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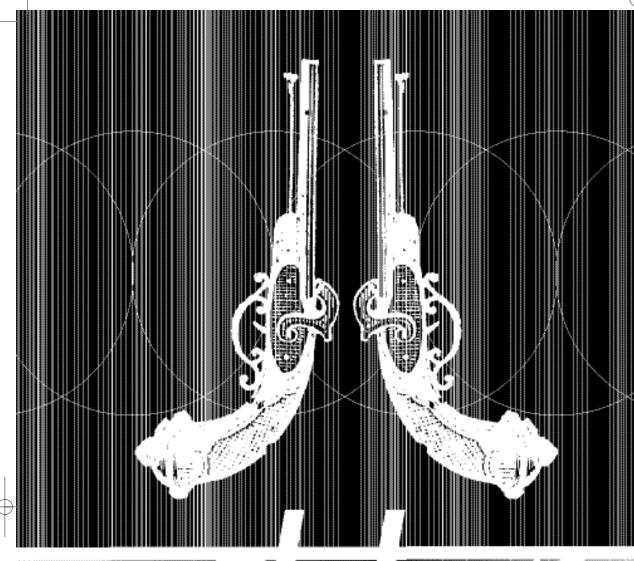
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Introduction

Calling himself El dueño del soneo, "the boss of vocal improvisation," the Puerto Rican singer, Carlos "Cano" Estremera, is at the forefront of many innovations in soneos. For the uninitiated, a soneo is a vocal improvisation sung by a lead singer during the montuno, or call-and-response section in Afro-Cuban *son*-based musics, commercially referred to as salsa. As he is always up for a good duel, planned or unforseen, the results of Cano's duelos have been recorded both legally and illegally and spread throughout the world by salsa fans. Cano Esteremera's improvisational framework is a synthesis of previous soneros as well as singers and musicians from beyond the realm of salsa. His style soneo within the soneo, ignore the can be summed up as unique and creative while remaining in the tradition of the sonero.

Dueño del soneo

Carlos Estremera was born in 1958 in Barrio Obrero, the working class section of Santurce, Puerto Rico. An albino, hence the nickname, El Cano, Estremera was socially stigmatized when school teachers mistook vision problems for ignorance. As a young person, his early musical activity was in the local folkloric genres of bomba and plena. He sang in a neighborhood salsa group before joining the folkloric group, Los Pleneros del Quinto Olivo, and later sang with Orquesta Mulenze, which signed on with Fania Records. In 1978, Cano began a musical

When I interviewed Cano at his house in Carolina, Puerto Rico, in August 2003, he agreed that because there is no systemization for singing salsa, the strict adherence to rhyme schemes found in folkloric musics is not found in salsa. For Cano, the soneo must indisputably rhyme with the coro (choral refrain); anything else is "subterfuge" (Estremera 2003). He explained that when a singer runs out of words to rhyme with the coro, s/he has a few options. The first, and easiest option is to rhyme a soneo with the next soneo, and ignore the coro until one can come up with something to get back to the rhyme of the coro. The second option is to rhyme the coro, and rhyme with the next soneo. The most difficult technique is a triple rhyme where one rhymes within the soneo, rhymes with the coro, and then rhymes with the next soneo. Cano concluded that the sonero's avoidance of the coro is due to a weak vocabulary and can be likened to a jazz musician having difficulty with a given tonality or set of chord changes.

In terms of content, the idea of staying within a song's theme during all of the soneos is boring to Cano and in his opinion, to the audience as well. "How many ways can you say I love you in a song?" (Estremera 2003). People criticize him for leaving the theme, but they don't realize that it's done purposely. For Cano, it is best to bring up other themes, such as

and Charlie Parker, "people who truly improvise" (Estremera 2003). When I asked him if he transcribed or memorized solos and patterns from these improvisers, he indicated that he doesn't. Instead, Cano internalizes broader concepts by understanding "the concept of improvisation that [these artists] have" (Estremera 2003). For Cano, these concepts include melodic ideas, melodic structure, harmonic structure, and lyrical structure. He points out that, for him, lyrical structure is important, because in salsa, not only do the soneos have to be melodically and lyrically distinct, they must also rhyme. To Cano Estremera's ears, Miles Davis "rhymes" in all tonalities. He explained that the tonality of a given song will greatly impact a singer's improvisations and any given singer, including himself, will perform better when a song is in a manageable key; this is why a singer will sound better on one day rather than on another day.

I was surprised when Cano explained that between family, work, and the problems of daily life, he has no time to set aside for practice. He laments the fact that great painters had patrons so that they could focus exclusively on producing art while he has not had similar support. Instead, Cano listens to as much as he can and incorporates it in performances. He does warm up before performing, but feels dissatisfied with his vocal range and voice quality.

But for Cano improvisation is more than technique; he told me, "everything

Improvisational techniques

Cano has a wide range of techniques that he uses when improvising. What follows are some specific techniques that he uses when improvising: (1) Singing over the coro. Cano does not like improvising over short *coros*, finding it too repetitive: "The audience can't hear what it is that you are singing because the coro is on top of you," he states (Estremera 2003). When encountering a short coro, he does not think about it as such, continuing to sing through it, making his soneos as long as he wants them to be.5 In his own words: "It's like saying you guys want to sing on top of me but I'm not going to let you" (Estremera 2003). (2) Rhyming about rhyming. Cano will often sing about the quality of his opponent's soneos, belittling their lack of quality:

Coro: Ahora sí, vamos a ver quién da más Soneo: Yo tengo sentido, tengo rima, chequea lo tuyo que no rima ná [later] Tú no entiendes los soneos, porque tu mente no es igual [later] La manera en que tú rimas

es más fácil para cantar6

Coro: Right now, let see you gives [sings] best

Soneo: I have meaning, I have rhyme, check yours out it doesn!t rhyme

at all [later] You don [t understand soneos, because your mind is not the same

[later] The way in which you rhyme is much easier to sing

(3) Binarization of tertiary rhythms,

individually, then in competing pairs, and ultimately in a free for all that would pit each against the other simultaneously. At the conclusion, the audience would determine who was the best sonero of the bunch. Four singers engaged in competition: José Alberto "El Canario," Cano Estremera, Lalo Rodríguez, and Domingo Quiñones.

Duelo al anochecer revealed a variety of improvisational styles and techniques, rhythmic virtuosity, and musical creativity. There were numerous humorous musical moments that showed quick thinking and depth of technique on the part of each of the participants. To the press, and during his soneos that evening, Canario reproached Cano for being vulgar. Listening to the concert, however, one can see that Domingo Quiñones initiated much of the vulgarity in the final "battle royale" between the four singers. In response to this criticism, Cano argues that most popular music has picant lyrics, and since salsa is popular music from the barrio, it should reflect the barrio's language. Ultimately, there was no real winner at the event, but many fans claim Domingo Quiñones showed his talents more effectively than others and the audience chanted his name when asked who was the king. Cano Estremera felt that everyone won, in the sense that, after the concert, the public bought albums by the singers and attended later concerts.

Billed as a rematch between Cano and Domingo, a second event took place in February 2002. According to Cano, the idea lost momentum after this second

because people don't see how what I sang to you had more quality from a melodic structure" (Estremera 2003).

Conclusion

Cano's style is derived from a combination of study and intuition, an organic process that combines instinct and the learning of the craft. In this way it is similar to other improvisationally based musics. He is bothered that the process of improvising in salsa is not well defined, with the result that anyone can call themselves a sonero. In the marketplace, consumers purchase records by physically appealing singers who have not done their homework, helping to propel their stardom despite the lack of quality. Cano is also upset by the fact that so many singers arrive at salsa when they have not achieved success in other genres. The implication is that salsa isn't a serious genre with technical expectations that require hard work.

As an improviser, Cano is preoccupied with not repeating himself: his biggest fear is stagnation and producing records that are copies of one another (Figueroa 2002: 31). When I asked him about composing specific vehicles for improvisation, he answered that he couldn't compose. Despite his affinity with jazz, Cano is not interested in working in jazz, because commercial considerations undermine the usefulness of the medium. Although he looks to jazz for pattern-based improvisation, Cano is interested in getting away from patterns, pointing out to me that this is

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