lived in Spain as a court musician from 1729 until his death in 1757, spending the first four of those years in Seville, Andalusia. Charles Burney notes that Scarlatti “imitated the melody of tunes sung by carriers, muleteers and common people.”³ Accordingly, his sonatas contain several features reminiscent of Spanish vernacular musics, including lively triple meters and guitaristic pedal points and strumming patterns. While the pieces present no overt use of Andalusian tonality per se, there are extended passages in minor oscillating between V and VI (see, e.g., K. 492), a few instances of what Ralph Kirkpatrick calls “collapsed” Andalusian cadences (within essentially tonal frameworks), and other Phrygian-type cadences on the dominant which serve to establish modulations to that key at the close of first sections.⁴

3. Quoted in Malcolm Boyd, *Domenico Scarlatti—Master of Music* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1986), 181.

4. See Ralph Kirkpatrick, *Domenico Scarlatti* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953), 221, 235–36.

	<i>ritornello</i>	<i>copla</i>	<i>ritornello</i>
(chords):	♯Am G F E ∥	C F C G ⁷ C F E	♯Am G F E ∥ (etc.)
E Phrygian:	♯iv III II I ∥		II I ♯iv III II I ∥
C major:		I IV I V ⁷ I IV	
	la sol fa mi	do fa do sol do fa mi	la sol fa mi

Figure 1 Fandango harmonic scheme

Most relevant here are the various contemporary pieces of clearly vernacular origin that oscillate between two chords, in the configuration of Am–E or, more commonly, Dm–A. Particularly remarkable in these pieces is the final cadence on the “dominant,” which we have noted in the otherwise somewhat distinct “Guantanamera.” The largest and most important category of pieces with this structure comprises the eighteenth-century fandangos of Spanish or Spanish-based keyboard and vihuela composers. Such composers include Padre Antonio Soler (1729–1783), Santiago de Murcia (ca. 1682–?), and evidently Scarlatti, if he is indeed the author of the “Fandango de Signore Scarlate” that surfaced in a Spanish monastery in 1984. (For convenience we shall refer to this sonata as being by Scarlatti; its precise authorship is less important than the fact that it is one of several typical pieces of its genre.)⁵

While we need not describe these “*fandangos de autor*” in detail here, we may briefly note some of their recurring features, which have been ably discussed by Judith Etzion.⁶ These pieces are quite stereotypical and can clearly be regarded as stylized and elaborated versions of a popular dance form that would have been accompanied by guitar or vihuela, often with castanets and other percussion instruments. In such nonelite contexts, the guitarist would continue the “la–mi” ostinato with as many variations (*diferencias, falsetas*) as time and imagination would admit. The keyboard fandangos of Soler and others retain this loose, improvisatory, and clearly nonteological character (which, together with other features, strongly suggests an Afro-Latin origin).⁷ Most of the pieces use the A–Dm ostinato in fast triple meter, perhaps with an occasional digression into a relative major key; they then conclude on the “dominant” A-major chord, as in the Soler final cadence (Ex. 1). The later, derivative fandangos of Mozart (*Le nozze de Figaro*, act 2 finale) and

5. For a discussion of the attribution to Scarlatti, see Rafael Puyana, “Influencias ibéricas y aspectos por investigar en la obra para clave de Domenico Scarlatti,” in *España en la música de occidente* (Madrid, 1985), 2:53. Quite possibly the piece represents an admirer’s recollection of a fandango as played by Scarlatti.

6. Judith Etzion, “The Spanish Fandango from Eighteenth-Century ‘Lasciviousness’ to Nineteenth-Century Exoticism,” *Anuario musical* 48 (1993): 229–50. See the appendix, “Some Observations on the Musical Style of the Eighteenth-Century Fandango,” 243–50.

7. Regarding the possible Afro-Latin origin of the fandango, see José Luis Navarro García, *Semillas de ébano: El elemento negro y afroamericano en el baile flamenco* (Seville: Portada Editorial, [1998?]), 199–216.

Example 1 Antonio Soler, "Fandango," conclusion

Boccherini (Fourth Guitar Quintet, rearranged from his String Quintet Op. 40, no. 2), who resided in Spain from 1767 to 1805, adhere to this general scheme (including the theme in Example 1). More firmly ensconced in mainstream Western art music as they were, however, they conclude on the “tonic” minor key.⁸

The relation of these stylized fandangos to the common Andalusian fandangos described above is unclear. Miguel Angel Berlanga Fernández, noting the general absence of the “*copla*”-like passages that make up the core of the Andalusian fandango, opines that they constitute courtly versions of a distinct, predominantly instrumental fandango tradition, such as has been documented in Valencia.⁹ But at least one keyboard fandango, that of Félix Máximo López (1742–1821), while based primarily on the Dm–A ostinato, does in fact contain a *copla*-type passage, with the aforementioned I–IV–V harmonic scheme.¹⁰ This correlation, aside from documenting the antiquity of this pattern, suggests that the two fandango traditions—and their distinctive forms of tonality—were not unrelated.

One of several intriguing aspects of these pieces—and the one focused on in this essay—is the ambiguity of their tonicity. This ambiguity is presented most explicitly by the conventional ending on the “dominant.” Difficult to reconcile with Western common practice, it is, as I shall argue, a reflection of

8. Similarly, Susan McClary observes how Bizet assimilated his coloristic uses of Andalusian harmony in *Carmen* to European Romantic tonality (*Georges Bizet: Carmen* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992], 55).

9. Miguel Angel Berlanga Fernández, *Bailes de candel andaluces y fiesta de verdiales: Otra visión de los fandangos* (Málaga: Centro de Ediciones de la Diputación de Málaga, 2000), 182–84.

10. This piece is recorded by Andreas Staier on *Variaciones del fandango español*, Teldec 3984-21468-2 (1999).

the sense in which these pieces are based on a distinct sort of tonality. Most commentators have not adopted this view, however, preferring instead to attempt to rationalize the anomaly by various means. The apparent lack of a final cadence in the Scarlatti suggests to Malcolm Boyd that the score is incomplete: "A feature of the fandango as a dance is its absence of cadences, and Scarlatti's example, as it has come down to us, lacks even a final cadence, coming to an abrupt stop on the dominant chord, at the very end of the bar; the source is possibly incomplete."¹¹ Kirkpatrick, for his part, refers enigmatically to the "unstated" tonic chord implicit in some of Scarlatti's Phrygian cadences.¹² In a related but different interpretation, the liner notes to a recording of Scarlatti's fandango assert, "The lack of a closing chord positively encourages the continuation of the piece *ad libitum*."¹³ Craig Russell, in his generally informative and scholarly study of the music of Santiago de Murcia, offers a similar perspective on such fandangos and their "dominant"-chord endings:

Several musical traits recur in the majority of the *fandangos*. Harmonies alternate between the tonic minor and dominant chords (i-V-i-V). Significantly, the phrases end suspended on the dominant harmony with no resolution to the tonic. . . . The resulting feeling is one of melodic spinning and spinning; the chords seem to unravel, never quite tying themselves into a cadential close.¹⁴

Carrying on a tradition of "revising" such works, as did Alessandro Longo with Scarlatti's sonatas, Russell adds a bracketed concluding D-minor chord to his edition of Murcia's fandango, which in the original ended on A major.¹⁵ A subsequent commercial recording of this fandango, following Russell's edition, performs the piece with this "new improved" ending.¹⁶ A similar tonal concluding coda is also added to the current published edition of Soler's fandango. The editor explains in his introduction: "The piece concludes, in the manuscript measure 463, with the dominant chord of A major. Due to this, we feel the first part, or introduction, measures 1-24 [ending on D minor], should be repeated, as they lend a finalization to the piece."¹⁷ The editor goes on to note, however, that the A-major conclusion was clearly deliberate on Soler's part, as evidenced by the conventional annotation "L.D." (*Laus Deo* [Glory to God]) at the end of the manuscript. As with Murcia's fandango,

11. Boyd, *Domenico Scarlatti*, 193.

12. Kirkpatrick, *Domenico Scarlatti*, 221.

13. Jukka Tiensuu, liner notes to *The Frivolous Harpsichord*, trans. Susan Sinisalo, Ondine ODE 891-2 (1999), 4.

14. Craig Russell, *Santiago de Murcia's "Codice Saldivar No. 4": A Treasury of Secular Guitar Music from Baroque Mexico* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 1:52.

15. *Ibid.*, 2:142.

16. *Jácaras! Eighteenth Century Spanish Baroque Guitar Music of Santiago de Murcia*, Harmonia Mundi 907212 (1998).

17. P. Samuel Rubio, introduction to Padre Antonio Soler, "Fandango: Revisión y transcripción" (Madrid: Union Musical Ediciones, 1972).

some current recordings of this piece employ the “corrected” D-minor ending.¹⁸

The Cuban musician cited in the opening of this article would no doubt refer to this as the “gringo way of ending it,” and I would concur, arguing further that all the interpretations quoted above are erroneous. I differ from such scholars as Boyd in a spirit of respect, taking as inspiration his own call for further analysis of Scarlatti’s music from the perspective of one versed in Andalusian folk music.¹⁹ Such a perspective, as well as internal features in the pieces, shows that the Scarlatti score is not incomplete, that the cadences are quite conclusive in their own way, and further, that these pieces involve a distinct type of dual tonicity wherein simple Western polarities of tonic and dominant do not apply. (Nor need performers attempt to render the final cadences in an inconclusive manner.) I would thus endorse the viewpoint of Spanish musicologist Berlanga Fernández: the pieces cannot be regarded as ending on the dominant, since such an analysis assumes that they are tonal, which they are not.²⁰

Rather, these fandangos must be understood in the context of other forms of Spanish and especially Andalusian music—including the Andalusian fandango forms—that employ the distinct and well-documented Phrygian modal harmony. It is true that, as mentioned above, the tonality of the courtly fandangos is not identical to Andalusian/Phrygian tonality; the archetypical iv–III–II–I/la–sol–fa–mi progression occurs infrequently in these fandangos,²¹ and the major (mi) chord does not enjoy quite the same clear, overwhelming modal tonicity that it does, for example, in flamenco *cantes* like *siguiriyas*. Nevertheless, the links between the two traditions (as evident, for instance, in the Máximo López fandango) do suggest structural affinities. Thus, to an Andalusian or one accustomed to that region’s music, for a piece oscillating between D minor and A major to end on the A is entirely satisfactory and con-

18. For example, Sophie Yates’s recording *Fandango: Scarlatti in Iberia*, Chaconne CHAN 0635 (1998). The original conclusion of this piece can be heard on *Variaciones del fandango español*.

19. “A thorough study of Scarlatti’s indebtedness to Andalusian folk-music might tell us as much about his harmony as about the rhythms and melodic inflections of his music” (Boyd, *Domenico Scarlatti*, 180). For one approach along these lines, see Jane Clark, “Domenico Scarlatti and Spanish Folk Music,” *Early Music* 4 (1976): 19–21. Also relevant is Manuel de Falla’s assertion that “once the techniques used in what we today call flamenco are understood, they reveal Scarlatti’s harmony as far less complicated, and indeed far less original, than has always been believed” (quoted in John Brando Trend, *Manuel de Falla and Spanish Music* [New York: A. A. Knopf, 1929], 19–20).

20. Berlanga Fernández, *Bailes de candil*, 184. As Thomas Christensen notes, “In searching for the origins of harmonic tonality, the historian must be careful not to fall into the trap of fallacious geneticism by anachronistically interpreting some music event or theoretical formulation in the light of later tonal theory” (“The Spanish Baroque Guitar and Seventeenth-Century Triadic Theory,” *Journal of Music Theory* 36 [1992]: 1–42, at 1). Regarding the folia, see also Carl Dahlhaus, *Studies on the Origin of Harmonic Tonality*, trans. Robert O. Gjerdingen (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 103.

21. See Etzion, “The Spanish Fandango,” 249, for one instance of its occurrence.

clusive. E. M. Torner, who discusses this point at length, writes, "This ending is felt as natural by Andalusians in final cadences of songs, and provokes no yearning for any more decisive conclusion, as would occur to the European ear."²² By extension, as I discuss below, these fandangos share such structural features with Latin American genres such as the Venezuelan *joropo*, with their perceivedly "i-iv-V" chordal ostinatos cadencing conclusively on the "V."

The dual tonicity of these pieces is suggested not only by their conclusions, but also by internal characteristics. Most notable is the way in which they stress the major so-called dominant chord over the supposed tonic (D minor). Although the "tonic-dominant" nomenclature is inapplicable, Etzion's analysis is in other respects acute:

The dominant . . . constitutes the pivotal harmonic function (as is also typical of many Spanish popular songs), due to its stressed position in the phrasal structure as well as to its frequent harmonic reinforcement (e.g., bass progressions of D G G# A and D G# A, or an ascending bass line leading to the dominant). The tonic, by comparison, is often weakened not only by its unaccented placement, but also by its inverted chordal positions of less resolute articulation.²³

Etzion also points out how the gravitation toward the "dominant" is further enhanced by the recurring motive of the melodic figure descending to the C# (or its transposed equivalent). These features (including the descending melody involving an excursus to a G-minor chord) are evident in the excerpt of the Scarlatti fandango presented in Example 2.

One might further note that the A chord in the Dm-A ostinato is seldom an unstable A dominant seventh, but is rather an unaltered major triad. The arpeggiated A in Soler's bass ostinato (see Ex. 1) is typical (the G concluding the first bar being easily heard as a nonharmonic escape tone). That pattern invites comparison with the fandango ostinato in Example 3 (presented in A Phrygian), often heard a century ago, and revived—or for flamenco purposes, killed—by Lecuona's use of it in his impressionistic "Malagueña" of 1929. In this example the Phrygian/Andalusian tonic is A major. Accordingly, it should by now be clear that the D-minor and A-major chords in the keyboard fandangos cannot be labeled as simply tonic (i) and dominant (V). But we should also hesitate to interpret them as (Phrygian) subdominant (iv) and tonic (I), as they would be in Andalusian tonality, which is not operant in the same fashion here. Rather, the D-minor and A-major chords are best understood as having their own kind of strength and stability, with the A-major by convention being slightly more conclusive and stable. Instead of oscillating between a reposeful "tonic" and an unstable "dominant" chord, these ostinatos are better seen as swinging, pendulum-like, between two competing tonal centers.²⁴

22. Torner, "La canción tradicional española," 19. All translations from the Spanish are mine.

23. Etzion, "The Spanish Fandango," 244.

24. Such tonal ambiguity is also commented upon by Spanish musicologist Josep Crivillé i Bargalló, who writes of Andalusian folk melodies: "There is no shortage of examples in which the modal-tonal distinction is hard to delimit, nor of those that traverse two distinct tonalities or

Example 2 Domenico Scarlatti, "Fandango," mm. 5–15

A certain sort of evidence for dual tonicity is provided by the very existence of fandangos, prominently those of Mozart and Boccherini, that do in fact conclude on the “tonic” D minor (or its transposed variant), in accordance with the mainstream European orientation of these composers. Since their fandangos resemble in other ways—including style, structure, and themes—the Spanish keyboard counterparts, it makes little sense to regard them as based on wholly distinct tonalities simply because their final chords are different. Naturally, an Andalusian and a Western European might well hear the Dm–A harmonic ostinatos with different sensibilities, and each might prefer a different final chord. As an American who plays and listens extensively to flamenco and Latin American musics, I can go either way; each chord has its own sense of repose, and I find either one satisfactory in a final cadence. Moreover, the choice of chord for the final cadence does not necessarily affect my retrospective perception of a given piece, although my ears have certainly been conditioned by the common convention of concluding on the “domi-

proceed in major and minor within the same tonal climate. Further, the melodies that present themselves as in a major tonality tend to end on the third or fifth degree” (*El folklore musical*, vol. 7 of *Historia de la música española*, ed. Pablo López de Osaba [Madrid: Alianza Música, 1983], 319).

Example 3 Traditional fandango/malagueña ostinato

nant.” I strongly suspect that composers like Soler and Máximo Gómez had similar bimusicality, as do Andalusians in general. Thus, most of Soler’s music is unambiguously tonal and Western, but when he sat down to compose the fandango, he adopted the tonal sensibility characteristic of that genre. (As we have seen, this bimusicality is implicit in the Andalusian fandango itself, with its juxtaposition of common-practice and Andalusian tonalities.)

Such ambiguity, it must be noted, is present even within flamenco and Andalusian modal harmony, and, as with the courtly fandangos, it can ultimately be traced in part to the function of the fourth degree as a secondary tonal center in the Arab *Hijāz* and *Bayātī* modes. Thus, for example—reverting to the key of E Phrygian—the E (mi) chord in a flamenco-style fandango is occasionally embellished with flat ninths and sevenths, which make it function as an unstable “V of iv” chord demanding resolution to A minor (even if that chord generally proceeds down to E). To further complicate matters, one occasionally encounters flamenco fandangos—especially elaborated, “song”-like ones on commercial recordings—containing refrainlike interludes (*escobillos*) that conclude (even in final cadences) on the A-minor “subdominant.” The tonally flexible Andalusian ear does not hear such endings as inherently unsatisfactory.²⁵ Indeed, this variability further illustrates the inapplicability of standard “tonic” and “dominant” designations.

Dual Tonicity in the European Baroque

While the particular form of dual tonicity discussed in this article is in many respects unique to certain Spanish and Latin American musics, it has clear affinities—and possibly a degree of filial relationship—with harmonic practices in other European vernacular and classical musics. Pendular harmony in itself is not unique to Spain; as Peter Van der Merwe notes, harmonic oscillation is common in several kinds of vernacular Western and non-Western music, past and present. Most of these, however, swing between relatively clear tonic and nontonic antipodes, as do some of the instances of “double tonic” proposed

25. More purely Phrygian *cantes* like *siguiriyas* and *soleares*, however, would never end on the minor iv chord. Further, the presence of “dominant”-style sevenths and ninths does not necessarily indicate instability in flamenco, since their use is standard in Phrygian tonic chords in *bulerías*, *tangos*, and other *cantes*. Nevertheless, unambiguous i–iv–V minor tonality is not only recognized but clearly distinct in flamenco, as it is in *bulerías* rendered in “A minor” (*la menor*), which would cadence on that chord.

by that author.²⁶ More relevant for our purposes are the variety of ways in which modal practices were involved in the coalescence of common-practice harmony during the Renaissance and Baroque, as Carl Dahlhaus and others have discussed.²⁷ In particular, certain vestigial chordal conventions associated with the Phrygian mode allowed harmonizations of such melodies to conclude on E, the Phrygian modal tonic but the common-practice “dominant.” This practice persisted into the music of J. S. Bach, according to Joel Lester, whose comments on Bach’s settings of *Ach Gott, vom Himmel sieh’ darein* (Cantata 153) are particularly apt:

Even more problematic [to analysis] are those Phrygian chorale harmonizations that seem to be in minor keys, but whose structure seems to be framed not by the minor tonic triad but by the dominant. . . .

. . . Bach concludes the final cadence of [this chorale’s] melody on the apparent dominant of the key. Perhaps instead of thinking of the opening harmony as a dominant, he conceived of the opening and concluding harmonies as being the conclusive chords in the Phrygian mode. . . . Are the norms of harmonic directionality leading from dominant to tonic reversed here? That is, does the “minor tonic” chord drive toward the “major dominant” rather than the other way around?²⁸

Lester goes on to cite the 1767 comments of theorist Andreas Sorge, which indicate how this sort of tonal ambiguity or implicit dual tonicity was declining with the consolidation of common-practice harmony:

Phrygian is no other key than our A minor, only with the difference, that the dominant chord e g-sharp h begins and ends, as the chorale *Ach Gott, vom Himmel sieh’ darein* illustrates. Nowadays we can still use this mannerism of beginning and ending with the dominant chord, especially in those pieces in which a concerto, symphony, or sonata does not fully conclude, as happens with the Andante. This type of ending awakens a desire to hear something additional.²⁹

Despite the affinities of this type of Phrygian ending with the dual tonicity of the keyboard fandango, the differences are perhaps more significant. As Sorge indicates, in mainstream European music by his time the Phrygian ending was a vestigial mannerism that no longer provided a satisfactory sense of conclu-

26. While Van der Merwe cites the folk song “Donald MacGillavry” and the *passamezzo antico* pattern (as used in “Greensleeves”) as examples of bitonality, the sense of a single predominant tonicity in these pieces is self-evident. See his *Origins of the Popular Style: The Antecedents of Twentieth-Century Popular Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 205–12.

27. Dahlhaus, *Origin of Harmonic Tonality*.

28. Joel Lester, *Between Modes and Keys: German Theory, 1592–1802* (Stuyvesant, N.Y.: Pendragon Press, 1989), 157–59. As Richard Hudson pointed out to me in correspondence, other chorale settings of Bach’s (including numbers 19, 32, and 38 in his *Orgelbüchlein*) also conclude on V.

29. Andreas Sorge, *Anleitung zur Fantasie* (Lobenstine, 1767); quoted in Lester, *Between Modes and Keys*, 160.

sion. More significantly, the spirit and structure of a chorale setting like Bach's, with its long-winded, through-composed melodic and chordal progression, are entirely different from those of the *fandango de autor*, with its simple, indefinitely repeated chordal ostinato. These differences further reinforce the likelihood that the particular harmonic idiosyncracies of the fandango and related genres were distinctively Spanish (and Latin American) entities derived more from Moorish-informed Andalusian modal harmony than from Gregorian modality.

Tracing the evolution of such harmonic practices is even more difficult in genres that effectively oscillate between two *major* triads, also in "tonic-dominant" configuration but concluding, like the courtly fandango, on the "dominant." Prominent in this regard are forms of the early *zarabanda* (sarabande), which, after evidently emerging in New Spain (Mexico), became a widely popular song and dance genre in Spain in the early 1600s.³⁰ The early Spanish *zarabanda* generally employed a chordal ostinato that Richard Hudson, in his erudite analyses, interprets as I–IV–I–V; see the 1674 *zarabanda* by Gaspar Sanz, which reiterates a D–G–D–A pattern, in Example 4. Insofar as we may assume that the piece would in fact eventually conclude on the A, however, the designation of that chord as the dominant may be problematic, as it is in other contemporary pieces with apparently similar chordal conclusions.³¹ Rather, such pieces would appear to exhibit a sort of major-chord counterpart to the dual tonicity of the keyboard fandango, which resists simple tonic-dominant interpretation. Conceivably, this sense of tonality might have derived from the tradition of Mixolydian-type melodies in Spain, which are found in the thirteenth-century *Cantigas de Alfonso X* as well as some Renaissance-era songs.³² Unlike Andalusian harmony, however, this sort of Mixolydian dual tonicity appears to have long since died out in Spain, just as it disappeared from the sarabande as that genre moved into the orbit of

30. For the early history of the sarabande, see Robert Stevenson, "The Sarabande: A Dance of American Descent," *Inter-American Music Bulletin* 30 (1962): 1–13. The early sarabande's syncopated, hemiola-based ostinato suggests possible Afro-Latin origin, as does the fact that Zarabanda was a Congolese spirit worshiped by slaves in Cuba and elsewhere. However, some lesser Basque dialects contain the word *zarabandatu*, meaning "to swing."

31. For other pieces also ending on "V," see the *chaconas* of Luis de Briceño and Nicolas Vallet (vol. 4, nos. 62 and 94) and some of the *pasacalles* (vol. 3, nos. 75a and b) in Richard Hudson, comp., *The Folia, the Saraband, the Passacaglia, and the Chaconne: The Historical Evolution of Four Forms that Originated in Music for the Five-Course Spanish Guitar* (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1982). Harmonic analysis of such pieces is problematized not only by the ambiguities regarding the actual ending chords (which may not have been notated), but also by the existence of otherwise similar pieces, such as Ruiz de Ribayaz's harp *zarabanda* (vol. 2, no. 102), which conclude on I. I am grateful to Hudson for pointing out such matters in correspondence with me.

32. See, for example, Felipe Pedrell, *Cancionero musical popular español* (1918–22), 4th ed. (Barcelona: Boileau, 1958), 1:34; Crivillé i Bargalló, *El folklore musical*, 311; and Antonio Alvarez Cañibano, ed., *La música en España (Arte religioso y arte profano)* (Madrid: Centro de Documentación Musical, 1993), 202.

Example 4 Gaspar Sanz, "Zarabanda"

mainstream European baroque music. It has, nevertheless, thrived alongside its minor/Phrygian twin in the realm of Latin American music, to which we may now turn.

Latin American Counterparts

In my aforementioned article I argued that Andalusian/Phrygian tonality must be seen as one component of a set of interrelated Mediterranean and Balkan traditions of modal harmony. Similarly, the tonal system of the courtly fandangos is part of a pan-regional entity, having closely related counterparts in Latin America. Insofar as this system may be of Andalusian derivation, its existence in Latin America is not surprising, since Andalusians were disproportionately well represented among Spanish immigrants to the New World, in some regions constituting over half. Furthermore, the musical exchanges between New and Old Worlds were hardly unidirectional; as mentioned above, genres like the *chacón*, *zarabanda*, and possibly the fandango itself appear to have been of Latin American (and perhaps Afro-Latin) origin. Most such genres consisted of chordal ostinatos over syncopated (especially hemiola) rhythms. The use of harmonic ostinatos, while not necessarily entailing a modal harmonic basis, certainly distinguished these genres from the more through-composed, goal-oriented chord progressions of mainstream European music.

Andalusian/Phrygian tonality itself occurs in a number of Latin American songs (e.g., the Mexican *son huasteco* "La Malagueña") and genres, such as the Cuban *punto*. *Punto* is the generic term for Cuban styles of singing *décimas* (a ten-line Spanish verse form). There are several regional melodies (*tonadas*), most of which alternate vocal passages with ritornellos played on guitarlike instruments. One of these, called *tonada española* ("Spanish melody"), is

essentially Phrygian and indeed bears more than a passing similarity to the Andalusian fandango.³³

Although we shall return to the *punto*, Andalusian tonality per se is of less interest to us here than the sort of dual tonicity found in the courtly fandango. Fandangos whose themes and structure are essentially identical to those keyboard pieces can in fact be found in Latin America, performed, for example, by brass bands in Oaxaca, Mexico.³⁴ Yet pursuing the trail of the fandango by that name in Latin America presents, if not exactly a dead end, a hopelessly jumbled set of options, since the term *fandango* was applied throughout that region, as it was in Spain, to all manner of lively song-and-dance genres.

More relevant here is the abundance of similar genres that, like the keyboard fandangos, oscillate ambiguously between a minor chord and its apparent “dominant” (e.g., Dm–A), and conclude dramatically on the latter (A). Particularly prominent in this category are genres of the Hispanic Caribbean Basin such as the Venezuelan *joropo*, and several songs (e.g., “El Cascabel”) of the related *son jarocho* genre of Veracruz, Mexico. Such songs, although bearing the noted affinity with the keyboard fandango, differ in that their chordal ostinatos include an intermediate “subdominant” chord, usually in the following pattern (or transposed forms thereof, generally strummed):

These songs, like the fandangos, pose their own sort of challenge to analysis. The chord progression, although atypical of Andalusian/Phrygian tonality, shares with that system, as well as with that of the court fandangos, the inevitable concluding cadence on the A chord, which thus cannot unproblematically be called the dominant. The latter nomenclature, however, is followed by Latin American musicologists such as the Venezuelan Luis Felipe Ramón y Rivera, who interpret the progression as i-iv-V rather than iv-vii-I. Nevertheless, Ramón y Rivera acknowledges the modal character of the typical melodies, in both their phrasing and their ambitus from A to A an octave higher.³⁵ Such features, together with the ending and the affinities with Andalusian music, indicate that we are again facing a pendular oscillation between two chordal antipodes of relatively equal—although perhaps not qualitatively identical—weight, with an ambiguous minor chord in between.

33. Cuban musicologist María Teresa Linares argues, somewhat inconclusively, that the *punto* in general derives from the fandango (*El punto cubano* [Santiago de Cuba: Editorial Oriente, 1999], 26–36). A *tonada española* may be heard in part 1 of the film *Routes of Rhythm* (prod. Eugene Rosow and Howard Dratch, 1989). I am grateful to Yavet Boyadjiev for calling this *tonada* to my attention.

34. One such piece can be found on the compact disc *Al Fandango*, by the Hermanos Angulo band, Alfa Records CDAR-1008/19 (1999).

35. Luis Felipe Ramón y Rivera, *La música folklórica de Venezuela* (Caracas: Monte Avila Editores, 1969), 54, 59-60, 64-65.

Consideration of genres like the *joropo* obliges discussion of a closely related set of Latin American songs and genres, which differ only in that the chords are major, as in this pattern or variants thereof:

Many songs and genres in this category can be regarded as harmonically “major” twins to the songs in the last set. Among them are the Venezuelan *galerón*, the Colombian *torbellino*, and Mexican *sones jarocho*s such as “La Bamba” (at least as rendered in traditional style). Several creole Cuban genres of primarily Hispanic derivation, including the *zapateo*, the *punto libre*, and *guajiras* like “Guantanamera,” also fall into this category. All of these feature what would be straightforward I–IV–V chordal ostinatos, except that they almost invariably end on the “V” chord.

The *zapateo* is an archaic dance associated, as its name suggests, with percussive footwork; it was generally played on a stringed instrument such as the mandolin-like *laúd*. Example 5 shows some typical phrases and the conventional final cadence.³⁶ As with the last set of genres, while the chordal configuration might seem to be a simple I–IV–V ostinato, the final cadence (despite its sustained C) and the one-octave melodic ambitus on G both suggest a kind of modality, in this case Mixolydian. These features are even more pronounced in the *punto libre* style of *décima* singing, in which free-metered verses alternate with instrumental ritornellos in triple meter, as schematized in the excerpt in Example 6.³⁷ In this genre, one need not wait until the end of the song for the cadence on G; rather, it is reiterated in internal cadences that punctuate two- and four-line segments of the *décima*. (Nor, for that matter, need one seek out obscure folkloric recordings, as one must with the *zapateo*, to hear *punto libre*; the genre is broadcast several times weekly from Havana radio stations and is performed regularly in Miami and New Jersey by Cuban-American enthusiasts.)

Finally, these modal characteristics also typify the *guajira*, a term denoting “country”-style songs (whether urban or rural in origin) especially popular in the first half of the twentieth century. The familiar song “Guantanamera,” composed around 1940 and subsequently popularized internationally, is representative. While acculturated renditions of this song—especially by non-Cubans—might feature the C-major “gringo” ending mentioned above,

36. Pieces such as this could be notated in either 6/8 or 3/4. The voicings of the final chord by the *laúd* (or a similar instrument) may vary. A *zapateo* with these features can be heard on *La música del pueblo de Cuba*, EGREM LD 3441 (n.d.). Argeliers León presents a similar excerpt as typical of the Cuban *punto guajira*, in *Del canto y el tiempo* (Havana: Editorial Letras Cubanas, 1984), 112. The phrases recur in these and other interrelated Cuban *campesino* genres.

37. As in the previous example, the chord voicings should be taken as approximate and variable, and either a 6/8 or 3/4 meter could be indicated. For a full transcription of a *punto libre décima*, see Peter Manuel, with Kenneth Bilby and Michael Largey, *Caribbean Currents: Caribbean Music from Rumba to Reggae* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996), 31.

Example 7 “Guantanamera” ending

Ramón y Rivera assumes, probably correctly, that this modal practice derives from Spain,⁴⁰ and we have noted the Mixolydian mode's presence in medieval Iberian songs and, implicitly, in the early *zarabanda*. Similarly, Chilean musicologist María-Ester Grebe draws parallels between the presence of the Mixolydian mode in old folk songs of her country and its occurrence in sixteenth-century Spanish vihuela music.⁴¹ Certainly, early seventeenth-century *zarabandas* like that later notated by Sanz, when played in their customary fast tempos, would strongly resemble modern genres like the *galerón* in their chordal ostinatos. Even so, we might hesitate to attribute a strictly peninsular origin to such a tonality, since the *zarabanda* appears to have been a creole, Afro-Latin New World invention. Moreover, the Mixolydian mode has not been widespread in Spanish folk music for some time⁴² and has little or no presence in Andalusian music. It is entirely absent from flamenco, and commentators have noted that when flamenco guitarists perform their own renditions of Cuban *guajiras*, they generally and “incorrectly” assimilate them to common-practice major tonality. The Mixolydian dual tonicity described here may thus represent an essentially Latin American phenomenon, of which the seventeenth-century Spanish *zarabanda* was an appendage rather than a primary source. Why this particular tonality declined in Spain but took on a new life in the Caribbean Basin must be regarded as one of the innumerable enigmas of diasporic dynamics.

Modal Harmony Meets Modernity: Two Case Studies

The persistence of a modally influenced dual tonicity until the present is in itself remarkable. Not surprisingly, however, genres using this traditional practice have been variously affected by modernity, with its attendant processes of urbanization, westernization, and commercialization. Genres like the *zapateo* have all but perished; others, like the *punto*, continue but have been marginalized; and in acculturated (and especially commercial) renditions, songs like “La Bamba” and “Guantanamera” have adopted Western-style final cadences. Yet modernity also brings with it phenomena—especially nationalism and a

40. Ibid.

41. María-Ester Grebe, “Modality in Spanish Renaissance Vihuela Music and Archaic Chilean Folksongs: A Comparative Study,” *Ethnomusicology* 11 (1967): 326–42.

42. Berlanga Fernández, *Bailes de candil*, 184.

commercial music industry omnivorously seeking raw material—that can in some cases breathe new life into vestigial idioms. While an exhaustive treatment of this topic is outside the scope of the present article, we may briefly look at two quite different but distinctively modern adaptations of the harmonic practice discussed here, from the realms of art and commercial dance music.

The first of these is from the music of Amadeo Roldán (1900–1939), a Cuban composer of considerable originality and brilliance. Trained in Madrid and inspired by the primitivist works of Stravinsky and others, he, together with his contemporary Alejandro García Caturla, fostered a dynamic form of Cuban musical nationalism by turning to local musics for inspiration.⁴³ While Roldán, like Caturla, was especially fascinated by the rhythmic richness of Afro-Cuban music, a few of his compositions represent free stylizations of creole Hispanic-derived Cuban music. Particularly notable is his *Punto criollo*, No. 1 (from *Dos canciones populares cubanas*, 1928), a short piece for cello and piano in which he evokes some of the quaint and rustic flavor of the *punto* while consciously exploiting and exaggerating the specific harmonic ambiguities we have discussed. Example 8 reproduces only the last seven bars of this work. The cello and piano may be seen as replicating the functions of the voice and *laúd*, respectively, in the folk *punto*; the C Mixolydian mode is evidenced in the key signature and the closing cadence on C. This, of course, is not a simple C chord, but a Cowellesque cluster that reflects both the enigmatic modality of the original and the traditional convention (seen in Ex. 6 above) of enriching the final chord with a sustained fourth on the open string of the *laúd*.⁴⁴

Tonal ambiguities also took on a new life in the Cuban *son*, which emerged in the early twentieth century and soon became the most popular dance-music genre of the island. While in the 1920s and 1930s it was usually performed by a septet of guitar, the guitarlike *tres*, trumpet, bass, and percussion, by mid-century its ensemble typically came to include piano and horn sections. In a modernized and rearticulated form, it provided the structural and stylistic basis for the music that has flourished under the rubric “salsa” since the 1960s. The *son* is often celebrated as a felicitously balanced synthesis of Afro-Cuban and European-derived musical features. Its syncopated rhythms, its use of the bongo and conga, its ostinato-based, call-and-response second section, and its lyrics evoking black street life ally it with Afro-Cuban music culture. At the same time, its use of European instruments and harmonies link it with Western traditions, both jazz and Hispanic. Most of the harmonies of the *son* (and for that matter, of salsa) are fairly straightforward, based on I–IV–V pillars (in major and minor) that are, from midcentury on, enriched with sonorities resembling those of jazz and American popular song in general.

43. Although Edgar Varese’s 1931 *Ionisation* is invariably cited as being the first serious piece for percussion ensemble, Roldán’s percussion pieces *Rítmicas V–VI* precede that work by a year.

44. I am grateful to Robert Romeo for calling my attention to this piece in a fine term paper analyzing its harmonies.

Example 8 Amadeo Roldán, *Punto criollo*, conclusion

The musical score is for the conclusion of 'Punto criollo' by Amadeo Roldán. It features two staves: Cello and Piano. The Cello staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The Piano staff is in grand staff (treble and bass clefs) with the same key signature. The music is in 3/4 time. The score begins with a Cello melody and Piano accompaniment. The Piano part features complex chords and arpeggios. The score concludes with a final cadence. Performance markings include 'a piacere', 'poco accel.', 'riten.', 'lento', 'f', and 'p'.

Specifically Hispanic influence is perhaps most overt in the occasional use of Andalusian-type (Am–G–F–E) progressions, which in some early songs might conclude on the Phrygian E tonic, but from midcentury would be more likely to end in mainstream Euro-American fashion on the A minor (or its transposed variant).⁴⁵

Of particular interest here are the numerous songs, especially from the first half of the century, whose harmonies, as suggested by both final cadences and internal features, reflect the sort of ambiguous tonicity focused on in this essay. Interpreting closing cadences in recordings of such *sones* is particularly problematic, for many of the songs illustrate what would seem to be a curious indifference to finality, concluding, for example, on the subdominant or the flat-seventh chord (VII).⁴⁶ Significantly, though, within this minority that do not end on the presumed “tonic,” a majority conclude on what might otherwise be heard as the dominant. Such final cadences are particularly common in the midcentury songs of Arsenio Rodríguez, arguably the most influential and seminal composer and bandleader of the period, who is often regarded as the grandfather of salsa.⁴⁷ In several cases, the cadences conclude chordal ostinatos

45. An example of the former is the *son* “¿Dónde estabas anoche?” (1920s?), and of the latter is Arsenio Rodríguez’s “No me llores” (1949).

46. Familiar *sones* ending on the subdominant include the Septeto Nacional’s recordings of “Burrurú Barará,” “Suavecito,” and “Echale salsa” on *Soneros Mayores*, EGREM PRD 067 (n.d.).

47. For example, “Yo no engaño las nenas,” “Aprurruñeme mujeres,” and “Sandunguera.” I am especially indebted to ethnomusicologist David García, whose thorough analyses of

Example 9 Arsenio Rodríguez, “Dame un cachito,” ostinato and conclusion

that are themselves inherently ambiguous. Example 9, for instance, shows the final rendering of the C–G–C–D ostinato and refrain (*coro*), repeated numerous times previously, of the 1946 song “Dame un cachito pa’ huelé.” Even if we were to ignore the final cadence on D, the tonicity of this ostinato is quite ambiguous. Although hearing G as the tonic fits the chords into a familiar I–IV–V scheme, anyone familiar with Latin or even rock harmony could easily hear D as the tonic, with C and G functioning as VII and IV, respectively. (The bulk of the song itself, consisting mostly of the same ostinato, provides no further clue.) I would argue, then, that as in the several cases cited above, the ostinato oscillates between two tonal centers, neither of which is foregrounded at the expense of the other. Moreover, there is every reason to assume that Rodríguez, in composing such songs, was inspired by a sense of tonality shaped by the *puntos* and *guajiras* so prominent in Cuban music culture and especially prevalent in the countryside where he spent his youth.

Several other songs of Rodríguez reflect a similar tonal ambiguity in their internal chord progressions. Particularly conspicuous are songs that, after establishing a relatively clear I–IV–V tonality, abruptly shift to the V chord, which becomes the tonic of an extended, harmonically static “vamp”; the songs then either conclude on this chord or proceed back to the original tonic.⁴⁸ In several cases (e.g., “Tocoloro” and “No vuelvo a Morón”), the sense of tonicity is utterly ambiguous. Implicit in these and other songs is a sort of slippery and unstable tonicity, which Rodríguez freely exploited, lending an idiosyncratic richness to an otherwise quite limited chordal vocabulary. (Songs from his subsequent years were more informed by jazz harmony and contained fewer such tonal enigmas.)

Conclusions

The distinctive tonicity of the music genres discussed here, which evolved on the geographical and chronological margins of common-practice tonality, presents unique challenges to interpretation. In some respects the tonicity is even

Rodríguez’s songs indicate such features (in “Arsenio Rodríguez: A Black Cuban Musician in the Dance Music Milieus of Havana, New York City, and Los Angeles” [Ph.D. diss., Graduate Center of the City University of New York, forthcoming]).

48. For example, “Sacando candela,” “¿Quién será mi amor?” and “Kila, Kike, y Chocolate.”

more resistant to Western musicological analysis than is the Andalusian tonality of flamenco. For example, in the latter's familiar Am–G–F–E progression, we can without much equivocation describe E as “tonic” (I), A minor as “iv,” and perhaps even F as a “dominant” (in the sense that it seeks resolution to the tonic). By contrast, the pendular harmony of the *punto* and the keyboard fandango offers no such functional polarities and has inspired a corresponding variety of interpretations. Ramón y Rivera, as suggested above, adopts a somewhat hybrid interpretive approach to the *galerón*, regarding it as having a modal (specifically, Mixolydian) melody and a tonal chordal accompaniment with a “tonic-subdominant-dominant” configuration. Such an approach, although logical in some respects, is problematic in its assertion that the melody and harmonies have different tonic pitches.

A similar approach would be to regard such genres, despite the Mixolydian melodic tendencies, as essentially based in a tonic-subdominant-dominant (I–IV–V) harmonic system, with a somewhat unusually strong dominant V, upon which chord the song ends in accordance with an atavistic mannerism. An advocate of this approach might argue that the finalis of such a song may not be structurally significant; indeed, I myself must confess to a feeling of slight absurdity, while preparing this essay, in scouring recording collections often to listen only to the conclusions of songs. Collectively, however, the endings cannot be dismissed as insignificant, and cadences on the “dominant” are even more structural when they recur throughout the song, as in the *punto libre*.

An alternative approach would be to assert a strictly modal basis of both melody and harmony, unambiguously equating finalis and tonic. Thus, a C–F–G ostinato would be interpreted not as I–IV–V, but as IV–VII–I, as is indeed its function in popular songs like the Rolling Stones' “Jumpin' Jack Flash” and the more recent hit “My Heart Goes Boom.”⁴⁹ Again speaking subjectively, in listening to Cuban *punto* I do not have difficulty hearing the C and F chords as progressing toward and concluding on the stable, cadential, quasi-“tonic” G. And yet, I believe we would be mistaken in elevating that chord as an unambiguous tonic and demoting the C chord to the status of a mere subdominant. Rather, I would argue that these harmonic ostinatos, like those in the courtly fandangos, represent a pendular oscillation between two chords, each with its own sort of stasis and predominance, which may vary in accordance with momentary melodic or rhythmic contexts. Thus, while the Western terms *tonic* and *dominant* may be applied, albeit idiosyncratically, to flamenco harmony, they simply cannot be used here without distorting the balance between these two chords.

In recent decades, scholars have shown interest in aspects of nineteenth-century musical practice that present “alternatives to monotonicity.” Particu-

49. “My Heart Goes Boom” is by the French Affair (a song called to my attention by Liliana Manuel).

larly relevant here are the "double tonic complexes" said to be operant in pieces by Wagner and a few contemporaries, which begin and end in different keys or, less often, suggest two distinct tonics simultaneously.⁵⁰ But the form of double tonicity described in this article bears at most a superficial affinity to that of the nineteenth century. The latter reflected the incipient dissolution of common-practice harmony at the hands of erudite and chromatically inclined composers. In contrast, the phenomenon described here is better seen as a set of vernacular, guitar-derived conventions, consisting of simple chordal ostinatos, that emerged in the formative period of tonality and subsequently followed relatively independent trajectories. These conventions enjoyed a prolonged life in various Latin American folk genres, as well as a marginal presence as a folk import in Spanish Baroque art music; they were a harmonic feature of mid-twentieth-century Cuban popular music and, finally, provided a modernist "alternative to monotonicity" in the music of Amadeo Roldán.

As I have argued, reconstructing the historical evolution of this tradition is difficult, due to the lack of documentation, and to the existence of parallel European, Moorish, and perhaps even African modal traditions that appear to have contributed, in their own ways, to the emergence of chordal conventions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁵¹ The Phrygian-type double tonicity found in the keyboard fandango and in Latin American "minor"-key counterparts like the *joropo* would seem to bear an evolutionary relationship to Andalusian harmony, which emerged as a synthesis of Moorish modality and guitar-based chordal practices. Latin American genres using "major" or Mixolydian-type ostinato patterns could in some respects be seen as variants of this tonality, especially when appearing in otherwise identical or paired genres such as Cuban *punto* subvarieties, or in the fraternal *joropo* and *galerón*. At the same time, these very affinities as well as historical references suggest that both "minor"/Phrygian and "major"/Mixolydian chordal conventions may have emerged in tandem in colonial Mexico as creole-, guitar-, or vihuela-based practices, synthesizing Spanish (including Andalusian) and Afro-Latin musical sensibilities. Of these conventions, the "minor"/Phrygian patterns were compatible with and thus easily absorbed into Andalusian tonality, which continues to prevail in much southern Spanish music. Ultimately, we may be able to conclude little more than that the dual-tonic phenomenon emerged as some

50. Robert Bailey, "Das Lied von der Erde: Tonal Language and Formal Design" (paper presented at the Forty-fourth Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society, October 1978); Robert Bailey, ed., *Richard Wagner: Prelude and Transfiguration from "Tristan und Isolde,"* Norton Critical Score (New York: Norton, 1985), 113–46; William Kinderman and Harald Krebs, eds., *The Second Practice of Nineteenth-Century Tonality* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1996); and Christopher Lewis, "Mirrors and Metaphors: Reflections on Schoenberg and Nineteenth-Century Tonality," *19th-Century Music* 11 (1987): 26–42. I have deliberately avoided the term *double tonic* in this article in order to avoid confusion with this sort of harmonic practice.

51. Van der Merwe discusses aspects of African modal influence in the Americas (*Origins of the Popular Style*, 131–45).

sort of conjuncture between Moorish modality, Andalusian Phrygian-type modal harmony, and forms of bitonicity present in Afro-Latin, Renaissance, and perhaps African musics.

If the historical outlines may remain unclear, what nevertheless emerged is a remarkably consistent set of chordal conventions spanning several centuries, two continents, and both popular and classical spheres of music. Collectively, they illustrate that if there is a gringo way of ending “Guantanamera,” there is also a gringo way of hearing it, and of analyzing it. Music analysis should cohere with the perceptual habits of listeners experienced in a style system. In the idiom described in this article, simple and familiar-looking chordal vocabularies operate in a form of tonality quite distinct from common practice, with its relatively unambiguous sense of tonicity. Alternatives to such monotonicity have thus flourished not only in the realm of rarefied late Romantic art music, but also in the vernacular margins of the Western mainstream.

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Abstract

This essay explores the sense of dual tonicity evident in a set of interrelated Spanish and Latin American music genres. These genres include seventeenth-century Spanish keyboard and vihuela fandangos, and diverse folk genres of the Hispanic Caribbean Basin, including the Venezuelan *galerón* and the Cuban *punto*, *zapateo*, and *guajira*. Songs in these genres oscillate between apparent "tonic" and "dominant" chords, yet conclude on the latter chord and bear internal features that render such terminology inapplicable. Rather, such ostinatos should be understood as oscillating in a pendular fashion between two tonal centers of relatively equal stability. The ambiguous tonicity is related to the Moorish-influenced modal harmony of flamenco and Andalusian folk music; it can also be seen to have informed the modern Cuban *son* and the music of twentieth-century Cuban composer Amadeo Roldán.