

Construction of a Creole Identity in Cabo Verde: Insights from *Morna*, a Traditional Form of Music

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Abstract

Morna is a traditional music of Cabo Verde. It was created in the context of colonialism, where Whites, Blacks and creoles, the children of Whites and Blacks born in Cabo Verde, lived. With emancipation from slavery, the people of Cabo Verde began to build their own identity: a creole identity. In order to establish their independence from Portugal, poets and musicians used morna to unify the people of Cabo Verde. This research paper will address the specific case of the evolution of morna by analysing morna lyrics diachronically to clarify the importance of 'creoleness' in the creation of a unique Cabo Verde identity.

Keywords: creole identity, Cabo Verde, evolution of *morna*

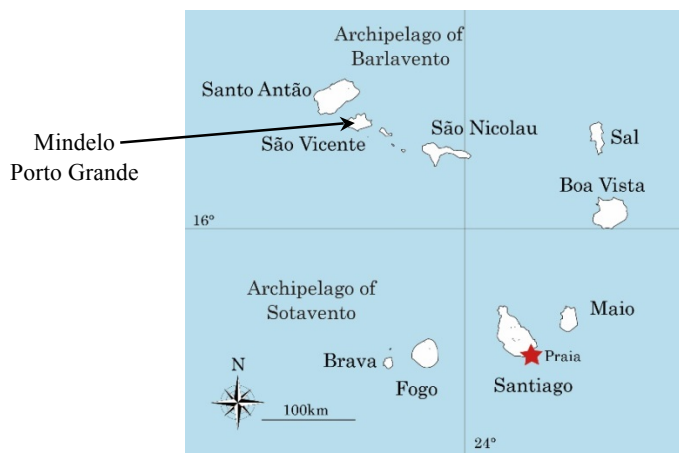
要旨

モルナはカーボ・ヴェルデの伝統音楽であり、歌謡である。モルナは植民地支配において形成された文化であり、当時の社会に属していた白人や黒人、そしてクレオールの人々（白人・黒人の間に生まれた混血の子供）が影響したことで生成した。奴隷制度が廃止され、カーボ・ヴェルデの人々は自らのアイデンティティ、すなわちクレオール・アイデンティティを創出することを試みた。カーボ・ヴェルデがポルトガル帝国から独立を果たし、島民が団結し、統合するために詩人や音楽家はモルナを用いた。本研究は、モルナの歌詞を通時的に分析することで、カーボ・ヴェルデにおける「クレオール性」についての理解を深めるための手がかりを示す。

キーワード：クレオール・アイデンティティ、カーボ・ヴェルデ、モルナの進展

1. Introduction

The Cabo Verdean islands were uninhabited at the time of their discovery in 1460. Today, Cabo Verde consists of two groups of islands: the windward islands called the islands of *Barlavento* comprising *Santo Antão*, *São Vicente*, *São Nicolau*, *Sal* and *Boa Vista*, and the leeward islands called the islands of *Sotavento* comprising *Brava*, *Fogo*, *Santiago* and *Maio*. The capital of the Republic of Cabo Verde is *Praia*, situated in the island of *Santiago*, the largest island in Cabo Verde. However, *Mindelo*, on the island of *São Vicente*, the main port of the republic, is seen as the cultural capital.



Cabo Verdeweb.com

Fig. 1. Map of the Cabo Verdean Islands

In their short history of approximately five hundred years, the people who lived in the islands have gradually created a new category of people, language, culture and society from naught, which is expressed by the term ‘creole’. The islands experienced more than four hundred years of slavery. During the period of slavery, Cabo Verde was geographically important for navigators bound for Africa or the Americas since it is situated between the three continents of Europe, Africa and America. Before going on to their final destination navigators would call into Cabo Verde to take on supplies of food and water; as did Colombo in 1498, Cabral (the discoverer of Brazil) in 1500 and Magellan in 1552 (Peixeira 2003: 23).

Thus, the unique Cabo Verde ethnicity based on the language and the cultural heritage that developed among the people of the islands were, ironically, embedded in the oppressive context of slavery and colonialism.

In contrast to the harsh realities of slavery, today, creole has come to give substantial meaning to an ideology which expresses the independent identity of the people of Cabo Verde. The islanders express this ‘creoleness’ in the transmission of their music. This is especially so in *morna*, which is the only popular music played in every single island. *Morna* is, according to Moacyr Rodrigues and Isabel Lobo who are among the most prominent researchers of *morna*, “a text (composition of dance, music, poems) with narrative, lyrical, descriptive and satirical functions that combines with forms of expression as the dialogue, monologue, reflection and the commentary, in a direct and indirect form of manifest” (Rodrigues and Lobo 1996: 31). Pedro Cardoso (1890-1942), a Cabo Verdean writer, defines the music as “the melody in which the slaves alleviate the bitterness of being exiled by force, and the folksong that the emigrants or the seafarers sing, the *saudade* of their distant homeland, which spreading and merging produces the *morna* and its rhythm which polarizes the Cabo Verdean Spirit” (Cardoso 1933: 19).

2. Social Movement and Evolution of *Morna*

Morna is a musical genre performed in Cabo Verdean Creole (CVC) on all of the islands of Cabo Verde. Basically, *morna* can be divided into several periods according to the evolution of its musical formation (Jesus Tavares 2005; Gonçalves 2006). Therefore, in order to analyze the movements according to the evolution of the music, I propose dividing *morna* into five periods as follows¹:

- 1) the original creativity of the great literary poet Eugénio Tavares (1890-1930)
- 2) cosmopolitan influence and the great composer B.Léza (1930-1960)
- 3) the use of electric instruments and the revolutionary composer Manuel de Novas (1960-1992)
- 4) internationalization through the works of Cesária Évora (1992-2011)
- 5) coexistence of traditional and modern *morna* (2011 onwards)

The discussion of the development of periods 1 to 4 is mainly based on the research of Carlos Filipe Gonçalves (2006). Whereas that of period 5 is from my personal field notes and interviews. There are, as yet, no supporting documents.

2.1. Period of the great literary poet Eugénio Tavares (1890-1930)

Eugénio Tavares (1867-1930) is recognized as one of the greatest poets of Cabo Verde. Though *morna* had existed before Tavares, he was considered the pioneer of *morna* as a musical genre, and his songs are generally accepted as being amongst the most poignant.

Morna in this period expressed a pessimistic, negative side of life, albeit influenced by romanticism. It had a very slow, sad and somewhat sensual melody, as in the *tango* of Argentina and certain Brazilian songs. *Morna* is fundamentally an expression of *sodade* which, according to the Oxford Dictionary (2015), means “a feeling of longing, melancholy, or nostalgia that is supposedly characteristic of the Portuguese or Brazilian temperament”. Probably, in the early twentieth century, *sodade* was a sentiment expressing sadness or nostalgia, in other words a pessimistic, therefore lugubrious, vision of life. Nonetheless, Tavares succeeded in giving *morna* a more romantic tone by his use not only of Portuguese but more especially of CVC², this allowed him to explore sentiments specific to Cabo Verde such as *cretcheu* (an expression of love) as it is expressed in the *morna* “Força de Cretcheu” (Appendix I.1). The term *cretcheu* is one of the core concepts in *morna* (Aoki 2013). We could see in the words of the song that ‘*cretcheu*’ and ‘love’ are expressed distinctly. *Cretcheu* can mean ‘lover’ or ‘love’ which shows its difference from ‘love’; it has a wider meaning than ‘love’. However, *cretcheu* expressed in this poem indicates only the meaning of ‘lover’. It could be pointed out that *cretcheu* has a deep sense of the expression of ‘love’ in CVC.

The most important point to note of this period is that *morna* written in CVC were an expression of Cabo Verdean creole identity.

2.2. Period of cosmopolitan influence and the great composer

B. Léza (1930-1960)

The composer Francisco Xaxier da Cruz, known as B. Léza, developed the harmonic structure of *morna* by introducing the ‘Brazilian half-tone’ (*meio-tom brasileiro*). This is a pass chord between the two fundamental chords that give *morna* a more rhythmical harmony line. B. Léza modified the structural aspect of *morna* whereas previously, Eugénio Tavares had placed prime importance on the lyrics.

The ‘Brazilian half-tone’ was, as it is named, an influence of the Brazilian musicians. In the first half of the twentieth century, the island of São Vicente was greatly influenced by the outside world, especially Brazil, as this is where the principal port, Porto Grande, was established. A simple look at the demographics (Lobban and Saucier 2007: 209) shows just how tremendously the population increased as the island grew in contact with the outside world: from 6,666 inhabitants in 1890 to 14,639 inhabitants by 1930, which is more than double the original population. By the 1960s, towards the end of the period of B. Léza, the population had increased to 32,161 people. It goes without saying that the islanders of São Vicente were exposed to the influence of many different cultures as the port continued to be the stopping point on journeys between Europe and Latin America.

Nogueira reports that “the ships had their own musical group [...] which had many cultural exchanges and the inter-influence has been taken place” (Nogueira 2005: 35). Evidently, the ‘Brazilian half-tone’ was introduced by Brazilian guitarists (one of the musical groups Nogueira mentions). She continues, “the Brazilian influence had a grand impact for the young people of that period, as they adopted new styles, ways of talking, music and dance” (Nogueira 2005: 35).

On the other hand, the tradition of dancing *morna* was still present as Gonçalves indicates: “the *morna* was called *bailes nacionais* (national dance) that represent well the sentiment of *morna*. [...] It was played always very late [...] until three o’clock at night sometimes” (Gonçalves 2006: 96). At the same time, at dawn, *morna* played as a serenade was also present as a tradition. A musician, originally from the island of São Vicente, explains how this form of *morna* was played, “The serenade only begins at dawn. [Or] if somebody emigrates we play the serenade of farewell [...] (Appendix II.1).

In the beginning of the fifties, *morna* was still played well into the dawn after dancing throughout the night. Eugénio Tavares states that on the island of Santo Antão, *morna*, though very melancholic, was also music for dancing (Tavares 1932: 9). The environment of *morna* had not changed greatly since the period of Eugénio Tavares. Nevertheless, *morna* as a dance would decline by the 1970s (Gonçalves 2006: 96).

2.3. Period of electric instruments and the revolutionary composer

Manuel de Novas (1960-1990)

Electric instruments were introduced in the 1960s, and Manuel de Novas began to gain recognition towards the end of the decade. There are two points of note in the evolution of *morna* in this period: there was the introduction of electric instruments that increased the sound range, and especially there was the form of playing *morna* as popular music for social protest exemplified by the works of Manuel de Novas (1937-2009), a renowned composer of both *morna* and *coladeira*³.

Before this period the instruments were very simple. Basically, they comprised the acoustic guitar, violin, and particularly the cavaquinho. However, during this period the range expanded greatly to include electric guitars, percussion instruments, pianos and amplifiers. Previously, *morna* was played as a serenade at night or into the dawn hours, but during this period it changed to being performed on stage by music bands. As a result the serenade gradually disappeared.

The fact that he was a grand composer of the two musical genres, influenced respectively by B. Léza (master of *morna*) and Ti Goy (master of *coladeira*), Manuel de Novas had a particular style in his songs of *morna* which aided the evolution of the musical style. Filinto Elíseo explains that Manuel de Novas and his work represent a “very successful fusion of Cabo Verdean poems, in a broad sense, an artist who, concomitantly, is close to the contemporary musicians (Betú, Nhelas, Spencer, Antero Simas, etc.) and to the classical musicians (Eugénio Tavares, B. Léza, etc.)” (cited from Monteiro 2003: 134). Similarly, Humbertona states that “the musician has a poetic line of B. Léza and the irony of Ti Goy” (cited from Monteiro 2003: 134).

In effect, as we have seen in the romantic *morna* of Eugénio Tavares and the ‘Brazilian half-tone’ (accelerated rhythmically) of B. Léza, the introduction of an ironic side⁴ in *morna* was an additional original part of the development of *morna* introduced by Manuel de Novas.

Manuel de Novas is considered a revolutionary for his criticism of society, especially with his themes such as “colonialism, praise of Independence and social protest” (Monteiro 2003: 119), which relate to the 1975 independence of Cabo Verde. The *morna* “*Gote Pintode*” composed by Manuel de Novas (Appendix I.2) is a good example of protest and criticism.

In an interview conducted by Gonçalves (2006: 106), Manuel de Novas explains he wrote “*Gote Pintode*” “in order to criticize the situation of our music that had a tendency of going towards a dangerous path. It criticizes the people who made the commercial system in music [in Cabo Verde]. It was losing the thread of the Cabo Verdean music” (Gonçalves 2006: 106). Thus, the song tells how people (and musicians) came to lose the original spirit of *morna*.

This socio-situation has to be researched more precisely by comparing the actual movements or compositions created by the musicians. Yet, it illustrates that in this period of *morna*, the influences of the commercial system, which is evident in the increasing dominance of electric instruments, contributed to a decline in the former spirit of *morna* as lamented in the words of the poem, “Do not upset the spirits of *Tavares* and *B. Léza*”.

2.4. Period of internationalization through the works of Cesária Évora (1992-2011)

Known as the Barefoot Diva, Cesária Évora is the most world-famous Cabo Verdean singer. Cesária Évora recorded her first album in 1988 in France but she really shot to fame in 1992 by singing *Sodade*, a typical CVC sentiment, and it was through this extraordinary hit that Cabo Verdean people finally gained a means of expressing their identity to the outside world.

From the beginnings of *morna*, it had been the poets and composers who had developed the music by modifying the harmony or the themes. With the Barefoot Diva, for the first time it was a performer, a singer, who added to the development of the genre without changing either the musical structure or the theme, but simply through the power of her voice to express the deep feelings unique to the Cabo Verdean people through her representative *morna*, “Sodade” (Appendix I.3).

Historically, innumerable Cabo Verdean people were sent to São Tomé e Príncipe. Lesourd affirms that the number of the people who were sent abroad from Cabo Verde was about 87,385 between 1920 and 1970 (Lesourd, 1995: 274). However, around 79,392 Cabo Verdeans were sent out to São Tomé (ibid.). In the lyrics of songs, the longings for their homeland of people who were sent to São Tomé from the island of São Nicolau, where their family or *cretcheu*, lovers, still lived were poignantly expressed.

The feeling of *sodade* was constantly present in the history of Cabo Verde; during the period of slavery when the people were sold to the Americas and Europe, during the periods of famine⁵ when they had to escape to other countries and also during World War I and II when the islanders were forced to enter the military with the consequence that many emigrated to other countries. *Sodade* can be observed as an important expression of the feelings of the people in Cabo Verde when we look at its historical context.

As a result of Cesária Évora’s popularity, tourists began flocking to the islands, bringing an important source of revenue. This is especially so for the island of São Vicente which is the main tourist destination as not only is it the birthplace of Cesária Évora but also the site of numerous music festivals, including a major yearly carnival. In fact, music is everywhere - in the roads, the local bars, the tourist hotels, and homes. As a consequence, the commerce of music in São Vicente has given rise to a style of ‘modern *morna*’ (see section 2.5) that is played very often in hotels or restaurants. Also, the expression *sodade* seems to attract tourists as it can be seen everywhere in the city.

This brings us to the present day and the period of coexistence of traditional and modern *morna*.

2.5. Period of coexistence of traditional/modern *morna* (2011 onwards)

When we consider the various developments that *morna* has undergone, as a general tendency, it would seem that today it is the singers and performers who are more important than the poets or composers.

There are many who claim that all the great poets are dead. People listen to the old, traditional *morna* on the radio. Many people still play *morna* on an acoustic guitar in their houses, in the local bars or in the streets. On the other hand, there are people who play *morna* with electric instruments to tourists to earn their living. This is the socio-situation of today's *morna*. One of the musicians, Musician A, who was interviewed during fieldwork (Appendix II.2) is convinced that society and everyday life have greatly changed when we look at the current situation of *morna* "... society and the way people live has been changing somewhat ... [compared to] the past at least, I can find a different form of *morna* to what people feel now...".

As we have seen above, the style of *morna* used to be different from that of today. To cite Baltasar Lopes, the change can "roughly be fixed in the 1930s when *morna* was significant as a kind of folklore and not urban or urbanized" (cited from Gonçalves 2006: 92).

Previously, the musical genre was different as *morna* was 'folklore' instead of a 'popular' music (folklore music ↔ popular music). The *morna* as a 'folklore' could be a substitute for the 'traditional *morna*', and the *morna* as a 'popular' music could be considered as 'modern *morna*'.

At this point, it is necessary to explain first of all in what situation *morna* can be said to be 'folklore' (traditional *morna*) and secondly, when it can be considered to be 'popular music' (modern *morna*).

From the quotation above and in works published in the same period, for instance Eugénio Tavares' "Mornas Cantigas Crioulas" (1932), and Pedro Cardoso's, "Folclore Caboverdeano" (1933), it is clear that *morna* was considered an expression of folklore which could be defined as 'traditional *morna*'. If *morna*, in the beginning, was folklore as Baltasar Lopes mentions, and the connection

between folklore and *morna*, that Cardoso and Tavares make, is significant; then, a typical style characteristic of the music should be apparent. As Gonçalves explains in the beginning of the 1950s “the environment of *morna* had almost not changed since the period of Eugénio Tavares” (Gonçalves 2006: 96), although it is clear the harmonic structure had evolved in the period of B. Léza. Thus, ‘traditional *morna*’ designated as folklore is customarily played and performed in daily life and it is central to the culture of Cabo Verdean people. The central cultural role of *morna* can be seen in the documentary film “Alma ta Fika”, produced by Paulo de Sousa and Luís Martins in 1989 which illustrates the prominence of the periods of Eugénio Tavares and B. Léza. “Alma ta Fika” describes the socio-cultural situation in the 1970s and 1980s which is just after independence in the period of Manuel de Novas. At the end of the film, people are shown playing a *morna* serenade.

In the other type of *morna*, the ‘modern *morna*’, the aspect of ‘folklore’ is almost absent as it is a performance for an audience where the performers earn a salary, similar to popular music. Today, with the growth of tourism, ‘modern *morna*’ has become much more prominent in the islands. With regards to the musicians⁶ themselves, they perform *morna* (frequently the ‘modern *morna*’) for their pleasure as it is part of their cultural identity, albeit they also play for the tourists⁷. The majority of musicians are paid to perform but the earnings are not enough to live on, therefore their principal wage earning work is done elsewhere during the day at a wide range of jobs. At night, the musicians stand on stage and play music (very often the *coladeira* and the *morna*). In the case of ‘modern *morna*’ the instruments are mainly electric guitar, bass, piano/electric piano, drum, percussion, and *cavaquinho*.

It is still difficult to give a precise definition of ‘modern *morna*’ as it is still in the process of development. What is of note in this type of *morna*, is the fusion with other musical genres as bossa nova, jazz, fado, and classical music. This mixed *morna* is sometimes called *morna-jazz*, *morna-classic*, *morna-fado* or even ‘fusion music’. An example of *morna-classic* can be heard in the “Eclipse”⁸ of Chico Serra and *morna-fado* in the “Beijo de Saudade” of Mariza and Tito Paris. There are countless examples of *morna-jazz*⁹ and *morna-bossa*. This kind of ‘fusion music’ is becoming common in restaurants and hotels.

It is not only from the musical structure but also from the form of singing that we can identify the image of this ‘fusion music’. However, there are some musicians who do not agree that the new type of *morna*, the ‘fusion *morna*’, is authentic. I would cite here a precise example: “as the *morna-samba* has enough of a slow rhythm of 4/4, it cannot be a kind of *morna*” (Musician A). Nonetheless the same musician mentions that “here in Cabo Verde, we have always had outside influences, especially here in São Vicente which was the cultural centre thanks to the port, [...], moreover, Brazilian music is part of our culture as we have *coladeira-samba*” (Musician A) (Appendix II.3). Historically, the island of São Vicente was influenced by various cultures and therefore Brazilian music naturally entered into the *morna* as we have seen in the period of B. Léza, and thus, subsequently, a fusion of *coladeira* and *samba* was created, but not with the *morna*. However, singer B tries to explain in the interview (Appendix II.4) the difference between fusion music and the modern *morna*, or new form of *morna* (e.g. *morna-jazz*) “you can keep the *morna* by keeping the tonality and the staves... when it is fusion [music] every musician plays in their own style...”.

There are three facts to be noted from these interviews: there is a difference between ‘fusion music’ (*morna-classic*) and *morna*; the ‘traditional’ and the ‘modern *morna*’ need to co-exist by keeping a balance; and especially, depending on the people of Cabo Verde, ‘fusion *morna*’ could be considered either a type of *morna* or simply as ‘fusion music’ which should not be considered *morna* at all.

As a consequence, although ‘modern *morna*’ is still not defined as a musical style, it is a fact that the two types of *morna*, the ‘traditional’ and the ‘modern *morna*’, co-exist in today’s Cabo Verdean culture. The ‘traditional *morna*’ continues the sense of musical ‘folklore’ whenever ‘traditional *morna*’ is sung, accompanied principally by acoustic guitars or simple instruments, in the streets, in homes, in the local bars and wherever people meet by chance. At the same time, the salient ‘modern *morna*’ is becoming more and more developed; when it is performed on stages with electric instruments in tourist hotels and in restaurants by musicians, the audiences are tourists alongside local people. Thus, while ‘traditional *morna*’ is ‘folklore’ music, ‘modern *morna*’ is ‘popular’ music. Very often ‘modern *morna*’ has a characteristic of a mixture with other musical genres. Lastly, local

people seem perplexed with ‘fusion music’ because the development or the appearance of this musical style has never been experienced before. These differences are tangible criteria of the coexistence of two types of *morna*.

3. Conclusion

The discussion of this research paper has focused on the evolution of the creole music, *morna*, in order to shed light on the importance of ‘creoleness’ in Cabo Verde by analyzing the lyrics diachronically.

I sought to explain how people react as their national music is modified in a radical way. Thereby, the discussion was divided into the five periods¹⁰:

- 1) the original creativity of the great literary poet Eugénio Tavares (1890-1930)
- 2) cosmopolitan influence and the great composer B.Léza (1930-1960)
- 3) the use of electric instruments and the revolutionary composer Manuel de Novas (1960-1992)
- 4) internationalization through the works of Cesária Évora (1992-2011)
- 5) coexistence of traditional and modern *morna* (2011 onwards)

In summary, the periods 1 to 3 could be seen as one set as these periods of *morna* were basically dominated by poets and composers. In this period, *morna* was played as ‘folklore’. Thus, to play the *morna* in streets, houses and bars was a custom of daily life according to the culture of the Cabo Verdean people. I referred to this type of *morna* as traditional *morna*. The other set, 4 and 5, is a completely different environment. It is sung on stages in restaurants and tourist hotels and paid musicians create a new style by introducing external and internal elements in *morna*. I referred to this type as modern *morna*. This type of *morna* is still continuing to evolve which renders it difficult to define clearly at this moment. However, an interesting aspect of its development is in the different reactions of the people of Cabo Verde. On the one hand, there are people who are looking to create a new style of *morna*, while on the other there are those who are perplexed by this radical change to the traditional form.

Possibly, ‘modern *morna*’ is not only fusing as *morna-fado*, *morna-classic*, and other forms but also integrating external and internal musical elements in accordance with its fundamental syncretic form. However, there is no precise conclusion as to how external and internal elements will continue to be introduced into *morna*.

However, this study could be a basic initial step towards a precise examination of the classification of *morna* as well as a musicological observation of the mixed elements of *morna*.

Appendix I

Full Lyrics of *Morna* Cited (original CVC with English translation)

AI.1 Lyrics of the *Morna* ‘*Força de Cretcheu*’ composed by Eugénio Tavares

Força de Cretcheu

Ca tem nada na es bida
Más grande que amor.
Se Deus ca tem medida,
Amor inda é maior...
Amor inda é maior,
Maior que mar, que ceu:
Mas, entre otos cretcheu,
De meu inda é maior.

The Force of Cretcheu

There is nothing in this life
Bigger than love.
If God cannot be measured,
Love is even greater...
Love is even greater,
Greater than the Ocean or the sky:
But, among other *cretcheu(s)*,
Mine is even greater.

(Translated by the author of this paper)

AI.2 Lyrics of the *Morna* ‘*Gote Pintode*’ composed by Manuel de Novas

Gote Pintode

Hoje tud gote pintode
Ê um compositor na nôs terra
Jas proveita viração d’história
Jas forma campanha
Pa bem sassina nôs música
Co melodia robod
Na gente de porli
Na gente de porla

Se música ê spedjo
Di cultura di um povo
Ca nôs fusila nos morna e coladera
Ca nô sassina cultura dess povo
Ca nô contraria
Espirito di Tavares e B.Léza

Daubed Cat

Today any daubed cat
Is a composer in our islands
They took advantage of the
Change of history
They have already conspired
To assassinate our music
With a concealed melody
To the people here
To the people out there

If the music is a sword
The culture of a people
Do not fuse the morna and the coladeira
Do not assassinate
The culture of the people
Do not upset
The spirits of Tavares and B.Léza

Si morna morrê	If morna were to die
Nôs ligria ja caba	That would be the end of our joy
Ronco di violão	The sound of the violin
Nôs luar nós serenata	Our moonlight, our serenades
Ta fca sepultado na noites di história	Will be buried in the nights of history
Si cretcheu morrê	If <i>cretcheu</i> were to die
Cabo Verde també ja morrê	Cabo Verde will die too

(Translated by the author of this paper)

AI.3 Lyrics of the *Morna* ‘*Sodade*’ performed by Cesaria Evora

Sodade	Sodade
Quem mostra’ bo	Who showed you
Ess caminho longe?	The long path?
Ess caminho	This path to
Pa São Tomé	São Tomé
Sodade, sodade, sodade	<i>Sodade, sodade, sodade</i>
Dess nha terra São Nicolau	Of the island of São Nicolau
Si bo ‘screve’ me	If you write me
‘M ta ‘screve be	I will write you
Si bo ‘squece me	If you forget me
‘M ta ‘squece be	I will forget you
Até dia	Until the day
Qui bo voltà	Of your return

(Translated by the author of this paper)

Appendix II

Excerpts of Fieldwork Interviews carried out in 2013 in the Cabo Verde Islands (translated from CVC or Portuguese)

AII.1 Excerpt of Interview: Musician from São Vicente on Serenade

You go in front of the window of your girlfriend and play the serenade during the night for many times. This is what we have started to lose. [...] Also here in São Vicente we are losing the tradition [of the form of serenade]. We have to know that before independence, we had different habits. We had a tradition of the serenade and then, after independence, the idea of the popular dances [music] became prominent. [...] The serenade only begins at dawn. [Or] if somebody embarks or emigrates, we play the serenade of farewell. People do not knock on the door, they start to play the guitar and cavaquinho or even percussion in front of the window so that people could listen. The serenade could be sung or played [on instruments].

AII.2 Excerpt of Interview: Musician A on change in society and *Morna*

For a while now, society and the way people live has been changing somewhat. Because, I think that [compared to] the past at least, I can find a different form of *morna* to what people feel now. [...] There were no modern appliances like computers or televisions, so people cultivated music during their free time. For instance, we used to have the serenade where people played the guitar and also sang. It is unthinkable now to have a group of people playing a serenade. Things have changed.

AII.3 Excerpt of Interview: Musician A on Fusion Music

Musician A): Here in Cabo Verde, we have always had outside influences, especially here in São Vicente which was the cultural centre thanks to the port. There were many boats in the port which gave us contact with foreigners. Eventually, we listened to quite a lot of foreign music like American music and Brazilian music. Moreover, Brazilian music is part of our culture. For example, we have a musical genre called *coladeira-samba*.

Author): How about *morna-samba*?

Musician A): As the *morna-samba* has enough of a slow rhythm of 4/4, it cannot be a kind of *morna*. However, the relationship can be seen between *morna* and *choro*. Because *coladeira* is *morna* with a quick tempo. Within *coladeira* there are some fusion patterns: a fusion of *coladeira* and *samba*, a fusion of *coladeira* and *baião*.

AII.4 Excerpt of Interview: Singer B on Fusion and Modern Morna

Singer B): You can play the classic music at the same time you play the *morna*. But simply, you can also play the *morna* by keeping the tonality and the staves, etc., everything with the form how the *morna* is played is authentic. This is no longer fusion [music]. Because, when it is a fusion [music], every musician plays in their own style. For example, I would sing *morna* and you would sing jazz. Then we put them [the different musical styles] together. But it is different if I give you the stave and you play it. [In that case] You will play what I want to sing. [So] You would play the *morna*, but with your instruments. You would follow the chords of *morna* on guitars or *cavaquinhos*.

Author): So, this is modern *morna*...

Singer B): I think so. For me it is [modern *morna*]. [...], For me, it is not possible to play too much modern *morna* or traditional *morna*. [...] A fusion *morna* has to respect the gauge of *morna* to be created. [...] It can be sung but without exaggeration [not in another style]. It has to be formulated [the balance] even though each performer is doing their own style. It is then that you will find the balance. It is the way of singing but also a form of how it is arranged by playing [the instruments].

¹ We should note that although the movements are divided into distinct periods for the purpose of analysis, the periods overlap each other with each movement leading into the next. Certainly the first two periods are closely connected as through the works of both Tavares and B. Léza, each in their own way allowed the *morna* as a musical genre to evolve.

² “The Creole Songs of Morna”. His *Mornas Cantigas Crioulas*, published posthumously, was written entirely in CVC (Tavares 1932).

³ *Coladeira* is a musical genre which appeared in the 1950s as *morna* evolved. *Coladeira* has a rhythm that is more accelerated (musically, it is the rhythm of 2/2) than that of the *morna*.

⁴ The satirical lyric is a characteristic of the *coladeira*. It is sung to criticize the social situation in Cabo Verde.

⁵ The memory of famine: 1746; 1748 to 1750; 1773 to 1776; 1813 and 1814; 1825; 1831 to 1833; 1845; 1846; 1850; 1851; 1853 to 1860; 1864 to 1866; 1875; 1876; 1883 to 1886; 1889; 1890; 1896 to 1903; 1911; 1920; 1921; 1931; 1941; 1947; 1948 (Documentary film “Alma Ta Fica”, 1989).

⁶ The fact of not being able to make a livelihood from performing, means it is not easy to determine who can be considered a musician; in fact the people themselves do not consider themselves musicians.

⁷ In the audience, there are many tourists alongside the local people.

⁸ “Eclipse” is a *morna* composed by B. Léza.

⁹ The music festival, “Morna Jazz, World Music Festival” was held in September 2013 and 2014.

¹⁰ Noting of course that although the movements are divided into distinct periods for the purpose of analysis the periods overlap each other with each movement leading into the next.

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