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ABSTRACT

The perspective that emerges from the mismatch between what is read and what is heard encompasses infinite directions. The complexity of these perceptual and expressive mismatches approaches the concept of accent under the symbolic effect of the idea that as a dimension of the characteristics of the expressive speech of individuals, the accent allows speculative associations, and consequently endowed with

limited rationality. This article emerges from the search to identify the thoughts of the bearer of a musical accent, an individual who is a member of a specific group outside the listener's universe and, therefore, subject to judgments based on speculation. The accent arbitrarily starts to indicate competences associated with socio-economic status, ethnicity and geopolitical origin, as well as educational levels. This article emerges from the experience of participant observation with emic musicians from musical traditions of the oral culture of Pernambuco from 2003 to 2019, when the perré element emerged as a marker of a common language which links with the local accent.

Keywords: Musical accent, rhythm of oral tradition, perré from pernambuco.

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 CUSTOMS AND ACTIONS THAT MOBILIZE MUSICAL THOUGHT.

In Pernambuco I witnessed forms of expressive actions that were multifaceted. Sometimes he experienced them as a listener, sometimes as a participant, and sometimes as a teacher. And from these forms of experience, I realized there were questions not answered by the dominant formal ideas and concepts. Especially when these formal concepts manifested themselves in arenas of intellectuality by precepts instituted by the literature of cultural studies from folklorism. Both in music schools and in conservatories and universities, actions are elaborated from an erudite understanding of musical thought, to the detriment of emic perspectives of the popular classes. This trend reverberates disagreements in conceptual and interpretative planes of what marks expressive and identity practices of multiple inheritances. Categorizing uncertainties, myths and taboos.

1.2 MULTIPLE VOICES. MULTIPLE ACCENTS OF AN IDENTITY

The popular music of Pernambuco, as an expressive form of the daily life of the population, carries a complex of values and meanings rooted in local customs called mediatically multicultural because they promote or are aggregated to various expressive practices that are revealed intangible by common sense, as if they could not be easily assimilated by those who are not direct heirs of a local

oral tradition. From this perspective, this complex of values tends to metaphorically be considered something mystical and essential that hangs in the air and magically manifests itself in what is conceived to be strictly local. The dominant idea is that such customs are originally generated by distinct matrices that somehow, as a result of colonization, have become confluent to what common sense has come to consider a hybrid character of Pernambuco's cultural identity. And in these terms, in order to understand the emic ways of acquiring fluent expressive language in the performance in the daily life of the local scene, the interest emerged in me to identify a common base among the various local expressive practices. A common basis that *justified why* and *how* local musicians achieve easy performance among practices pointed out in literature as distinct from each other.

This common base would be in theory among the foundational pillars of various styles of expressive practices occurring in the state of Pernambuco and consequently in the Brazilian northeast, although in everyday life such structural nuances go unnoticed because they already constitute an integral part of everyone's sound environment. Since, of the common and the presumed notorious, little is known or sought to know, evidencing a certain disinterest and inaccuracy. And in this sense, perceiving what is appropriate as a common and proper part of popular customs can reveal to us markers of an expressive accent of local identity.

It is interesting to point out that in the use of memory, whether popular or official (formally prescribed), information and conceptions about expressive practices of oral tradition tend to be incomplete and lack plausible definitions of what is claimed; as well as that statements and definitions in force about the practices of tradition prove to be fragile and full of cracks not yet clarified. And in example, I cite the definition of the term 'forró', which in practice reveals unclear and doubtful points, even if it is resorted to with such certainty in the use of the term; since, even musicians with formal knowledge of the academy confess not to know the real meaning of the term forró, claiming little importance for what would have already been defined in previous studies, as Souza (2021) observes about the problematic of a¹ disinformation for what is said to be a foundation of the identity of a people. Problematic in evidence by decolonial studies, since, if a doing has roots in the tradition of a people, this will hold the concept and justifications determining its doing.

From this perspective, if we continue to take as a basis only perspectives that guide the praxis that governs the look of formal music on local oral traditions, we will soon realize that we know little about whether there are links between local expressive practices, even though we are always protected by the voice of authority promoted by Brazilian folklorist and Africanist literatures. Everything is articulated under a gaze of categories that demands a look at difference and polarity. Thus, as happens in the conceptual and practical daily life of local music, there are disagreements in the understanding

¹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w1cEZwm5FbQ>

of links or differences between coconut and embolada, or even between samba and coconut, ijexá and capoeira. Given that it expands considerably when we observe between practitioners of the same expressive gender ethically considered differences (those generated by cultural studies), or (emic) conflicting and competitive discourses of who would be the real holder of the truth and legitimacy of doing. This effectively happens when, for example, an identity bearer of a maracatu de baque solto association claims to be more legitimate than the practitioners of other maracatus baque solto associations, as if there should be a single pattern to be reproduced. However, as mentioned, it must be considered that part of this dilemma of legitimacies originated from folklorist literature itself, which categorized fundamental differences between musical forms of popular culture as if they supposedly constituted different and disconnected things. This resulted, among the common sense, the conception that once classified as an embolador the individual would not have natural bonds of competence and successful performance as a sambista, coquista, batuqueiro de maracatu, etc.

This way of conceiving unique and distinct competencies and skills for each practice nourishes in the common-sense perspectives that metaphorically there would be diverse cultural islands in the same space of the Pernambuco cultural scene. Islands that could be geographically intercommunicated with each other in everyday life, or because of some external motivating element, such as periods of festivities and celebrations, but that would still be distinct and independent. From this emerged the paradigm of a multicultural carnival agenda setting, in which different forms of tradition huddle in the same street or avenue.

The concept of difference emerges here as points of exclusion and conflicts, although diverse expressive practices go hand in hand while seeing themselves as minorities who share the same demands in the face of the dominant society. However, my observations on the ground found that this supposed difference and peculiarity conceived for each practice does not occur at all in the reality of Pernambuco expressions, constituting in turn a complex of discourses external to the emic truths of each practice. Given that it induces me to conceive of the existence of common markers even among diverse practices. These markers would correspond to vectors of a local accent in the making of music.

Thinking about vectors of an accent of musical making implies considering the existence of determinant structural bases of a particular expressive model (pronunciation or proposal of sound articulation) from which an individual or a collective culturally flexes ideas, forms of representation and forms of interpretation. The musical accent emerges as a resource of common rules that links diverse forms of expressiveness. A finding that is noticeable behind the scenes of the calendar of celebrations and cultural celebrations of popular culture, and that in turn are reflected in ways of making the artistic music of the local scene, when, for example, the same musicians of a caboclinho travel professionally between formal musicians in frevo orchestras whenever it is opportune and

necessary. For, as observed in ethnographic processes as a local musician between 2003 and 2019, there is no such performance barrier between manifestations, even though repertoires, market labels and interconnected individuals keep discourse or effective commitment only to a single traditional doing. Thus, based on my participant observation, the harshness of the distinctions and barriers between expressive practices occurs only in the prospective universe of scheduling promoted by cultural policies and the entertainment industry. Since, these arenas of power take the practices of oral tradition as monoliths constituting unique identities. That is, a ciranda musician would not know, or would feel prevented from participating in a seahorse suit.

This argument seeks to bring to a reflection on the fact that something may not be what we think, or how we think. And that sometimes the answer lies where we don't consider it. Under this premise, the voice of intuitive doing can reveal facets that the official discourse already formalized does not allow to perspective and project under the name of accent.

Guided by this perspective, I sought to verify on the ground from the intuitive doing of everyday practitioners of each popular tradition, their ways of constructing expressive-interpretive procedures. The methodological direction of observation and data collection took as reference emerging sources of my participant observation and emic testimonies of the local modes of musical production that denoted how the popular joker constructs his sound discourse.

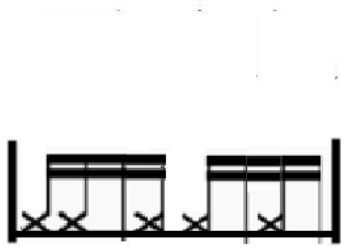
The participatory process in which I was involved compelled me to learn in the course of making music, from which I verified a recurrent rhythmic in the ways of playing and interacting aesthetically in oral traditions in Pernambuco. I also realized that in possession of this rhythmic I assimilated more easily the rhythmic variants and timbristic senses articulated in various modes of performance of tradition, such as caboclinhos, xote, marcha junina, capoeira, ijexá, coconut. The dynamics of expressive making laid bare the perré touch proper to the slow tempo of the caboclinho as a safe reference for an apprentice performer to be able to dialogue fluidly with other emic practitioners, which made the perré the standard that gave me to achieve security and acceptance among the other local emics.

1.3 THE PERRÉ, AN ACCENT PATTERN

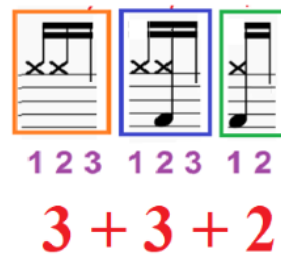
The Perré is a rhythmic pattern present in expressive forms of oral tradition of the northeastern people. As a sound phenomenon recognized in the daily life of the popular culture of the state of Pernambuco, it is part of the emically observable variations in the modes of execution of the rhythm of the caboclinhos, along with the touch of baião, the touch of war, and the touch of macumba. The possible link of the perré with the caboclinho opens the trend of studies on the caboclinho as a place of indigenous origin still in activity, with evidence in times of carnival celebrations. The literature of

folklorist base identifies the caboclinho as coming from local indigenous traditions, since it induces to consider the perré as proper of Amerindian matrix.

Identified on a cadenced and musical metric, the perré demarcates slow tempo of the caboclinho, even defining the performance of the other variants of movements of this practice. Emically I identified the perré under an asymmetrical reasoning of the practitioners, unlike the symmetrical model of formal writing of music. Thus, emic musical thinking evidences key points of accentuation in 3 + 3 + 2 of the type:



Modelo simétrico de raciocínio (formal)



Modelo assimétrico de raciocínio

I present practical examples of the applicability of the perré emic pattern thought from the asymmetric form 3+3+2:

- (6182) PERRÉ Indigenous base of MPB - Fernando Souza - performance, music, ethnomusicology - YouTube - <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KIBScYREoaQ>
- (6182) Ijexá on drums - YouTube - <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=adNgG1swjIU>

1.4 THE ACCENT PATTERN

However, the identification of this pattern revealed paths that in practice allowed me a facilitated flow in the interpretation between rhythms of the Pernambuco and Northeast traditions, with broad applicability to musical practices at the national and Caribbean levels. In addition, reflective approaches on the terminology 'musical accent' become pertinent, which, even of increasingly recurrent use, has still been little developed. After all, what could we understand by musical accent? A question that under my present reflections finds shelter between central concerns of ethnomusicology and ways of understanding the performative musician from the referrals of studies of linguistic variation.

In other domains of knowledge, the term has promoted study plans, and certain approaches can contribute to the understanding and use in everyday music. Gati (1986), in studies on the relationship of the accent with production plans and professional performance, points out that the accent emerges

as one of the symbolic elements used to make simplified (value judgments) and speculative judgments. This point around the concept and perceptions of what is 'accent' then emerges as a significant factor of the impact that the notion of accent exerts in musical contexts, in order to be able to favor empathy or to evidence resistances. Thus, based on linguistics and sociolinguistics, to think in accent is to consider the perspective of the listener and his way of assimilating the cognitive ways with which the other articulates musical ideas. What can reveal how an individual or an expressive form is perceived. Thus, under this way of appreciating forms of relationship with the musical accent, our power of relationship with the musical making of the other is directly linked to our forms of interaction with this respective experience (arising from how we hear the other), varying between a logical reasoning supported by reason and an unreflective reasoning established by emotion. From this perspective, as an example, I may not consider adequate the performance of an individual (A) who seems to me less able to satisfy my expectations of how to play a coconut wheel, and on another occasion identify that same individual (A) as fit to perform a samba de roda. The concept of musical accent emerges as a vector coming from personal or collective ways of valuing a musical production. Thus, according to this author in his argument of the study, the accent is one of the symbolic elements that are used to make simplified judgments. That is, those that aim to be satisfactory, and not fully rational, even taking a speculative character about other people who see themselves under a process of classification/categorization/selection in arenas of social relation, such as work tensions.

According to lines of studies on the influence of the accent in decisions linked to the labor context (FERGUSON & ZAYAS, 2009; LEV-ARI & KEYSAR, 2010), a person's accent can interfere with the modes of judgment about them in two ways, when motivated by their instrumental character, and when motivated by their symbolic character. These authors consider the instrumental reason when the accent of the sender of a message hinders the understanding by the one who receives it and, therefore, can hinder communication. So, a musical accent can be satisfying and accepted, or reprehensible and avoided.

As for another way of relating to the accent, the authors consider it as a determinant of a symbolic reason when the accent has a signaling effect and, therefore, represents a socially shared meaning. Here the semiotic value of the communiqué contained in the ways of doing is considered as the main one, and, for example, if an individual tries to play with a musical group a style or expressive pattern peculiar to the strict culture of that group without guidance of its nuances of symbolic value, he runs the risk of being impeded.

Following the line of reasoning of linguists and socio-linguists for what I similarly conceive to occur in the musical accent, the instrumental conception of accent understands that it (the accent) by itself, presents inherent characteristics to the communicational process that can make it difficult to

intercommunicate and, therefore, represents a disadvantage in social interactions. Oppenheimer (2008) observes that the ease or difficulty with which one can process the fluency of communication (SCHWARZ, 2004) interferes with the judgment that people make of each other. Under this understanding, expressive modes of language, such as the musical, when articulated in more accessible ways are considered more pleasurable in terms of listening. In this regard, Schwarz (2004), in his approaches in the domains of sociolinguistics, points out that the accessible message receiver enjoys a state of greater relaxation and pleasure when interacting with a possessor of an easily assimilated accent. In these terms, easily understood forms of communication are perceived as less risky or subject to disagreements. The sense of trust that emerges from good sound communication reduces conflicts and mismatches.

2 CONSIDERATIONS

The musical accent, under this perspective guided by an instrumental character, when susceptible to difficulties of fluency and disadvantages of understanding between peers, resembles contexts faced by foreigners in the process of communication.

On the other hand, the perspective of accent under symbolic effect cited by Lev-Ari and Keysar (2010) is based on the idea that as a dimension of the characteristics of the expressive discourse of individuals, the accent allows speculative associations, and consequently endowed with limited rationality, by taking as a reference vector symbolic characteristic. In these terms, considering the perspective of Fazio, Barber, Rajaram, Ornstein and Marsh (2013), the bearer of a musical accent tends to be seen as a member of a specific group external to the listener's universe and, therefore, subject to judgments based on speculations. The accent arbitrarily begins to indicate competencies associated with economic-social status, ethnicity and geopolitical origin, as well as educational levels. So that the *forró* is proper to the northeastern accent, the *salsa* proper to the Caribbean accent, and so on.

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