

“Por una flor más alta y sin espinas.”

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Abstract

The Afro-Peruvian revival launched the *contrapunto de zapateo* to the stage, adding at the end a common choreography. Before the *contrapunto* consisted of the dancers taking turns dancing one at a time, with a guitar playing in the background, using step dancing and body percussion. During and in between their turns the dancers continuously exchange gestures among themselves and with the audience—sometimes with the gaze, or a smile, others with mockery and ludic gestuality. How can such varied possibility of relations between the dancers, the guitarist and the audience be described?

Informed by my knowledge of *zapateo* as a dancer, and by my fieldwork in July 2016, in this work I carry out a semiotic analysis of a corpus of videos of *contrapuntos* available online. My theoretical method engages with the sign from a processual perspective, where a process is operationally defined as input–function–output, as is common practice in engineering. On the other hand, Greimas’s ‘generative trajectory’ is combined with principles from his *Semiotics of Passions*: starting at the level of discourse (composed by actors, actions, space and time), followed by the narrative level (identifying typical narrative structures and modalities), I arrive at the deep level, which accounts for the fundamental states of interaction between actors. Whereas I hypothesized that these would be founded on competition–collaboration; the analysis revealed a fundamental opposition between challenge (which occurs when the dancers take turns) and ‘moving together’ in a common choreography. The intensities and qualities of interaction between all actors are described as arising from a force of projection encountering a force of convergence. Play, ever present along the performance, is approached from Caillois’ distinction between *ludus* and *paidia* and Bateson’s semiotic and logic account of play.

This work will hopefully demonstrate that semiotics, as an epistemological method, has much in common with engineering in the sense of problem systematization into processes, and that both have a great potential for contributing to the field of dance.

Keywords: zapateo, contrapunto, gesture, semiotics, process.

Una mirada, un *gesto*,
cambiarán nuestra raza. Cuando actúa mi
mano,
tan sin entendimiento y sin gobierno,
pero con errabunda resonancia,
y sondea, buscando
calor y compañía en este espacio
en donde tantas otras
han vibrado, ¿qué quiere
decir?

*A single look, one gesture,
shall alter our race. When my hand acts,
so unknowledgeably and without
restraint, but with wandering resonance,
and it probes, seeking
warmth and company in this space
in which countless other
hands have vibrated, what does
it mean?*

—Claudio Rodríguez

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Chapter 1

Saludo y Amarre:

Contrapunto as Alternation

—Those shiny black shoes, the foot gestures, her upper body swinging . . .

—And the "shh" sound of her feet brushing the floor!

—Listen to the guitar, a playful C major, subtle improvisation and stable rhythm.

—Yes, the other one is watching, he smiles as she dances. He knows he comes next and he has to pay attention.

—Of course! you have to be different, do your own thing, dance with *sabor*.

—Yes, like that, with your own flavor.

—Hilarious! everyone is laughing hahaha, I don't know what she is doing either, it is just so funny, the way she sways her body.

—Oh! that last stomp was so loud you can hear it outside of this place . . .

—And see how she smiles at him with cockiness, but he will come up with something. I know it.

—And he did! Did you see that? turning his back on her kicking backwards like a bull . . .

—That's ok, though, they are just playing. *Zapateo* is like that, my friend, it is play and style. You have to have *quimba*, you have to surprise.

—I know, but check that out. Did you see how fast he clapped that rhythm on his thighs and chest?

—Yes, Lalito does it too.

—In the next round they will close dancing together.

—You didn't have this in the old days . . .

—Yes, but back then zapateo was only a competition.

—I like it better this way.

- They're both so good. Clap louder. Bravooooo! buena Cecilia!!!
 —Bien Huevitooo!
 —There you have it, dance and play.

This entire work is devoted to studying the dance of the “shiny black shoes”. Just the shoes? no, the shoes in motion, the *zapateo*, the ‘shoeing’, the act of *zapatear*. Footwork is certainly prominent in a number of dances in Peru and in the Americas, but in the *contrapunto de zapateo*¹, where the dancers alternate taking solo rounds, the skill in itself constitutes an essential part of the dance. Will the object of study be then the aesthetics of the dance? the improvisation process of the dancers? while this is certainly interesting, I have chosen instead to study the use of their whole body, their gestures, utterances, the playful gazes they throw at each other and to the audience *as signs*. My approach to this research horizon is *progressive and iterative*: understandings and concepts are being revisited and reevaluated as fieldwork and theoretical analysis are introduced.

The reader may notice that the length of the chapters in this work, as well as their names, correspond to the structure of a round of zapateo. Therefore this chapter is a short greeting, the *saludo*. The rest of Chapter 1 elaborates on what the *contrapunto de zapateo* is and its connection with the Afro-Peruvian revival. The relevant aspects to this work from my experience as a zapateo dancer since 2013, and as a researcher in my visit to Lima in July 2016, are briefly presented at the summary of this chapter, though a more comprehensive account may be found in Appendix E. Chapter 2 is dedicated to elaborating on the sign exchanges between the dancers, the musician and the audience; attempting to account for the different ‘atmospheres’, ‘energies’, of the *contrapunto* in each individual event. This chapter directly advocates for the relevance of semiotics to dance anthropology and ethnochoreology, and describes the semiotic analysis that was carried out in different levels of depth using Greimas’s concept of generative trajectory in combination with an interpretation of the sign as a process. Chapter 2 therefore corresponds to the core of the zapateo round, the *pasada*, while Chapter 3, the last *amarre*, goes back to the point of departure re-thinking the original research question, contrasting it with the results from the semiotic analysis. Chapter 3 also highlights the contributions of this work and the possibilities for future research it opens. Chapter 4 is the *cierre*, the closing, which takes the form of a dialog to integrate the contextualization of the *contrapunto* in Chapter 1, with

¹ *Contrapunto* is the Spanish translation of “counterpoint”, which in turn derives from the latin *contrapunctum*. In Western music, *contrapunctum* refers to the superposition of independent melodies to the original melody, the *cantus firms*, that are composed according to rules of consonance and dissonance (Roland, John Jackson, 2009). In many Peruvian music and dance tradition, *contrapunto* rather bears the concept of alternation between two or more musicians, dancers, or even poets improvising in a common style or to a common theme. In the case of zapateo, the *contrapunto* also bears the idea of challenging the other and responding to challenge (Acosta Ojeda, 2015).

my knowledge of the field and the results of my semiotic investigations of the *contrapunto*. The form of dialogue was chosen to honor what I believe, based on this study, to be the basis of the richness of the *contrapunto*: alternation and alterity.

It is pertinent to mention that at the time of writing and to the best of my knowledge, no scholarly article nor book discusses the *contrapunto de zapateo* beyond a few pages. This dissertation will hopefully encourage other scholars in Peru to undertake dance studies, which are currently far behind ethnomusicological research in my country.

1.1 Introduction

Zapateo could be roughly translated from Spanish as ‘using the shoes with elegant, dexterous or energetic foot gestures’ which include stomping the foot on the ground. The label *Afro-Peruvian zapateo* ambiguously designates the style of *zapateo* practiced in Chíncha, as well as the *zapateo criollo*^a which is mostly associated with Lima and nearby provinces such as San Luis de Cañete, Aucallama and Chancay (Tompkins, 2011). There are however, important differences between the two (ibid.). The *zapateo criollo* is accompanied by a guitar, while in Chíncha it is the violin that provides the background rhythm. Where as in the *zapateo criollo* the dancers wear shoes, and the use of the ball and heel of the foot is an essential part of the dancing technique; in Chíncha the dancers use the whole foot (they are said to have danced bare footed due to poverty). A fundamental difference is that in Chíncha *zapateo* is commonly associated to Christmas festivities, and has the format of a parade, though there are competitions between squads or between the best dancers of the squads (Celis González, 2012). The *zapateo criollo*, instead, was in the first half of the twentieth century a purely competitive practice referred to as *contrapunto de zapateo*, but during the revival the dance was brought to the stage and was still referred to by the same name. The staged *contrapunto de zapateo*—referred to hereafter simply as “*contrapunto*”—is often a number among other music and dance numbers in a concert or venue. While in a competitive *contrapunto* a judge would determine who was the best dancer, in the staged *contrapunto* the dancers take turns, close with a common choreography, and their reward is the ovation from the audience.

The fact that the *zapateo criollo* is also referred to as ‘Afro-Peruvian *zapateo*’ is not trivial. From the 1950s and reaching its highest point in the 1970s, Afro-Peruvians engaged in the production of music, dance and theater in the interaction with ‘white’ and ‘criollo’ musicians in a movement referred to by musicologists as the *Afro-Peruvian revival* (Feldman, 2005). The purpose of the movement was to reclaim agency in Peruvian society, to renew their connection with their African ancestry while retaining their identity as inhabitants of a Westernized

post-colonial Peru (something that Feldman, following Gilroy, refers to as ‘the black-pacific double consciousness’) and it would result in the aestheticization and commodification of musical forms and dances such as the *zamacueca*, the *landó*, the *festejo* and the *zapateo criollo* (León, 2006).

^a *Writing conventions:* In this rest of this dissertation, words in Spanish that are used consistently are only italicized once. I use double quotation marks (“”) to quote word-by-word other authors or to quote specific words, whereas single quotation marks (‘’) indicate that the meaning of the word shall not be interpreted literally, that it is used as an expression. If some of the bibliography is in Spanish or any other language than English, or if words in Spanish are translated in the text, the reader may kindly assume that the translations are my own.

Internet links (URLs): in the PDF version of this work most references to YouTube video are linked in the document itself. The reader can just click on the hyperlinked text to open the video on the browser, as opposed to having to copy paste the URL from the References section.

1.1.1 *Criollismo and the jarana*

Criollismo and the *jarana* are very closely interlinked. On one hand the term *criollo* functions as a category of identity, for it refers to a certain kind of person with a specific kind of behavior. In addition there is *criollo* music consisting of a variety of genres, most representatively the *vals* [the Peruvian waltz], the Peruvian polka and the *marinera limeña*; all musical forms that involve the guitar, a singer and the *cajón* [wooden drum box]. On the other hand the *jarana* refers to a lively party or gathering in which only national criollo music is played and danced. The party may last from midnight to dawn or even several days in a row (Tompkins, cited in Reinel, 2008).

Simmons (1955), in an account of mid-twentieth century, explains that “criollismo” applies to the ‘criollo spirit, to a ‘way of life’, a ‘criollo soul’. A trait of the typical criollo is the *picardía*, playfulness and guilefulness, outwitting by means of trickery, or finding ways of getting away with something (i.e., *viveza criolla*), and it is in the *jarana* that “the personality type that characterizes the criollo is readily demonstrated”, always ready to display his skills as “orator, philosopher, *musician or dancer*” (Reinel, 2008, my italics). Tompkins (2011) remarks that ‘the atmosphere of criollismo’ and the *jarana* was especially joyful, and interpersonal relations between the participants were as close as family. It was common practice to use nicknames based on features of personal idiosyncrasies (e.g., “turtle”, “rabbit”), physical characteristics—e.g., *gordo* [fatty] or *cabezón* [big headed]—or race, such as “negro” [black], “zambo” [a black of mixed race], “chino” [any person with oriental facial features], “cholo” [someone with marked indigenous characteristics]. Afro-Peruvians used the *jarana* as their principal means to express their musical aesthetics, and criollo music replaced gradually, until before the revival, many of the musical forms that were traditional for Afro-Peruvians in colonial times (Tompkins, 2011, p. 53).

Finally, criollismo, according to Simmons, is associated only with the *cholo*, the *negro*, or the *zambo*, but never with the *indígena* [indian]” (Simmons, 1955). Simmons views criollismo as the *mestizo*’s [half Spaniard] way of asserting his being as a creation rather than a casualty brought about by colonial mixture (ibid., p 109).

This background on criollismo and jarana highlights how close Afro-Peruvians actually were to other mestizos, i.e., they did not function as a separate racial group, but rather considered themselves to be, at least partially, criollos. Another important aspect is the kind of playful relations between criollos in the jarana, while drinking, making music and dancing, teasing each other and calling each other names. This form of playfulness and of playful mockery, I argue, is also present in the *contrapunto de zapateo* in the use of gestures and bodily signs with which the dancers interact. Many of the performers that revived and reinvented musical forms that would become ‘typical Afro-Peruvian’ such as the festejo, the landó, and zapateo itself; were actively participating in the jaranas—. Take for example José Orlando “Lalo” Izquierdo,² my most experienced informant, as well as many in the Vásquez family (Vicente Vásquez, Abelardo Vásquez and notably their father Porfirio Vásquez) as well as Carlos “Caitro” Soto de la Colina. Lalo Izquierdo himself in a *contrapunto* (Xiomara ROSALES, 2008, 2:09) says something to the other dancer that is important for my research: “esto es jarana, y tenemos que terminar en armonía, sobrino, por favor!” [*this is a jarana, and we have to finish in harmony, my nephew, come on!*]. Thus the zapateo is associated by Lalo on-stage as belonging to the jarana, and finishing together with a common choreography is associated with ‘finishing in harmony’.

1.1.2 Describing a performance of zapateo criollo

How is a dance realization typically structured in a *contrapunto*? who is participating (i.e., who are the *actors*?), and what are they doing? The reader will readily be able to establish some preliminary answers from watching recordings of some performances (Expresión Latina, 2012; Manuel Lara, 2008).

First of all, the dance is always performed in a public setting that includes the musician (to my knowledge always a guitar player), the zapateo dancers or *zapateadores*, and the

² It is common for performers in Perú to have nicknames which eventually replace their names. In this work I refer to performers sometimes only by their first name or nickname without meaning any sort of disrespect.

José Orlando Izquierdo Fune, most commonly known as ‘Lalo’ Izquierdo, is one of the most renowned dancers of zapateo criollo and a key figure in the Afro-Peruvian revival. He joined with one of the first companies of Afro-Peruvian dancing with Victoria Santa Cruz when he was 16 years old, and he would some years later co-found the renowned dance company Perú Negro together with Ronaldo Campos and other former members of the company of Victoria Santa Cruz. He is my most experienced informant/collaborator.

audience. The dance performance invariably begins with the guitar playing a strumming pattern. The dancers, at first positioned outside of the stage or dance scene, enter the scene. They might do so simultaneously by performing a common motif agreed upon before the performance (AcuarelaCriolla, 2009c) or one dancer might enter first and perform a sequence of motifs, until the other dancer interrupts the performance in some way, and gets the chance of taking over the dancing (Expresión Latina, 2012). The dancers then take turns to perform, so that while one dancer is dancing the other dancers are paying attention to him/her, though they might disturb the performance with comical or parodical gestures. The dancers may take several turns each, until the performance is closed with a common choreography (agreed upon before the performance). It is important to remark that the audience is actively engaged in the whole performance applauding after each round of dancing, supporting all of the dancers or cheering for their favorite. Figure 1.1 shows the different actors participating in the dance performance (the musician, the dancers and the audience) while Table 1.1 summarizes the general structure of a zapateo performance.

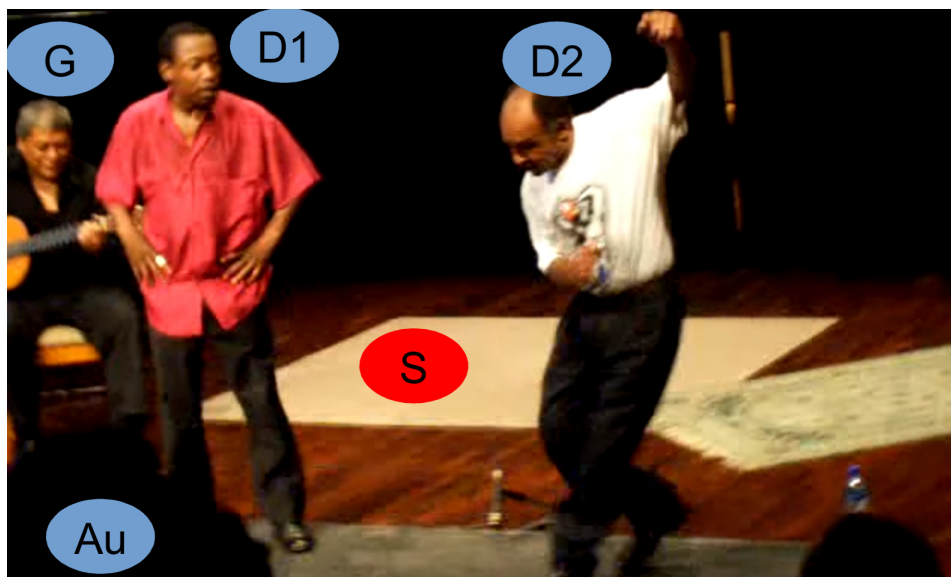


Figure 1.1 The actors in the zapateo criollo dance—the dancers (D1 and D2), the guitar player (G), and the audience (Au)—distributed in the dance space (S).

Tompkins (2011) reports that during his fieldwork in the 1970s and before it was common for the zapateo criollo to take place in a public space, as opposed to a stage. The zapateo performance would be an official competition with judges evaluating the performance of each contestant. The rules of the competition were that each dancer would take between five and seven rounds referred to by zapateadores as *pasadas*. The *pasadas* (rounds) had to be closed

(*cerradas*): if the dancer opened a round with a sequence of motifs A-B-C-D-E, then the dancer had to close his round with the same sequence in inverse order (i.e.g, E-B-C-D-A). The other dancers were not allowed to repeat any of the motifs performed by themselves in the previous rounds, or by the other dancers. The judges would give a verdict based on the observance of these rules, with an emphasis on creativity and strict observation of the rhythm and synchrony with the guitar throughout the performance. This competition clearly required a high degree of improvisational skills and a large repertoire of dance motifs. Because of the fieldwork for one month in Peru, my knowledge as a practitioner of the dance with which I engaged in 2013, and after an extensive search in YouTube videos and films, I know that there are a number of ‘core’ motifs which are consistently used in most performances, and which are common knowledge to many dancers. While some dancers still ‘close the pasada’ [their round] with the same motif with which they opened, in general the rounds are no longer required to be ‘closed’, and that there are no longer judges proclaiming an official winner. Rather, the performers seek to ‘win’ the favor of the audience.

1.2 Research problem

Thus far I have defined the actors (participants) of the zapateo criollo dance to be the guitar player, the dancers and the audience. Table 1.1 outlined a general structure of a zapateo criollo performance, but did not describe many ‘details’ that the attentive eye may have observed. First, the dancers open each of their rounds with steps that coincide with the beat of the guitar pattern, and mark that they are closing a round either by using an emphatic movement, by facing daringly to their opponent, or by immediately facing the audience as if seeking their applause. Second, when one dancer is performing its round, the other dancing attends moving around, taking a distance or deliberately disturbing the dancer either through mocking gestures, or physically intruding into the other dancer’s space. In between the shift of turns from one dancer to another, the dancers make contact both with the audience and with the other dancer sometimes recurring to comical or parodical gestures. Thus throughout the performance there

Table 1.1 General structure of a zapateo criollo performance.

Time	Action
0	Guitarrist plays (audience attending, dancers out of stage)
1	Dancers enter (synchronously or sequentially)
2	Dancers take turns (each dancer dances at least once while the others attend)
3	Dancers finalize together (with a common choreography)

is a continuous communication/interaction process happening in space and time between all of the actors, and these actors interact with each other in different ways: the guitarist must provide a stable rhythm for the dancers to synchronize to alternating only between some few music motifs. In terms of power relations the guitarist is subordinated to the dancers, for they can give indications to the guitarist on tempo, volume or even ask the guitarist to stop for a solo. Nevertheless, they depend on the guitarist to dance, so the interaction goes both ways. The dancers interact with each other in a variety of manners, as explained in Chapters 2 and 3. They often enter the dance floor together, and if they do not, they have to find together a way of providing each of the dancers with its turn to perform a round. No matter how fierce their rivalry seems to be, the performance, in all of the contrapuntos I have found online, and according to my informants, always closes with a common choreography where all dancers participate. For the time being I shall say that the dancers cooperate by giving each other turns in which one dances and the others attend, but they compete by disturbing each other's rounds, by performing mocking gestures ridiculing the other or parodying the other's gestures, and in the way they interact with the audience. The dancer's interaction with the audience is important, for the dance as performed since the revival does not have judges. It seems like making the audience laugh, or winning the loudest applause of the audience gives the indication of a victory, or in any case a dominance in the dance floor.

After these reflections, the ground is set to formulate the research problem. The research question that drove me to the field, and remained meaningful throughout my theoretical analysis, is the following:^a

How does the tension competition–collaboration between the dancers structure a contrapunto realization, given the actors and the setting?

^a For a formulation of competition–collaboration in terms of the semiotic square refer to Appendix D.

1.2.1 Preliminary reflections on the research question

The distinction between *dance concept* and *dance realization* was first systematically formulated by Bakka and Karoblis who distinguish them as two different dimensions of dance: “the *concept* for the same dance is the potential of skills, understanding, and knowledge that enables an individual or a dance community to dance that particular dance and to recognize and relate to each particular *realization* of it” (Bakka and Karoblis, 2010, my italics). The authors take a realization to be “the primary source to, and the only fully valid form of, dance” as well as “the only full and proper way in which a dance becomes available for us”. “Demonstrations, rehearsals, illustrated explanations” are therefore regarded as secondary, “only as hints to a full expression of the dance” (ibid.). The dance concept is potentially updated by each

realization of a dance, and this new concept manifests itself in the next realization. As will be explained in the next chapter, in my method I had hopes of witnessing and recording many realizations myself. However, video recordings, as representations of realizations, provided also an invaluable resource (for more details on the mediating factors from realization to recording refer to Section 2.3).

When it comes to the performance of the dance itself by a specific dancer, there is a duality that may be worth clarifying: the *pasos*, steps or dance motifs performed by a dancer; and the *sabor*, which literally translated would be ‘flavor’, in a more technical term would be the dancer’s *style*. these words in Spanish because they are commonly used among Peruvian people to describes features of dancing. A way of impressing the audience might be through a ‘cool style’, while another resource is performing complicated or seemingly complicated motifs. A parallel can be drawn with *what* one dances (the motifs) and *how* one dances them (the style).

Another thing to consider is the caricaturization or parodying of the other dancer through gestures and bodily expressions, and how a dancer uses this to gain supremacy over another dancer. These gestural movements may be said to be ‘unstructured’ in the sense that they are not dance motifs, and that they are not part of the ‘official transmission’ of the dance knowledge from teacher to student —my experience as a zapateo student corroborates this. Nevertheless, it might happen that these gestures and the situations they create may be part of the mentoring that happens as a part of or preparing for a dance performance. Additional fieldwork is required to clarify this matter.

Another way or of thinking about the problem could be the use and distribution of space of the actors. A dancer might seek to establish strong and continuous visual contact with the audience to become their favorite, or might use facial expressions to intimidate the other dancers. Perhaps gestures of the body that indicate a closed position or shyness will not be to the sympathy of the audience. Does this have any impact at all? Even the volume of the sound produced by the stomping of the feet might be a way of claiming space or territory, as well as moving through the whole dance floor or ‘invading’ the other dancer in the middle of a round. Figure 1.2 shows Percy Chinchilla dancing involving his whole body, while Antonio Vilchez observes attentively.

The relationship between the music and the dance might be a factor in the dancers’ rivalry. For example, a dancer may not have the flashiest motifs, but might instead have a high degree of rhythmical precision, and might be able to use different rhythms that contrast those



Figure 1.2 July 27th 2016, contrapunto de zapateo at Pepe Villalobo's peña, my recording. Antonio Vilchez leaning against the piano, and Percy Chinchilla dancing the last round of the contrapunto before the common choreography. The center of the room in front of the musical equipment functioned as the stage. Screenshot from the video recording (Medina, 2016).

being played by the guitar, creating different effects with dance motifs of relatively modest sophistication.

The actual dance realization could be said to start from the moment the dancers meet each other outside of and before the dance performance. Their interaction before the performance, and the impressions that they have of one another if they know each other from before, might also be central to their power relations and communication in the dance performance.

What and how is 'the audience'? can the collection of people present in the performance that are neither the guitarist nor the dancers be assumed to have a common reaction to the dance unfolding before them? are disapproval reactions made explicit in some way (e.g., booing) or is the reaction of the audience expressed mainly through approval gestures such as applause, cheering and laughter? if the audience is not unified in their impressions is this expressed in some way during the performance? are there certain key members in the audience that have an impact on the rest of the audience, or on the dancers more than others? All of this questions limit the scope of this work. This could not be clarified during my stay in the field, thus I take 'the audience' as a collective, to be a single actor rather than a manifold of actors.

From the previous reflections and questions I have explained that there are many potentially inter-related variables that involve humor, unavoidably linked to the cultural setting of the performance, and that may depend on the moving *natural attitude* of the dancers as well as on their knowledge of the dance itself. There is a continuous interaction process in which all actors are 'producing' and 'receiving' signs simultaneously. When a given dancer is dancing around he/she might be embodying both dance and non-dance gestures at the same time (i.e., the dancer is performing dance motifs while at the same time addressing the other actors through gesticulation).

1.3 Summary

This introductory chapter has contextualized the *contrapunto de zapateo* as a practice that made its way to the stage during the Afro-Peruvian revival that started in the 1950s. Many of the masters that founded the revival were also active participants in the jaranas or parties, which had an intimate dynamics of play and mockery between its participants. My involvement with zapateo started in October 2013, and I adopted my position as a researcher only in my one-month visit to Peru in July 2016. However, since 2013 I have acquired different kinds of knowledge by means of three different epistemic approaches (Bakka and Karoblis, 2010). The first person approach refers to the researcher's own experience. In my case my strongest method of acquisition of knowledge has been learning the dance, which is considered essential in ethnomusicological research (Baily et al., 2007; Hood, 1960; Stanfield, 2008) and

is steadfastly argued for by Eriksen (2012) when discussing the *body as text*. Performing in a contrapunto with Wilbert Castañeda, which also falls into this epitemic category, was an experience that revealed to me the strong impact that gestures may have in the contrapunto and the reactions they elicit from the audience; as Grau (1994, p. 17) says, it made me ‘alert’ “to the multiple perspectives” present in a dance event. In the second-person approach I situate the interviews with my collaborators, the zapateo dancers Antonio Vilchez and Percy Chinchilla (Chinchilla and Vilchez, 2016; Vilchez, 2016), as well as informal conversations that also include Lalo Izquierdo. Especially important are the discussions I had with the three of them, as well as their feedback, when I took zapateo lessons. Finally, the third-person approach not only allowed me to learn motifs on my own by watching online videos in slow motion, but it is also the method on which I base the semiotic dance analysis discussed in the upcoming chapter.

Chapter 2

La Pasada: Greimas Enters the Stage

“Structure has no distinct content; it is content itself, and the logical organization in which it is arrested is conceived as a property of the real.”

Lévi-Strauss (1984, p. 167)

The present chapter deals with the application of Greimasian semiotics to the *contrapunto* in Afro-Peruvian zapateo. First I present some theoretical discussions on semiotics relating them to the fields of anthropology and dance with the intention of contextualizing semiotics as relevant to dance research—as opposed to providing an exhaustive bibliographic review on the deployment of semiotics in these fields. In the course of the chapter the *contrapunto de zapateo* is studied first on the surface (discursive) level using the detailed descriptions of contrapuntos in Appendix A. In this level the distribution of time, space and actions among the actors is discussed. The second level of analysis is the semio-narrative level composed of actantial structures. This level addresses the construction of possible narratives based on pathemic configurations such as ‘umbrage’ and ‘emulation’ (Greimas and Fontanille, 1993, ch. 3) and on the narrative model developed by Greimas that improved Propp’s model for the analysis of fairy tales (Greimas, 1989; Greimas, Ricoeur, Perron and Collins, 1989; Schleifer, 1987). The deep level relates the surface and semio-narrative levels to deep structures based on the semiotic square, which relates pairs of contraries. My research question hypothesized that this pair would be competition–collaboration, though as I shall explain, other pairs may be more suitable to describe the core of meaning production in zapateo.

2.1 “Semiotics? what does that mean?”

It is nothing short of remarkable that, at the time of writing and to the best of my knowledge, there are no writings in the field of dance anthropology nor ethnochoreology that have committed to deploy a semiotical method in its full depth to study a specific dance form. Perhaps semiotics has been all too strongly linked to structuralism, and thus ceased to be considered relevant at the advent of the post-structuralist era, significantly brought about by Derrida’s famous critique to Levis-Strauss in *Structure, Sign and Play* (Derrida, 1993). This is the sort of vague ‘hypothesis’ I recur to explain the present state of affairs, for it seems contradictory to the fact that Geertz, one of the most read authors in the field of dance anthropology, champions a “semiotic concept of culture” as “peculiarly well adapted” to “the aim of anthropology” (Geertz, 1973, pp. 5–14):

The concept of culture I espouse . . . is essentially a semiotic one. Believing, with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning.

Even though semiotics owes its name to Charles Sanders Peirce (1977), due to the influence of the French linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (1911), it seems to be that semiotics is mostly associated with the notion of signs as constituted by signifiers and signified. “Semiotic analysis”—dance scholars Jordan and Thomas (1994, p. 13) assert—“is founded on the notion that there is an arbitrary relation between the sign and its referent, between the elements that comprise the sign, the signifier and signified, and an arbitrary relation between the signs which, by virtue of their difference from each other, make up the system of signs in question”. This is a bright summary of the French linguist Ferdinand de Saussure’s *semiology* (De Saussure, 1911), which was one of the most influential perspectives on semiotics in the structuralist movement. Semiology has its immediate applications, for example in traffic lights the signifiers are the red and green lights, which correspond to the signifieds “stop” and “go” respectively. In the same fashion one might observe and describe the movements of a dance carefully and associate them to certain virtues, emotions, or other things of the sort. This kind of study is carried out, for example, by Blanariu, who using the categories of gestuality proposed by Greimas in *Towards a Semiotics of the Natural World* (Greimas, 1987), studies the ballet *La Bayadère* by choreographer Marius Petipa (Popa Blanariu, 2014)—e.g., “His postures express distinction, greatness and a major role in the socio-religious hierarchy”. Blanariu’s work is valuable, for it brings attention to semiotic categories of gestuality that are most likely the

result of a collaboration between Greimas and Giurchescu, and that are also fruitfully used by Fischer-Lichte in her semiotic theory of theater (Fischer-Lichte, 1992).

This sort of analysis, however, corresponds to what Greimas refers to as ‘the discursive level’ or ‘the surface level’. The task of semiotics goes beyond the establishment of mere associative structures mapping from the category of signifiers to that of signifieds. In many semiotic systems—a dance, for example—such a mapping can become vastly complex due to the abundance of signifiers, and to the dynamics of interplay between them: the signifier of a signified might be modified by the presence of other signifiers that come before or after it, and this is in fact the case of language. Therefore Greimas envisions the task of semiotics as something much more ambitious, yet more realizable, in that semiotics must be the discipline that accounts for the pre-conditions and conditions for the process of construction of *meaning* (Greimas and Fontanille, 1993). Greimas says: “we know nothing about meaning except that we can talk about it in terms of signification”, and thus meaning was first understood as “translation or transcoding” and later as “intentionality” (Greimas, Perron and Collins, 1989).

Because the concept “meaning” is in itself polysemic, I limit my discussion to the formulation of meaning by Emile Benveniste, one of the major French figures in linguistic and semiotics, who studied significance (i.e., meaning) from the perspective of language.¹ In his investigations on the problem of enunciation, which he understands as an act by which a subject appropriates language for itself, Benveniste breaches Saussure’s dichotomy of *langue* [language] and *parole* [word in use], and in so doing distinguishes between two forms of significance; the semiotic and the semantic:

“Apprehending signs requires the recognition of units that are always identical to themselves, that is, the identification of what is already known [*semiotic significance*], whereas the understanding of the meaning of an enunciation implies the aptitude to comprehend the emergence of the new [*semantic significance*]*—since each enunciation refers to an unprecedented situation*” (cited in Mosès, 2001).

This encompassing understanding of significance is fundamental to semiotics, which despite a terminology that might be misleading, *studies both* “semantic” and “semiotic” modes of significance; the repeatable (the relational) and the new (the experiential). Thus its object of study transcends by far the one of Saussurean semiology.

¹ A pragmatic definition of meaning may be found on Peirce’s pragmatic maxim: “consider what effects, that might conceivably have practical bearings, we conceive the object of our conception to have. Then our conception of these effects is the whole of our conception of the object” (Peirce, cited in Almeder, 1979). According to Almeder (ibid.), however, Peirce’s formulation of meaning is more suited and thought for propositions than for concepts or words. We know what a proposition *P* means if we are capable of formulating propositions that express the *consequences* of *P* if *P* were true. I do not discuss pragmatic meaning further in this brief introduction.

These discussions on meaning might raise the question: “what does a dance mean?”. In my view, however, this question is ambiguous and misleading, and a better one, directly linked to semiotics would be: “how can a dance be understood?”. I hold there are two different cases for the semiotic study of dance, but in both the aim is the same: to describe, study, and interrelate the components that integrate a semiotic text (e.g., a dance) in such a way that readings, significations, representations (models), or understandings of it may be systematically constructed. In the first case there may be no discourse on the meanings or the experience that a dance is supposed to produce, which is often the case with traditional dance (Bakka, 2017). In their joint work, Giurchescu and Proca-Ciortea (Proca-Ciortea and Giurchescu, 1968) provide ideas to arrive at the understanding of a dance: “In order to envision dance as a particular autonomous system of signs, the research methodology shall acquire a high degree of abstraction capable of finding, from a large number of concrete facts (functionality, historical evolution, social character, etc.) the persistent social structures, to decipher according to certain models, the relations and connections of the logic of the [dance’s] internal organization”.² Giurchescu’s own reflections (1973) emphasize dance as communication and orient a semiotics of dance to relate the ‘internal text’ of a ‘folkloric’ dance, to the larger text of its traditions.

The second case is when there is a ‘choreographic intention’, or some sort of concept in the form of verbal discourse which is traceable. Foster’s study of Western theater dance in her book *Reading Dancing* (Foster, 1986) is a good example. Foster’s, at the time defiant, contention was that (Western theater) dance is not an expression related to an unreachable subjectivity, but that it “can be examined explicitly as a system of codes and conventions that support its meaning” (ibid., p. xviii). In her book Foster identified these conventions and supported her method with conversations with the choreographers in which they manifested their “choreographic projects”, i.e., “visions of what dance is”, expressed through the use of specific metaphors (ibid., p. 6). Such a study, however, requires a cross-examination between what the choreographers say, what they think and what they do (Jackson, 1994, p. 5).

The latter case brings forward a fundamental aspect of semiotics which might not be clearly understood. Semiotics functions at the *level of epistemology* and is thus capable of interrelating texts and semiotic systems. This means that in the case of fieldwork, even if the researcher obtains materials by means of a certain research method (e.g., phenomenology), these materials can be associated *as text* with the semiotic study of the system to which they belong (the community of dancers, the dance practice). Thus semiotics, as a discipline aiming that has historically evolved and had as its aim to achieve a scientific treatment of signs, systems of

² Giurchescu and Proca-Ciortea published this article in *Langages*, a journal of which Greimas himself was editor some years.

signs, and languages; produces and updates its own methods for the analysis of semiotic objects (Greimas, Perron and Collins, 1989).

Even with Benveniste’s emphasis on semantic significance arising from the act of enunciation (which those unwittingly confusing semiotics for semiology may not be aware of) it is tempting to believe that the postulate of semiotics of ‘studying *X* as a text’ is a cognitive, rational act, and that therefore the apprehension of the sign must come at least an instant *after* experience itself. This delay is related to the long standing idea that the sign stands for that which it is not, starting with the Peircean definition of the sign (Greimas and Courtés, 1979, p. 376), and which Derrida questions in his deconstruction of the metaphysics of presence; of spoken versus written ‘word’ (Derrida, 1976). This delay, the view of the sign as substitutory, is strongly linked to the concept of *representation* in philosophy of aesthetics, which may be traced all the way back to Ancient Greece. Guczolski affirms however, that

in a sense a work of music *is* the feeling it symbolizes—the two are in fact joined together. The objective structure of music on the one hand and the dynamic structure of emotion it symbolizes on the other are just two sides, two aspects of one thing., i.e., of a musical work considered as a symbol (Guczolski, 2001, p. 34).

There is no reason for which Guczolski’s view on a work of music should not apply to a dance piece, or a dance tradition, and it is in fact consistent with the modern definition of the sign by British semiotician Andrew Stables³, which prioritizes process over substance (Stables, 2016). “Semiotic activity”, Stables argues, “tends to be construed as the activity of the human mind using symbolic systems as a gloss or commentary on an external reality that is not itself dependent on semiosis” (ibid., p. 45). Such an understanding of semiotics formulates it as a “purely applied discipline”, in which “the nature of the sign”, and thus of semiotic analysis, observes from afar that which it studies without unsettling our understanding of it. Fortunately, we do not need to force such limits on the scope of semiotics, and therefore a semiotic analysis of dance *can* question the dance itself, just as the semiotic study of a political text can question the politics it proposes (ibid., p. 46). According to Stables, “semiotics can offer a rich, or thick empiricism that construes linguistic experience as no more or less real than sensory experience” thus avoiding the problematic distinction between the pre-semiotic from the semiotic (Stables, 2016, pp. 47–48). This implies a processual hold of the sign in which the sign retains its relational character respect to other signs, but it is regarded as a feature of an *event*. An event is a process that is context-specific, e.g., the blossoming of a flower, and personal experience is implication in an event. Hence a process may be composed of a sequence of events, and processes may be composed of sequences of processes. Where as

³ My interpretation of Stables’s writing stems from several personal conversations held with the author on the sign and processual semiotics.

the Saussurean signifier–signified do not relate the sign to the context in which it is produced, regarding the sign as a feature of an event has as its outcome an interpretation that agrees with Benveniste’s two forms of significance, for the sign is then “simultaneously real and subjective”: “I engage semiotically therefore I am” (ibid., p 51). From my experience as a researcher in engineering, the minimalistic definition of process I propose requires a substance X which after the intervention of the process is *transformed* into Y . Whether X and Y are different substances, or whether Y is simply X in a different state is dependent on the user of this definition, and on its application. Thus a process requires an input X , a transformational function (i.e., the process itself), and an output Y .⁴ Along this work I shall adopt this model to formulate my semiotic study of the contrapunto and on Greimas’s levels in the generative trajectory.

As the reader may have realized, these introductory pages have been dedicated not only to explain what the object of study of semiotics is, but also to strongly advocate for the use of semiotics in the field of dance and other cultural expressive forms, since its primary concern is *meaning*.

2.2 Greimas, the Generative Trajectory and the Contrapunto

Semiotics is a vast discipline which owes its name to Charles Sanders Peirce (Peirce, 1977), and its foundational principles may be traced back to his studies of logic and signification, as well as the studies on *semiology* of the French linguist Ferdinand de Saussure. Semiotics flourished in the 20th century as it revealed the possibility of addressing a given work as a text in itself, instead of recurring to other disciplines such as history, to understand its meaning. Semiotics became particularly strong in France and Italy through figures such as Roman Jakobson (1960), Humberto Eco (Eco, 2000a) and Roland Barthes (Barthes, 1977). It is unfortunate that Algirdas Julien Greimas is not as well known, given the magnitude of his genius and his many contributions to the field: Greimas was the founder of the Paris School of Semiotics (Martin and Ringham, 2000), one of the most important study groups of the time; and one of the editors of the prestigious magazine *Langages*, which commenced its circulation in 1966 (Greimas and Dubois, 1966), in which Anca Giurchescu and Proca-Ciortea outlined a semiotics of dance (Proca-Ciortea and Giurchescu, 1968). Though I became very enthusiastic about Greimas when I first encountered his complex study of gestural categories

⁴ This definition is formulated for empirical purposes, and has no pretensions of being a minimum ontology of the process. In my view, the attempt to establish such an ontology leads back to the problem of unity versus plurality, a problem concerning the nature of movement itself, as illustrated with mastery by Zeno in his paradoxes (Papa-Grimaldi, 1996). The definition of process deployed in this work is widely used in signal processing and control process theory and is specifically related to the concept of *transfer function* (Farhang-Boroujeny, 2013; Leigh, 2004).

and movement (Greimas, 1987), the reason for choosing his semiotics over the conglomerate of options available, was his systematic approach to the problem of meaning through the use of three interconnected levels of analysis in the generative trajectory, which seemed to be a methodology capable of encompassing the many different aspects present in the *contrapunto de zapateo*. Greimas's semiotics were the result of intense work and constant evolution which culminated with his *Semiotics of Passions* (Greimas and Fontanille, 1993). Fischer-Lichte uses the method of analysis that Greimas proposed in his *Structural Semantics* (Greimas, 1983) as a way of articulating the different signs present in a theatrical work. However, the generative trajectory is one step forward methodologically, and to the best of my knowledge, this is the first time that Greimasian semiotics and its tripartite model is applied to dance. The following is an attempt to express in a manner as succinct as possible the semiotic approach that this work proposes to study *zapateo*, and that hopefully should be applicable to other dances.

The *generative trajectory* is based on three levels:

1. *The discursive level*, also known as the surface level. A discursive analysis starts from the utterances of which the text is composed, identifying different categories (lexemes) relevant to the text, and oppositions within these categories (semes). It studies how the text is *aspectualized*, that is, how the abstract concepts that belong to the deep level are given actor-space-time coordinates (Martin and Ringham, 2000, p. 27). In the case of *zapateo*, my approach has been to describe several videos of *contrapuntos* (i.e., dance realizations). From this description common features to all were identified: the overall time-structure of the performance, the dance movements, the use of gestures (which I have inventoried and classified into different categories), the number of dancers typically involved.
2. *The semio-narrative level*, which is concerned with the abstract structures that make possible the temporalization of the text, that is, how the narrative (i.e., drama, argument, thematic) unfolds in time, and which actants are involved in the unfolding of the drama. Thus it articulates together two models, the canonical narrative schema, and the actantial narrative schema (Greimas, 1989; Martin and Ringham, 2000). These two models will be explained in greater detail throughout the chapter. Note that their joint use is one of Greimas's significant contributions to semiotics, combining Levi-Strauss's schema for the study of myths with Propp's narrative schema based on the study of folk tales (Greimas, Perron and Collins, 1989, p. 541).
3. *The deep level* addresses the signification structures on which the entire text relies, and in Greimasian semiotics it is represented by means of the *semiotic square*. The square can be

generated from two ‘words’ (more precisely *semes*) that hold a relation of contrariety to each other. From my research question, such semes would be competition–collaboration.⁵

“Structure has no distinct content; it is content itself”, reads the epigraph by Levi-Strauss at the beginning of this chapter (Lévi-Strauss, 1984). Such is the case in deed for the semiotic square. Greimas and Rastier first presented the square (1968) as a crossing, as a *logical* formulation of a model for *semantics* (Schleifer, 1987, p. 179). The semiotic square has four *semes* as its vertices, and each vertex can connect to all others (as opposed to a tree structure). The square makes explicit the difference between logic and semiotics. While in logic one can have structures of inference completely independent of the content of its propositions, the semes are minimal units of meaning that do not hold any value in themselves, they are neither autonomous nor atomic. A seme obtains its existence from a logical relation of contrariety, contradiction or presupposition to another seme, and these logical relations are not simply given *a priori*. They rather lie in the volume of the discourse being analyzed (Greimas and Courtés, 1979, pp. 348–350). The semes and their interrelations at the deep level of signification are what holds a semiotic text together.⁶ A good example of a semiotic square would be the one for the modality of duty, *having-to-do* (Greimas and Courtés, 1979, p. 101). We have that the contrary semes s_1 – s_2 correspond to *prescription* (having-to-do) and *prohibition* (having-not-to-do). The seme “prescription” is contradictory to the seme “authorization” (not-having-to-do), while the contradictory of “prohibition” is “permission” (not-having-not-to-do). The seme “prescription” presupposes “permission”, which is to say that “permission” includes “prescription”. Conversely, “prohibition” presupposes “authorization”. While this terminology may be cumbersome at first, and the square may appear to be ‘too straight’ to accommodate the flexible relations that the study of dance (anthropology) requires, once we take into consideration Derrida’s remark that one seme is always privileged over the other (Guillemette and Cossette, 2006), and this is manifested at the surface level of discourse, it follows that the symmetry of the square is an illusion, and therefore that the semiotic square is not a square at all. Depending simply on four interconnected vertices, it takes different shapes adjusting to the text to which it is relating. From one vertex to another there is a spectrum, a continuum (Schleifer, 2017), and behind every seme stand traces of other discourses in time and in semiotic space. Then the square to the analyst, i.e., to the reader, acquires an aesthetic virtue, worth contemplating.

⁵ For a formulation of competition–collaboration in the semiotic square refer to Appendix D.

⁶ The reader that is familiar with Derrida’s *deconstruction* may already have understood that the ‘critical reading’ strategies for which Derrida is renowned (Derrida, 1981, p. xv) consist on finding these fundamental pairs of semes that hold the text together, and that may lie anywhere within the text itself. For a discussion on how deconstruction can be construed as an operation in the semiotic square refer to Schleifer (1987, p. 164).

In what follows, after presenting important remarks to support the validity of my method, I apply the different levels of analysis in the generative trajectory to zapateo, in the following order: first the discursive level is addressed, studying the different utterances that the different actors may enunciate, establishing relevant categorizations. Next, instead of discussing at once the semio-narrative level, I discuss the deep level in terms of the relations of competition–collaboration and reinforcement–opposition. Then I formulate the different actantial configurations and their corresponding modalities based on the concept of *competence*, identifying different modes or states in which the dancers interrelate. Finally, I readdress the deep level to explain how the utterances at the discursive level, and the process at the semio-narrative level cause a displacement within the semiotic square of competition–collaboration. An example of semiotic analysis which I take as a starting point is that of Martin and Ringham (2000) in his *Dictionary of Semiotics* analyzing a fairy tale. The fact that my analysis is about describing the generalities of a contrapunto as opposed to analyzing a single realization, and that the document being analyzed is not a written text but a corpus of online videos⁷ introduces interesting challenges which I have attempted to resolve in the best possible manner. This work no doubt takes valuable clues of Greimas’s study of passions, in particular that of jealousy (Greimas and Fontanille, 1993, ch. 3).

2.3 Epistemological considerations: mediation

The Oxford Dictionary defines “mediate” as: (1) to “intervene in a dispute in order to bring about an agreement or reconciliation”, (2) to “bring about”, “be a means of conveying”, “form a link in between” (mediate, 2017). Dance is always mediated in the sense that it is a cultural *product*, but in the case of my study, I identify two main non-exclusive categories in which the mediation processes may fall: from conception to dance realization, and from realization to the viewer of the video.

The mediation processes mostly related with conception-to-realization mediation are the following:⁸

1. *Choreographer idea to real performance and choreographer to dancer*: in the case of a staged contrapunto it is unclear from the video who the choreographer is, if there is one. From my informal conversations with the dancers, I presume that contrapuntos involving two dancers simply follow a standard format where the dancers only have to agree on

⁷ All of the videos I analyze and discuss in this work are available on YouTube. A large collection of videos relating to zapateo, including demonstrations and zapateo from Chincha besides the contrapunto, are available on my YouTube channel (Juan Felipe Miranda Medina, 2017).

⁸ The list is informed by an unpublished essay by the choreographer Maria José Rivera (2017).

how to start, who starts, and how many rounds to take each. In contrapuntos including more dancers a more careful planing is required. I am quite positive there is no external ‘choreographer’, but rather that the dancers agree, with different degrees of participation, on the structure of the contrapunto—i.e., both processes of mediation can be synthesized in the mediation *dancer(s)-to-dancer(s)*. While the dance itself is improvisatory, it might be that the use of some gestures is planed before hand. However, from my conversations with Lalo Izquierdo I believe this is unlikely. The experience that both dancers have, to what extent they have performed together (including also performing as musicians), as well as a possible friendship between them will influence the resulting realization.

2. *Dancer ideas and impulses translated to movement*: this process is in turn mediated by other processes such as *music-to-dancer* and *physical space-to-dancer*. The *music-to-dancer* mediation involves the position of the guitarist, the tempo at which the guitar is playing, the quality of play—Antonio and Percy, for example, remarked that the guitarist lacked experience, and corrected him to play *staccato* (with closed strings) in the transition from *agua’e nieve* to zapateo (Medina, 2016, 7:22). The *physical space-to-dancer* mediation is affected by the physical space that the bodies of those present in the contrapunto are occupying and the spatial distribution in the venue. There may be many performers on stage, the audience may be of 20 in a peña or of thousands in an open air performance. The physical construction of the stage and its placement relative to the audience will also have an effect. If the stage is small, for example, it is unlikely that the dancer performs high jumps. The *audience-to-dancer* mediation is fundamental, for the audience’s cheering and engagement is what makes the performance lively (this interaction is discussed in detail in Section 2.5.1). The placement of the microphones on the floor is a factor affecting the dancer’s use of space, for if there are microphones the dancers will tend to be close to them for the footwork to be audible to the audience, in which case the sound system, including the speakers, acts as an additional mediator for the music. In general the stage space is asymmetrical, in the sense that the dancers place themselves in certain ‘spots’ which have greater probability of being occupied compared to others, and for longer durations, respect to others. An important physical mediator in the translation from dancing impulses to actual movement is the quality of the floor. In the arrangement of the contrapunto Antonio mentioned that he would have preferred a wooden floor, and asked if it was not possible to find a wooden platform on which to dance. In his visit to Arequipa, Lalo explained that he did not want to dance more zapateo because the floor was too slippery. Thus the texture of the floor, as well as its plastic properties have an impact—i.e., how hard or receptive it is to the stomp—. From my interaction with the dancers I believe a wooden floor is considered optimal.

One last mediation would be from *setting-to-dancer*, in the sense that the dancers will not behave/dance the same if they dance for a TV show, in the show of a peña, or in an open-air concert.

3. *Costume-to-dancer*: costumes in zapateo are not used intensely. Usually the costume involves a shirt, elegant pants, shoes, a belt, and in some cases a sort of handkerchief tied around the neck. This costume is deployed both by men or women, who according to my observations usually dance with the hair fastened in a bun. The colors of the shirts are in some cases indicate something about the narrative, for example who is ‘friend with whom’ or ‘rival with whom’ in the plot. If there is something relevant to the costume, it is certainly the shoes. Antonio and Percy had special shoes for dancing, usually the shoes have a high heel. When I asked Lalo Izquierdo, however, about where I could find proper shoes for zapateo he replied that the skill was in the dancer, not in the shoes. From my experience, however, this is not the case, for plastic-sole shoes will not make much of a sound regardless of the technique or strength one uses to stomp.
4. *Commenter-to-audience or dancers*: in some performances there may be someone announcing the dancers and the musicians for each number, and this person might as well utter comments in the course of the contrapunto. Such comments might emphasize on rivalry, or be humorous. This certainly will affect the mood of the dancers and the audience, the overall ‘atmosphere’.

My method for the semiotic study of the contrapunto is based not exclusively, but heavily, on regarding online video recordings as semiotic texts to be analyzed. This was determined by the fact that there is no specific location in Lima where contrapuntos regularly take place, and according to the zapateadores I talked to, contrapuntos do not longer happen often. In addition, what first called my attention in zapateo was the use of gestuality to which the zapateadores resort, and how they can use it to make the audience laugh, or to establish dominance. I became aware of this on my own performance with Wilbert Castañeda (Juan Felipe Miranda Medina, 2015), but I am aware that not every zapateo dancer uses such gestures—Antonio confirmed this in our interview (Vilchez, 2016). Nonetheless, Lalo Izquierdo as well as other performers such as Marcos Campos still practice it, and I have found videos from the last decades where gestures are at play. Since during my stays in the field I managed to attend and record only one contrapunto (which I arranged myself), I decided to recur to downloading as many videos as possible and watch each several times in order to understand the use of gestures. Thus one can say that online videos are my *documents* in the sense of Le Goff (1991), for whom the document is an artificial assembly, conscious or unconscious, the result of the researcher’s decision to choose one document over others, although it presents itself as historical proof. It is

therefore imperative to destructure the document as construction, which in my case means to make explicit the conditions of mediation. I identify the mediation processes that influence realization-to-recording as being:

1. *Uploader-to-viewer*: this is the first selection processes. From all possible the recording the uploader has at hand, s/he selects ‘this one’, for reasons that to the viewer remain unknown, if there are any.
2. *Bibliotecarian-to-reader*: in this case I place myself as being a sort of bibliotecarian. For I have downloaded and compiled these online videos into a playlist, and I am producing written discourse about them in this work. Throughout the work I suggest the reader which video s/he should watch as an example of ‘this’ movement, or ‘that’ gesture.
3. *Cameramen-to-dancer, cameramen-to-viewer*: the presence of the cameramen also acts as space mediation, conditioning where the dancers choose to place themselves, and in which angle they face the cameras. The cameramen may include amateurs that are out with their mobile phones pointing towards the dancers, or professionals cameras recording the contrapunto for it to be edited later. The position in which the cameramen are placed or choose to place themselves is also affecting the recording, as well as the timing in the recording, i.e., from what point in time until what point in time in relation to the performance does the recording start an end (do they record from the first guitar strums until the last claps of the audience?).
4. *Editor-to-viewer*: how the different recordings are cut and edited is overlapping the narrative of the realization itself with another narrative, it is a selection and assembly of some takes over others. Some of the recordings I work with have been edited, however, most of the stage is visible most of the time, even if some takes focus temporarily on the dancer’s footwork. The audio in the recordings I work with seems to be unedited, or in any case it is not overlapped by any external sounds nor music. The viewer can observe a correlation between the sound of the guitar and the dancer’s feet with the photographic motion of the video.

After having made explicit the different forms of mediation taking place in viewing a video of a realization of a contrapunto, for my methodology I am assuming that the amount of editing is insignificant so as to have an impact on the validity of the semiotic analysis, which is drawn from a corpus of video recordings. In my playlist on YouTube (Juan Felipe Miranda Medina, 2017) there are perhaps more than 40 recordings available, though only some are of the contrapunto. However, In the rest of this work I have chosen to take as examples a reduced number of videos to make it more tractable for the reader.

One last act of mediation for which I am responsible is from *writer-to-reader*, positioning myself as ‘knower of the codes’. That is, in making a list of gestures I might have excluded some other gestures, though I have done my best to start from detailed description of all actions happening in a recording and then compile a representative list of gestures. Nonetheless, from the compiled list I am assuming that as a Peruvian and a Spanish speaker in general I know what these gestures refer to. I am not interested in verbalizing how ‘this’ movement of the hand means such and such, but rather I assert: “*that* is a gesture that would usually be considered disrespectful”, for example, cleaning one’s shoe on the other’s pants, or waving your buttocks to your fellow dancer once you finish a round. Many zapateo performers have toured internationally and used their gestural repertoire, so I believe that what is interpreted as playful, or acceptable only in the context of play, is to a large degree common to countries that have had an interaction with the Western world.

2.4 Surface level: the utterance

The surface level is analyzed in terms of the enunciative component, and the figurative component. The *enunciative component* consists of the ‘enunciative strategies’ that involve the narrator (Martin and Ringham, 2000, p. 155). In this case the narrator is a complex construct from the processes of mediation outlined in Section 2.3—as opposed to the case of ‘traditional story telling’, where the narrator is a “third person” and “extra-diegetic”, that is, not involved in the plot of the text—. In this work I do not address the degrees of certainty in the enunciation, but because the narrative itself is contained, for the viewer, in the sound-image sequence the video conveys, it is important instead to point out what the camera typically captures. In some shots the camera allows a panoramic view of the one dancing and the others that support his performance, while other times the camera focuses only on the feet, or on the dancer at the center at the stage, in which case it is not possible to see what the other dancer(s) is/are doing. Though watching a YouTube video we as viewers know that the event is in the past, the video portrays it as being in present. Video recordings capture together with the percussive sound of the dance and the music that accompanies it, the utterances of the audience (such as cheering, laughing) though the audience is almost never seen while the dance is unfolding. It is particularly valuable that some recordings capture verbal expressions or comments from the audience, which provide a view on how the audience interprets the ongoing process (the dance, the gestures being used at that time). Many of the videos are unedited (uploaded directly from mobile phones) or edited in a way where the body of the one dancer is entirely visible most of the time.

The *figurative component* comprises figurative elements which “correspond to the concrete physical world and can be apprehended by the five senses” thus creating the “impression of time, of place and of character” (ibid., p. 160). The first step is to identify *figurative isotopies*, that is, to establish “groups of words with similar meanings” that relate to “place (including objects), time and actors (characters)” (ibid., p 149). For example desk, chair, blackboard would belong to the isotopy ‘classroom’. In the case of zapateo, as outlined in Table 2.1 the relevant isotopies are place, space, time, actors and actions (states of doing).⁹

After identifying figurative isotopies, relevant oppositions are located within the isotopies, which I have done in the case of the isotopy of action with the help of the semiotic square (see Figures 2.2, 2.4 and 2.3).

There are a number of different venues where a *contrapunto* takes place. Usually the *contrapunto* is one of many numbers as part of a concert or event, and therefore may happen in a big stadium—e.g., the concert of Peruvian singer Tania Libertad in Mexico (Tania Libertad, 2014)—or in small theaters (Efa Tele Media, 2015). Another important setting is the *peña*, which today is a place—sometimes the house of an Afro-Peruvian or criollo family—where they serve food, play criollo and Afro-Peruvian music and occasionally invite dancers and other performers. The *contrapunto* I arranged and recorded between Antonio and Percy, was actually in the *peña* of the respected criollo musician and composer “Pepe” Villalobos Cavero. Comparing YouTube videos, one notices the humorous and ‘loose’ environment in Huevito Lobatón’s performance which takes place in a *peña* somewhere in USA (negro calde, 2015), whereas the performance featuring Aldo Borja (Efa Tele Media, 2015) occurs in a small theater corresponding to the College of Lawyers [*derrama magisterial*] (a more formal event). Lalo’s performance with Casanova takes place in a small stage apparently mounted especially for a musical event in Florida-USA arranged by *losperuanos.com*. The *contrapunto* ended with loud laughter by performers and audience alike, and a warm hug between the zapateo dancers, which does not happen in every *contrapunto*. This example demonstrates that, as exposed in Section 2.3, the venue and the occasion will impact the quality of the performance, due to the size of the audience, of the stage, and the degree of formality or informality of the setting.

As displayed in Table 2.1 it is rare that the performance deploys objects at all, though in some cases the dancer may pretend to read a score (as if it was for example Labanotation) which amuses the audience, as Aldo Borja did when dancing with Luis Vasquez (Gori Del Carpio, 2013, 5:25).

⁹ States of being resulting from the modalization of competence are discussed in Section 2.5.1.

Actors

dancers
 audience
 musician (almost always a guitar in zapateo criollo)
 commentator (very rare)

Place

peña, big concert, stage performance, small theaters, TV

Space

spatial distribution:
 stage, off-stage (audience seats)
 movement across space:
 the dancers can move all around the stage
 the musician is usually on the spot
 (on the stage, behind the dancers)
 the audience is sitting down, usually fixed to the spot
 spatial reference systems (for the dancers):
 egocentric
 the other dancer(s)
 the audience
 the center of the stage

Time

rounds
 interlude:
 the time between one round and the next
 liminoid:
 the transition between rounds--interlude and viceversa.
 interruptions

Actions (utterances)

sitting (audience)
 laughing
 cheering
 verbal expressions
 gestures (can be superposed to all of the above)
 appearing on the stage
 dancing (improvised or choreographed)
 'waiting' for next round
 finishing: common choreography
 exiting the stage
 moving across the stage (dancers only)

Table 2.1 Figurative isotopies for *zapateo criollo*, also known as Afro-Peruvian zapateo.

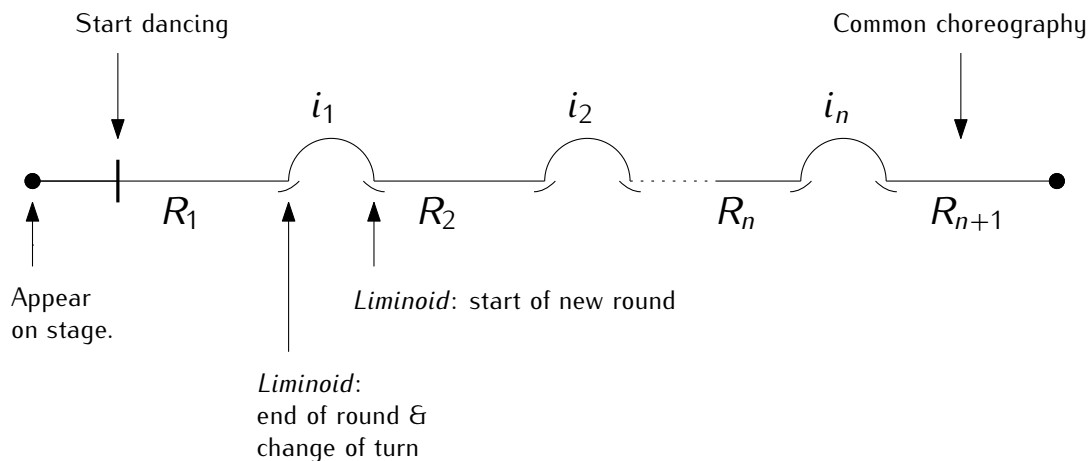


Figure 2.1 Timeline of a *contrapunto de zapateo* composed of rounds (R) and interludes (i). The interludes represent the time periods in between rounds in which the dancers interact. The figure marks the ‘liminoids’ both between round–interlude (when the turn of a dancer ends) and interlude–round (when the turn of the next one starts). Often it is difficult to locate precisely these time events.

2.4.1 Time

The figurative isotopy of *time*, as indicated in Table 2.1, is composed of rounds, ‘interludes’—by which I refer to the process of changing turn happening in between the rounds—and *liminoids*. The latter term is borrowed from performance studies (Schechner, 2013). If a system is changing from state A to state B , then the liminoid state is when the system is no longer in state A , but has not yet reached state B , the outcome of the transformation. In the case of zapateo the dancer that is finishing its round transitions from dancing to not-dancing for the next one to dance. Sometimes this change of turns (which in Figure 2.1 comprises the sequence liminoid-interlude-liminoid) happens rapidly. For example in Braulio and Carmen’s performance (JC CARTULIN, 2010), Carmen finishes her round with a marked stomp as she stares at Braulio smiling (1:30). Braulio then puts his hands in his pockets, hesitates, walks to the center of the stage, turns his back on Carmen and brushes his foot backwards making the audience laugh. He then faces the audience, takes the *saludo* (the first three steps on the beat to mark the start of a round). We might then ask, when did Braulio actually start his round? When Braulio finishes his round (2:24), Carmen is much quicker to take the *saludo* to start hers, rendering the duration of the interlude almost null. In this latter case it makes no sense to think about a liminoid. Summarizing, liminoids need not be present in between every round-interlude or interlude-round transition, but the term is used to explain that it is not always straight forward to assert when a dancer is starting or has finished its turn.

‘Zooming in’ the timeline of a contrapunto, we will further discuss the composition of a round—the usefulness of this will become apparent later on. A thorough study of the structural composition of zapateo is out of the scope of this work, therefore I shall only assert two principles and support them with examples:¹⁰

1. A round is composed of concatenated morphosequences.
2. A morphosequence is a concatenation in time of a few morphokines (usually two or three) fundamentally by means of repetition and variation.

The morphokine is the kinetic analogous to the morpheme (Kaepler, 2007), and it is known by the ICTM Group in Ethnochoreology as “motif cell” (Giurchescu and Kröschlová, 2007).¹¹ I have preferred the former terminology because the morpheme is a minimum unit with meaning, but unlike words it is not necessarily independent—which applies to morphokines—. In zapateo the fundamental units of composition are not motifs but morphokines, and it is by a clever recombination of them into morphosequences, and sequences of morphosequences that a round is constituted. As an example, let us examine a video that I recorded in my stay in Lima in 2013 (Medina, 2013a) in which Lalo Izquierdo performs one of the basic pasadas in zapateo (0:00–0:22). The pasada roughly consists of morphokine 1 (*MK1*) where Lalo touches his right foot on the inside and outside with his right hand followed by morphokine 2 (*MK2*) which consists simply of three steps followed by two quick brushing-in steps. Thus the morphosequence can be simply notated as

$$MS = \{(MK1, MK2), (MK1, MK2), (MK1, MK1, MK1)_v, MK2\}. \quad (2.1)$$

where the parentheses have been used to indicate phrasing, and the subscript *v* stands for ‘variation’, which in this case would be rotation. Note that in some morphosequences it may be that it is *MK2* that is repeated instead of *MK1*. Other morphosequences may consist of the repetition of a *single* morphokine an indefinite number of times; i.e.,

$$MS = \{MK, MK, \dots MK\}. \quad (2.2)$$

The reason for discussing structure is an observation regarding the audience’s reaction to the dance: if one of the morphokines is ‘spectacular enough’, the audience tends either to

¹⁰ For a more detailed discussion refer to Appendix C.

¹¹ Note that although among dance scholars the use of the term ‘kineme’ is usually attributed to Kaepler (2007), in her book *Semiotics of Theater* Fischer-Lichte (1992, p. 41) remarks that it was Ray Birdwhistell who developed the kinetic analogy to linguistic morphemes as he was one of the main proponents of ‘kinesics’ as “the science of gestural signs”. Birdwhistell also developed a complex notational procedure for gestures that might be an interesting to Labanotation for (semiotic) studies of dance and movement (Birdwhistell, 1970).

start clapping or intensifies the clapping only after the same morphokine is repeated several times—for example in Pierr Padilla’s performance (Jorge Perez Guzman, 2013, 2:11–2:20, 2:23–2:34, 2:39), or in Huevito Lobaton’s event in USA (negro calde, 2015, 1:23–1:34), or when Luis Vásquez danced with Aldo Borja in the peña *La Oficina* (Gori Del Carpio, 2013, 1:10, 2:45–2:58, 3:53–4:06, 4:31–4:40). The fact that the dance movements themselves, and the repetition of morphokines, can awaken the applause (and in some cases cheering, or even laughter) of the audience is important to understand the relation dancers–audience.

2.4.2 Space

Space as a figurative isotopy must be considered in detail, both in terms of the spatial distribution of the venue, the partition of the space among actors and the frames of reference with which the actors operate. As outlined in Table 2.1, contrapuntos can take place in a number of different venues, i.e., peñas, big concerts, outdoor stage concerts, small theaters, or TV shows or documentaries. In all cases the space of the venue is divided in to the space of the performers (the ‘stage’) and that of the audience. Whereas the concept of stage certainly applies to big concerts or small theaters, peñas look more like restaurants with a space ‘somewhere in the middle’—that is, where most of the guests can watch—which functions a stage. The size of the venue will be large in the case of big concerts and outdoor stage concerts (thousands of people), whereas it will be comparatively small for small theaters (e.g., 100 people) or peñas (perhaps 50 people). The size of the stage is another important variable; it can be either small or big in outdoor performances, especially those with a stage built for the occasion, and will tend to be small for TV recordings or peñas. Note that only in the case of the peña does the ‘stage’ space have a circular shape, since the audience can be surrounding the dancers, whereas in all other cases the audience and the dancers occupy rectangular oppositional spaces facing each other.

As Williams (1995) expounds, the conceptual spatial systems on which the actors of a dance event operate are determinant to interpret the meanings conveyed within the dance. As stated in Table 2.1 it is only the dancers that move across space (i.e., the ‘stage’). A fundamental point of reference is the center of the stage, which is visible ideally to the entire audience. The dancers take turns ‘borrowing’ the other the center of the stage temporarily, and also have moves to displace the other from the center. In the case of rectangular stages the stage might be divided into front (closest to the audience) and back, sides and center; whereas in a circular stage the spatial division is between center and periphery, though the dancers always identify a front towards which they dance most of the performance.

The dancers move across the stage with different spatial reference systems. The dancers do not deploy heliocentric orientation, but rather there conceptual space is embedded (Williams, 1995), that is, situated according to the distribution of the venue, conditioned by the location

of the audience. The front of the dancer coincides with the front of the audience, while their lateral orientation is opposite. The stage space is certainly not symmetrical, for the center of the stage in which the dancers dance most of the time needs not coincide with the geometrical center of the stage—in rectangular stages the center of the stage might be the center in the lateral axis, but will tend towards the front (close to the audience) in the sagittal axis. Another important frame of reference which varies in time is the position of the other dancer(s), since the current dancer might orient its sight, body or movement across the stage to move towards or away from them, facing or giving their back to them.

2.4.3 Actions

The figurative isotopy of action describes how ‘doing’ is distributed among the different actors in space and time. The first question to address would be “what are the actions that a given actor (dancer, musician or audience) can perform?”.¹²

In the case of the audience the answer is simple: clapping, laughing, as well as cheering sounds (e.g., “woohoow!”), words—e.g., “júegala” [*play it*], “así” [*like that*], “suavecito!” [*nice and smooth!*]*—and even sentences. The performance of Huevito Lobatón in USA is particularly hilarious because one can hear the voice of his wife yelling “así, mi amor, así, como anoche!” [like that my love, just like last night!] in reaction to an acrobatic move (negro calde, 2015). The audience can of course also comment the ongoing performance, for example when a man in the audience close to the camera commented: “sus zapatos no le suenan bien” [her shoes don’t sound good] (JC CARTULIN, 2010, 2:43).*

An actor that is only present in some performances is the commentator. The commentator does not really narrate the performance, but makes it lively with provocative comments that encourage rivalry or competition, such as “defienda las sedas, hermano, defienda!” [*defend your silks, brother, defend them!*], or “ahora vas a ver con cuantas papas se hace un ajiaco!” [*now you shall see how many potatoes it takes to prepare an ajiaco!*] when Aldo Borja walks across the stage and gets ready to dance in front of the two young men (Efa Tele Media, 2015, 3:23, 4:05). The commentator, like the audience, can also utter interjections of approval or encouragement (“yes, nice, bravo”).

The musician, in the contrapunto is almost always a guitar or bass guitar player, usually mute, but often smiling, sometimes laughing if something comic is going on. The musician usually does not move across the stage, s/he is generally fixed on the spot. Some guitarists may utter verbal interjections like the audience and the commentator, but the musicians fundamental ‘utterance’ is the music on which the dancers improvise. The musician must hold the rhythm

¹² An attempt of a full description of what each actor has to do, can do and can not to is presented in Appendix B.

stable for the dancers, and in some cases adjust to them if they vary their tempo (JC CARTULIN, 2010, 0:52). The musicians must also be alert to (subtle) clues from the dancers indicating them to play louder or more quiet, faster or slower, or telling them when to finish. In some cases the guitarist may use melodies that do not belong to the zapateo repertoire, especially to ‘comment on a situation’—e.g., when a girl yells flirtatiously to Marcos Campos and he stares at her, the guitarist plays a brief melody in the blues scale (Tania Libertad, 2014). While some guitarists may use only two motifs for a whole performance, there are others that despite using a reduced set of motifs provide liveliness by means of variation. An excellent example is “Coco” Linares playing for the contrapunto between Huevito Lobatón and Lalo (Palomino Productions/Eve A. Ma, 2015). He begins with a playful introduction (0:00) as if preparing the dancers to get started which leads to the main motif in C major (0:11). When Huevito finishes his round, Coco uses a Cmaj7 progression (C, E, F+A, G+B) which he then sustains with variations throughout Lalo’s round. Antonio Vilchez commented emphatically when I interviewed him and Percy about the importance of the guitar (Chinchilla and Vilchez, 2016): “in the Peruvian guitar for zapateo lies the secret of the ‘swing’ of Peruvian guitar . . . the guitarist can do his own stuff, but he has to have a lot of synchrony in that moment with the dancer”. Thus, the guitarist is subordinated to the dancer in zapateo, and may choose to vary its playing according to the change of turns or other events occurring during the contrapunto.

The dancers, however, are those who are allowed to move more freely across the stage, and they perform a number of gestures as they dance or in between rounds. Based on the detailed descriptions of video recordings in Appendix A, Table 2.2 presents a list of the gestures used by the dancers—the one dancing (*X*) and the one ‘waiting’ (*Y*)—in three different moments: at the start, development and end of the round. Recall from Figure 2.1 that the start and end correspond to liminoid states of variable duration. The start would include the interlude and the liminoid—i.e., what dancer *X* does right before the first dance moves—while the end includes the ending position (e.g., *X* ends with a stomp staring at dancer *Y*) and the accompanying gestures before it is the other’s turn. A more detailed verbal description, currently an ongoing project, is available online (Miranda Medina, 2017). The aim is to have a webpage that functions as a table or database where existing descriptions may be updated and new ones added as more videos are analyzed.

Table 2.2 List of gestures used by the dances at the start, development and end of a round. *X* stands for the one dancing and *Y* for the dancer ‘observing’ *X*. *Rstart* refers to the movements right before the saludo or first dance movements that start the dance; *Rend* to the instant in which the dancer finishes its round and the gestures that may accompany it; and *R* refers to the development of the round.

Rstart *X*: ‘cowboy’ walk facing Au.

- Rstart X: hand on heart (as if agitated) to Au.
- Rstart X: brush floor with R and L foot before starting to dance.
- Rstart X: takes 1 hair of Y, throws it and stomps on it.
- Rstart X: turn back on Y, brush backwards towards Y.
- Rstart X: calls Y to come (hand gestures, precedes other gestures).
- Rstart X: to Au on Y: hand gesture: "more or less".
- Rstart X: lean on Y, clean shoe on Y's pants.
- Rstart X: walks towards Y then back to the center.
- Rstart X1 and X2 circle each other (before common chor.).
- R Y: smiles at X.
- R Y: pays attention to X (staring close at X's feet).
- R Y: sudden surprise: after gazing at X.
- R Y: utters words:
"eso"["nice"], "juega" ["play it!"].
- R Y: applauds X.
- R Y: nodding head ("yes").
- R Y: "more or less".
- R Y: gesture: "I am bored", "when are you finishing".
- R Y: hand on mouth turning back at X ("boring!").
- R Y: interrupts X with a gesture
(playing cajon, walking in front of X).
- R X: dances moving towards Y (and back to center).
- R X: dance (or stomp) staring at Y and/or smiling at Y.
- R/Rend X: approaches and displaces Y.
- R/Rend X: add something comic/performatic to a motif
(jump rope, ride horse, flamenco).
- Rend X1 to X2: hand gesture: "I hit you"/"te pego".
- Rend X1 and X2: handshake and release ("get out of here").
- Rend X: approaches Y dancing and ends close to Y (stomping).
- Rend X: turn back on Y and walk away.
- anytime X/Y: smile at Y/X.
- Rend X: foot squeeze.
- Rend X: stomp same foot loudly & repeatedly staring at Y.
- Rend X: waves buttocks to Y.

Rend	X: dance Twist facing Y.
Rend	X: sweat from forehead to the floor.
R/Rstart	X/Y approaches Y/X and back to center.
Rend	X: to Y: "your turn".

Considering three different moments—*Rstart*, *R* and *Rend* I have grouped the gestures (actions) into categories, and represented the opposition between these categories by means of the semiotic square. Figure 2.2 addresses *Y*'s gestures towards *X* while round *R* is developing. The fundamental pair of contraries is cheering–interrupting. A good example of different possible gestures by which *Y* may interrupt *X* is provided in Huevito Lobatón's performance in USA (negro calde, 2015)—*Y* plays the cajón while *X* dances, or *Y* walks in front of *X* to talk to the other dancer, for example. Cheering gestures may include smiling, nodding the head affirmatively as *X* dances, or interjections such as “nice!”. The square represents other possibilities such as attending *X*'s performance, in which case *Y* is at a certain proximity from *X* staring at *X*'s feet or body while *X* dances. Mocking may include caricaturizing *X*'s movements, as Marcos Campos does with a female dancer (Expresión Latina, 2012, 1:45), or the hand gesture “more or less” while *Y* stares at the audience, commenting on *X*'s performance (Pedro Luis Juliin Manrique Medrano, 2012, 1:02).

On the other hand, as Figure 2.4 shows, *X* may deploy a number of gestures right at the start of the round (*Rstart*) which may address *Y* in a ‘positive’ or ‘negative’ manner, or address the audience directly delaying the start of the round, bringing in a touch of humor or creating suspense shows—as Aldo Borja does in his appearance in the middle of a contrapunto between two young dancers (Efa Tele Media, 2015)—. In the upper left corner of the semiotic square, among the ‘negative’ ways of in which *X* may address *Y* it says “mocking, make fun, disrespect”. A classic example of such a gesture is when the dancer cleans its shoe on the other's pants (Efa Tele Media, 2015, 3:53; negro calde, 2015, 0:55).

Although not drawn, the square for *X* finishing the round (*Rend*) would have the same vertices as the two previous ones (Figures 2.4 and 2.3) except for vertex $X \rightarrow X$, which in this case is absent, since a dancer does not finish a round introvertedly, the body and gaze are projected either at the audience or at the other dancer(s). Often the dancer finishes with an emphatic stomp on the first beat, with the body and gaze ‘freezing’ an instant in the finish position. When finishing gazing at *Y*, the mimic gestures (i.e., facial expression and smile) will determine whether it is with cockiness, teasing or as a provocation; or if it is to involve *Y* in the finish. *X* might accompany the accentuated stomps by gestures that might be of self-praise—e.g., hands against the chest as if saying “I'm the best” (AcuarelaCriolla, 2009a, 5:10)—or turning its back towards *Y*, or having some other challenging gestures.

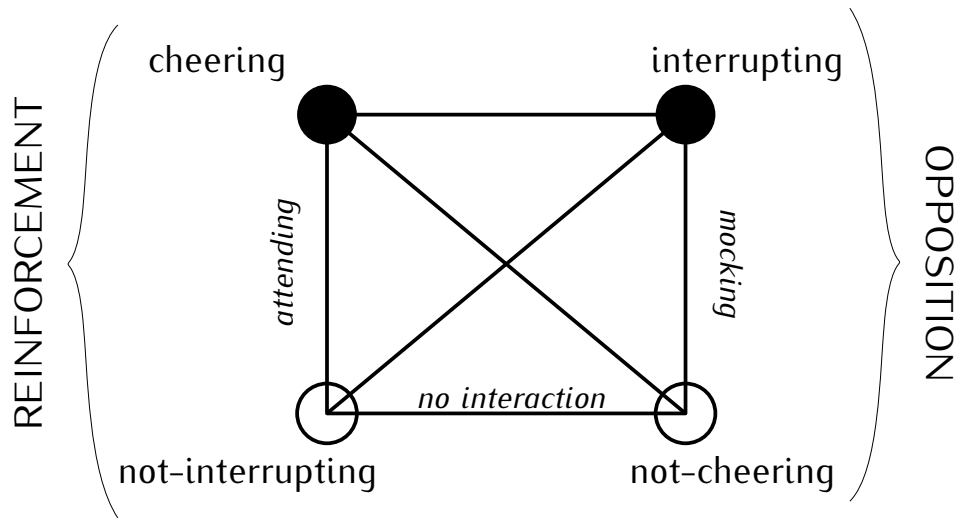


Figure 2.2 Semiotic square of Y's gestures towards X in the course of round R.

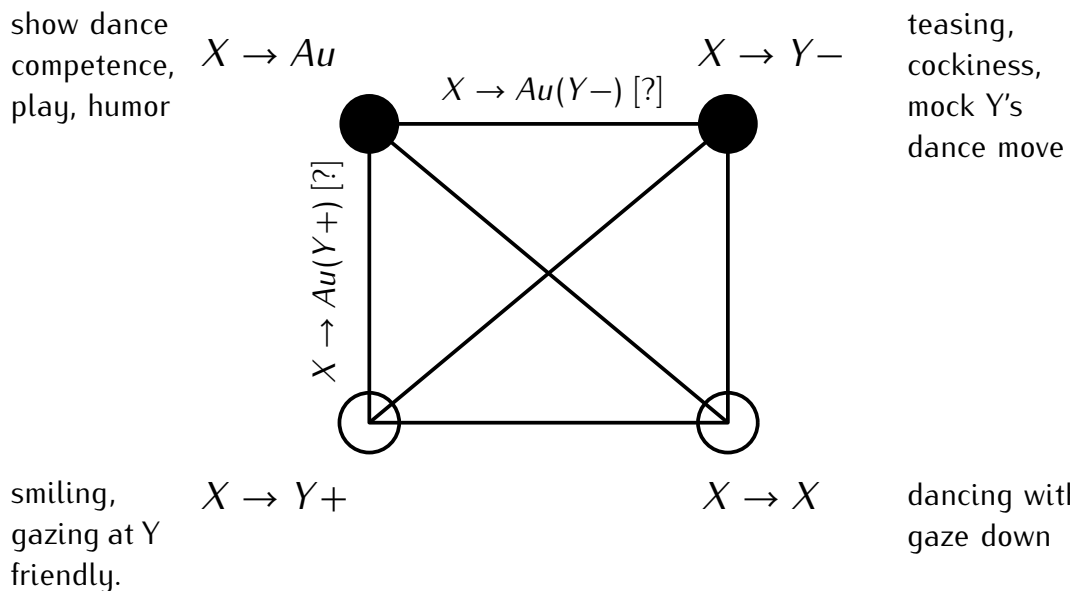


Figure 2.3 Semiotic square of X's gestures towards Au or Y right in the course of round R. The *semes* or vertices that form the square are identical in form to those in Figure 2.2. The "[?]" indicates positions in the square for which I have not found specific examples of gestures.

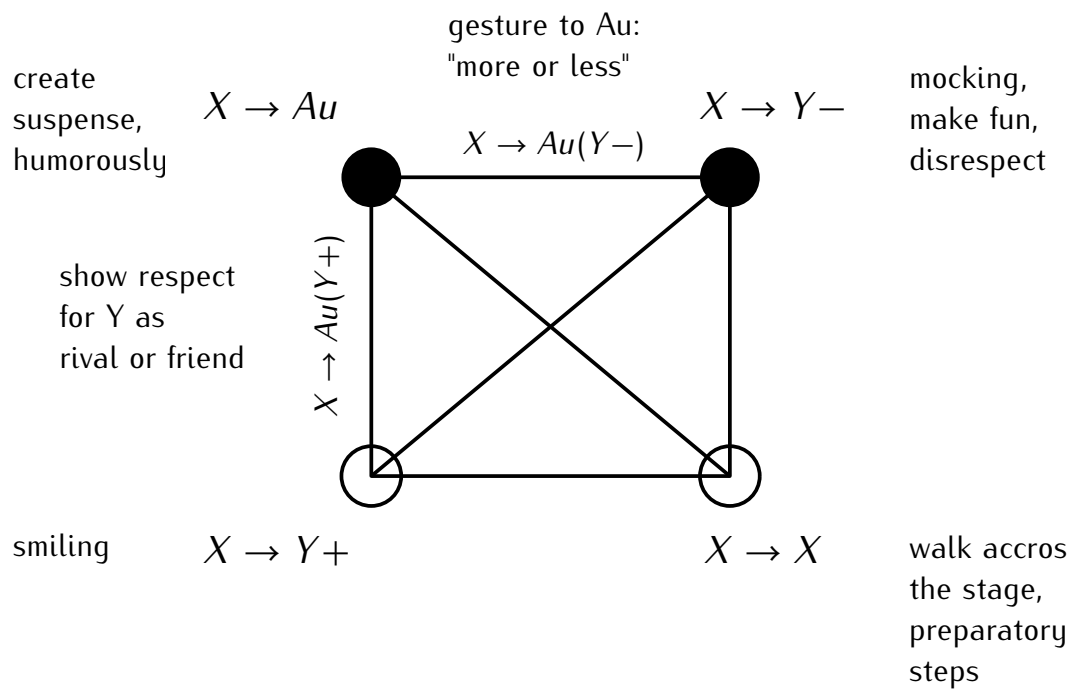


Figure 2.4 Semiotic square of X 's gestures towards Au or Y right at the start of round R ($Rstart$ in Table 2.2). $X \rightarrow Au$ indicates that X addresses Au with body and gaze. While the same applies for $X \rightarrow Y$, the (+) and (-) signs stand for 'positively' (i.e., showing respect or sympathy for Y) or 'negatively' (showing disrespect, or making fun of Y). The square highlights possible combinations such as $X \rightarrow Au(Y-)$ —i.e., X addressing Au about Y , for example with the hand gesture 'more or less'.



Figure 2.5 Different gestures used between dancers in zapateo. (1) Upper left: *X* cleans its pants on *Y* before starting the round. (2) Upper right: *X* mocks (caricaturizes) *Y*. (3) Lower left: *X* creates suspense at the start of the round. (4) *Y* (at the right side) utters hand gesture on *X*'s performance: "more or less". The images are print screens from *AcuarelaCriolla* (2009a); Bisbal (2012); Efa Tele Media (2015) and Pedro Luis Juliin Manrique Medrano (2012), respectively.

An important aspect of the figurative level is the *thymic category*, which refers to emotions and feelings that are “situated at the deep level of the utterance” and “articulated in the opposition euphoria versus dysphoria (pleasant versus unpleasant)” (Martin and Ringham, 2000, p. 153). The figurative isotopy of action has been especially important, since after having listed and categorized in oppositions the possible utterances of all actors involved, we can formally identify relations of reinforcement or opposition (Figure 2.2) and relations where one dancer addresses the other ‘positively’ or ‘negative’. The term ‘negative’ is used as a reference only, but the use of a gesture that falls under this category does not imply disrespect or violent confrontation between the dancers, for as I explain next, most gestures in zapateo are inscribed in *play*.

2.4.4 Play

Although not formulated from the start as a figurative isotopy, play has emerged as potentially present in the actions of all actors involved in the contrapunto. Play may serve a myriad of purposes. It may function as a “social lubricant”, expressing solidarity and diffusing conflict, as amusement, or as a mechanism to strengthen “power differences” (de los Heros, 2014).¹³ Play is therefore testing borders, and occasionally transgressing them in order to establish new ones, rendering the forbidden permissible as if it was ‘not meant’ (Schechner, 2013, ch. 4). In the case of zapateo, any utterance by any of the actors can be rendered playfully. An utterance that is typically associated with play is laughter, which is related to humor. There are numerous theories on both play and humor, but for the purposes of this work I shall try to precise what I mean with “play”, and shall avoid entering into unnecessary word games attempting to distinguish humor from play. In this work humor is considered to be an instance of play, one which produces laughter.

While Huzinga’s *Homo Ludens* (Huizinga et al., 1985) was arguably the first text to formalize a theory of play, Roger Caillois revised Huizinga’s work classifying games placing them in “a continuum between two opposite poles”: *paidia* is formulated as an “indivisible principle, common to diversion, turbulence, free improvisation”, manifesting “uncontrolled fantasy” that is at the other end “almost entirely absorbed or disciplined” by *ludus*, which is associated to “arbitrary, imperative and purposely tedious conventions” (Caillois, 2006, p. 130). In zapateo *ludus* as the formal and general structure of a contrapunto may be traced back to the competitive history of the dance (as discussed in Chapter 1), where the dancers were alternating rounds in front of an audience and a jury who would determine the winner. Thus *ludus* for the dancer would be following the structure of a typical contrapunto of zapateo, the formal

¹³ Even though de los Heros (2014) uses the term ‘humor’, his descriptions and theoretical considerations are identical to what is referred to as ‘play’ in this work.

game: entering in a certain way, alternating rounds with dance according to a rich repertoire of morphokines performed in a technically competent manner, and finishing with a common choreography. Nevertheless, *any* game demands that the outcome be uncertain, and thus play as *ludus* is present in improvisation. *Paidia*, in the context of zapateo, would be the absurd, the unexpected, the ‘out of the norm’—adding a touch or two of spontaneity and creativity performing the motifs in unusual ways, or making gestures that are unrelated to the motifs that address the other dancer or the audience.

In the case of zapateo, as in many other games, I hold that *directedness* is another important feature of play, for play intends an *other*—whether it is the audience, the other dancer, the musician—and it expects an observable reaction (an utterance, an action) from the other. Play thus implies a bonding and tension between those involved in the act of playing.

From the discussion on the isotopy of action, it is clear that zapateo is an asymmetric game where those who can ‘do the most’ are the dancers, but their dancing as performance only makes sense if the audience reacts to it, clapping, cheering, or laughing. The actions of the dancers, the guitarist and the audience, together create peak moments and therefore cycles which have different levels of emotional intensity. The volume and duration of the utterances of the audience, or the informality of what they shout to the dancers are expressions of intensity. After an emotional peak, in the advent of a new cycle, the excitement of spectacle must be built again (Caillois and Barash, 1961).

When it comes to meaning in play it is important to distinguish between two cases. The first one would be a semiological one, when it is possible to identify a signifier and a signified (Chandler, 2007) in the playful gesture which is henceforth referred to as ‘ludic gesture’. A good example in zapateo is the gesture of cleaning one’s shoes on the other’s pants. In everyday life this would be a sign of disrespect, while on the stage, and when the one cleaning smiles at the other dancer as he does it, accompanied by the laughter of the audience, it becomes play. There may be meanings (‘signifieds’, in the context of this discussion) attached to certain gestures, such as staring at the other dancer touching my forehead with my right hand and shaking it down quickly, as if throwing my sweat to the floor—used by Perico Casanova dancing with Lalo Izquierdo (Iosperuanos, 2009), see Figure 2.6—or turning my back on the other dancer and then brushing my foot backwards, as if throwing dirt towards his/her side—when Braulio did it to Carmen Román (JC CARTULIN, 2010), a woman commented: “ya parece toro, ya” [*he looks like a bull*].

Bateson’s remarks on such gestures (Bateson, 2004)¹⁴ are consistent with Greimas’s reflections on ludic gestuality (Greimas, 1987). In Greimasian terms, the ludic gesture does not have an independent plane of expression, which can be loosely paraphrased as follows: the

¹⁴ Original date of publication: 1955.



Figure 2.6 Perico Casanova, after finishing his round performs the gesture I describe as ‘throwing sweat to the floor’ (losperuanos, 2009, 5:56). Whether this is the actual semantical meaning or not is irrelevant, the reaction of Lalo to Perico’s gesture and that of the audience indicate that it is taken as a challenge. A possible verbalization of the meaning conveyed by the gesture would be “there you are, take that!”. (Print screen from losperuanos, 2009.)



Figure 2.7 Rony Campos tilting his body to his right as he performs the 'horse walk' motif is an example of experiential meaning in play—the unusual, unexpected play full variation. (Print screen from AcquarelaCriolla, 2009a.)

ludic sign *s* may consist of a signifier *a* that resembles, evokes, or is related in its form to the signifier *A* of a different sign *S*. However, in play the meaning of the ludic sign *s* is not the same as that of the reference sign *S*. The sign *s* is inscribed in a *frame* (setting or context) that together with other signs and metacommunicative signs and/or features of sign *s* make it clear to its recipient that ‘we are playing’, and that allow for its meaning to be interpreted differently. However, meaning in play may also be of a more experiential nature. In this case *paidia* is dominant, as actions become spontaneous, unexpected, perhaps absurd. A good example is when Lalo Izquierdo tucks in his hands close to his chest three times when performing a motif (Pedro Luis Juliin Manrique Medrano, 2012, 1:54), or when Rony Campos tilts his body to the right when performing the ‘horse walk’ motif as shown in Figure 2.7 (AcuarelaCriolla, 2009a, 2:28). Why are the dancers doing *this*? often such behavior makes the audience laugh; it is unusual, unexpected, unnecessary for the efficient execution of the motif. There is thus an experiential content in this modification of action, adding features to it, altering its quality. In these situations it makes little sense to attempt to translate verbally the meaning being conveyed; the action’s meaning is given by the reaction it produces. This is consistent with the pragmatic definition of meaning presented in Section 2.1 in this chapter. In both cases of meaning production, as de los Heros (2014, p. 108) remarks, the interpretation of meaning and deployment of ludic gestures depends on the socio-cultural backgrounds of those involved in the exchange, as well as their categories of identity (e.g., age, gender, ethnicity).

By means of semiotic squares in Section 2.4.3 I showed that between dancers there were gestures of reinforcement and opposition at any time during the contrapunto. All of these gestures fall within the domain of *paidia*, which makes their very use possible. Figure 2.8 represents the actors’ (*X*, *Y*, *Au*) shifting back and forth in time between two pairs of contraries, *ludus* and *ludus-paidia*, that form a spectrum with different degrees of intensity, which is represented by the triangular cone, depending on the setting.¹⁵ In Percy and Antonio’s contrapunto (Medina, 2016) the dancers had some playful moments with one another, but the audience’s behavior was quite formal, clapping occasionally. In Perú Negro’s performance in Stockholm the constant humorous actions of the dancers as well as their skillful dancing awakened praise and laughter from the audience (AcuarelaCriolla, 2009b). The level of intensity was even higher in the contrapunto between Lalo Izquierdo and Perico Casanova. One hears the audience constantly yelling to the performers, and after Casanova’s second round the audience, the musicians, and Lalo himself burst out in laughter. At the end Lalo and Perico hug each other warmly (losperuanos, 2009).

¹⁵ My treatment of intensity in this chapter is based on my own reflections. As future work it would be pertinent to compare and enhance the model by incorporating the concept of *tensivity* developed by Fontanille and Zilberberg, which relates the extension in space of a variable to its intensity. More information may be found at Hébert’s book on applied semiotics available online (Hébert, 2006, p. 58).

In Figure 2.8, *Ludus* designates the formal structure of zapateo as a game. This formal structure, involving the purely functional, even excludes the possibility of the liminoids present in the timeline in Figure 2.1 because these would be delays in the change of turns, which become unnecessary since in pure *ludus* there is no interaction between the dancers. The structure can be enunciated as follows: given N dancers participating in the contrapunto, all dancers appear on the stage at the same time. Next the dancers dance for the audience one round each, improvising by recombining morphokines of zapateo. This operation is repeated a certain number of times (typically two or three). When a dancer is not dancing (Y), the dancer is waiting its turn away from the center of the stage, which is occupied by X . Once all dancers are done, they all perform a common choreography. Such a systematic performance with only *ludus* may be seen in the zapateo competitions in Chincha (Corazón Peruano, 2010), where the event has a rather serious character and the dancers do not interact with each other. Because it is a competition the dancers do not finish their participation with a common choreography.

Ludus-paidia is the contrary of *ludus*. Its name is not “*ludus and paidia*” because it is not simply a superposition of *paidia* to *ludus*, but it is rather the interactive and hence synergic combination of the two. *Paidia* adds a component of “turbulence, free improvisation” (Caillois, 2006), surprise, absurdity, relating it to the actual gestures used among dancers. This time I have not used the semiotic square, but a sort of conic triangle that highlights the fact that in a ‘purely serious’, functional contrapunto, the one dancing (X) projects to the audience Au , or may occasionally address the other dancer to express challenge or competition. Nevertheless, in such a setting the one not dancing (Y) has nothing to do but wait for its turn. Thus we have that dancing becomes a display of competence and dance improvisation skills taking turns. With *paidia*, however, it is possible to create a fluid interaction where the one ‘waiting’ for its turn may articulate gestures towards the audience or towards the one dancing, delays and gestural exchanges in between round may take place, and the turn of a dancer may even be interrupted. This last operation is particularly symbolic, for it is the disruption of *paidia* over pure *ludus*. Other forms of disruption include the possibility of ‘mutation’ of the rules of the game, introducing possibilities such as a dancer appearing all of the sudden changing the dynamics of the contrapunto between the other two that was taking place—e.g., AcuarelaCriolla (2009a). Thus we have that *paidia*’s effect on *ludus* is on the one hand the possibility of gestural exchange at any time between the actors making possible a synchronic interaction between all of them (represented as the intersection of lines X , Y and Au in Figure 2.8). On the other hand it may transform the formal ‘rules of the game’, thus allowing for more complex narratives and choreographies, as well as for pathemic configurations of rivalry which will be discussed in Section 2.5

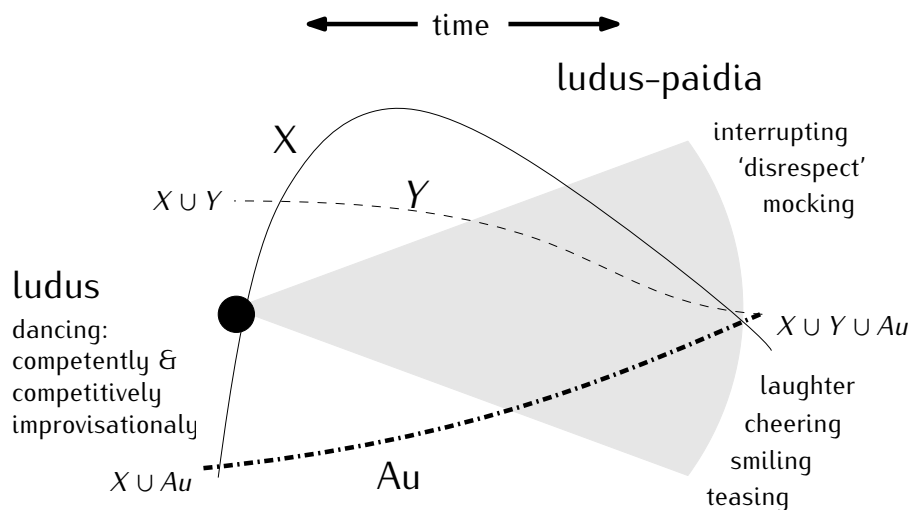


Figure 2.8 Semiotic triangle for the oppositions of contradictories ‘*ludus* vs. *ludus-paidia*’. The figure illustrates the multiplicity of actions that can be related to *ludus-paidia* as opposed to pure *ludus*, in which case the dancer is focused on dancing competently for the audience, or on competing competently with other dancers. The figure shows—by means of intersections between the lines *X*, *Y* and *Au*—how at the state of seriousness, *X* may relate to the audience *Au* and/or *Y*, but then *Au* and *Y* do not relate to each other. What play in its fullest as *ludus-paidia* brings about is the possibility that all three actors relate to each other. Play may be present in the actions of any of the actors and encompasses both actions of reinforcement and opposition.

2.5 Semio-narrative Level

After having discussed the surface level in depth through the careful examination of its fundamental figurative isotopies, the semio-narrative level shall address the way in which actors may be mapped into actants in order to produce different narrative and pathemic (i.e., passional) configurations in a given contrapunto realization.

The semio-narrative level is “the level of story grammar or surface narrative syntax”, and it is built on “embedded or connected” models or schemas that “according to the Paris School [of Semiotics]” underlie and are capable of describing “all discourse, be it scientific, sociological, artistic, etc” (Martin and Ringham, 2000, p. 9; Cooren, 2000, p. 71).

This level is constructed on two complementary models or schemas: the actantial narrative schema and the canonical narrative schema (ibid.). The joint articulation of these two schemas is hereafter referred to as the *narrative schema*, which was one of Greimas’s great achievements, since it simplified even further the model that Vladimir Propp had develop in his analysis of fairy tales. The narrative schema is comparable to a fractal, for it is a structure that may be found at any level of the narrative system (Cooren, 2000).

Table 2.3 shows the semantical axes and actants composing the actantial schema, and the involvement of these actants in the canonical schema. The narrative schema is a structure of exchange between the transmitter and the receiver (*ibid.*). The sender/transmitter of the message ‘manipulates’ the receiver in order to sign the fiduciary contract, after which the receiver becomes a subject that desires an object. Next the subject acquires competence or gifts through the qualification test, and in the final test must perform in order to satisfy its desire. In the glorification test, the sender (which may correspond to a different actor in the narrative) *sanctions* the subject according to the message and the fiduciary contract. It is the phase of manipulation and the sanction that open and close the narrative. The sender/transmitter must reward/sanction the receiver/subject for what he/she did after completing the mission (Greimas, 1989)—the sanction being either to be conjoined or disjoined from the object of desire—. An actant needs not be an actor, as that there is a many-to-many correspondence between actants and actors. An example of a full actantial model with one actor is the following: if I want to go to the supermarket because I am hungry, I am the subject in the quest for an object (food), the helper is my hunger and the opponent my laziness or the long distance between my house and the store.

Greimas’s representation of his actantial model is typically an arrow diagram that does not relate the actants to the canonical schema (Greimas, 1983). In order to be consistent with the processual view of the sign that this work advocates for, based on my readings on semiotics (Cooren, 2000; Greimas, Ricoeur, Perron and Collins, 1989; Schleifer, 1987) I am proposing a diagram in Figure 2.9 based on a sequence of processes. A process consists of three units: input and output (both in italicized font), and the function which transforms the input into the output (represented by the small white circles with arrows in and out of them). Staring at the diagram from top to bottom it already shows an interesting thing: the overall narrative schema can be viewed as one single process where a receiver is transformed into a subject that is either conjoined or disjoined with an object. The diagram proposes the reading that the transmitter or sender is in itself contained in the message, which is the actual input that gets the narrative system started. Thus, both the transmitter and the object are parameters (represented in brackets) of the message, which together with a receiver co-construct both the subject which desires an object and the modalities of desire: wanting-to-do and/or being-able-to-do. The qualification test is a process for the acquisition of modalities of competency (being-able-to-do and/or knowing-how-to-do) which requires of the participation of the helper and the opponent. The output of this process is once again a subject, but with enriched parameters (i.e., with modalities of competence added to its properties). In the final test the subject ‘does’ (i.e., performs), and the output of the process is a given set of facts—for example, when the prince kisses the Sleeping Beauty the fact is that she wakes up. The final process, the glorification test

ACTANTIAL SCHEMA

Communication: transmitter T_x -- receiver R_x
Desire : subject S -- object O
Power : helper H -- opponent O_p /anti-subject aS

CANONICAL SCHEMA

Signing the contract between transmitter and receiver:
 the subject S desires an object O in the form of two modalities:
 wanting-to-do and/or having-to-do.
 S and O are *virtualized*.

Qualification test:

S acquires the necessary competence in the form of two modalities:
 being-able-to-do and/or knowing-how-to-do.
 The helper H and the opponent O_p intervene in this process.
 S and object O are *actualized*.

Final test for S to perform and satisfy the desire for O .

Glorification test (sanction): the sender sanctions S
 based on the outcome of the **final test**.
 The result is that S is *conjoined* with O ($S \cup O$)
 if the desire is satisfied, and *disjoined* otherwise ($S \cap O$).
 If the desired is satisfied, S and O are *realized*
 (as opposed to virtualized or actualized).

Table 2.3 Semantic axes (bold font) and their corresponding actants in Greimas's actantial model, followed by the canonical model.

or sanction, is in my view, a process in which the subject has nothing to do. The receiver judges not the subject, but the resulting facts from the subject's doing, and either rewards or punishes the subject, creating its conjunction or disjunction with the desired object. The anti-subject is written in parenthesis because it may or may not be present in the phase of performance. If it is not, then the climax or maximum tension is in the qualification test (i.e., acquisition of competence).

Competence is a central concept in discussing the contrapunto as a narrative. Upon consulting the dictionary (competence, 2017a,b) competence is defined as “the quality of being competent”, “possession of required skill, knowledge, qualification, or capacity”, “the ability to do something successfully or efficiently” and in the linguistic sense it implies “knowledge of the rules” of a language as a language user. All of these definitions can be summarized into two modalities: *knowing-how-to-do* and *being-able-to-do* (a certain thing, and in a certain way) (Greimas et al., 1990; Martin and Ringham, 2000). An important remark though is that as “an ability to do something successfully” competence requires sanction. Someone must declare the subject of action as competent. In the case of zapateo this someone is most commonly the audience, who does so by applauding or cheering, and in some cases the other dancer, through gestures or verbal utterances. The most common situation in the contrapunto, is that the first solo round of the first dancer is a qualification test where the dancer proves his/her being-able-to-do and is sanctioned favorably by the audience.

Taking into consideration our discussion on the semio-narrative level so far, it is possible to analyze an unusual zapateo performance: a solo by Marcos Campos (Bisbal, 2012), one of the great figures in Afro-Peruvian music. A description of the events in the performance is presented in Section A.3 in the Appendix. Marcos Campos, through the use of gestures and involving both the audience and other musicians creates a performance with a narrative. In the first round Marcos displays his competence to the audience (being-able-to-dance), which sanctions in his favor by applauding. In the middle of the applause he points to a member in the audience, gesturalizes, and takes a sheet of paper which from the performance one understands is a dance score which he shall attempt to read. This becomes the object of his quest: *being-able-to-do* (read-dance the score). First, using gestures he asks the musician how the score should be read, and the musician performs a turn on one foot. Marcos hesitates and with gestures indicates to the musician that his reading is wrong. There the musician acts as an opponent, for he is leading Marcos astray. The musician does not *know-how-to-do*. Marcos then tries to read himself, and when he has just started read-dancing Eva approaches and interrupts him. She indicates Marcos that he is wrong, and taps her foot marking a rhythm. Marcos dismisses her indicating with gestures to the audience that she is crazy. Hesitates once more and starts read-dancing, and finishes successfully, to which the audience reacts cheerfully. Marcos

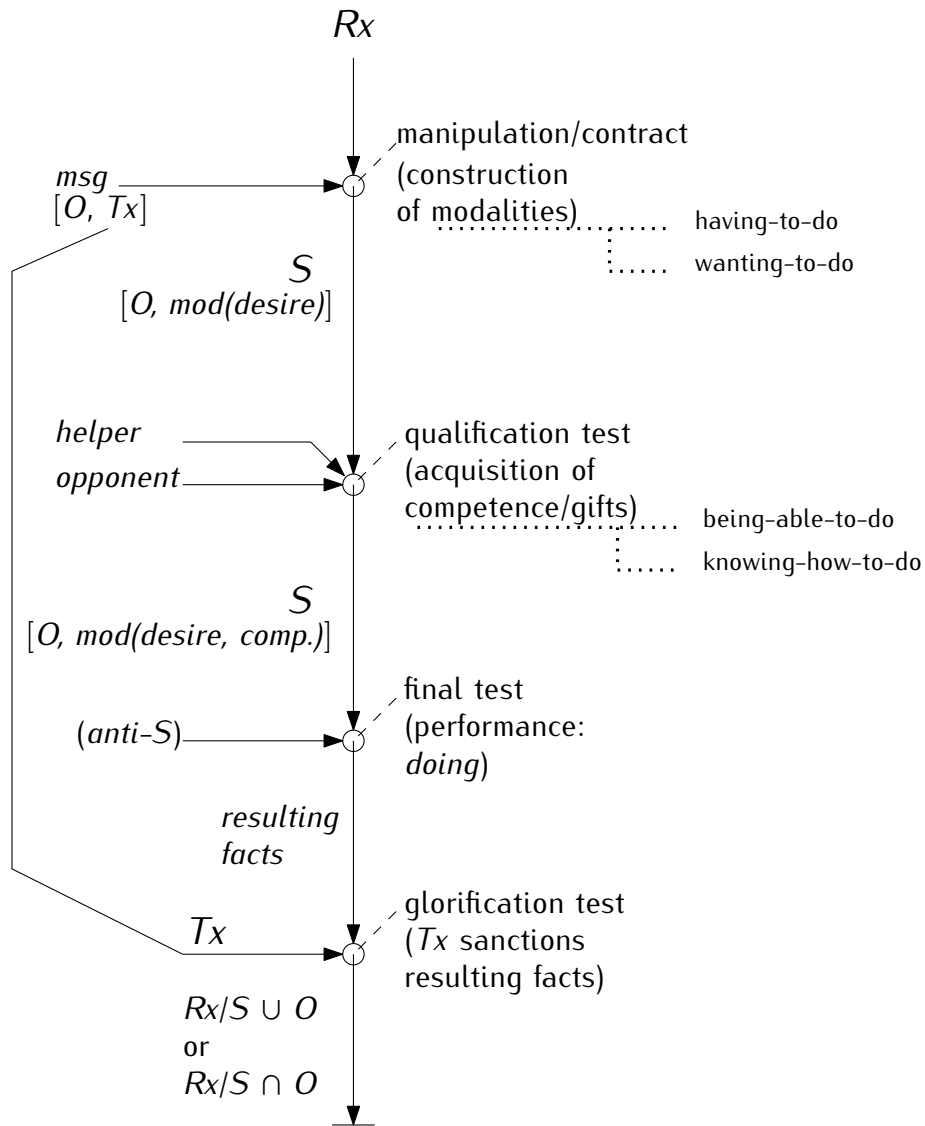


Figure 2.9 Processual representation of the actantial and canonical schemas articulated together into a single narrative schema for the representation of narrative and discourse. $S \cup O$ translates to “the subject is conjoined with the object” (desire fulfilled), and $S \cap O$ to “the subject is disjoined from the object”, desire is unfulfilled.

thus is conjoined with the object, he has acquired the being-able-to-do, the knowing-how-to-do, and he has gained a favorable sanction from the audience.

The narrative schema can also be applied to contrapuntos with a larger number of dancers. A good example is the contrapunto where two young boys dance with Aldo Borja, a renowned dancer and musician, and two young girls (Efa Tele Media, 2015)—for a detailed description of the performance refer to Section A.4. The contrapunto starts with a young man (*B1*) entering the stage immediately after the guitar sounds. He performs a round and is applauded by the audience, after which another young man (*B2*) that was on the back of the stage looking at *B1* takes the center and performs. Through gestures one understands that there is a dynamics of competition going on, and from the commentator saying “defienda las sedas, hermano!” [*protect your silks, brother!*] to *B1*. Until here we might say that an actantial schema is at play. The sender is the setting, the fact that the performance is a contrapunto which manipulates *B1* and *B2* as subjects into *having-to-do*; i.e., to dance respecting the alternation of the contrapunto, its ludus (see Section 2.4.4). *B1* and *B2* are each other’s helpers and opponents, they challenge the other requiring the other one to do more; to prove the *being-able-to-do*, the *knowing-how-to-do*, which is the object of desire, once again because of what the other did/is doing. One can interpret this dialectical process in the contrapunto as saying that after his first round *B1* was conjoined with the being-able-to-do after the audience’s applause. *B2*’s performance, however, which deserved an applause in the middle of the round, puts *B1* in a position of *defending*, that is, of regaining the conjunction with the object of desire. *B1* must prove itself once more.

This narrative schema between *B1* and *B2*, however, is interrupted by Aldo Borja when *B1* is taking the *saludo* steps to start a new round. Aldo’s apparition, walking suddenly from the right to the left side of the stage, taking off his coat, gathering both *B1* and *B2*, and cleaning his shoe on *B1* create humor and build tension. Aldo takes his time before starting his round, and he opens the round from an unusual position: a wide stance with parallel feet, knees bent and staring at the laughing audience. Aldo’s performance is brilliant. He has a different movement style, a theatricality and playfulness in his way of moving, and manages to surprise the audience performing a motif known as “the clock” where the support leg is bent at very low level and the stretched leg rotates clockwise underneath the support leg. The audience laughed and clapped louder at his round than it did before. Aldo’s performance starts a new narrative schema. The young men gather together and are about to start a common choreography when two female dancers appear on the stage from the left side, and displace the boys—one of them uses gestures of threat and stamps loud facing one of the boys. The girls perform a common choreography, after which the boys and girls perform all four a common choreography, and the girls and the boys exit in pairs with interlaced arms doing ‘the horse walk’ motif.

First of all, this performance is a good example of the interaction of *paidia* altering *ludus*, allowing the sudden apparition of actors on stage. Second, in his performance Aldo constitutes himself as an anti-subject. He is opposing the possible conjunction of the boys with the sanction by the audience of being-able-to-do. One of the boy's reaction as soon as Aldo finishes his performance could be read as an utterance of hopelessness. In this sense, the apparition of the female dancers on-stage restores balance. The boys no longer have to compete with Aldo nor 'defend' their competence. It is interesting that the female dancers are hostile to the boys before taking their round; they are not conjoined with their object yet, the being-able-to-dance and being-able-to-be sanctioned as competent. Once they are, they *ally* with the boys, and they all dance together. While the narrative of the performance started as a one-to-one rivalry, it ends in the format of a love story. This performance could actually be read metaphorically as a fairy tale where the presence of the powerful villain Aldo Borja unites the boys that were rivals, but it is only the intervention of the girls that rescues them. Another possible reading would be to view Aldo Borja as 'the fairy', i.e., a helper, that grants the boys the possibility of resolving their differences and being conjoined each with a female dancer.

Such readings are accessory to the semio-narrative method, more readings are surely possible. However, what the method has allowed us to identify is the impact of the presence of Aldo Borja, and how this breaks the narrative linking two different actantial schemas. This leads to a third remark about Aldo Borja's participation: it brings a *climax* into the performance. This is the result of various mechanisms articulated together. While the male and female dancers have the same costumes (black pants, black shoes and yellow shirts) he is wearing a suit with a tie and a white shirt, i.e., he has a contrasting appearance. Aldo masterfully creates suspense in slowing down the course of events: from the moment he prepares to take the center of the stage, taking time to take off his coat, gathering the boys only to make fun of them, then staring at the audience a moment before starting. This suspense is well followed by his graceful and virtuosic dancing which is enriched by funny gestures such as jumping rope or playful jumping-around to exit the stage. Thus we have another important remark: the *climax* is constituted retrospectively. That is, the moment of climax formulates a suspense/suspension, it stands for accumulated tension, and its resolution as unfolding of events changing the configuration of the narrative constitutes it as climax. Therefore, another reason for Aldo's performance being a climax is the way it ruptures what seemed to be a predictable narrative—a formal contrapunto between the boys—into different actantial schemas. In summary, it is by the joint intervention of contrast, suspense, performance and narrative rupture that the climax is brought about.



Figure 2.10 Aldo Borja's position to start his round (Efa Tele Media, 2015, 4:24).

2.5.1 Competence, convergence and projection

In a *contrapunto de zapateo*, and in dancing in general, space-time is not a regular Cartesian grid; it has asymmetries and undulations.¹⁶ It is in part structured by the music: the guitar motifs, the rhythm, the quality with which the motif is played, the tempo; as well as by the location of the guitar player. The location of any other bodies that are not that of the dancer, the microphones in the floor next to the dancer's feet, the physical shape of the venue, the energy that has been built up until that moment in the course of the dance event, structure the dancing space. All of these agents structuring the dancing space together determine the position of the *center of the stage*. In zapateo it is the center of the stage that is in dispute. Dancers take turns to occupy the center. The center is this 'good' or 'object' of desire circulating diachronically between the zapateadores. The one dancing may choose to first walk from the right side to the left side of the stage, to hesitate, but ultimately, the center of the stage becomes that point in physical space to which the dancers constantly return, or depart from. Such a point is also a point of maximum exchange. It is at the center of the stage that the body of the dancer becomes most visible, audible, maximally present, in this action of the dancer of projecting its dancing body towards all spectators.¹⁷ Thus at the center of the stage this force of projection exerted by the dancer to the (spectating) horizon, optimally encounters the force of convergence exerted by all spectators in the room towards the dancing body.¹⁸

Because it is a point of maximal exchange, the center of the stage can never be such without an ongoing dance. The ephemeral existence of the *contrapunto* begins with the first guitar strums. However, until the dance starts, the center of the stage is not yet established and the ephemeral discursive space of the *contrapunto* realization is empty.¹⁹ The first dancer begins to populate the discursive space with its dance movements and gestures, and gains the applause of the audience during or at the end of the round, thus being sanctioned as competent. The first dancer by the end of the round has 'gained territory', it has expanded the existence of the ephemeral discursive space compared to emptiness, its initial state.

¹⁶ Giurchescu remarks that although "theoretically, space refers to the structural geometrical qualities of a physical environment", "space is never an abstract ensemble of spatial coordinates and does not exist beyond humans, who fill it with life" (Giurchescu, 2014). Phenomenology views "temporality and spatiality" as "inherent structures of human consciousness-body" which are entrenched in our human "pre-reflective awareness" of ourselves, and therefore are epistemological prior to abstract views of 'real' ['objective'] time and 'real' ['objective'] space (Sheets, 1979, p. 15).

¹⁷ The term "spectator" is used instead of "audience" when referring to all of the other human beings attending the performance that are not the dancer. Thus it may include the dancers waiting for their turn, the other musicians taking part in the venue, the commentator and the audience.

¹⁸ The model presented in this section is somewhat inspired in Deleuze's lecture on Leibniz discussing the *point of view* (Marco, 2013; WebDeleuze, 2016).

¹⁹ The center of the stage for a *contrapunto* may be different than the center of the stage for the rest of the concert. This is especially true in a *peña*, where the audience may leave an empty physical space at the inside of the room for the dancers, while the musicians are placed on the back.

The format of the contrapunto, its *ludus*, is such that as the second dancer starts the round, the audience already has expectations. If it was enough for the first dancer in its first round to be competent by dancing and doing ‘as s/he did’, the second dancer must do differently, surprise, i.e., expand the boundaries of the discursive space further in order to deserve the audience’s applause. S/he can do so for example by using different motifs, by performing similar motifs with a different style, by using (different) gestures while performing. From my interview with Antonio and Percy I learned that every time the dancer takes a round s/he must ‘do differently’, taking care of not repeating him/herself, nor the other (Chinchilla and Vilchez, 2016). This act of differentiation is an act of expansion, an act that relocates the expectations of the spectator to the new boundaries of the ephemeral discursive space being created. Hence expectation increases with the expansion of the discursive space, and the dancer is exposed to the sanctioning not only of the audience, but also of its fellow dancer(s). A negative sanction by the audience implies indifference rather than hissing, while attention expresses the spectator’s involvement, its act of *being present* for the dancer. Looking at the ongoing dance is one form of presence, but other forms proper to the audience may be cheering, applauding or yelling. The fellow dancer awaiting its turn may manifest presence by attending staring at the dancer’s feet or face, or by using action-signs of opposition or reinforcement of the performance. Distracting the gaze of the audience from the dancing body is a form of action in opposition, it is bringing convergence towards oneself, while one awaits its turn to dance. To displace the dancer standing and waiting, dancing towards him and bumping his shoulder, or stomping right next to him, is another sign of opposition. Perhaps the most common forms of reinforcement between dancers are eye contact and smiling, reacting with gestures to the other’s performance and using verbal interjections such as “vamos ahí!” [*let’s go, keep it up!*]- ‘How’ the actors manifest presence to each other, the character and quality of the signs exchanged between them, affect the intensity and character of the forces of projection and convergence. They might lead to a deep focus of the spectator following a dancer’s every move, or to hilarious moments of collective laughter. The character and intensity that the contrapunto adopts is also contingent on the initial conditions, i.e., the setting, all those factors (pre-)structuring the space before the contrapunto realization started. In the contrapunto the accumulation of intensity is possible because of the existence of a point of convergence, the center of the stage. The fulfillment or overwhelming of expectation implies the expansion of the discursive space, and at the same time the increase of the force of convergence. Such an increase can be expressed as a louder cheering on behalf of the audience, or sustained clapping over long periods of time. This is likely to ‘inspire’ the dancer(s), which in its desire to perform at its best, of ‘doing competently’, will increase its force of projection, which results in a positive feedback mechanism.

The question is then, what regulates this mechanism? what prevents intensity from increasing indefinitely? Expectation can only be fulfilled temporally. While a fancy jump may surprise the audience, and its repetition lead to sustained applause, it is only a matter of time until repetition results uninteresting. Both repetition and high-intensity utterances from the audience (such as loud laughter) possess a temporality that marks cycles with its peaks (or climax) during the realization of a *contrapunto*. There are other mechanisms intrinsic to the *ludus*, such as the change of turn which interrupt ongoing action. Regardless of the dancers functioning as partners or rivals, expectation is always present as challenge is always present, and intensity of expectation is intensity of force of convergence. Without such a force there is no *contrapunto*.

The dynamics of the *contrapunto* can be construed as call-and-response for ‘doing’, where every response becomes a new call. The possibility of failure that the dancer faces at the start of each round is a challenge to be overcome (i.e., the possibility of not-being-able-to-do).²⁰ If a dancer is overwhelmed by the other’s competency, its command of gestures or virtuosity in the dance, then the discursive space of the dancer is subsumed, wrapped, in the other’s being-able-to-do. While it may take one turn of each dancer to determine who is dominant, who claims the territory—the ephemeral discursive space of the *contrapunto*—there may be *contrapuntos* where the rivals are even and each round is exciting, pushing each dancer to the limits of its abilities. Thus, in the *contrapunto*, competency is always at stake, and in this fact there is an intrinsic competition, activated by the continuous expectation of the audience, which grows with the expansion of the discursive space.

These reflections have a certain poetry in them as metaphors (see Figure 2.11), and in their character of metaphors they serve as models to describe a realization of *zapateo*. Applying the formal methods of semiotics to them takes us back to the start, to asserting that the competent *zapateador* is so in the modality *being-able-to-do* and/or *knowing-how-to-do*. As acknowledged before the audience is the sender/transmitter and is hence also the one who sanctions the dancer as being competent. However what our ‘poetic’ reflections have revealed regarding the pathemic configuration of competence in the *contrapunto* is that the audience *is also a subject*, and as such it has a desire, that of having its expectations fulfilled or overwhelmed. The possibility that the dancer overwhelms the expectations of the audience, that is, draws different reactions, already shows that in this case there are *degrees of conjunction*, i.e., conjunction is no longer a binary operation having disjunction as its logical contrary. In the acknowledgement of

²⁰ These dynamics are colorfully exemplified in the Peruvian expression “el que se pica pierde” [*she who gets pissed loses*]. In Peru it is common between children and teenagers to use unpleasant nicknames to refer to each other, or unpleasant expressions to describe the other, the challenge is then to be able respond making fun of the other one. As opposed to stand-up comedy in USA, in Peru most comedy shows feature several comedians sitting together and making fun of each other while they tell jokes.

the audience as a subject, one must then ask: who sends this subject on a quest? the performers, the occasion of the performance, and specifically, as soon as the contrapunto is announced, the zapateo dancers. It is only in the hands of the dancers to not-fulfill, fulfill or overwhelm expectations. Thus the dancer and the audience become reciprocal actantial subjects, each sending the other on a quest. It is up to the dancer to ensure the conjunction of the audience with its object (the fulfillment of expectations) and it is contingent on the audience that the subject is conjoined with its object of desire (dancing competently).

On the other hand, the sanctioning of competence *is always comparative*. It is constructed as a differentiation between the first dancer and the second one, and between the first one in ‘this’ round and what s/he did previously. The first solo round works as the initialization of the contrapunto realization as a semiotic system—the ephemeral discursive space is empty until the first round starts—and as such the first dancer Z_1 establishes a referent. Previously it was said that when Z_1 completes the first round and receives the favorable sanction, then Z_1 has ‘gained territory’. It is common in competitions and sports to hear expressions such as “this is *my* house!”, “this is *my* territory!”. The ‘metaphor’ of territory is actually not a metaphor, but there is a metonymic relation between the territory and the self: the territory stands for the self, as an extension of the self. This leads to a very important consideration: receiving the sanction of *being-able-to-do* has to do with being, not simply with doing. In this sense the narrative schema incorporates Greimas’s innovations in his *Semiotics of Passions* (Greimas and Fontanille, 1993), where actants are no longer purely ‘doers’, they have among their attributes shifting states of being. Thus the analysis includes pathemic configurations, as opposed to purely actantial ones.

A particular feature for the contrapunto as a practice in which the audience sanctions, is that one may say that the dancer is after two different objects that are inseparable, but that correspond to different stages. The ‘object in dispute’, the quest for the dancer/subject is the *being-able-to-do* and/or *knowing-have-to-do*, where ‘doing’ refers to dancing competently. However, ‘dancing competently’ is something the subject/dancer has to do in order to receive its sanction, but at the same time *being sanctioned as* dancing competently is what the subject/dancer is after. This situation arises from the fact that the contrapunto is staged, and therefore this pathemic configuration may be applicable to other ‘staged’ dances such as break dancing battles. An example to make the reader aware of the particularity of the configuration would be to have a fairy tale where the prince desired to marry the princess, but also desired to listen the king saying that he can marry her. While in this example, however, the final test and the glorification test appear as two processes separated in time, in the case of competence they take place simultaneously, consolidating ‘dancing competently’ as a single object of desire for the dancers. In fact, *being-able-to do* [dance competently] is associated to the following factors:

- *Being-able-to-‘dance uninterruptedly’* is a necessary but not sufficient condition. Dancer *X* must be able to complete his round once it starts. While dancer *Y* might interrupt *X* in the middle of the round, this is a hindrance (an actantial opponent) in *X*’s quest to dance competently, rather than something ‘helping’ *X* in his/her quest.
- *Dance-improvise fluently*: the dancer should be able to perform the motifs successfully whichever these may be. If the audience notices mistakes in the dance repeatedly, it is unlikely they will be enthusiastic about the performance. Another aspect is that the dancer has to be able to decide on the run which morphosequence should come next without taking a break to think. Improvisation happens in real time, and in zapateo it happens as the repetition, reordering and variation of morphokines (refer to Section C).
- *Virtuosity*: the performance of movements that require a high degree of skill or training and that appear as complex to the audience is always an asset for the dancer. Some dancers may even have their ‘trademarks’, motifs that typically only they know or are able to perform.
- *Surprise while dancing* is important, breaking with monotony, having moments in the dance where the spectator could not have predicted what was about to come. It is desirable that the morphosequences are different from those used in the previous round and from those used by the other dancer, which requires a wide repertoire of morphokines and improvisational dexterity. *Style* is also a means of surprising, which means adding certain movement qualities that distinguish a dancer from the others in the performance of the movements. These movement qualities are movements that are not part of the formal definition of the motif/morphokine/morphosequence being performed. A motif is fundamentally defined by the part of the foot or of the body that is used to produce the sound, and by the rhythmic pattern that characterizes the motif/morphokine/morphosequence—for a more detailed discussion refer to Section C in the Appendix. Another mechanism that may be associated with the style of a dancer is using gestures together with the dance, for example the ludic gestures discussed in Sections 2.4.3 and 2.4.4. Facial gestures—referred to by Fischer-Lichte (1992) as mimetic gestures—act reinforcing other bodily gestures towards a particular meaning and may also play an important role in surprising or framing surprise or play (i.e., at a metasemiotic level).

Being-able-to-do is always the fundamental modality in zapateo. However, the modality of *knowing-how-to-do* is present when a specific actor (the dancer) exerts control over other actors. The manipulating actor portrays itself as ‘knowing better’ what should be done at a certain time,

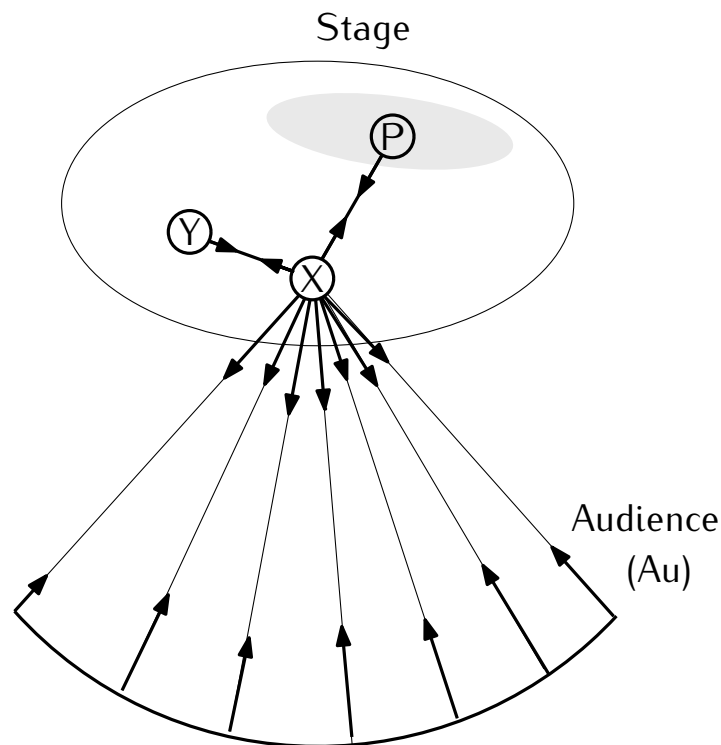


Figure 2.11 In the *contrapunto*, as in many other stage practices, the forces of convergence and projection are responsible for the existence and integration of the actors and their actions into one semiotic system. The center of the stage is represented as the point of convergence, which is also a point of maximum exchange: the possibility of maximum presence of the dancer for its spectators, and of the spectators for the dancer. *X* stands for the zapateador dancing, *Y* for the one awaiting its turn, *Au* for the audience, and *P* for other performers that may be on stage.

or how things should be done. That is to say that the modality *knowing-what-to-do* is associated with *knowing-how-to-do*. In his *contrapunto* with a female dancer (Expresión Latina, 2012), when his turn is about to start, Marcos Campos calls her to the center of the stage right beside him. First he mocks her dancing (the laughter of the audience is pronounced) and then makes a gesture for her to look at his feet as he begins to dance, i.e., “this is how it should be done, not like what you did”, thereby claiming that only he has the *knowing-how-to-do*.²¹ It is frequent for Marcos to shut the audience up in a *contrapunto* all of the sudden and then laugh about it, to which the audience reacts laughing. This telling-the-other-what-to-do is in the *contrapunto* the expression of the modality of *knowing-how-to-do*. The same principle is exemplified when a dancer indicates to the musicians to lower down the volume, or to play faster.

²¹ Marcos Campos, the son of Ronaldo Campos, founder of the prestigious dance-music-theater group *Perú Negro* (Feldman, 2006), took part in the group for many years together with his brother and current director of the group, Rony Campos, and is currently one of the most experienced and renowned musician and zapateo criollo dancer in Peru.

2.5.2 Pathemic-actantial configurations for the contrapunto

In Section 2.4.3, when discussing the figurative isotopy of action the timeline of the contrapunto was divided into the round as its main unit, the time right before starting a round, and the end of the round. The list of gestures was distributed into different semiotic squares (refer to Figures 2.2 to 2.4). Figure 2.12 encompasses all of these squares using the semiotic square in a logically distinct manner. There is a logical relation of *contradiction* between “attention” and “indifference”, where the former corresponds to an actor uttering bodily signs to communicate with other actors (e.g., when *Y* stares at *X*’s foot, when *X* smiles cockily at *Y* while performing a difficult motif, when *Y* mocks *X*’s ongoing dance, or when the audience breaks in laughter). Indifference therefore refers to the lack of such communicative signs. “Reinforcement” and “opposition” could be understood as the positive and negative poles of the semantic axis of “attention”.²² What Figure 2.12 illustrates are processes of a short time span; processes that consist of a an individual action, or short sequences of a few actions only. Narratives, are longer process in time. Table 2.4 shows how narratives are constructed by studying actantial schemas that have a time span of one or two rounds, while other actantial schemas become established relationships between the actors, and may span up to an entire contrapunto realization.

In the configuration of ‘doing together’ *X*1 and *X*2 are dancing simultaneously (as opposed to *X* dancing and *Y* awaiting). This is the case for example of the common choreography present at the end of every staged contrapunto. In this case both dancers want to *be-able-to-do*, and they are focused on the dance being carried out then. It is interesting that *only in this configuration* is challenge absent because the time and the actions of both dancers coincide. In his *Semiotics of Passions* (Greimas and Fontanille, 1993) Greimas discusses emulation and umbrage when studying the passion of jealousy. Emulation implies that a dancer *Y* has already danced a round and has gained the favorable sanction of the audience, i.e., *Y* is realized, conjoined with the object of ‘being competent’. Thus when it is *X*’s turn, *X* desires to perform, to *be-able-to-do* just as competently or more competently than *Y*. This implies that *X*’s actions are being carried out retrospectively, taking as their reference *Y*’s performance in a previous round. In the case of emulation *Y*’s position regarding *X*’s action is indeterminate, for *Y* is already conjoined with ‘being competent’. Umbrage is the converse of emulation. In the case of umbrage *Y* fears to be surpassed by *X*, and thus *Y* desires that *X* is *not able-to-do* and acts accordingly. In

²² This use of the semiotic square agrees with Schleifer’s understanding (Schleifer, 1987, p. 25–28). Schleifer postulates that the upper left and right vertices of the square are composed by the pair of contraries s_1 and s_2 , that the lower right vertex is given by the positive complex term ‘both s_1 and s_2 ’ while the lower left vertex is the negative complex term given by ‘neither s_1 nor s_2 ’. As an example Schleifer provides the square generated by the contrary relation of ‘black’ (s_1) and ‘white’ (s_2). Thus the positive complex term is ‘colourlessness’ (both s_1 and s_2) and the negative complex term is colourledness. In Figure 2.12 ‘attention’ is the positive complex term which includes both ‘reinforcement’ and ‘opposition’ (s_1 and s_2) in the sense of set theory ($s_1 \cup s_2$). Conversely, the negative complex ‘indifference’ excludes both s_1 and s_2 .

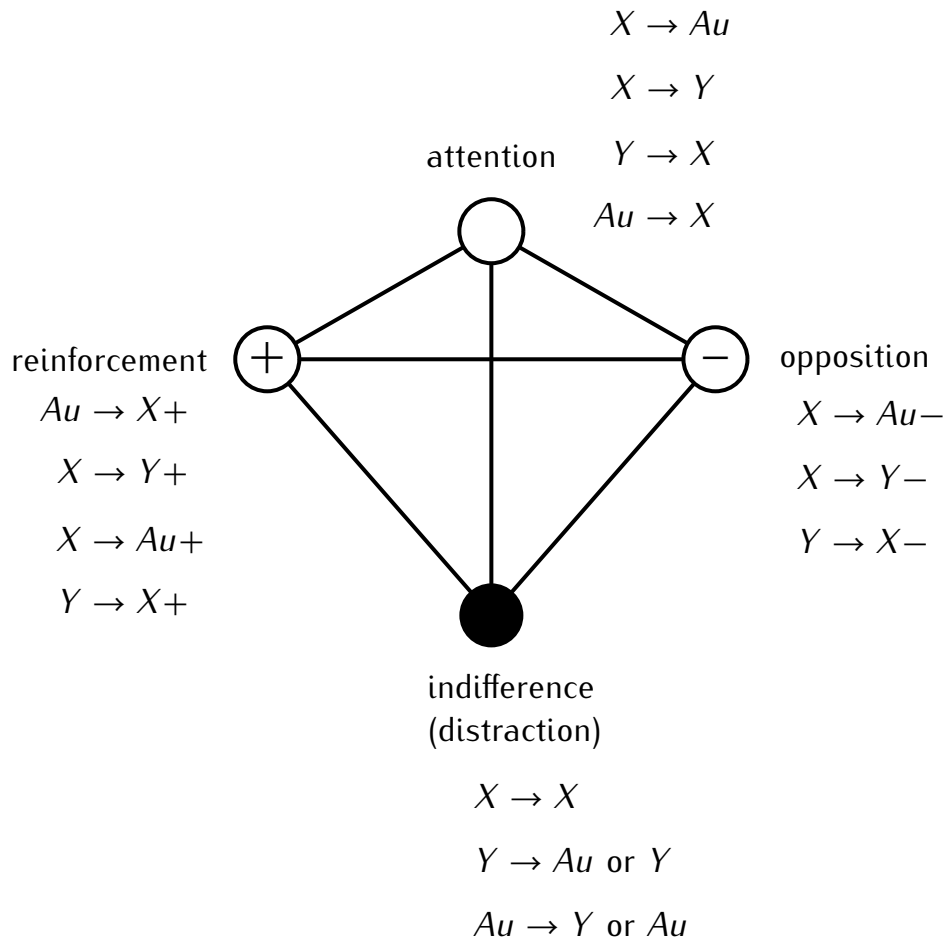


Figure 2.12 Semiotic square describing the short-span actions and processes described in the figurative isotopy of action (Section 2.4.3). The notation “ $A \rightarrow B$ ” should be read as “A projected to B”, or equivalently as “A communicating with B”.

Time span	Config.	Subject	Subject desires...	Projection in Time
1–2 rounds	Doing together	X1/X2	X1: being-able-to-do X2: being-able-to-do (only config. without challenge)	Present
	Emulation	X	X: being-able-to-do [as or better than Y] Y: Indeterminate (Y already realized)	Retrospective
	Umbrage	Y	X: not-being-able-to-do Y: being-able-to-do	Prospective
	Alliance (established at the start of the round)	Y	X: being-able-to-do [as or better than Y] Y sends X on a quest (X is doing on behalf of Y)	Prospective
1–2 rounds up to realization	Partnership	X	X: being-able-to-do [as Y did] Y: being-able-to-do	Retrospective
		Y	X: being-able-to-do Y: being-able-to-do [as X is doing]	Prospective
	Rivalry	X	X: being-able-to-do [as or better than Y] X communicates this to Y	Retrospective
		Y	X: being- and not being-able-to-do Y: being-able-to-do [as or better than X]	Prospective
	Dominance	X	X: being-able-to-do [better than Y] X: communicate this to Y (X: knowing-how-to-do [better than Y])	Retrospective
		Y	X: not being-able-to-do	Prospective
	Indifference	X/Y	X/Y: being-able-to-do X/Y is indifferent to Y/X Y/X is indifferent to X/Y indifference: no communication, no attention	Present (projection dissociated from Y/X)

Table 2.4 Actantial pathemic configurations for time spans including a few rounds up to a contrapunto realization. The configurations take as actants the person dancing X and the dancer Y awaiting for its turn.

some performances we have that one of the dancers encourages the one about to dance before the round starts establishing an *alliance*. In this case *Y* is sending *X* in the quest of being competent on behalf both of *X* and *Y*. Thus the sender *Y* prospectively envisions and desires *X*'s competent performance, and encourages *X* along the way. This is what Cecilia Barraza does (Barrazita Producciones, 2015, 6:05) for example, when she expresses her frustration when she has to dance against a dancer much taller and skillful than she is (Figure 2.13). The black dancers were celebrating the victory of the tall dancer, when suddenly Cecilia whistles calling for help, she disappears on the right side of the stage and reenters dancing together with a group of kids come. She talks to the first one before he starts dancing, and enthusiastically applauds all of them as they dance. By means of sudden alliances, the narrative presents the oppositions of tall–short concurring to demonstrate competence in a comical and tender way.

There are other configurations that may have the duration of one or several rounds or up to the entire realization. Because of their longer time span such configurations tend to be more stable, and it usually takes an unexpected event to move into another configuration²³ The contrapunto I recorded between Percy and Antonio (Medina, 2016) is a good example of the configuration of *partnership* all along. In the case of partnership both *X* and *Y* wish the other to be competent and support the other's performance actively. Nevertheless, is still there because of the principle that *competence is always differential*, i.e., measured in relation to previous actions, as was explained in Section 2.5.1. The configuration of rivalry combines the smaller time span configurations of emulation and umbrage. Rivalry implies reciprocity, for it requires the active participation of *X* and *Y*, in semiotic terms, a contract that may be implicit or explicit. In Caitro and Pititi's contrapunto (AcuarelaCriolla, 2009c), for example, such contract is 'signed' at the moment after they dance together, each from their side, towards the center of the stage. They shake hands and then they turn their back on the other with a marked hand gesture (ibid., 00:26). When there is rivalry *X* desires to be able to do as good or better than *Y* did (prospective projection in time), and through gestures he communicates this to *Y*. As *X* dances, *Y* may desire *X* to be competent, raising a challenge, but not as competent as *Y* was, not so competent that *Y* may be overcome by *X*. Thus there is a combination of desiring both *X*'s *being-able-to-do* and its logical contradictory. While in the configurations of partnership and rivalry the dancers tend to establish an equilibrium—which does not preclude the possibility of one being more competent than the other—the configuration of dominance explicitly seeks for imbalance: one of the dancer wishes to dominate over the other (to 'claim the territory'). Thus if *X* is the one seeking to be dominant, s/he is not satisfied with being *as competent as Y*, but rather wants to *be-able-to-do* better than *Y*, and communicates such intentions through *Y*. In

²³ In the example discussed before (p. 49) featuring Aldo Borja (Efa Tele Media, 2015), his apparition was an event that dissolved the rivalry of the two boys and in the end joined them with the two female dancers.



Figure 2.13 Cecilia Barraza, at first intimidated when having to dance against a tall black dancer, calls little children as her reinforcement, and after all of them dance celebrates victory. (Print screen from Barrazita Producciones, 2015.)

the act of communicating the *knowing-how-to-do* is involved. In an example mentioned before (Expresión Latina, 2012), Marcos Campos deliberately calls the female dancer to show her first what she did, mocking her, and then showing what should be done. Even when the woman was dancing Marcos was imitating her or uttering gestures of opposition. As the one seeking for dominance awaits for its turn, it desires *X not being-able-to-do*. The last configuration would be that of indifference, where the dancers are only concerned on doing competently themselves, without taking the other into account. This is the case, for example, in the performance of Pierre Padilla with a fellow dancer (Jorge Perez Guzman, 2013).

A final matter to discuss before moving onto the deeper level is to which extent the actantial configurations are actually passions. Greimas's study of passions was constructed taking as its object of study literary works, where the omniscient narrator explains the passion, for example, jealousy, that a certain actor is feeling. The contrapunto is a performance, and in addition it is wrapped in play. I have until now argued that partnership, rivalry, indifference and dominance in the sense that they are not states of a purely 'acting actant', but also properties of an actant's being, are passions. To address the question of whether a dancer is 'truly' undergoing a passion in the unfolding of a contrapunto, the distinction of *enunciating subject* as opposed to *subject of the utterance* is most useful (Mosès, 2001).²⁴ The enunciating subject is related to the ego, it is a subject of which we have no trace from a single utterance. For example, we find a piece of paper in the street that says "I am hungry", and this tells us nothing about the person who actually wrote that sentence. The paper does tell us something however about the subject of the utterance, and the only thing it says is that this subject is hungry. Thus the subject of the utterance is the subject as made explicit by (a finite) discourse. In the case of the contrapunto we have the human being that is dancing for an audience, a human being that existed before and will exist after the venue is over, i.e., the enunciating subject, and the dancer as performer, the character that appears in front of the audience as funny, or skilfull, or competent—the subject of the utterance. A further distinction which reconciles the two is that of *persona* (Auslander, 2012). That is, a person making a living as a professional performer has a reputation to take care of—e.g., at the end of the concert Michael Jackson was still a public figure—. In the contrapunto, challenge is present for the enunciating subject, the ego, as a persona, just as it is

²⁴ Emile Benveniste established *enunciation* as an act of appropriation of language by a subject (Benveniste, 1977; Mosès, 2001). Taking Benveniste's theories as a basis, Lacan established the distinction between the *sujet de l'énonciation*—typically translated as "subject of the enunciation", but translated by myself as "the enunciating subject", which accords better with the expression in French—and the *sujet de l'énoncé*, i.e., the subject of the utterance (Cassin et al., 2014, p. 463). The subject of the utterance "is the subject in the proposition, that is, the actor in the act", while the enunciating subject "is the subject that sequences the series of signifiers" (Ortiz-Osés and Lanceros, 2006, p. 611), the one that 'calls forth' the subject of the utterance in the discourse (Dor, 2013, p. 152). Thus "the subject of the utterance performs a semantic function" (Ortiz-Osés and Lanceros, 2006, p. 611) while the enunciating subject corresponds to the "subject of the unconscious", i.e., "the subject of desire" (Dor, 2013, p. 152).

for the subject of the utterance in the possibility of *not being-able-to-do*. Because unlike in the case of the piece of paper, in the contrapunto both subjects live the same body, being declared incompetent is something that concerns both subjects. This already sets a possible future work, which would be the study of the enunciating subject, the ‘human being–dancer’, to understand how a dancer manages its passions and emotions while performing, or what are the different mindsets that dancers may have in a contrapunto.

Chapter 3

Amarre Último:

Semiotic Pyramid and New Questions

We shall never cease from exploration
and the end of all our exploring will be to
arrive where we started and know the
place for the first time.

—*T. S. Eliot*

3.1 Reformulating the deep level

The initial research question that was the driving force for this research was: “how does the tension competition–collaboration between the dancers structure the dance realization?”. The goal of this work has been to systematically answer this question by means of Greimasian semiotics and the articulation of the different semiotic levels—surface, semio-narrative and deep—in the generative trajectory. In the surface level the figurative isotopies of time, space and action were analyzed in detail providing several examples from online video recordings. The action processes occurring through the contrapunto in different time spans, ranging from short-duration actions up to an entire realization, have been systematized using the modalization of competence. An important result of the semiotic method is the explanation of the interaction between all actors, i.e., the functioning of the ‘contrapunto system’ as a semiotic system, through the model of the exchange of forces of projection and convergence between the dancing bodies and the spectators, which may include the audience, musicians and fellow dancers, accounting also for different intensities in their action-sign exchange. The analysis of the short-time processes which were synthesized in the semiotic square in Figure 2.12, and the

actantial schemas in Table 2.4 allow us to understand that gestures of communication/interaction (gestures of ‘projection to the other’) play a vital part in the shaping of narratives in the contrapunto.

From these pathemic actantial schemas the deep level may be reformulated by means of the semiotic pyramid shown in Figure 3.1.¹ The pyramid is constituted by two logical contradictories: alternation—*other does, self does*, encompassing the entire semiotic square at the base of the pyramid—and synchronicity as common choreography (*doing the same together*, top vertex of the pyramid). The semes of partnership–rivalry–dominance stand in contrary relation to each other (black vertices in Figure 3.1). Rivalry may be regarded as an intermediate state between partnership and dominance because, while being a relation of opposition unlike partnership, it requires balance in the competence of the dancers. An unbalanced relation of opposition results on the dominance of a dancer over the other. These three semes are characterized by interaction between the dancers, i.e., *to do interacting with the other*, which is contradictory to indifference, i.e., *to do not interacting with the other*. Note that ‘indifference’ refers to a dancer’s relation to another dancer, but in the contrapunto in all of the five states the dancer is projected towards the audience. As discussed before, challenge is related to competence as the risk of *not-being-able-to-do* and of *having-to-do* differently. Thus challenge is present in the four states of the base of the pyramid. The common choreography, located at the apex (highest vertex of the pyramid), in the sense of ‘doing together’ is the only case in which challenge as response *is not present*, for there is no improvisation (the choreography was agreed upon before hand), and ‘doing the same together’ dissolves the self–other relation into a ‘we’. There is only a weaker sense of competence, which is performing the choreography correctly.

3.2 Contributions

This work has presented a myriad of models that may be regarded in different extents as contributions to a field of knowledge:

- *Application of Greimas’s generative trajectory*: at the time of writing and to the best of my knowledge, this is first time that Greimas’s system of the generative trajectory is applied in its full depth to dance.

¹ A semiotic square for competition–collaboration was presented in Appendix D. Comparing the semiotic pyramid in Figure 3.1 with this square, yields that ‘no interaction’ maps in the pyramid to ‘indifference’, ‘collaboration’ to ‘synchronicity’ (doing the same movement together), and ‘competition’ to either ‘rivalry’ or ‘dominance’, while ‘not-competition’ corresponds to ‘partnership’.

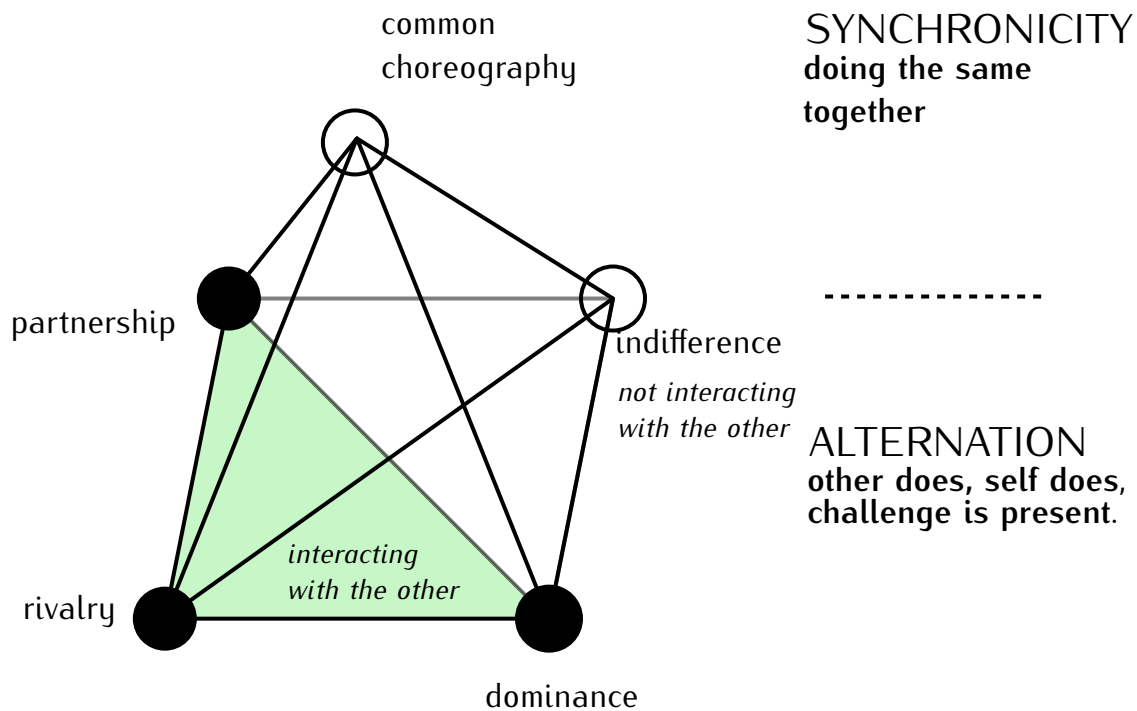


Figure 3.1 A semiotic pyramid (as opposed to square) resulting from the actantial processes spanning a few rounds up to an entire realization (Table 2.4). This pyramid substitutes the initial pair of contraries ‘competition’–‘collaboration’.

- *Process and sign*: based on the processual view of the sign argued for by Stables (2016), I applied a model of process widely used in engineering (mathematics, signal processing and control theory) which consists of input–function–output commonly referred to as the *transfer function* (Farhang-Boroujeny, 2013; Leigh, 2004). Using this model I united the canonical schema—consisting of contract, qualification test, final test, glorification test—with Greimas’s actantial model (sender–receiver, subject–object, helper–opponent) as shown in Figure 2.9. Greimas’s schema can thereby be construed as three processes (transfer functions) plus a comparison operation/process (the sanction). Since systems consisting of very complex concatenations of transfer functions and comparison operations in engineering are already well understood, at the level of speculation, it can be that the transfer function model of a process, which is even smaller than Greimas’s schema, is useful for example for performances with more complex narratives than conventional fairy tales. It would be interesting if the processual view of the sign can in fact lead to other models that may be suitable for the analysis of other semiotic systems.

- *Modalization of competence and challenge*: this work, taking the case of the *contrapunto*, has presented modalized forms for competence and challenge that I believe most likely apply to other dances. In fact, the *contrapunto* in Peru is in general understood as *alternation*, and similar dynamics to the *contrapunto de zapateo* are present for example in Peruvian poetry (the *cumananas*). Another possible dance, though this would require further research, would be break dancing.
- *A model of projection and convergence*, related to the concept of ‘center of the stage’ (Figure 2.11) and inspired by Deleuze’s lectures on Leibniz,² was used to account for the various interactions (actions and utterances) between the different actors in the *contrapunto*. I do not have enough command of the literature to say to which degree it is original, or to which extent other such models have been elaborated before. I do believe though, after talking with Esperanza Medina, a specialist in education, that the model applies not only to the intensities and qualities of interaction in stage practices, but also to other settings such as a classroom (i.e., within the field of education). It might be that similar models are achieved by means of the semiotic concept of *tensivity* that will be discussed later on.
- *Play* encompasses a vast intersection of fields. My understanding of play in this dissertation is based on Callois distinction between *ludus* and *paidia* (Figure 2.8). Because the structure of the *contrapunto* is never fully disrupted, these become two opposite poles, or pairs of contraries: *ludus* and *ludus-paidia*. This account is influenced by Bateson’s ideas of play (2004) as well as Greimas’s reflections on ludic gestuality (Greimas, 1987). I do believe that the model is applicable to other dances, though it can be enriched with a thorough revision of literature from anthropology, performance studies and philosophy. I am particularly interested in the relation between speech act theory and gestuality (Austin, 1975; Cooren, 2000; Searle, 1969), as well as the ontology of play (Fink, 1960).
- *Morphosequence*: although included as an Appendix, Section C, there is a potential in the concept of morphosequence as a larger unit generated not from motifs, but from two or three *morphokines*. This accounted for the applause a dancer may receive when one of the morphokines in the sequence is repeated several times consecutively. Structural analysis as part of the aesthetics of the dance is situated within the surface level of discourse, and it remains a future project—very valuable in terms of heritage—to notate, categorize and provide a detailed musical and choreological description of the structure and aesthetics

² Deleuze’s lecture was consulted online (Marco, 2013), though it is also available transcribed in French (WebDeleuze, 2016).

of zapateo. Describing and notating the use of the upper body, which reflects the dancer's style or *sabor*, could be particularly interesting and challenging.

There is certainly potential for future work in the sense of applying semiotics to different dance forms and genres. There is a strong school of post-Greimasian semiotics well represented by Greimas's co-author and student, Fontainille (2006), who together with Zilberberg developed the concept of *tensivity* to account for intensity versus extensity in a semiotic system (Zilberberg, n.d.). Fontainille released in 2015 *Corps et Sense* [Body and the Senses] (Fontainille, 2015), which may be relevant for dance studies. Deleuze has much to offer to the understanding of the sign with his concept of 'regime of signs' (Deleuze, 1987, 1994) as well as his semiotics of cinema (Deleuze, 1986, 1989).

It remains as a future project to devote an entire publication to the exclusive study of gestures as belonging to the surface level, understanding them for example according to Peirce's categories of the sign (1998) or according to the extension of these categories presented by Umberto Eco (1986; 2000*b*). In this regard comes the acknowledgment of a limitation of the current study. My description of the gestures at the time being is based on 'verbal translations' trying to explain the sense in which the gestures are used. The fact that the dancers have not really considered gestures before as part of the dance, or as knowledge in itself, gives this work a value as promoting a different heritage; a value that would be greatly enhanced if it were possible to (1) notate these gestures using some movement notation system such as Kinetography Laban, and (2) create a video inventory where there exists many video clips, only a few seconds long, with samples of the gestures and dance moves (morphokines/morphosequences) by different performers, that are cross-referenced with the longer video in which the gesture or dance move was used. Another exciting study could be that of the Ego when the dancer is confronted with a challenge situation. That is, to which extent is rivalry or dominance simulated as playful, and to which extent is it operating in the deep levels of the ego? This would certainly require more fieldwork and longer stays, with a method informed by phenomenology and psychoanalysis.

"We shall never cease from exploration", says T. S. Elliot. Where have we arrived? to a deep structure, a pyramid somehow related to the original opposition: competition–collaboration. "Was all of the analysis in Chapter 2 really necessary to find such a simple structure?", the reader may ask, in which case I reply: "none of the terms that compose that structure (e.g., rivalry, dominance, etc.) would mean anything if we had not first defined all that is in the surface. The deep structure does not pre-exist nor generate the surface level (of discourse). Depth and surface are rather leading us on continuous voyages up and down, interacting with each other, in time and semiotic space. We have explored, we found a pyramid. It projects the search to further epistemological horizons.

Chapter 4

El Cierre:

Closing the Round Before the Next One Starts

Contrapunto de zapateo, the dance of the shiny black shoes; in motion, in alternation:
one dancer then the other,
one dancer then the other,
then
together.

Contrapunto de zapateo, a dance proper to the *jarana*. The *contrapunto*, a present perhaps tending to become a past.

—Ah, you don't see that anymore these days.

—Where to find it then?

—In a *peña* perhaps, in gatherings of dancers themselves, in a public concert, in a television show hosting a dance group . . . But why do you care about the *contrapunto* anyway, when today you can fuse *landó*, *zamacueca*, *festejo* and *zapateo* with break dancing. It looks so cool, like *America's Got Talent*. Well Peru's got talent too!

—I shall answer you like this. A *contrapunto* is about the gesture as much as it is about the dance. Gestures permeate many Peruvian dances, gestures are present in the way we tell jokes. We use gestures when we mock each other in the same way we call each other names—*gordo*, *flaco*, *narigón*, *negro* [fatty, skinny, big nose, blacky]—in the way we flirt when we dance: with the gaze, coming close but not touching, insinuating without verbalizing, smiling, pretending that we fight and then laughing.

—You mean to say that these gestures are our heritage, for they tell us something about

who we are . . .

Proclamation of faith

—And we are not without the other. The *contrapunto* is about encountering the other, and this will always bring upon a challenge.

—Challenge as having to find an answer, as having to find something to do, how to act.

—Challenge as fear of meeting you, for I do not know who you are.

—Alterity shall always be present in alternation, together with challenge.

—Yes, competing is a mode of encounter . . .

—But seeking to win is to do for oneself. There is nothing left in between . . .

—Second winner first loser.

—One, the trophy.

—To kill, or to be killed, an ironical resemblance to colonialism.

—Doing together, instead, adding a common choreography, is in itself a . . .

—A gesture. It opens up a different way of *encuentro*, encounter, with he or she whom before was only an opponent.

—It even removes challenge. What remains then is to synchronize with the other, to unite in order to *do together*, in time and action.

—The *contrapunto* thus is an encounter through signs, through dance.

—Of encountering who? who is this other?

—The audience, the other dancer, the society, one self.

The Revival was about restoring a dignity to being black in Peru, a country still ill from racism. Staging the *contrapunto* brought about a way of playing, and a dance selects what it admits as humorous or playful.

—Now we can laugh together when you clean your shoes in my pants, even though I might have experienced that very same thing in real life.

—We reflect and distance ourselves of violence as we laugh.

—The *contrapunto*, then, does not only speak for black people.

—In the act of finding our own voice

—Their own voice

—Our own rhythm

—Their own rhythm, a rhythm that is mine too . . .

TOGETHER:

—... Our black, white, colorful bodies

—We have made poetry.

—In the contrapunto, we poeticize in dance, in gesture, what this country and its people have had to go through, what it is now, and what it one day can be.

The entire form of this work resembles that of a round in the contrapunto. The form of dialog, in turn, resembles what I believe lays at its core, after all these years involved with the dance, after the lengthy semiotic analysis the reader has accompanied me through. The contrapunto is not about competition—collaboration, which was an intuitive guess, a pertinent one. It is rather about encountering alterity through alternation.

Encounter with alterity takes multiple forms—partnership, rivalry, dominance or indifference to the other dancer—and the spectating body is always involved. Alterity and alternation are profoundly linked to challenge, in the need to prove oneself competent, and in the possibility of ‘not being able to do’, to respond, to act.

Play is present in the use of gestures, in the narratives of the dance, and play thus leads to a different involvement with the other. Because the contrapunto *on stage* is also permeated by play, there is a component of ‘doing as amusement’, ‘playing with the other’, rather than doing only for the sake of purpose, ‘doing to win over the other’.

If alternation is history, the search and the quest, doing together shall be, as Elliot says, “knowing the place for the first time”.

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Appendix A

Detailed Description of Video Recordings of Zapateo

The following conventions and abbreviations apply to the description of videos being analyzed.

Spatial reference:

to locate actors in the horizontal axis (i.e., the X axis) I use the following conventions

L Au: $x=-1$ (approx. furthest position in the stage to the left side from the center)

C: $x=0$ (center of the stage)

R Au $x=+1$ (furthest pos. available to R from the center)

Conventions:

"theatrical walk": walking in some exaggerated manner, i.e., adding some 'theatricality' to walking.

"saludo": three greeting steps most often deployed to start a round. "Zazapam" is an onomatopoeic reference to the saludo.

"redoble": "brrrr..." sustained sound.

Produced by ball-heel contacts with the floor.

"INTERP.": interpretation

"pos.": position

"dir.": direction

t0: starting time

x0: starting position

xf: final position

"trecillos": triplets

X: the one that is dancing

Y: the one 'waiting' for its turn while X dances

Z: a zapateo dancer

A.1 Lalo Izquierdo and female dancer

Lalo Izquierdo with unknown female dancer (Pedro Luis Juliin Manrique Medrano, 2012).

ACTORS

Lalo Izquierdo (La)

Unknown female dancer (W)

SETTING

Stage

part of a concert of Afro-Peruvian music

you can see different wooden drums and cajones.

Before starting to do zapateo, Lalo stands up from a cajon.

Lalo sitting in a cajon at the center of the stage

Surrounded by (L to R Au)

2 guitarrists

1 drummer

1 drummer

Lalo

3 cajones

DESCRIPTION

00:00

Walks to R Au

touches his nose

tucks his shirt in his pants

00:07

Walks ('acting', 'comically') towards the center of the stage:

flat feet

whole foot contacts the floor at the same t

no slow weight transfer from heel to ball of foot

steps on the beat (or close)
elbows bent while walking
approx. 90 deg

00:13 saludo: 3 greeting steps (zazapam)
continuation of the walking steps

00:15 starts dancing
dancing: arms relaxed
hands held mostly at chest or stomach level

00:33
gesture: squeezing foot
R step backwards,
L heel with stretched knee against the floor,
shaking of L foot (keeping previous position)
gaze: not directly front Au, but to diagonal R FWD from Lalo's
perspective
(head at middle level, i.e., neither tucked nor staring
towards ceiling)
Au: laughs
gesture starts at 00:33
Au laughs at 00:34.5
gesture canceled by step with left foot at 00:37

00:38 New dancer W comes in
Lalo stares at R Au
horse walk (motif): audible zapateo from another dancer, dancer
not seen

00:40 dancer appears on camera
crosses R Au part of semicircle formed by musicians on stage

00:43
W goes around La
La is at the center (horizontal axes, Au)
W started from R Au -> moves to L Au from the center, close
to La, around La
the R Au she with hors
La: trunk FWD high, head: staring at dancer's feet
when W moves around him he turns his head trying to
follow her steps

00:45 W displaces La

W: horsewalk -> 'brrrrr' sound
 x0: close to La, (at his R)
 xf: tight to La (at his R)
 stops 0.5sec

00:47 W contacts La's R shoulder with her L shoulder
 (pushing him away from the center of the stage)

La is destabilized

short quick steps (as if tripping)

La takes steps towards musicians looking at them
 i.e., La moves away from Au in depth

00:51 W starting her round

[La walks FWD in depth, positions himself in same horizontal line
 in depth as W]

[W takes first saludo]

W is at center, La is R Au

La: trunk FWD high, hands in his waits, gaze: to her feet

00:55 La from staring at her feet->straighten trunk, face towards
 Au, 00:56 La back to previous pos: staring at her feet

W gaze low as she dances

00:57 W gazes towards La an instant, then gaze back towards her
 own feet

01:01 W takes a closing-like redoble: sound:"patam, patam,
 praprapam".

in the 1st tam: gaze still low but towards her R foot instead
 of center, then back to center (or L foot)

01:08 triplets:

W: L hand on L side of hip, R arm fistted, slightly bent, R
 wrist moved in circles with the triplets
 circling on the spot anticlockwise

01:10 La raises trunk slightly (towards high level),
 stares at Au

L hand on his L hip

R hand to his front: rotates rist

interp: "mas o meenos" ("more or less")

nods his head from side to side

01:13 Au laughs
La: trunk still facing front (towards Au), gaze on womans
foot

01:13 W: towards La, decenter him to end her round
W: ended anticlockwise rotating from triplets facing R Au
i.e., facing La
takes steps towards La
La: staring at her feet

01:19 W: positions herself exactly in front of La
hiding La from the Au

01:20 hands in her hips,
sticks bum to the back
La: reacts (interp: as if surprised)
sudden movement of arms away from his feet
La: walks from R Au towards center,
W: walks in front of him in depth
then to back L Au

01:24 La: gesture: "mas o menos" ("more or less")
L arm stretched neutral pos.
R arm bent 90 deg, hand at middle level
hand rotation (interp: "mas o menos")

01:26 laughter of Au

01:29 Lalo's 'cowboy walk'
L arm stiff, L leg moves less in stepping
R leg is loose, R arm is waved to FWD low+ with bent elbow in the
corresponding steps

01:30 walking stopped abruptly
La turns his head and trunk towards W
gaze towards her
W is looking at La too
double support, legs more than shoulder wide apart

01:31 from wide support to feet shoulder width apart
body towards her

01:33 La faces public, tucks shirt in pants
immeditaly after starts dancing

POS: W La

|----- C -----|

(C: center of stage)

01:51 takaka takaka praprapam, zaza

01:52 "" : comic version

in redoble (praprapam) arms cadence into an unusual (comical) position:

unusual hand and arm position

elbows strongly bent (30deg Angle arm-forearm)

wrists bent

hands at chest level, fingers facing towards Au

slight rotation of head towards the left, and then head

back facing Au again

01:55 "": second rep of comic version

Au: laughs

laughter intensifies in 01:56 after 2nd rep of comic version.

01:58 La: airplane

preparation

R leg stomp in front of L leg

R leg in line with L leg

arms open (like airplane wings)

torso FWD high (bending FWD)

rotation

pa,papapa,pa,kum,pakuku,

R leg -----|-- taco swing-|

taco swing

02:03 La: ending pos (end of round)

L leg slightly bent towards Au

R leg shaping an "L" respect to L leg

R foot not towards La's front but towards La's R side

i.e., towards W

torso: towards W

FWD high

arms:

R arm bent 90deg, fingers stretched

hand at height of stomach

L arm bent, height BKWD middle level (palm facing ceiling)
pos held until 02:05
rotates out of pos., still holding the arms and pos. of supports
until 02:06
Au starts clapping 1.5 secs after ending pos (02:04.5)
02:06 W walks facing La (from L Au to C) clapping hands
02:08 W comes very close to L (horizontal axis)
then W walks towards C horizontal axis
La: facing W takes 2 steps back towards R Au (away from C)
hands on his waist (palms towards ceiling)
tucks shirt in
02:09 W: starts new round
POS: W: center (x=0), La: x=0.5
saludo x2
02:14 W: motif "Manos Porfirio",
La: facing towards W (L Au)
hands behind his back
torso: FWD high (bent FWD)
gaze: toward W's feet
W: gaze at her feet
accent sequence: sound:"kupa,papa, kupam".
gazes at R foot, then at L foot
02:24 W gazes at La, then back to feet
02:29 La: standing with feet shoulder width apart, hips towards
Au, torso towards W, gaze towards Ws feet
02:35 W starts redoble towards La, facing the Au, gaze towards
floor, to her diagonal left
as she comes to maximum proximity to La, La bends torso
further down
INTERP: as if staring at her feet with even more attention
02:41 W takes 2 stomps and bends torso FWD in R Au diagonal,
R foot in front,
R arm bent 90 deg, forearm at FWD low level (i.e., raised
between stomach and chest height as dancer is bent)
head of W very close to head of La
INTERP: W invades the space of La, almost clashing with La

02:42: La's reaction is to immediately stand in 2nd pos with arms in neutral pos. staring at her

W waves L arm bending at towards teh ceiling

INTERP: fiiiira de aca, or toma!

"take that", "get out of here", contempt

W starts walking away from La towards L Au, giving her back to La

02:46 W and La circle each other

OBS! Guitar uses a new motif for this part exclusively!!!

D (F D) (F Db) (C E),

W walks from L Au towards R Au

curved path (displacement also in Y-axis: from middle to front of audience back to middle) and La starts walking towards C.

W and La: circle each other 3 times, with pauses in between,

La: theatrical walk

either arms bent almost 90 deg while walking

or while La gazes at W as they circle each other La has straight L arm, and L arm is tight into the body

W: smile to La

03:02 start of common choreography

POS:

zazapam

Lalo's choreography

03:41 end of choreography

La: L Au -0.1

W: R Au +0.1

i.e., both close to the center

2nd pos with wide stance, knees bent ,

hand straight, staring directly at the Au

torso high slightly FWD (e.g. 75 deg)

Au: claps

03:42 La: turns head towards W, gazes at Ws face

03:44 quick gesture with L arm (closest to W)

INTERP: "te pego" ("i hit you")

W: moves her R arm (as if protecting)

--- both horse walk in circles

La: theatrical horse walk (arms)

--- La exits stage through L Au, W through R Au

A.2 Lalo Izquierdo and “Perico” Casanova.

Lalo Izquierdo dances with “Perico” Casanova at an event in Florida-USA arranged by *losperuanos.com* (losperuanos, 2009).

ACTORS

Lalo Izquierdo (LA)

Perico Casanova (C)

SETTING

stage: part of a concert including Huevito Lobaton
arranged by losperuanos.com

from the website they are based in Florida, USA.

Lalo also makes a reference in his introduction: "para los
extranjeros que no saben que son tabas"

("for the foreigners who don't know what 'tabas' are")

L Au side:

1 guitar player (playing for zapateo)

1 sitting down with scores

R Au side:

1 bass player

two big photos hanged from the curtain at the back of the stage
no costumes

ACTIONS

3:38 LA and C dance together

POS: LA $x=-0.2$ (L Au side, close to center of stage), C $x=+0.2$ (R
Au side, close to center of stage)

horsewalk on spot

POS: symmetrical respect to center

AND close to center

LA: -0.1 , C: $+0.1$

LA takes a funny step away from center

towards L Au (the side at which he was)

funny step: abrupt,

high acceleration in bringing the stepping leg forward + torso tilts back with same accel.

THEN normal speed in taking support with this leg.

rigid upper body

3:52 C starts his round

POS: LA at L Au border (where he started at t0)

LA stands and gazes at Cs feet

R hand in his waist

L arm taking support in some object

4:11 Au applauds when C takes the "twist step" (contrakinesis)

"eese ...!" ("yeees!")

"bravooo"

camera then focuses on Cs feet (can't see LA)

C smiles, gaze towards his feet.

4:17 gesture: "your turn"

X to Y: your turn

X has L foot dir. FRONT (towards Au), R foot on R side pointing towards R (AND towards Y). Torso is tilted towards R, R arm makes a circular gesture ending with arm slightly bent, FWD low, palm of hand towards ceiling.

4:22 C raises to 1st. pos. facing towards LA (L Au)

4:28 C makes space for LA

[C moves to back R Au. Stands there (where he started at t0)]

[LA takes funny steps towards center, turns back towards L Au (-0.5)]

funny steps

to the beat of the guitar

arms bent (<90deg between arm--forearm)

hands at chest OR almost shoulder level

Au:

"bieeen" ("niiiiice")

"suavecito suavecito suaveciito" ("very softly very sooftly")

"haaa haa haaaa"

(while LA takes zazapam)

4:41 LA starts round

brushing motif

OBS: maybe "suavecito" from the Au influenced Lalo to start with brush.

POS: C stays on spot throughout, always staring at LAs feet.

Hands on waist, or arms crossed.

4:56 LA takes trecillos

turning counterclockwise

4:58 Au: yeeeeee!

wuuuuuuuh!

5:11 LA finish position: foot squeeze

5:13 Au claps

5:14 musician sitting down looks at C smiling

C raises head (which was still on the floor) smiles back at musician, both laugh

R Au, waves his head towards L Au

LA is at L Au

5:14 LA turns his back to C, waves his buttocks

5:16 C laughs out loud

5:17 LA turns around, C continues laughing (puts his left hand in his mouth)

Au laughs loud

5:20 C starts his round (x=-0.4)

LA stands at L Au (-1) and stares

OBS: stage is small in x, LA is close to C.

C performing

combines brush with redoble in units of 4

Au: uye!

5:25 L: nodding with the head

5:30 C does the quick hands motif with variants!

5:33 Au: cheering: wuuuh, essooo, ("like that", "yees")

5:41 gesture: L: asu (que miedo) ("that's scary", "what shall I do now")

L: sudden move of body either moving very slightly backwards, L arm was stretched and is bent quickly into 90 degrees (INTERP: brought towards the body).

INTERP: "woow, that's too much, quee miedo"

- 5:43 L smiles, 5:44 C smiles too
- 5:52 C does a "twist dance"
- 5:54 first laughter of a man in the Au
- 5:56 loud laughter of Au and of Lalo
- LA bends FWD laughing
- 5:55 gesture: C to LA: R hand on forehead, then shakes hand downwards (INTERP: as if releasing sweat from the forehead, AND as if saying "take that"). As if throwing the sweat to the center of the stage.
- LA and Au: loud laughter
- Au claps loud and laughs
- LA bends FWD laughing
- 6:00 LA: claps once, reenters center of stage
- 6:00 LA: 1 clap
- 6:01 LA: theatrical walk
- PATH: FROM(L Au) TO(R Au, where C is) TO(C(0,1), face Au)
- Walk:
- torso tilts slightly FWD
- steps are flat: not a smooth weight transfer from heel to ball
- arms bent 90 deg, hands at stomach level
- 6:07 pause, walk again
- 6:07 LA stares to Au in diagonal
- Au: "metele clavos" (unsure)
- 6:08 resume walk
- when lifting L foot before taking support on it, torso quickly tilted BACK and brought FWD again (sudden movement)
- circular PATH: FROM(C) BACK TO(C) THROUGH(L Au)
- 6:13 gesture: hand on heart
- as if agitated, taking a breath
- 6:52 LA: takes jump, gesture as if he almost fell down
- musician bursts out in laughter
- Au laughs very loud
- C smiles with hands on his waist
- LA is smiling all along
- 7:00 LA walks towards C

7:02 C touches LA's shoulder both smiling (says something to LA)

LA grabs C's sleeve briefly before they take zazapam for common choreography

7:04 common choreography

sound:"prapra-zazazaza prapra-zazazaza- prapra-zazazaza papAn"

7:12 ending position:

LA: faces C (R Au). More weight on front leg than back, both legs bent, left hand raised as if addressing C

C: faces Au or L (with the head), though hips face L.

7:13 LA bursts out in laughter, LA and C hug each other, Au applauds loud.

A.3 Marcos Campos' solo

This is a good example where a single dancer can create a narrative by involving the audience and other musicians. It is discussed in Section 2.5.

Setting

Concert of Eva Ayllón (Peruvian international singer) in Mar de Plata (Argentina), 2012.

Actors

M: Marcos Campos (zapateo dancer)

Mus: musician

Eva: Eva Ayllón, the singer giving the concert.

Start

00:00--00:41

M starts dancing

M completes round

gesture: asking for applause

audience applauds

00:43 M points to someone in the audience:

gesture: "wait"

turns back to the audience towards musicians

gesture: "stop playing"?

faces back to audience, gesture "wait"

00:45 fetches paper (score) from the floor !!!

1:00 rotates paper while viewing it with Mus
 1:08 asks him to show how to perform the content of the paper
 Mus dances briefly (with a turn)
 Au laughs
 M smiles at Eva and other musicians, walking away from Mus (L Au)
 M walks back to the audience with hands on his mouth
 gesture: "lets see", "mmm"
 M performs a turn like Mus)
 looks at Mus and waves: gesture "no, you are wrong"
 puts paper on the floor
 Eva starts walking from the back of the stage closer front to him
 starts dancing reading the score 1:39
 Eva interrupts ("that's wrong")
 Eva taps a rhythm with her foot
 M dismisses Eva with gesture to Au ("she's crazy")
 1:59 M gesture towards Au: heart beat (flirting with a girl)
 M starts dancing
 audience cheers, M shuts them up
 restarts dancing
 finishes dancing
 audience applauds

End.

A.4 Two male dancers, Aldo Borja, and two female dancers

This is an interesting performance with 5 dancers (Efa Tele Media, 2015), one of which is Aldo Borja, a renowned dancer and musician—was part of Perú Negro.

ACTORS

B1: unknown male dancer
 B2: unknown female dancer
 A : Aldo Borja (experienced dancer and musician, ex-Peru Negro)
 G1: unknown female dancer
 G2: unknown female dancer (darker skinn)
 COM: commentator
 Au: audience
 G : guitar

SPATIAL REFERENCE

LAu: left side of the stage seen from the audience
RAu: right side of the stage seen from the audience
L : left
R : right

SETTING

Venue: Derrama Magisterial (Theater of the College of Lawyers, Lima).
Occasion: apparently part of a concert of Afro-Peruvian music.
Position on stage (left to right):
G and COM (with microphone)
G2
A sitting on a cajon
unkown cajon player

DESCRIPTION

0:00 G starts with a typical motif in C major.
B1 enters the stage casually.
faces audience
gesture: "shh, keep quiet"
0:20 B1 starts,
Au silent during B1's round.
1:47 B1 closes with a stomp staring at B2.
Au claps.
G modulates from C to F major (more lively)
B2: gesture: "it was about time"
B1 moves to center back, B2 moves to center.
1:57 B2 starts his round with saludo steps smiling.
B2: cocky attitude.
COM: "vamos" ("come on")
B1: centerback
2:28 morphosequence:
quick footwork and jump
2:45 jump is repeated
2:15 Au applauds

B1: attending B2's performance from center back
3:12 B2 closes with a stomp staring at Au
B2 walks towards center back towards B1.
B1 touches B2's shoulder and walks to the center.
B2 moves to center back.
3:20 B1 is about to start (marking the saludo steps)
COM: "defienda las sedas hermano, defienda"
("protect your silks my brother, protect").
3:27 A: crosses AuR to AuL
COM: "ese es mi gallo!"
("that is my rooster!")
[this is a reference to the rooster fights which were traditional
in Peru at the start of the 20th century]
B1 standing at the center of the stage staring at A (LAu)
A takes his coat off (the action is not seen on the camera)
COM: "trae que yo te lo cuido!"
("bring it here, I will take care of it!")
B1 about to start again (saludo steps)
A appears on LAu without his coat
A walks towards center (to the L of B1).
someone in the stage at RAu stands up and interrupts B1.
A puts his R arm around B1's shoulder, B2 comes forward to center
front, beside A smiling.
A puts his L arm around B2 (A with arms around both).
3:54 A cleans his R shoe on B1's pants,
Au laughs loud.
B2 touches A's forehead and with the same hand crouches and
touches his left shoe.
4:00 A stares at B2 briefly and says "no no no no"
A stays at the center, B1 and B2 move to LAu back and stare at A.
4:03 COM: "ahora vas a ver con cuantas papas se hace un ajiaco ... "
A: stares back RAu (probably towards COM) and gesturizes: "shh"
COM: "con una!" and laughs
(COM: "now you shall see how many potatoes it takes to prepare an
ajiaco [Peruvian dish] ... only one!")

A: rubbing hands, performs arms gestures extending hands towards audience and back to his body.

Hesitates.

Descends to a low wide second position, hands slightly below shoulder level, arms bent.

A stares at Au.

Au is laughing.

A turns left and stares, nods head quickly.

4:29 A's round starts

A starts tapping foot and moves his shoulders closes to a first position with rapid ball-heel alternations.

Au: quiet

B2: attending . RAu-back

A: redoble turning 360 deg pivoting on L foot,

Au: aplauso.

A starts a motif with clapping.

5:32 A descends to low level and pivoting on one foot performs "the clock"

Au: "oyeee!" ("heey!"), wuuuuuhhh

5:48 finishes with a motif as if jumping rope

Au: wuuuuuuuuuh!!!!

B2 smiles and waves hand

(as if saying: "not what to do")

B1 drags B2 from the R arm to center front.

B1 B2: about to start

5:56 G1 G2 enter and interrupt

both with defiant attitude.

COM: "el sexo fuerte" ("the strong sex")

[this is a ref. to the fact that women are often referred to as "el sexo debil" ("the weak sex/gender")]

COM: "porque caminas asi", brief laughter ("why do you walk like that")

B1 B2 center back

6:16 G1 G2 common choreography

7:02 close with redoble, stomp, toward Au

G1 and G2 turn towards B1 and B2.

7:10 guitar changes motif
 (coincides with first stomp by B1 and B2)
 B1 B2 G1 G2 dance a common choreography
 circle
 then line
 B2 G1 B1 G2
 switch spots
 8:02 all of them close together with a stomp on the 1st beat
 Au cheers and claps
 8:08 B1-G1 B2-G2 exit the stage in pairs with interlaced arms.

A.5 Contrapunto between Antonio Vilchez and Percy Chinchilla

Antonio was the first to arrive at about 10:20pm, and Percy arrived close to 11:00pm. They greeted each other warmly, Percy even played a vals in the cajón before putting his dancing shoes on. Before asking me to announce them, they took about five minutes away from the tables discussing. In the interview after the performance (Chinchilla and Vilchez, 2016) they explained that this was just to arrange the structure of the performance. Both Percy and Antonio told me that this performance was historical, for although they had known each other for years they had never got together to ‘do zapateo’ [*zapatear*]. Since the peña is arranged as a restaurant, a large room with space at the center for the musicians and for occasional casual dancing, the center of the room functioned as the stage (see Figure 1.2). The performance commenced after my announcement with the dancers taking very short rounds each echoing each other (Medina, 2016). Percy, with a hand gesture signaled Antonio to start and left the stage (walked away from the center) [1:27]. Antonio took the two salutation steps, a pause, and the guitar began playing the motif of an older form of zapateo called *agua’e nieve* [snow water] (Tompkins, 2011). Antonio began with a brushing technique [*escobillado*] which is typically associated with *agua’e nieve* but ended using stomping, and exited the stage making room for Percy to enter with slow and paused walking. Using these walking gestures Percy’s entered the stage [2:19]. The contrast created a beautiful dramatic effect. Percy used only slow brushing motions sustaining weight on one leg complemented with an expressive use of the rest of his body. While Antonio’s sounds were loud from the beginning, Percy’s were low and prolonged. Though I have frequently visited YouTube in the search for new zapateo performances I had never seen *agua’e nieve* danced. After taking several rounds, the guitar

Antônio mutes and Percy increases the speed of the brushing motions and then stares towards the guitar player, who shifts the rhythm to the well known zapateo guitar motifs in major tonality [6:40]. Percy resumes his performance with typical zapateo motifs, and after alternating with Antonio several times, at the completion of Percy's last round both dancers hug each other and close with a common choreography [22:15]. The experience of having arranged the event was most gratifying. I could not help thinking that in a sense, the three of us had made history, a feeling which I believe we shared. Though I had planned to do a video confronted interview, after a long performance, and knowing that both were tired, and given that music continued to be played in the peña at a loud volume I managed to take a group interview with both of them which is approximately half an hour long (Chinchilla and Vilchez, 2016). After that Percy left to work, and Antonio left home. For a discussion of the interview material refer to Section ??.

CONTRAPUNTO ANTONIO - - PERCY

2016-07-22

Percy's standing point is reference spot.

Percy's left: LAu

Percy's right: RAu

Percy's front: center of "stage"

Stage:

has a center

hard to say front or back due to the spatial arrangement

A and P place themselves in opposite sides in the sagittal axis.

Antonio places himself to RAu, leaning towards the piano EVERYTIME he finishes a round.

Percy places himself at the center (horizontal axis) back of the "stage".

Because Percy is at center back, he collaborates more actively with gestures of 'attending' to Antonio's performance, than Antonio with Percy (since Antonio is to RAu wall).

Bell rang in between the performance

At some points they signal or talk to the guitar player (ex. 18:34)

You can hear voices (people talking) at some moments of the performance louder than at others.

OVERALL SCHEME

00:00 Juan presenting the contrapunto and the dancers.
 00:57 Percy and Antonio enter.
 starting protocol (no music, brief)
 Percy performs some steps
 extends his hand towards Antonio: "know it is your turn to do the same"
 Antonio: gesture: "ok, yes"
 1:30 Guitar plays Aguenieve rhythm
 1:30 Antonio starts dancing.
 2:17 Percy enters
 3:16 Antonio's turn
 4:18 Percy's turn
 5:02 Antonio enters
 5:53 Percy enters (guitar mutes), finishes aguenieve round.
 6:40 Rhythm shifts to 'zapateo en mayor' (C major)
 22:25 Contrapunto finishes

SEGMENT OF THE PERFORMANCE

Antonio:

9:53 said: "acá tenemos pa toda la noche ah"
 [we are going to be here all night]
 (after Percy's round)
 10:52 hand-against-foot motif with a pause, in the pause he stares Percy and then silence
 Au claps
 A: gesture: "I'm not done yet"
 11:04 Percy stares at Antonio (gesture), Antonio stares at Percy
 11:20 Percy swings head to the tempo of Antonio's movements
 11:30 Antonio dances towards Percy with a soft slow redoble of heels,

 marks the last stomp of the redoble and exits to his right

- 12:28 Percy finishes with an accentuated stomp and directs head and sight towards Antonio
- 12:32 Antonio's entrance walks towards RAu, turns 180 and then goes to center.
Then: hesitation gesture
Antonio stops and puts a finger in his mouth and look upwards ("I'm thinking": 12:39)
- 12:48 A makes sign to guitarist to play faster, marking the tempo with his R hand.
- 12:51 A marks a rhythm, P is marking the beat with his shoe (unusual)
collaboration
- 13:57 Antonio closes round with an accentuated stomp tilting the trunk towards where Percy stands (front)
Exits towards RAu and Percy simultaneously enters
- 14:58 Percy finishes round with an accentuated stomp rotating head towards Antonio and looking at him,
(though Antonio is to his left back)
exits with a smile
- 16:24 Antonio is doing a quick sustained redoble, Percy looks at his feet and smiles
- 18:06 The guitarist starts plays an adorned slow TREMOLO (which is not customary) and loses the track of the first beat.
Percy accentuates certain stops, and turns to look at him to give him to agree on the first beat.
First beat should have come at 18:07
At 18:17 Percy and the guitarist have synchronized again.
- 13:16 while Percy is at his round, Antonio changed head and sight position
FROM looking at Percy TO head tilted upwards, sight towards the ceiling.
- 18:30 Percy marks the end of his round towards his front (slightly to his R)
- 18:34 Percy and Antonio join at the center of the stage, exchange words.
(guitarist changes the motif

- to an incorrect one: he alters the rhythm (my observation))
- 20:30 Percy talks to guitarist before starting round
- 20:40 Percy opens with brushing towards the sides
 lifts the brushing foot away from the floor in the end of the
 brushing motion
 as if trying to push away something, or sweep away something
 from the spot in which he stands
 in other contrapuntos these brushings are performed staring at
 the other,
 as if "brushing away what the other danced
- 22:04 Percy finishes the performance sitting on one knee opening his
 hands and arms, head down
 open towards the audience
- 22:07 Percy and Antonio hug each other (close hug)
 Antonio gives Percy a palm in his ba
 does not look at Antonio in the closing stomp
- 22:14 Percy and Antonio close with common choreography
 22:23 Percy with a hand gesture and looking towards the guitarist,
 signals the guitarist that they are about to finish
- 22:25 Antonio makes a hand gesture to the guitarist while facing
 to the front
 OBS: The guitarist should have played the Tonic chord at
 the moment when Percy and Antonio give their last stomp and
 freeze.
- 22:29 Percy and Antonio hug
 the audience claps

A.6 Contrapunto between Wilbert Casstañeda and myself

The occasion was a concert with repertoire entirely devoted to Afro-Peruvian and criollo music arranged as part of the Transform Festivalen in October 2015, in Trondheim–Norway, where I have lived for almost nine years. Miguel Taboada, the guitarist, Edgar Albitres, the singer, and Wilbert Ayme Castañeda, the percussionist and zapateador, traveled all the way from Canary Islands, Oslo, and Viena, respectively. Wilbert learned from the great masters of

the Afro-Peruvian revival and played in several *peñas* before moving to Europe. Wilbert has impressive improvisational skills in the cajón and the bongos, and I performed as a musician as well, accompanying Wilbert in the cajón.

Wilbert, however, was dominant and took the role of ‘the experienced one’ from the start, asking me not to improvise for he would do it, remarking on how many *saludo* steps [the first steps on the beat the dancer takes to start every round] I should take before starting the round, or commenting that my *redoble* was not clean enough^a We both decided to arrange the performance in a widely deployed format.^b First both of us would enter the stage using the horse walk motif (Juan Felipe Miranda Medina, 2015, 0:52–56, 1:26–1:33), we would face each other, stomp to close the sequence, and then I would take the first round. We did not agree exactly on the number of rounds each one of us would take, but we did rehearse a short common choreography to close the performance a couple of hours before it started. Five minutes before the performance began, Wilbert said to me: “you enter first, and I will interrupt you”. I did not quite understand the plan, but I began to dance and then he appeared in the stage stomping his foot and mimicking the gesture of killing flies (later he explained to me the meaning of the gesture). I did not quite know what to do, so I used the horse walk to reach him and began a turn in quick triplets. He interrupted it with a spring on both feet right beside me and bumped his chest with both hands as if saying: “here I am, know it is my turn”. He finished his first round, I faced the audience and mockingly waved my hands indicating that his performance was “more or less” good [*mas o menos*]. As soon as I took the introductory steps he was interrupting me already. I took my first motif and was repeating it before preparing a variation but he interrupted me once again. I managed to finish that round, and allowed him to take his. Both of us took one round more, but he decided we should close the performance then, even though I had my will set on using body percussion motifs as he had done the round before (*ibid.*, 7:00). We closed with the choreography, although I must confess I forgot some of the details, but I believe the audience enjoyed the contrapunto.

It took perhaps several months before I actually began reflecting on what had happened that day on the stage. Wilbert’s sudden decision to change our entrance to the stage functioned as a strategy to gain an advantageous position from the start. His continuous interruptions of my rounds (*ibid.*, 1:10, 2:02, 2:17) were well integrated into the theatrical aspect of the performance, and created a playful atmosphere. The audience reacted with laughter to many of them. The audience was applauding after each round, and cheering for me as well when I was starting a round—“vamos, Juan!” [go for it, Juan].^c Wilbert had a particular way of opening his rounds (*ibid.*, 3:28: a sequence of triplets and staring at me right after; 5:33: gesture of swiping the floor with his feet towards me and away from me). Such gestures can be interpreted in a number of ways, but to me they seemed to be ‘wiping off’ what I had just

danced. He also used gestures to indicate to me that it was my turn (e.g., *ibid.*, 1:50 hand gesture showing me the center of the stage, 6:50 same gesture but turning his back to me and bending forward as if showing me his bottom) and had motifs and gestures he used to close his rounds (e.g., *ibid.*, 4:18 and 4:21). Thus Wilbert was in control all the way. This was not surprising since it was my first time on stage, but I had taken some zapateo lessons these performatic gestures, devices to mark the opening and closing of a round, or the negotiations for the timing of the closing choreography *had never been mentioned*. There was clearly more to the *contrapunto* than two dancers taking turns as if only one thing occurred at a time.

^a The *redoble* is one of the most deployed motif cells in zapateo. It produces 5 rapid consecutive sounds, ball and heel of the right foot, ball and heel of the left foot, and stomping of the right foot—e.g., Medina (2013a, 1:12).

^b A video of the performance is available in my channel on YouTube (Juan Felipe Miranda Medina, 2015).

^c Cheering in such way is common in Peru. Particularly in the *jarana* (and therefore in *criollo* music such as the *marinera*, the *festejo* and the *vals*, as well as in zapateo) there is a frequent use of interjections such as “*vamo’ ahi!*” [lets go, go now], “*esa!*” [yeah! like that!], “*vamo’ a ver*” [lets see what you’ve got], “*sabor!*” [do it with flavor].

Appendix B

What an actor can/can not do

What follows is a description of the possible—and briefly, the impossible—actions for all actors: dancers, the musician(s) and the audience. In an attempt to be systematic, I have presented these as a nested list of actions.

B.1 What a dancer can/can not do

what does a dancer have to do? (as a player in the 'game' zapateo)

- dance.
- wait for its next turn to dance:
 - the dancer must let the other dance
 - (although the dancer can interrupt a limited amount of times).
- follow the structure of the performance agreed upon previously with the other dancer's (and the musician).

what can a dancer do?

X:

- appear on the stage
 - i.e., enter stage for first time.
- dance
 - accentuate certain stomps
 - direct head while dancing (and do mimic gestures) + upper body & arms
 - (facial expresion: ex: smile)
 - 'be funny' OR 'be playfull'

close the round (in a certain way)

'fluid' close OR

close with stomp

sight DIRECTED TO

Au: receive praise

Y : competition & receive praise from Au

close making fun of Y

ex.

wave buttocks at Y

throw sweat from forehead to the floor

do something funny in the closure (not directed at Y)

makes Au laugh

open a round (in a certain way)

open [making fun of]/challenging Y

ex.

brush floor giving back to Y

do something funny in the opening (not directed at Y)

makes Au laugh

superpose gestures to dance

embody animals or things:

ex.

horse, riding horse

do funny gestures & mimics while dancing

interrupt dance & resume.

bring Y towards him/her and tease Y

ex. clean shoe on Y's pants.

interact with an object while dancing

ex. (only one I know)

read a score: on the floor, or putting it on a chair.

Y:

interrupt X (while X is dancing)

ex.

walk in front of X

make noise

attend to X's dance

do gestures while X dances

towards X?
 towards Au
 imitate X making fun of him/her
 "mas o menos": value judgment on X's performance
 cheer X: "vamos!", g: smile

What can a dancer not do?'

dancers rarely touch each other as they dance.
 dancers rarely go down of the stage to touch the audience.
 dancers do not hit each other nor any of the other actors.

Larger level:

how do dancers interact with each other?
 with the following modes:
 opposition (rivalry)
 ex. Caitro and Pititi
 alliances
 ex. the two girls and the two boys allied against Aldo
 Borja
 partnership
 ex. contrapunto of Percy and Antonio
 indifference
 both dancers projected towards Au,
 no interaction between them.
 modes result from the possibilities described in "what can a
 dancer do?"

B.2 What can the audience do/not do?

what does the Au have to do?

sit.
 attend the performance.
 follow the instructions from the musicians
 e.g., "shhh" (i.e., "don't be so loud", "shut up")
 react with utterances to the dancers' performance.

what can the Au do? (utterances)

clap

laugh

say

words: "bravo", "buena", "eso", "toma", "así"

sentences: "ese es mi Huevito!" ["that's my Huevito!"]

scream cheering

whistle

what can the Au not do?

Au can not go up to the stage wit the dancers

Hence Au can not touch the body of the dancers.

Au can not all together move around the room while the dance is going on.

Au can not be to loud - else the zapateo can not be heard.

variables in Au's utterances

duration

volume

quality? ('the way' they scream or laugh)

meaning of words/sentences: what they are saying

B.3 What can the musician do/not do?**what does the musician have to do?**

play before the contrapunto starts.

sustain the rhythm

adjust the tempo to the dancers

follow (obey) the dancers' instructions

(instructions usually transmitted through gestures)

e.g., "play slower/faster, softer", "stop playing"

stay on its spot as s/he plays unless instructed otherwise.

what can the musician do?

change motifs.

play variations on a motif to make the performance more lively.

change the style of its playing.

introduce musical segments that are not from zapateo
(as a special effect, occasionally only).

what can the musician not do?

stop playing indefinitely.

move across the stage interrupting the dancers
(unless instructed).

go down from the stage interrupting the audience.

engage in physical contact with dancers or audience.

Appendix C

Structure and Style in Zapateo

The following discussion on structure and style in the *zapateo criollo* is a reprint with minor variations of segments of an essay I wrote for the module of *People Moving, People Dancing* for the University of Roehampton in 2017, entitled *Structure and Style in Afro-Peruvian Zapateo*.

I would like to acknowledge the kindness of Prof. Janos Fugedi for our meetings during the autumn of 2016. Without his expertise the following Labanotation scores for motifs 2 and 3 would not have been possible. Note that in zapateo the feet are by default separated shoulder width, this applies even to first position.

C.1 Linguistics and structural analysis terminology for zapateo

There are two methods of structural analysis for dance that are most commonly deployed. The first one was first proposed by what became the ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology in 1976 (Giurchescu and Kröschlová, 2007) and the second one was almost simultaneously proposed by Kaepler (1972). Where as the former takes as its “primary unit” ‘a dance’ or ‘dances’, the latter focuses “on a more abstract concept of ‘dance’” (Kaepler, 2007, p. 53). As I shall explain, motifs and improvisatory sequences in zapateo are generated based on units smaller than motifs which can be better understood using parallelisms with linguistic terminology. Therefore Kaepler’s terminology and conceptual framework is preferred.

The term “motif”—common to both structural analysis methods—is not used at all by zapateo dancers. Manuel Acosta Ojeda (2015), a Peruvian writer, narrates that by the 1920s zapateo was performed in a competitive format called *contrapunto* in which two dancers would perform for an audience and one impartial knowledgeable person in the dance who would be the jury. The dancers would greet each other, and alternate taking turns [*pasadas*]. The first

one to win three out of five, or four out of seven pasadas would be declared victorious. Thus “pasada” was used as a synonym for “round” or “turn”. Nevertheless, in the zapateo lessons I took I became aware that “pasada” can also refer to a shorter sequence of movement which is aesthetically coherent. With this I mean that this sequence would exhibit common features throughout: for example it could be based solely on brushing feet movements, or using a certain kind of clapping holding the same rhythm throughout the sequence. These sequences may be composed of a core element from which the rest of the sequence is generated. The core is also identifiable due to cases in which there are variants of the sequences that retain the core intact. The concept of morpheme will clarify this idea. Embick (2015) explains that a “set of *primitive elements*” (the morphemes) and “a set of *rules* for deriving complex objects out of these primitives” (the syntax) together constitute a grammar. For example, the word “unsurpassable” has “un”, “surpass”, and “able” as its morphemes. The morpheme “surpass” is said to be a *root* (or basis) morpheme, since it constitutes the core of the meaning of “unsurpassable”, while “un” and “able” are said to be *affixes*, prefix and suffix, respectively. Since the root morpheme “surpass” is in itself a word it falls in the category of free forms, where as both affixes are bound forms, for they “cannot occur as separate words” (Crystal, 2008). Note however that there also exist root morphemes of bounded form. For the case of structural analysis in zapateo, I propose the following terminology and nomenclature on levels that proceed bottom-up:

- *Kineme* (K): Identical to Kaeppler’s definition of kineme, analogous to a motif element.
- *Premorphokines* (PK): a combination of kinemes that does not have a meaning of its own. A sequence of repetitions (including variations) of a single premorphokine may constitute a morphokine.
- *Morphokine* (MK): used in the same sense as Kaeppler (the smallest unit with meaning), analogous to the concept of morpheme in language. Morphokines may be root (r) or affixes, free (f) or bounded (b). For example, a root morphokine of free form would be notated as *MKrf*.
- *Motif* (M): analogous to a word in language, compatible with Kaeppler’s definition. The motif must be composed of a root morphokine (free or bounded) accompanied by affixes.
- *Morphosequence* (S): a movement sequence resulting from the combination of a few morphokines through repetition, variation, and rhythmic variation. At least one of them must be a root. The prefix “morpho” emphasizes that the sequence is *not* generated based on the recombination of motifs, but of morphokines. This is what was meant with “aesthetically coherent”, since the use of only a few morphokines grants recognizable

aesthetic features to the morphosequence. The morphosequence may be synonymous to one of the possible uses of the emic term “pasada”.

- *Round (R)*: the full sequence of movements of a zapateo dancer, since it starts its round until it finishes it, thus marking the start of a new round for the other dancer. The dance realization is thus composed of a sequence of alternated rounds, though usually the last is usually a common choreography performed by all the dancers on stage. In cases where zapateo is not danced in contrapunto this level can be substituted by that of phrase (Ph).

Figure C.1 uses music staff notation to represent both the rhythm and the movement of the three basic morphosequences in zapateo. The advantage of representing zapateo motifs with the musical staff is the readability of time, and the structure’s underlying the dance can be represented using slurs and proper labeling with colors. Note that in case 1 the morphosequence S1 and the motif M1 are identical, and S1 is constituted from a single morphokine (MK1) and its mirror variation (MK1m). In the case of MK2 we see that it is composed of premorphokines PK2 and PK2v. The importance of this distinction is that I have never seen PK2 performed without PK2v, thus we may say that neither PK2 nor PK2v have meaning on their own right. MK2 however is a bounded root morphokine, the minimum meaningful unit which together with MK1 constitutes S2. It is bounded because it ends in the right hand touching the right foot which is raised in a gesture, leaving the dancer in an unstable position (refer to Figure C.2, p. 120). Therefore MK2 must be followed by another MK. Note that S3 is rhythmically and structurally identical to S2 if one simply substitutes MK2 for MK3.

The triple meter of 12/8 could also be written as 4/4 subdividing each beat into triplets. An important feature common to all three morphosequences (and to most morphosequences in zapateo) is that they start in the offbeat of the second dotted-quarter-note beat. The dancer not accustomed to this kind of syncopation might find it difficult to enter on time. Another challenge regarding timing are the silences with a duration of a dotted-quarter-note appearing right after MK1 in all three morphosequences. One last consideration on structure is how perceptually distinguishable are the morphosequences respect to each other. S1 is no doubt the simplest one in terms of number of kinemes, since it requires only one (for left and right): the step in place (k1). S2 is built upon two basic kinemes: step in place (k1) and the right hand contacting the foot (k2, k2v) (wether it is on the inside or outside). S3 is built from three kinemes: step in place (k1), contact floor with the heel (k3.1), and step with the ball of the foot (k3.2) which some performers consider as an allokineme of k1. My hypothesis is that Percy taught first S1, S2 and S3 in the new beginners workshop because as movement programs k1, k2 and k3.1 are very different from each other and simple to perform. An additional reason is that these three morphosequences are rhythmically similar (S2 and S3 are in fact rhythmically

The figure displays three staves of musical notation for Zapateo, labeled S1, S2, and S3. Each staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a time signature of 12/8. The notation includes various note heads and stems, with specific annotations below the notes. Staff 1 (S1) shows a sequence of notes with annotations MK1, MK1, MK1, MK1m, and MK1. Staff 2 (S2) shows a sequence of notes with annotations PK2, PK2v, MK1, MK2, PK2, PK2v, PK2, PK2v, PK2, PK2v, and MK1. Staff 3 (S3) shows a sequence of notes with annotations PK3, PK3m, MK1, MK3, PK3, PK3m, PK3, PK3m, PK3, PK3m, and MK1. The annotations are color-coded: red for motifs (M1, M2, M3), blue for morphokines (MK1, MK2, MK3), and green for pre-morphokines (PK2, PK3). The staves are numbered 1, 3, and 6 at the beginning.

Figure C.1 Musical notation is used for movement representation of the three basic morphosequences in zapateo (S1, S2 and S3) illustrating their composition based on pre-morphokines (PK), morphokines (MK), motifs (M) and morphosequences (S). The third line in the staff (corresponding to a C) is analogous to the center line in the Labanotation score, thus dividing the body in left and right. The notes with ‘normal’ heads denote step in place with the whole foot. The column below the first staff line corresponds to arm gestures, thus what appears as a chord of B together with an E (with an x-head) denotes the right arm contacting the right foot in the inside (PK2) and in the outside (PK2v). The triangular note head in S3 denotes taking support in a forward step with the heel, while the square note heads indicate taking support with the ball of the foot. Refer to the *Appendix* for Labanotation scores of motifs 2 and 3.

identical), all emphasize the triple meter in zapateo that is syncopated by an eight-note starting from the second dotted-quarter-note beat.

C.2 Approaching a definition: structure and aesthetics

When a student is learning a dance motif from her teacher and the teacher is supervising, when shall the teacher say “yes, this motif is correctly performed”? Most teachers would agree in that there are aesthetic features that *must* be present in order to constitute that motif as what it is, but there is also room for variability from performer to performer. This possibility for variation in the quality of the movements that gives room for individual variation I refer to as *style*.

Based on my experience taking zapateo lessons with different *maestros* [masters]—‘Lalo’ Izquierdo, Percy Chinchilla, and Antonio Vilchez— as part of a larger group and privately,

and based on my study of a large corpus of online videos, I claim that the definition of a motif/morphosequence in zapateo is constituted by the following aspects:

1. The rhythm of the motif/morphosequence. At all times it was made explicit by all of my zapateo teachers: if the rhythm is wrong then the pasada is wrong. An important feature in the rhythmicity of zapateo lies in the ambiguity where a beat, considering a 4/4 meter, can be subdivided into a triplet of eight-notes (Figure C.1) or into a quarter note and two eight-notes. That is, ♪♪♪ is used interchangeably with ♪♪, or the rhythm of the beat may lie some where in between the two. This creates a polyrhythm when contrasted with the guitar motif.
2. The part of the foot used to produce the motif (i.e., heel, ball or whole foot).
3. The side of the body with which the gesture/change of support is carried out (i.e., left or right).
4. The position of the gesture (foot or arm) or of the new take of support relative to the current support (e.g., is it a left step forward, or right diagonal step back?)
5. The accentuation of certain stomps or percussive motions in the motif/morphosequence. Note that accents are used in Figures C.1, C.2 and C.3.
6. The quality of support: either grounded or light. Though this aspect is not observable in the three morphosequences that are discussed, it is certainly important when discussing jumps. A dancer corrected me once: “you are too glued to the earth now, you should be lighter, more aerial”.
7. *The torso*: by default the position of the torso is upright slightly tilted forward. It is encouraged that the torso and shoulders hang loosely (i.e., a perfectly upright rigid torso is discouraged). Only in some motifs is the position of the torso important to project the weight forward or produce a certain accent.
8. *The arms*: unless performing a percussive gesture, the arms hang loosely with the body, most often with the elbows bent. During my fieldwork, the working of the arms was never made explicit mention of by any of the dancers. This premise stems from my observation of a corpus of YouTube videos (Juan Felipe Miranda Medina, 2017).
9. *The head*: there is no list of elaborated head gestures as such. There are a few motifs that include head rotation towards right or left synchronized with a leg gesture to the same side. Head gestures are used to make eye contact with the other dancer or audience

while dancing, often combined with other facial gestures such as smiling, but there are no prescriptions regarding the form of the gesture nor the timing.

Though there may be allokinés within a morphokinés, this would have to be treated specifically for each individual case.

C.3 Improvisation and style

Giurchescu (1983, p.26–27) remarks that there is a strong resemblance between games and improvisation, for in both there is spontaneity, satisfaction and pleasure in solving a situation “by manipulating pre-existent rules”. Giurchescu distinguishes between (1) playing ‘with and against’ the structural features of the dance and music, which requires a thorough knowledge of the corpus of rhythms and motifs that constitute the dance; and (2) playing ‘with and against’ the co-dancers and the audience (*ibid.*, p. 27), which in addition to requiring expertise in the dance requires the dancer to be an experienced performer. These skills are so complex to study that they would require additional fieldwork, hence I do not deal with them here. Kaepler’s distinction between improvisation in ‘style’ and ‘spontaneous choreography’ (Kaepler, 1987) for Polynesian dances, however, is directly relevant for zapateo in the context of this essay. When the dancer imprints its style on the dance realization, improvisatory qualities are “interjected at the spur of the moment” (*ibid.*, p. 15). In the case of choreography Kaepler distinguishes the possibility of reordering the movements (motifs) from ‘irrelevant’ improvisation (e.g., facing one direction instead of another). Like Giurchescu, Kaepler emphasizes on the spontaneous character of improvisation: “her choreography was spontaneous, making split-second decisions about what motif or sequence of movements should come next” (*ibid.*, p. 16). Now can the usefulness of the structural considerations in Section C.1, together with the eidetic reduction of Section C.2 be better understood. In terms of style the following claim seems reasonable: *style lies in all that the definition does not hermeticize*. Because the movement of torso, arms and head—as explained in the list defining the eidós—are usually not specified, or not specified in a manner as precise as the use and direction of support and percussive foot/hand gestures, great improvisatory potential in the use of these body parts. Skilled dancers often superpose mimetic gestures to their dance involving the upper body and arm gestures (AcuarelaCriolla, 2009a, 1:00–1:12) or add unexpected features to a given motif.¹ As the analysis in Section C.1 suggests, improvisation as reordering and recombination in zapateo, contrary to Polynesian dances, happens at the *level of morphokinés* (not at the level of motifs) which allows for a more complex syntax for choreographic improvisation. Nevertheless, from fieldwork I know that

¹ Medrano (2012, 1:50–1:58) shows a variation of motif 3 where Lalo bends his arms and sinks down his hips in a comical gesture.

dancers tacitly identify and understand morphokines by learning several morphosequences that imply the same morphokine. For example learning the sequences in this video (Juan Felipe Miranda Medina, 2013) and this one (AcuarelaCriolla, 2009c, 0:44–0:52) would allow us to identify MK3. In a private lesson, Percy, one my collaborators in the field, explicitly said that “once you learn a sequence [I infer he meant at the level of morphokines] you should be able to use it in any other different sequences that include it”.

The definition I propose is informed by my knowledge of the dance from an emic and an ethic perspective; or in more precise epistemological terms, from information acquired as first-person experience (through my own body), second-person experience (through interviews, conversations, and listening to the corrections from the maestros) and third person experience (analyzing online video recordings). I am aware that this definition is by no means final, the importance of new bodily elements may appear with deeper explorations in the field. Regarding structure, in distinguishing root from affix morphokines, and between free and bounded roots, we are carrying out a preliminary semiotic paradigmatic–syntagmatic analysis (Chandler, 2007). That is, we are determining which movement units (morphokines) replace, function instead of, other units; and which units function as ‘cores’ (i.e., the root morphokines) to which other units may be appended. It thus remains as a project to carry out such an analysis for a larger corpus of motifs and morphosequences. Improvisation in zapateo has been understood not only as reordering and variation of morphokines, but also in terms of style. However, in comparing improvisation and play Giurchescu opens an exciting ground for further research.

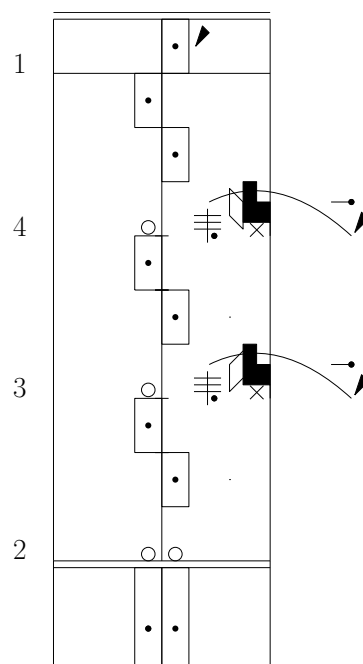


Figure C.2 Motif 2. The circle below the hand symbol introduces the convention of hand contacting the foot below the ankle.

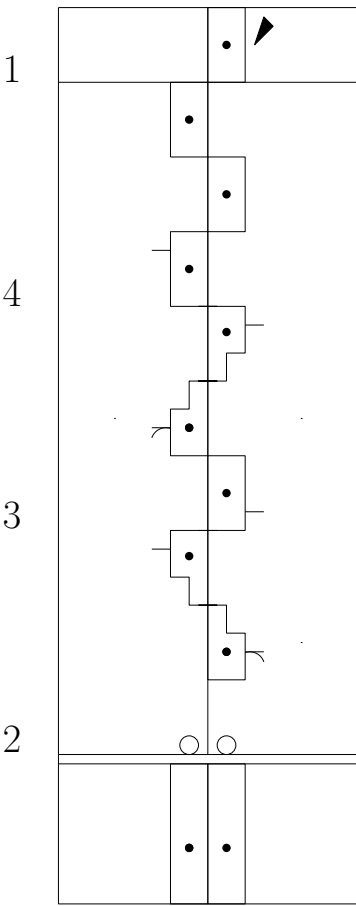


Figure C.3 Motif 3.

Appendix D

Semiotic Square for Competition–Collaboration

The research question with which I carried out fieldwork was the following:

How does the tension competition-cooperation between the dancers structure a dance realization given the actors and the setting?

After having revisited video recordings, as well as rethought my experiences in the field performing on stage and learning the dance, I sought to understand the unfolding of the dance as a tension between competition–cooperation (or collaboration). In the absence of judges the actor resolving and structuring these bipolar dynamics was the audience.

The choice of words might seem peculiar, for the concept is not borrowed from social sciences but rather from business management, and competition–cooperation is rather summarized in one word: co-opetition (Bowser, 2011; Luo et al., 2006). As an illustration of co-opetition, imagine two telephone providers, Telia and Telenor, who wish to extend their services to a remote area. Because both want to attract as many potential customers as they can, it might be first tempting to build each their own towers and antennas as an infrastructure for their services. Co-opetition would instead propose that both providers share the cost of building the infrastructure, and rather split the frequency spectrum to serve each their customers, and do as much as they can to attract more customers than the other by other means such as marketing.

Figure D.1 further illustrates the different possible combinations of competition and collaboration by means of the *semiotic square* (Greimas, 1989). Given two agents, *A* and *B*, and a task that must be performed, *A* can be said to collaborate with *B* if *A* interacts with *B* so that *B* fulfills its task better than it would have without interacting with *A*. *A* can be said to compete with *B* if *A* aims at performing the task at hand better than *B*. Given that *A* and *B* are competing with each other, *A* collaborating with *B* usually presupposes that *B* collaborates with

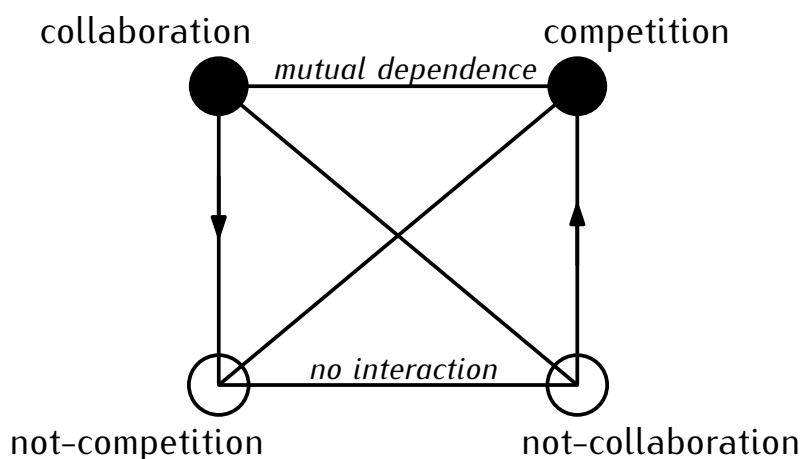


Figure D.1 Semiotic square of the categories of “competition” and “collaboration”.

A. From the semiotic square, eight states can be identified: (1) *A* and *B* collaborate, (2) *A* and *B* compete, (3) *A* and *B* do not collaborate, (4) *A* and *B* do not compete (5) *A* and *B* neither collaborate nor compete (no interaction in terms of the task at hand), (6) *A* and *B* collaborate and do not compete, (7) *A* and *B* collaborate and compete (co-opetition), (8) *A* and *B* compete and do not collaborate. Thus by means of the semiotic square it becomes clear that the apparent opposition competition–collaboration can have many different states and modes for the agents, in the case of zapateo the dancers, to interact. For zapateo the task at hand could be to said to dance attracting the reaction of the audience (which may include applause, cheering, laughter, other gestures of ovation).

Before my visit to Peru in July 2016 I could sense competition in several features of the dance realization: in the complexity of the motifs, in the strong accentuation of certain beats, in the superposition of ludic gestures on the dance motifs that would result in the audience laughing, in the theatrical gestures used to open or close their rounds upon which the audience would also react. Collaboration was given by the fact that in all recordings of performances I found the dancers would close with a common choreography, and even if one seemed to be dominating in the performance, (s)he could not do so without the presence of the other, without giving the other a time and a space to dance. I also found the fact that both dancers share the dancing space for their respective rounds.

After carrying out semiotical analysis I identified five fundamental states or semes in zapateo which correspond to a pyramid with a semiotic square at its base (refer to Figure 3.1). The definition of challenge and the implementation of modalization allows for the use of more precise terminology. Thus “no interaction” maps in the pyramid to indifference, collaboration to synchronicity (doing the same movement together), and competition to either rivalry or

dominance, while not-competition corresponds to partnership. For a more detailed discussion of the semiotic pyramid refer to Chapter 3.

Appendix E

Experiencing the Field

From the start my reader was immersed in the *contrapunto de zapateo* as if all that I have exposed so far I had understood in that systematic fashion.^a Zapateo, however, disclosed itself to me first through my own body, tied to the stories of liberation of Afro-Peruvians resorting to rhythm as their ultimate victory over oppression (Feldman, 2006). It interwove from the start with my personal quest for meaning when I decided to carry out research in music and dance instead of telecommunications. My connection with zapateo as a subject of research is therefore a peculiar one. Today I date the start of my fieldwork to my six-month travel to Peru in July 2013 where I first encountered the dance, even though I did not even know what fieldwork was—my bachelor and master studies in music and dance came later on—.

^a The description of the field provided in this work is brief. Nevertheless, a far more detailed one was presented as an essay for the module ‘Dissertation 2’ for the Choreomundus Master Program in 2016 (Miranda Medina, 2016), which is available online.

During this six-month stay I managed to carry out a number of activities. By then I was actually interested in conducting research on the cajón, and it was then that I met Lalo Izquierdo, and organized a recording session with Lalo and three other very renowned percussionists and one of the oldest and most experienced *maestros* in Peruvian guitar, Adolfo Zelada. I invited Lalo to Arequipa, my home city, for a workshop in Afro-Peruvian music and dance, which included playing the cajón and learning a number of dances, in which zapateo was included. There I took two private lessons with Lalo, in addition to a couple I took with him before that in Lima. I also visited Chíncha for the new year celebration, and attended a performance by the Ballumbrosio family, who are especially renowned for their zapateo in Chíncha’s style. Even after returning to Norway in March 2014 I continued to practice zapateo on my own, doing my best to learn some new motifs from watching YouTube videos. However, in terms of research I

wondered what else could be studied about the dance besides its complex structure, the skills it demands, its aesthetics.

It was in fact only after my first and only performance as a *zapateador* in a *contrapunto*, in Trondheim in October 2015, that I realized the importance that the gestures exchanged from dancer-to-dancer and dancer-to-audience could have. Being a performer, in terms of epistemology, was knowledge acquired in first-person, experienced in my own body. Wilbert Augusto Aime Castañeda, an extremely skilled Afro-Peruvian percussionist, and an experienced *zapateador*, decided how we should start (he actually changed the plan five minutes before the performance), when we should end, and which common choreography we would perform at the end. It took me months to realize that Wilbert's way of asserting dominance over me, who wished to be a worthy challenger, had not only been by means of the motifs that he was able to perform and I was not. Wilbert also asserted symbolic dominance through the use of gestures and interruptions.¹

2

After I rejoined the *Choreomundus* program in January 2016 I chose to carry out research and fieldwork on the *contrapunto de zapateo* in Peru, although this time I was equipped with proper methodological tools to enter the field. For my fieldwork in July 2016 my plan was to contact Lalo Izquierdo once again, and have him introduce me to other *zapateadores*—i.e., a snow ball approach. However, Lalo was very busy at the moment, but it was actually Wilbert that recommended me to Antonio Vilchez, i.e., mediated as a reference.

Antonio is recognized by many first class musicians in Lima to be perhaps the greatest virtuoso in *zapateo* today. Antonio dances the *marinera*, a dance rich in foot gestures, since he was three, and he learned *zapateo* from some of the most renowned *zapateadores*, namely Aldo Borja and Freddy “Huevito” Lobatón. Antonio in addition learned tap dancing in New York, which he combines regularly with *zapateo criollo*. My interaction with Antonio included two group classes (with up to two other participants) and two private lessons at a locale at Garcilazo de La Vega University, where Antonio works. After each lesson was finished I video-recorded a summary of the lesson, where I asked Antonio to perform slowly and explain the motifs we had gone through under the condition of restricting the material to my personal

¹ The *contrapunto* with Wilbert is available online (Juan Felipe Miranda Medina, 2015). For a narrative description of it, please refer to Appendix YYY.

² A *peña* was before the event itself where a *jarana* [party with *criollo* music and dance] took place. Today a *peña* is usually a locale looking like a restaurant opening mostly once or twice per week where only *criollo* music is played. Sometime performers are invited to dance Afro-Peruvian or *criollo* music, or a *contrapunto de zapateo*. Often these locales are owned by a close relative to a *criollo* or Afro-Peruvian musician or performer (e.g., ‘La Casa de Pepe Villalobos’ is managed by José ‘Pepe’ Villalobos’s daughter Pilar Villalobos. Refer to Section 2.4 for a discussion of other venues in which a *contrapunto* can take place).

use, and we had a 30-minute interview which I also recorded (Vilchez, 2016). After our first private class I asked Antonio if he would be willing to participate in a *contrapunto de zapateo*, and that he could choose with whom. After some hesitation he accepted the request, and said that he would like the other dancer to be Percy Chinchilla.

Currently dancing in Perú Negro, and running his own project, *Perkutao*, Percy is an experienced performer with direct kinship ties with the great *maestros* in Afro-Peruvian music and zapateo, namely Rony Campos (current director of Perú Negro), Rony's brother Marcos Campos, and Carlos 'Caitro' Soto. Percy was kind to accept my proposition of arranging a *contrapunto* in short notice even though he was hesitant at first. My contact with 'Pepe' Villalobos and his daughter Pilar, who runs the *peña*³ for her father, turned out to be of uttermost importance. Pilar agreed to host the zapateo as part of their program for their *peña* on Friday on the 22nd of July, and though I had to inquire about it until the very last day, they assured me that their guitar player could play for the *contrapunto*. Because Percy had to work afterwards the time was set at 9pm, though until both arrived the *contrapunto* started at about 10:30pm. I was given the pleasure of announcing them, and next they opened without any music. Then the guitar played an old rhythm, the *agua'e nieve*, and only later did the guitar shift to a typical zapateo motif. The *contrapunto* went on for about 20 minutes, a very long time considering that most performances available online are about three to eight minutes long if more than two dancers are involved. With the assistance of a friend I recorded the *contrapunto*, and with the permission of both dancers it is available online (Medina, 2016) (for a detailed narrative and chronological description of the *contrapunto* refer to Appendix A.5). Both Percy and Antonio told me that this performance was historical, for although they had known each other for years they had never got together to 'do zapateo'.

During this fieldwork stay I conducted two interviews, one right after the *contrapunto* with Antonio and Percy together, and the other one with Antonio by himself, before a zapateo class. In addition to the *contrapunto* I invited Percy to Arequipa for a stay of four days to carry out a three-day workshop in cajón, dance and zapateo. The workshop was valuable because it allowed me to see the close link there are between many of the Afro-Peruvian or criollo rhythms in the cajón and the zapateo, and I participated in Percy's classes of zapateo for new beginners. Besides Percy and me had two private zapateo lessons, at the end of which I recorded a summary of the motifs we learned, with his consent but requiring previous negotiation. It was

³ A *peña* was before the event itself where a *jarana* [party with criollo music and dance] took place. Today a *peña* is usually a locale looking like a restaurant opening mostly once or twice per week where only criollo music is played. Sometime performers are invited to dance Afro-Peruvian or criollo music, or a *contrapunto de zapateo*. Often these locales are owned by a close relative to a criollo or Afro-Peruvian musician or performer (e.g., 'La Casa de Pepe Villalobos' is managed by José 'Pepe' Villalobos's daughter Pilar Villalobos. Refer to Section 2.4 for a discussion of other venues in which a *contrapunto* can take place).

a pleasant and enriching experience to invite Percy to Arequipa as I had invited Lalo almost three years before, interesting things surfaced in our informal conversations.

From hosting these workshops, from the two interviews and from informal conversations I learned a number of things. First of all, both Percy and Antonio had a very clear sense of structure, and Percy had a very clear terminology (which he explained he learned from his grand parents) for different aspects of the structure of zapateo. When it comes to footwork you have the *punta* [ball of the foot], *pie rajado* [use of both the ball of the foot and the heel] and the *escobillado* [brushing motion]. A round is structured into the *saludo* [greeting], the *amarre* [which literally means ‘tie’ and it must be performed identically to open and to close a round], the *pasadas* [the sequence of zapateo movements of which the round is composed] and then the *amarre* again to close the round. The *pasadas*^a can be of different types: acrobatic, with hands, or feet only. There are also *pasadas* that include *movimientos acrobáticos* [acrobatic movements] or floor movements. The guitar may accompany in *aguaenieve* (an old style of zapateo with which Percy opened the contrapunto, based on brushing and using the feet ball, rarely seen today), or in major or minor scales. When I asked how they planed their next *pasada* Percy replied that through ‘ancestral memories’ (a term coined by Victoria Santa Cruz; Feldman, 2006). “It becomes innate, it is inside you”, he said, and he explained that he avoided repeating what Antonio did. Antonio continued on the same line explaining that you must *differentiate* yourself. He identified two moments: that of contemplation, seeing what the other does; and that of deciding what to do—I consider this as an advanced phenomenological reflection requiring clear self-awareness. He explained that in his rounds he takes risks, he starts with something open to a possible change of plan, which sometimes leads to the pleasantly unexpected, while others the outcome may not be satisfactory.

When it comes to the use of gestures, Percy said that it is a way of creating an atmosphere, but their use is not a rule. In a recent personal conversation with Lalo (December 2016), he explained that he and his colleagues in *Perú Negro* began deploying these gestures spontaneously. It was a means of making consecutive performances lively and different from each other. In the interview with Antonio he explained that this playfulness requires proximity and trust in the other, and that not every ‘criollo’ (musician or dancer) may like it. When I asked about the common choreography to close the entire performance, Percy explained it is used to give it a structured ending: *saludo*, *amarre* and *pasada*. In the interview with Antonio he said that in Chinchá they also have a sort of contrapunto, but that they do not close with a common choreography (which I observed myself when witnessing a zapateo performance at the house of the Ballumbrosio family in Chinchá; Medina, 2013b); it might be a choreographical structure, but in any case it is a potential topic for research. My personal

opinion is that it is most likely a practical addition to the staged contrapunto that makes sense choreographically, since there is no judge to announce a winner anymore. However, what first struck me and led me to regard it as ‘collaboration’ is that it may acquire a number of symbolic meanings, such as “everyone wins”, “we all stand together, as Afro-Peruvians, even when challenging each other”.

Antonio and Percy remarked that the guitar player is supposed to provide them with ‘the base’ [*la base*], said Percy, not to improvise, for that is the dancers task. Antonio commented that the zapateo guitar is connected to other Afro-Peruvian musical styles and therefore requires great knowledge of Afro-Peruvian and criollo music genres. Both dancers agreed on the need for stringent synchrony between dancer and guitarist, and on the need for both to listen and adjust to each other.

^a *Pasada* is a rather ambiguous term. It can refer either to a sequence of several movements that by means of rhythm or in the use of body parts engaged are related to each other, or to an entire round. A detailed discussion of *pasadas* relating them to the concept of *morphosequences* is presented in Section C in the Appendix.

On learning zapateo Antonio commented that it is necessary to learn, to talk and to see: “when I look at Percy”, he said, “I look at those behind [zapateadores from the past] but also at those coming forward now. Percy explained that he learned from his uncles and grand parents by imitation, but that pedagogy was rough back then, while today their methods are ‘soft’. In fact, learning zapateo with acknowledged *maestros* was positive for many reasons. First because it allows me to approach them not as someone coming to nag them with questions, but rather as someone that wants to learn the dance, and that is interested in their knowledge. In general I experienced a strong reticence towards the term “researcher” in my stay in 2016, and both Antonio and Percy acknowledged that they accepted to collaborate with me because Wilbert gave me a good recommendation—“many people come here and then vanish and publish things claiming it is their knowledge”, they said. Second, by taking zapateo lessons, discussing with them, and watching videos and practicing on my own I gained an understanding on how the zapateadores define when a motif is correctly performed and when it is not, what elements constitute a ‘motif’ of zapateo as such, and what elements are left to the choice of the performer (such as the use of upper body, arms, or most commonly head).⁴ Differentiating the two allows me to notice in a recording when a performer is adding something extra to the motif, something that ‘should not be there’ but that has an effect, and thus functions as a sign. Very interesting conversations took place in the act of learning zapateo, and Antonio, for example, taught me different possibilities of accentuation in the execution of a motif, stomping and of

⁴ Refer to Section ?? in the Appendix for a discussion on the definition of a ‘motif’ in zapateo. The term ‘motif’ is used loosely to mean a sequence of movements. As argued in the Appendix, the more accurate terms would be morphokines or morphosequences.