Research Methodology Assignment

Tango, the Erotic and the Exotic

A critical discourse analysis of how tango is portrayed in the New York Times and what this discourse represents for the genre

Caroline Pearsall

June 2021

Master's Programme in Media and Communication Studies: Culture, Collaborative Media, and Creative Industries

Semester 2

Word Count: 5960

Table of Contents

	Page
1.0 Introduction & Problem	3
1.1 Existing Research	3
1.2 Research Questions	4
2.0 Research Paradigms	4
2.1 Theoretical Context	5
3.0 Methodology	7
3.1 Analytical Process	8
3.2 Samples	17
4.0 Ethics	29
5.0 Researcher's Experience & Position (Challenges, Strengths & Weaknesses)	29
6.0 Key Findings	31
7.0 Conclusion & Outlook	32
7.1 How could this be expanded as a thesis project?	33
8.0 References	35

Tango, the Erotic and the Exotic: How tango is portrayed in the New York Times and what this discourse represents for the genre.

1.0 Introduction and Problem

Tango is known worldwide as a passionate, sexy, and erotic dance, in large part thanks to Hollywood movies and contemporary consumer culture where 'romance met the market' (Illouz, 1997, p. 82).

For the practitioners of the dance and music however, tango represents a very different universe where the 'steamy sexy' side plays a small role, and for some, no role at all. Tango is a world philosophy, a way of being and incorporates not only dance and music, but poetry, literature, painting, clothing, and approach to life. It is curious that the deeper aspects which include many different areas such as intimacy, authenticity, emotion, economics, embodiment, creativity, gender, and identity, are rarely discussed or seen outside of *tanguero* circles. However, Finland has integrated and contextualized it into its culture, Japan too, and France but the anglophone countries have not – they are stuck on a first level shallow view of sensuality only – why? What role does tango fulfill in the Anglo psyche? Does tango satisfy a sexual fantasy need (or 'postcolonial' one (Törnqvist, 2013, p. 196)) that anglophones have?

Tango highlights problems within certain Global North versus South representations and dynamics in cultural hegemony, and by deconstructing an influential newspaper's discourse, such as the New York Times (referred to as NYT throughout) I hope to find a better understanding of what processes are at play.

1.1 Existing Research

There is still little research on tango from a media angle, and none from a critical discourse perspective so this paper aims to start filling in that gap. As De los Angeles Montes comments (2014) 'Tango has earned international reputation mainly as a sensuality dance thanks to its spectacularization and subsequent mediatization' (p. 1). She adds that 'at the moment of reception, people put those discourses in interaction with specific appropriation practices that shape very special interpretive habits' (idem, p.1). Tango's popularity and renown was mainly due to its 'spreading through mass media' (idem, p. 3). Van Dijk (1991) furthers 'the mass media have nearly exclusive control over the symbolic resources needed to manufacture popular consent, especially in the domain of ethnic relations' (in Locke, 2004, p. 69). Tango has always existed within media.

De los Angeles Montes' research in fact demonstrated that people who had been drawn to tango for its sensual image found, once they learned to dance, that their beliefs changed and were 'redirected...to new signs' and understandings about tango. (2014, p. 14). She decided that 'it is feasible to disagree with which… the signs of sensuality are, while agreeing on its unquestionable existence' (2014, p. 16). Castro, when writing about the role of TV, film and radio in tango's image and dissemination observed that Hollywood's view of Argentina was 'false' and that 'massification' had severely limited proper cultural understanding of this genre (1999, p. 93).

Törqvist also explores the Global North – South divide and observes 'Today's Global South is no longer (only) exploited in terms of natural resources, but also in regard to love and affection' (2013, p.11) and the tourist industry both sexualizes and eroticizes tango in addition to the media. And within Hollywood film representation research McManus highlights the difficulties apparent in 'cultural translation' between 'hegemonic' and 'marginalized' cultures and that in the USA the 'master discourse... ties tango to an exoticized and eroticized Latin "Other"' (2013, p. 194).

Arts journalism too has seen changes, and as Verbood & Janssen (2015) discovered, has transformed from 'an aesthetical reporting to a more news-orientated coverage that keeps an eye on what audiences want to read' (p. 829). They also state that this form of journalism has suffered from 'commercialization' (p. 830) which affects what types of cultural events will be covered and at what times in the cultural season they will be included.

In an effort to understand why the anglophone world still has such a limited understanding of this genre due to appropriation, colonial-style representation and mass media practices, this paper will analysis the discourse about tango in the New York Times carried out over the past 120 years. Tango identity in the USA and UK is tied into their fantasies and repression of sexuality, mixed in with the neoliberal commodification of intimacy, globalization and 'consumption logic' (Törnqvist, 2013, p. xi). It is a journey that encompasses many different sociological, historical, and economic movements and transitions – all of which affect the discourses surrounding the enigmatic tango.

1.2 Research Questions

Q1 In what way is tango represented in the New York Times?
Q2 Has this representation changed over time?

The first question of how the NYT represents tango through its discourse is to understand how this well-known paper contributes to, deconstructs, or upholds narrow beliefs of what tango represents as mentioned in the introduction, while the second will make clearer how this representation may have changed over time.

2.0 Research Paradigm

The paradigms and logics of enquiry most appropriate for this research paper are inductive logic with interpretive and post-structural paradigms. These seem to best fit the theories of media representation and production needed for my research questions. I chose post-

structuralism not only for its refusal to set limits or final truths, but also due to its rich historical relationship to the arts. And as Williams (2014) describes 'Poststructuralist works invite varieties of different interpretations and resist single final and universally communicable meanings' (p. 14). This is very complementary to critical discourse analysis which aims (also) to deconstruct texts and uses multiple ways of doing so, allowing for flexibility leading to new insights. The inclusion of wider 'social contexts' (Carvalho, 2000, p. 5) is essential for a more comprehensive understanding of tango within the media. McKee adds that post-structuralism 'seeks to understand the ways in which these forms of representations take place, the assumptions behind them and the kinds of sense-making about the world that they reveal' (2003, p. 17).

2.1 Theoretical Context

This paper uses media content and representation and media production as the main frameworks within media theory, and critical discourse analysis within discourse theory.

Discourse Analysis

Using methods and texts from several authors including Fairclough, Carvalho and Van Dijk in the methodology, I wish to add ideas here taken from Jäger and Maier (2009) too. In discourse they pointed out the importance of 'particular discursive events' within 'discourse strands' which help to reveal 'insights into the changes and continuities of discourse strands over time' (p. 54). Tango has several of these events within different mediums, which have largely defined in what direction the discourse has continued since. This also demonstrates how certain minority discourses can get fixed into narrow ones simply due to lack of extensive discussion and renewal. Additionally, these authors mention the concept of the 'discursive knot' where 'several discourses are entangled' (2009, p.56). This is certainly the case with tango as my preparatory background research revealed (not presented here). Tango also suffers from the 'collective symbols' or 'cultural stereotypes' (2009, p.57) that discourse creates, and these are essentially the narrow views of tango that I am taking issue with. Such views are 'handed down and used collectively' (Jäger & Maier, 2009, p. 57) and through which we interpret reality. The media also has a strong role in whatever interpretations take place and is just one among many other 'discourse planes' (Jäger & Maier, 2009, p. 58). The obvious most influential plane in tango discourse is Hollywood, but which has most effect in content and visuals than written language. So even though I shall only be examining the NYT, I am aware that Hollywood is another strand influencing the journalists behind the scenes. Jäger & Maier (2009) also claim that the media plane typically spices up its content with 'sensational and populist claims' and works in regulating thinking and that the media plane is also 'tightly interwoven in itself' as they often refer to other media outlets content and 'repeat and build on' such content (p.58). Therefore, it's also important to have an historical overview.

Media Production

As Hodkinson commented, looking at media texts necessitates an examination of the 'broader social and cultural significance of media messages' which includes 'social relations' and 'cultural identities' as the media offer us only a 'selective representation(s) of the world'. Such examination can also reveal any shift in attitudes towards these constructs (2017, p. 58).
Following de Sassure's thinking on semiology, tango can be seen as having the 'role of signifier' with eroticism, or sexiness being the signified. (Idem, p.58). Hodkinson adds that such understandings are 'culturally specific' and in many cases, as Barthes suggested, may be motivated, and produce particular interpretive results (2017, p.59). Tango fits the index type of association as it has an association of a 'sensory' kind. (idem, p.59) Tango and sex are seen as the same thing. However, as Morley (in Hodkinson, 2017, p. 65) states, it Is also important to consider how the media text and its audience interact and Hodkinson adds that the whole ecosystem of meaning and representation (photos, dance shows, film etc.) has a cumulative effect upon newspaper texts too.

Media Representation

'Identities … are relational' (Hodkinson, 2017, p. 223).

Hodkinson sees the relationship between representation and power as a circular one in which the media continues to reinforce stereotypes which could affect 'future representations', this can become a 'self-perpetuating cycle' (2017, p. 228).

An additional problem is that within 'white media institutions' people from diverse ethnic groups are 'expected to stand for their entire ethnic group' (Hodkinson, 2017, p. 231) leading to the idea that this population is composed of an 'undifferentiated block' of people (idem, 2017, p. 232). In Latin America this extends to the whole continent, where everyone is called a Latino/a and everyone is 'hot'.
Locke posits that the 'power of a discourse relates to its subscription base and the social status of its subscribers' meaning some discourses are more powerful than others, which are marginalized (2004, p. 37).

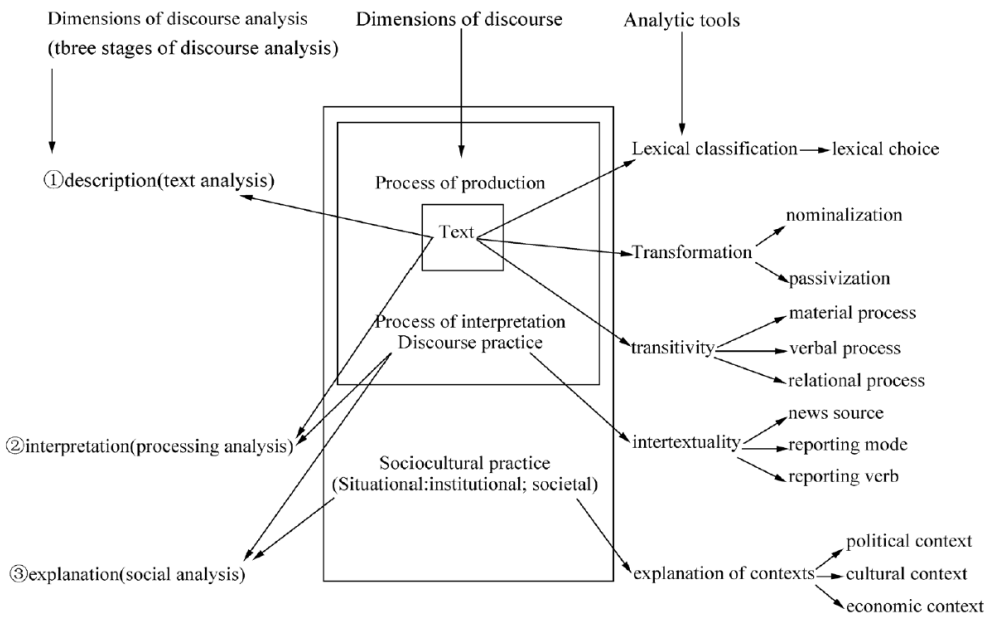

Figure 1. Taken from Wang & Lui (2015, p. 3).

Although tango's first discourses did not appear in text but in film, radio and dance salons throughout the world, this diagram (Figure 1) inspired by Fairclough and made by Wang and Lui (2015), helps to visualize how the various areas in and outside of the text production interact with each other. I would also add however an extra layer around the outside – that of *global* practice/context, as sociocultural could be considered only to function within the country itself and doesn't automatically imply the larger more complex multiple discourses due to colonialization and the North-South divide, which I believe need to be especially highlighted.

3.0 Methodology

The methodology used for this paper was article collection from the archives of the New York Times between 1913 to the present day and the application of critical discourse theory. This theory was chosen because work has already been done on content analysis of the Hollywood films by McManus and I wish to compliment such research with textual analysis too.
The process will be based on the methodology of analysis from Fairclough's book Media Discourse (1995), Locke's work (2004) Carvalho's paper (2000) from which I took the main table headings (p. 28). Indeed, such analysis will allow me to 'explore' the 'opaque relationships of causality and determination' (Locke, 2004, p. 1) present in tango media discourse.
Fairclough's question of 'What wider sociocultural processes is this text a part of, what are its wider social conditions, and what are its likely effects?' (Fairclough, 1995, pp. 202-205) has been a central concern of this research, except there is not enough space to explore the effects in real depth. My choice of 1913 until today was inspired in part by Fairclough's statement that 'discourses and the texts which occur within them have histories, they belong to historical series' (1989, p. 152) and my own curiosity to have a more global view, which is also essential for a better understanding of tango discourse.

Table 4.1 Fairclough: text analysis

Text analysis			
Vocabulary	Grammar	Cohesion	Text Structure
Deals mainly with individual words. • word meaning • wording • metaphor	Deals with words combined into clauses and sentences. • modality • transitivity and theme	Deals with how clauses and sentences are linked together • connectives and argumentation	Deals with large-scale organizational properties. • interactional control

Figure 2. (in Locke, 2004, p. 46)

This table (Figure 2) by Fairclough was used as a guide. Additionally, Locke suggests examining the following aspects on texts: Interactional control, modals, politeness, ethos, connectors, pronouns, lexical cohesion, action v state verbs, nominalization, metaphor (Locke, 2004, p. 46), some of which was included as you will see in the tables.

3.1 Analytical process & Choice of Articles

All the chosen articles from the NYTimes were selected according to relevance relating to representation through either dance or music. As I went through there were many angles I could approach this from. Curiously the NYT uses the word 'tango' within many different subjects including politics and food…. demonstrating that American journalists have detached tango from its original meaning into use for anything representing intimacy, conflict, cunning, pleasure, naughty, sexuality, sensuality, passionate, the erotic, the exotic amongst others.
Firstly, I scoured the NYT's archives for articles about tango dance and music. I chose to take articles from different years to explore the intertextual links that might appear between the past and present (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009, p. 106). The created a table of collected articles drawing out the key adjectives and expressions giving an initial idea of the type/flavor of the discourse. The following table shows how many relevant articles were produced per year and what their subject theme was. In many cases the author was not known within the archives up until the 1960s.
After choosing from amongst all the articles found, the criteria for selection included the importance of the texts as a discursive events, as well as the types of language used (adjectives, events etc.). This left me with 75 articles of which 4 representative examples will be analyzed in more detail.

There was nothing in the NYTimes during the dictatorship in Argentina. The Tango Argentino Show brought the discourse back to life in the 1980s and with this revival there was an explosion of tango interest and huge difference in language use.

Table of Collected Articles

Number	Date	Headline	Subject	Discourse Keywords Examples
1	1913 – April 17	No tango at Fordham Dance	Fordham University	(Declaration/Notice) No tango at dance
2	1913 – Sept 14	A result of the tango	Paris physicians	(Declaration/Notice) Fallen stomach caused by tango
3	1913 – October 4	Abruzzi blamed for tango	Duke of Abruzzi	(Declaration/Notice) Corrupting society
4	1913 – Oct 17	Chicago to investigate the Tango	Chicago City Council	(Discussion) Is tango immoral?
5	1913 – Nov 3	Tango fate with Poincare	President Poincare	(Declaration/Notice) No objection to tango if no undesirable eccentricities
6	1913 – Nov 19	Tango in disgrace in Berlin	Emperor	(Declaration/Notice) Bans tango
7	1913 – Nov 21	Vatican's ban on tango	Vatican	(Declaration/Notice) Bans tango – immoral dance
8	1913 – Nov 24	Won't Dance the tango til late	Emperor, Berlin	(Declaration/Notice) Tango will be permitted during latter part of the evening
9	1914 – Jan 11	Tango rivals roulette	Café de Paris	(Review) Tango great success, tango rivals roulette
10	1914 – Jan 19	Eight bishops in tango crusade	Eight Bishops	(Declaration/Notice) Tango crusade, a sin, must be confessed, penance must be done, causing a storm, immodest, ban
11	1914 – Jan 22*	Tango Shame of Our Days	Patriarch of Venice	(Declaration/Notice) Energetic denunciation, tango shame, condemns, moral turpitude, revolting, disgusting, lost all moral sense, sin
12	1914 – Feb 15	Tango barred at Elysée	President Poincare	(Declaration/Notice) Tango banned at the Elysée
13	1914 – March 14	Bay state saves the tango	Legislative Committee on Social Welfare Boston	(Declaration/Notice) Refused to ban the tango
14	1914 – April 19	Tango is acquitted	International Dancing Congress	(Declaration/Notice) Tango is acquitted
15	1914 – May 31	Diagnosis tango foot	German Physician, Berlin	(Declaration/Notice) The tango foot, new disease, strange affections of the muscles, gyrations responsible for inflamed muscles

16	1914 – July 28	Sounds Knell of Tango	Imperial Society of Dancers	(Declaration/Notice) Self-styled experts gave unenviable reputation - their violent and immodest exaggeration sealed the fate tango. Tango was the most delightful dance
17	1915 – April 10	Paris forbids the tango	Paris Municipal Authorities	(Declaration/Notice) Paris forbids the tango
18	1920 – Jan 4	Foxtrot and tango banned by Amette	Cardinal Amette, Paris	(Declaration/Notice) Tango banned, unsuitable
19	1920 – May 25*	Tango is Approved by Archbishop	Cardinal Amette, Paris	(Declaration/Notice) Innocent, above reproach, fit to be taught, no other international discussion that has ever taken place has been more serious than this (blame Americans)
20	1925 – Jan 19	Pershing dances tango in Argentina	General John Pershing	(Report) Dances tango
21	1925 – Aug 30	London turns to tango	London Society & Prince	(Report) New vogue, popular favor overnight, more restful than foxtrot, more dignified than Charleston, without losing in grace or spirit
22	1926 – June 13	Danced tango too well	Argentine & British sailors in Liverpool	(Report) Argentine sailors danced tango too well, skill, caused a riot, jealousy, wild, rivalry, knives, hurt
23	1932 – Aug 17	Hollywood tango next	Dancing Masters Association of America	(Report) It will refine ballrooms, bringing an Old-World refinement to ballroom dancing, so long victimized by staccato jerks and athletic snakery
24	1935 – June 25	Argentina mourns Gardel	Carlos Gardel death	(Obituary) undisputed national idol
25	1940 – Jan 3	Argentinita Heads a Dancing Quintet	Argentinita dance group	(Review) Bright, heartwarming, captivating, wonderful spirit, high favor, fine dancing, top-notch entertainment
26	1961 – Jan 1	Hollywood Twist	Valentino and Four Horsemen 1921	(Interview) Dark, lean dashing hero in a gaucho hat, a terror at the tango, considerable gushings, romance would still be tempestuous and tragic, we will never know if valentine created the picture or if Valentino was created by the picture, a pretty boy, legend of Valentino, we didn't have a choreographer in those days. Rudy was a dancer
27	1964 – Nov 12	A tango composer	Juan Filiberto Obituary	(Obituary) complete 'tanguista' wrote Caminito
28	1965 – May 27	Argentine Music at Philharmonic	Piazzolla Concert	(Review) Novelty, vanguard tango, understated dramatic effects, captivated, free-wheeling imagination, continually diverting, sounded like nothing but itself, classical, bossa nova

29	1966 – July 9	Sour note at Rio music talks	Rio Music Talks	(Report) Sour note, United States is robbing the musical riches of Latin America, the Argentine tango was. listed as an object of American plagiarism
30	1970 -1985			No articles during the dictatorship
31	1985 – May 30	Tango: Susana Rinaldi	Susana Rinaldi Concert	(Review) Heart, humor, and courage to survive adversity, dramatic, wry, defiant, elegant, doleful, shades of triumph or rue, moved the audience, left her in tears
32	1985 – June 23*	Tango Traces a Society	Tango Argentino Show announcement	(Interview) Scandal, blatant sensuality, riveting, style faded from fashion in the 50's, rich and ongoing tradition, gutsy songs, dynamic couples, purest exponents, plaintive air, huge success in Paris, first large-scale production devoted to tango, passionate, long devotion, fight for art forms that are endangered species, passionate intensity, earthy roots, sleeker, rough and tumble, European sensation, more sophisticated, serious and more dramatic, endless variations, fresh, unruly energy, feeling, spirit of fighting and sensuality, love story, living tango spirit, strong emotional quality, culture created in adversity, elegant, acrobatic partnership, temperamental porteño feel, melodrama, unpredictable, dangerous, mystery
33	1985 – June 27	The Dance: Tango	Tango Argentino Show review	(Review) Ought to stay forever, relentless, speeds by as fast as the dancers flying feet, simple, chic, inventive, roaring standing ovation, intricately subtle and heart-tuggingly sentimental, impassioned conversations….
34	1985 – June 30	Argentina Recalls a Singer of Tragic Tangos	Carlos Gardel	(50th anniversary of his death, obituary) swooned over, national hero, sad, melodramatic, tragic, quick smile, profound passion,
35	1985 – Oct 10	Tango Argentino at the Mark Hellinger	Tango Argentino back in town	(Review) High-spirited and stylish, hottest tickets in town, who wants to sit through two hours of tango? Excitement, high-stepping, sexy action, wonderfully decadent air, slinky slides, soulful expressions, thugs, ruination, boisterous, sleek seduction
36	1985 – Oct 15	It Takes Two Who Tango	Juan Carlos Copes	(Interview) highly polished, influential, wow, superfast footwork, delicacy, purity
37	1985 – Oct 20	Dance View: The Tango Whirls with Passion	Tango Argentino Show	(Review) Dazzling, mystery, slinking, entangled, seductive, perfect unity, passion, pure form, dangerous, sexual content, professional polish, emotion, smooth and suave

38	1985 – Dec 19	Tango Argentino the Seasons Improbable Hit	Tango Argentino Show	(Review) Wasn't even in English, unlikeliest hit of the season, passion, tacky, strange, unanimous raves, hot ticket, emotional
39	1986 – April 8	Film: Argentina 'Tango'	Tangos the Exile of Gardel Film	(Review) beautiful, very free-form, lament, impressionistic, splendid, surprisingly nonpolitical, misery of exile
40	1986 – May 23	Pop/Jazz: A New Tango with a Boogie-Woogie Bass?	Piazzolla	(Interview) impulsive flavor (purely factual)
41	1986 – May 25	Tango: Astor Piazzolla at the Public Theater	Piazzolla Concert	(Review) breaking every tango convention, gust of emotion, meticulous composer, haughtiness and languor, turbulent, edgy lines, romance survives
42	1986 – Dec 1	TV Reviews: BBC Show Features the Argentine Tango	BBC TV Show about tango	(Review) simmering essence of dashing Latin lovers, melodramatic excesses fell into disfavor, raucous brothels, soul of a people, his lyrics stab me to my very soul, passion and sensuality, profound melancholy, intense, tango puro
43	1987 – March 13	A Queens' Shrine to Tango's Paragon?	Abel Malvestiti	(Interview) (factual)
44	1987 – Aug 3	Theater : Tango de Don Juan	Tango de Don Juan Show	(Review) gaudy, warmest-blooded version, extravagant, swashbuckling aggressiveness, hurls himself, repugnant, disease-ravaged vampire, bump, and grind about the stage, wreak sexual havoc, sleazy, glitzy, erotic imagery. Sexual havoc.
45	1987 – Aug 12	The Last Tango: Isn't anybody Out There Dancing?	Article on social dancing	(Report) recent tango craze inspired by Tango Argentino, decreased importance of dancing
46	1987 – Sept 4	Pop/Jazz: A Weekend of Funk and Tango	Piazzolla Concert	(Review) cerebral funk and impressionistic tango, iconoclastic hybrid, few Latin American musicians have won greater acclaim, subversive
47	1987 – Nov 1	Theater: The Tango Meets Jorge Luis Borges	Tango Apasionado Show	(Interview) jealousy, fester, whorehouse, trust tainted by mutual deception, submissive, fervent, unbearable, haunting tale, mythic resonance, powerful, brutal machismo dominating life, provocative music, macho ethos, steamy story, Argentinian underclass, passion, underworld, most sensual and erotic dances, Greek tragedy, obsessional power, vividly evocative, lust and violence, overheated passions…

48	1987 – Nov 10	Borges Stories in Tango Apasionado	Tango Apasionado Show	(Review) brief and tragic mirror, hard-bitten men, erotic and bloodthirsty, passionate rhythm, breathtaking intensity, disarmingly, sharply scissored movements, flashing daggers, bullfight, tears them apart, irresistibly drawn back, compete for dominance, childlike innocence, jealousy, bravado, ritual vengeance, swaggers, tantalizes…
49	1988 – May 12*	Review/Music: Piazzolla's Rhythm-Driven Tangos	Piazzolla Concert	(Review) protean 'semi-classical, flavor-of-the-month fashionability, diaphanously lovely, remarkably flexible, finely coordinated, ominous, tenderness, savagery, seduction, highly dramatic, power, harsh…
50	1989 – May 25	Times Square tango	Times Square Tango	(Blog post) What happened to the tango? Considerable panache, spaghetti-strapped dress, scissoring legs, barump-bump-bump-bump, music pounds, legs flash
51	1989 – July 3	Review/Dance: From Buenos Aires, Troupe with Roots in Tango	Ballet Contemporaneo del teatro San Martin	(Review) stun, unabashed power, implicit sensuality, rigors, sophistication, and naturalness, wonderfully agile, shrewd, scratchy, smoothness and economy, barefoot, stealthy grace, ignoring the women, human loneliness, struggle for domination, purity of form, brilliance, confidence, gaucho-style pants, eerie…
52	1989 – July 4	Buenos Aires Journal: tango With Peronist? Who's Afraid?	Piazzolla & Politicians	(Article on Menem) soulful decadence, oppressive state power
53	1989 – Oct 15	Theater: That Last Step When the Tango Turns Deadly	Dangerous Games Show	(Interview) smoke and sweat, drags a woman along the floor, fording her back to arch, half-closed eyes, pelvic grind, slowly disentangles herself, intense, brutal, beautiful, machismo sexuality of the tango, danger, game, seductive, titillation, where sexism leads, stylized rape, knife fights, eroticism of violence
54	1989 – Oct 20	Review/Theater: Sexual Politics and Tango in 'Dangerous Games'	Dangerous Games Review	(Review) make a spectacle of themselves, musical misfire, inanities, mediocre, fetching Astor Piazzolla music, sexual brutality, erotic titillation, exposes the limit of her own talent…
55	1992 – Feb 9	When Ballet Meets Jazz and the Tango	Tango Show	(Review) sizzling tangos, steamy jazz, heating up, riveted audiences, sleek and sophisticated, passion contained beneath cool surfaces, blond elegance, darker sultriness, dynamic

				energy, suggestively flirtatious, sensual promise, restrained sensuality, steamy encounter, idealization of sensual love
56	1992 – July 6	Astor Piazzolla, 71, Tango's Modern Master, Dies	Piazzolla Obituary	(Obituary) the world's foremost composer of tango music, prolific, single-handedly invented, passionate, hostility, the war was won
57	1994 – March 11	Tango in Paris, and More, to Remember Julio Cortazar	Julio Cortazar Anniversary of death	(Review of his work, only title has tango in it)
58	1997 – Dec 7	It Took One to Tango: Piazzolla	Piazzolla and tango style	(Review) hip, cool, sexy, evocative, powerful, love, death, sex, aroused her sexually, sexiness, excitement, powerful stuff, charismatic bandleader, extraordinary bandoneon player
59	1998 – April 28	Tangos in This World and the Next	Milonga Boulevard Show	(Review) no ordinary tango show, enthralling, tango earthiness, suave and sexy, increasing intensity, distraught, fascinating
60	1999 – June 11	Flirting With the Tango	Article on learning to dance tango	(Article 6 pages) one of the oddities, merciless glare, glides, serios, takes discipline, elegant and formal, passionate, and intimate, power and vulnerability, metaphor, captives, magnificent obsession, meditation and sex, moved to tears, held hostage, moving experience, physical love, fretful circumnavigation, unsettling sensation, entangling…
61	1999 – Dec 7	Daring to Tango, With a Light Heart	Tango Fusion Show	(Review) labor of love, ramshackle, bedsheet, blessedly traditional, sleek French bedroom farce, tightly knit choreography, every romantic permutation imaginable, passion, skill and sly humor
62	2002 – Sept 27	There Will Never Be a Last Tango	Short article on dancing tango	(Article) I have an addiction, skimpy, are there enough men? My foot playfully glides up, bodies are comfortable being intimate
63	2004 – March 3	Passion for Tango, West Coast and East	Review of Piazzolla's music and history of tango	(Review) sublimated warfare, elegance, ritual, deep dignity, darker impulses, paradoxes, romance, tenderness, physical passion, life's war of the sexes, dominance, seductive, dark beauty, surrender of self is a dangerous act, high-pressure emotionalism, hypnotic soulfulness
64	2006 – Jan 31	Tangos With Stories to Tell	Tangos, Historias Breves Show	(Review) entertaining, slightly overlong, stylish and stylized, deft, snappy footwork, subtly undulating torso, spectacular feats, silky, seamless motion
65	2006 – Feb 6	Music Review: Tango, but Served	Review of a concert Bajofondo	(Review) heavily European, mild, pleasant lounge music, tense, nasal tenor

		with an Electronic Twist		
66	2006 – Nov 14	Tango That's Playful as Well as Passionate	Estampas Porteñas Show	(Review) dark and brooding, takes dancing seriously, playful grasp, glides along, smoothly, pseudo-seduction melodrama, allure, excellent orchestra, daring speed, legs cutting the air like machetes, beautifully lavish, tension, voluptuous softness, on fire
67	2007 – Dec 16	Tango in the Clutches of Buenos Aires	Estampas Porteñas – Carolina Soler Director	(Interview) seduction, sadness, passion, strength, and weakness of Bs As, charming, tightknit, vivacious, captivated, full of feeling, intense emotion, tango took me to its core, chemistry, discipline
68	2008 – Feb 9	Music Review: Fernando Otero the Music of Tango and Improvisation	Fernando Otero Concert	(Review) pounded syncopations, tenderness, fraught with anticipation, expressive drama, heroically ambitious, charismatic vigor, intense, La Comparsita (spelling error !!!!!) precarious equilibrium, vital
69	2010 – Aug 2	Sensuous and Serious Tango – Dance Review	Chase Latino Cultural Festival	(Review) swept its audience into the pulse, diverse, sensuous, mainly serious, fascinating, excellence of music, tremendous verve, all-embracing, irresistible, acrobatic extremes, flourishes of footwork, excitement, pocketknife, cool wit, snap of a fan, mock-dagger
70	2010 – Oct 7	Pairing Up to Tango, in Every Combination	Anton Gazenbeek and Queer Tango	(Interview) fancy footwork, nice, soft, romantic, gentle, sweet with women, and men very powerful, athletic like a game
71	2012 – Nov 29	The Passion, the Romance, the Tango	Triangulo Dance School	(Review) nostalgic melodies, float in the air, lavish ballroom, elegant dancing couples, moody atmosphere
72	2016 – March 8	In Portland, Oregon, a Warm Embrace of Tango	Alex Krebs Dance School	(Review and Interviews) cheek-to cheek embrace, gliding, nourishing, sultry, warm embraces of tango compensate for the lack of sunshine,
73	2013 – March 19	The Sound of Tango, the Story of Mary	Maria de Buenos Aires Show	(Review) intense cocktail, Ferrer's words burn in the back of your throat, oversize passions, rigorous economy of gesture, hallucinatory power, pungent and stimulating as a cup of espresso, smoldering stage presence, hammed-up menace, metaphors like daggers
74	2019- Oct 5	Buenos Aires Dispatch: A	Tango Feminist Movement in La Furiosa dance school in Bs As.	(Interview) rapture personified, tight embrace, perfect synchrony, lost in a loving embrace, livid woman, fast-paces,

		Caricature of the Patriarchy: Argentine Feminists Remake Tango		jolting and limb-tangling, teasingly sensual to uncomfortably domineering, agony, suffocating, hand wanders, rooting out sexual harassment and assault, if you complain you're dismissed as crazy, sensual, fascination, unique embrace, sensual choreographies, sexist and demeaning, dramatic, pervasive structural sexism…
75	2021 – Feb 12	Juan Carlos Copes, Who Brought Tango to Broadway, Dies at 89	Juan Carlos Copes Obituary	(Obituary) influential, highly polished, wow, superfast footwork, sharp kicks and streamlined style, delicacy, and purity

3.2 Sample Articles

The NYT is a liberal newspaper. There is not a particular obvious political bias in the articles relating to tango but more of a Global North versus South bias representing cultural hegemony and gaze.
Within the framework of semiology, tango's level of meaning fits largely into that of connotation – what Barthes calls 'associative meanings' (Hodkinson, 2017, p. 60). And such connotations are largely 'culturally specific' and 'polysemic' (idem), allowing tango to inspire different meanings for different people. This can be seen in the way different journalists write about tango and the types of adjectives they choose.

Sample 1: Tango Shame of Our Days
Author: Unknown
Date: January 22, 1914, Page: 4

TANGO SHAME OF OUR DAYS.

Patriarch of Venice Issues Energetic Denunciation of It.

VENICE, Jan. 21.—Cardinal Cavallari, the successor of the present Pope as Patriarch of Venice, has issued an episcopal letter which is the most energetic of all those so far published with reference to the tango, and acquires even greater importance, as it is reported to have been inspired by the Pontiff.

The letter condemns the tango in the strongest terms, referring to it as moral turpitude, and adding:

"It is everything that can be imagined. It is revolting and disgusting. Only those persons who have lost all moral sense can endure it. It is the shame of our days. Whoever persists in it commits a sin."

The Cardinal orders all ecclesiastics to deny absolution to those who, having danced the tango, do not promise to discontinue the practice.

Narrative Structure: Headline + Lead+ Satellites+ Wrap-up	Heading sets dramatic tone and subtitle with religious leaders, Lead paragraph situates the article, two satellite paragraphs emphasizing the emotionality of this shameful situation, wrap-up finishes with threats of burning in hell
Events	Letter published condemning tango
Actors	Patriarch of Venice
Language Analysis	Expressions: It is everything that can be imagined, Only those who have lost all moral sense can endure it, It is the shame of our days, commits a sin Noun: sin, absolution Active verbs: inspired by, condemns, persists, orders, discontinue Collocations: Energetic denunciation, tango shame, condemns, moral turpitude, revolting, disgusting, deny absolution Comparatives: even greater importance Superlatives: most energetic of all those so far published, in the strongest terms, Pronouns: 'it'. It versus whoever. Negatives: only those Tenses: Present Perfect: Denoting news and recent events, and extensive present simple to give immediacy Nominalization: 'the letter condemns' but surrounded by active verbs, also tango lost its name and became 'it'
Discursive Plane	Religion, tango,
Ideological Standpoints	Catholic Religion, Religious order, and moral judgement, it is a sin for which you will pay, dance acts connected with morality
Causality	Tango has corrupted people and the patriarch must correct this, but no mention of Argentina
Explicit/Implicit Knowledge	Everybody knows what the tango is and what an effect it has on society

This short but dramatic text has great impact starting with the title. It is full of active verbs highlighting the emotion and presence of the Cardinal and is designed to instill fear through the use of strongly religious language. All the adjectives and verbs are negative and imply the need to control and crush the threat of tango. This was published at the height of the tango scandal period and can be considered an important discursive event.

Sample 2: Tango is Approved by Archbishop
Author: Unknown
Date: May 25, 1920, Page 17

TANGO IS APPROVED BY ARCHBISHOP

Cardinal Amette Pronounces it Innocent as Taught by Paris Masters.

EXUBERANCE TONED DOWN

International Congress of Instructors Imposes Rules to Moderate Jazz Fantasies.

Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PARIS, May 22. — Cardinal Amette, Archbishop of Paris, has been asked to adjudicate the case of the tango as taught by Paris dancing masters, and has proclaimed it fit to be taught, even in convent schools. So ends a long controversy, the dancing masters say, in a victory for their art against the excesses of the uninstructed. The tango as taught in Paris is now above reproach and has received, as well as that of the Archbishop, the seal and approval of the International Conference of Dancing Masters that has been meeting here during the last two days.

No other international discussion that has ever taken place has been more serious than this. In dinner coats and evening frocks, in the middle of a hot afternoon, the greatest professors of ballroom art have been discussing and demonstrating their steps with never a smile. The matter is too serious for that, for they realize that dancing stands at the parting of the ways.

The danger which besets it here is laid at the door of America, for the most part. In Europe ballroom dancing, at least, was a decorous business till the doughboys came and taught their partners steps that raised the ire of Archbishops and dancing masters alike. Now in many cases what was bad before has been made infinitely worse, and the feeling of reaction is strong. The dancing masters are out to save what is good in the new style, and in the name of art to condemn what is bad. That is what they have been discussing during the past two days.

They have laid down certain rules for the control of the feet and body in the tango and fox trot, and on the other side have sanctioned some fantasies which were submitted. Unfortunately, no American representative has been able to attend the sessions, but American dancing found in a Scotchman, D. G. MacLellan, a defender against the most violent attacks made upon it. For some European masters wished to improve the fox trot, two-step, one-step and all other dances which have crossed the Atlantic in the last seven years outu of all recognition, and to make the Paris rules the only standard. The result of the discussion, however, was that only the basic steps were standardized, and suggestions, instead of rules, made for the limitation of fantasies.

Besides this question of the moderation of the more exotic movements, new dances have been discussed. The three that received the greatest approval were the Tchega, invented by Mme. Lefort, President of the congress; the Seduction, a species of Boston, proposed by Professor Weyne of The Hague, and the Twentieth Century berceuse of Professor Grandmontagne, which is a curious mixture of waltz and maxixe, with additional steps invented by the professor himself.

All these dances are less violent and, it is asserted, moreg raceful than those of recent years; but no one at the conference would hazard a guess as to whether they would oust jazz across the Atlantic, whatever they might do on this side.

Mr. MacLennan, who used before the war to visit America every Summer to teach and learn, proposes to go to New York again next month to submit them and bring back to Europe what new dances America has to show.

Narrative Structure: Headline + Lead+ Satellites+ Wrap-up	Strong title followed by subtitle with Archbishop of Paris and ICI, then Lead paragraph situates the role of judgement upon deciding whether tango is worthy and should be validated, the second paragraph emphasizes the seriousness of the occasion, the third the danger brought over by the Americans, the fourth on the need for limitations of fantasies, 5th discussion of new dances, 6th removing jazz, wrap-up one of the judges will see what America has to offer in new dances – so the high-drama finishes on a practical note.
Events	Cardinal Amette officially approves tango
Actors	Cardinal Amette, Archbishop of Paris & International Congress of Instructors & International Conference of Dancing Masters
Language Analysis	No other international discussion that has ever taken place has been more serious than this (blames Americans), in the name of Art, Paris rules the only standard Nouns: controversy, victory, doughboys, fantasies, Adjectives: serious, uninstructed, Innocent, danger, exotic, Collocations: above reproach, fit to be taught, raised ire, lay down rules, violent attacks Negatives & Comparisons: No other, more serious, bad, worse, never a smile, what was bad before has been made infinitely worse Superlatives: greatest professors, Tenses: present perfect – denoting whole life experience Pronouns: They have laid down Nominalization: Use of passive 'Cardinal Amette has been asked...', 'the danger is laid at the door of America', 'the feeling of reaction is strong', 'the result of the discussion'
Discursive Plane	Religion, Dance Industry, Tango, Art, Cultural Validity
Ideological Standpoint	Religious acceptance, Paris as the center of acceptable culture - cultural hegemony of France over America, European Global North dominance, invisibility of Argentina, dance acts connected to legality and safety
Causality	Americans destroyed the 'decorous business' of ballroom tango and Cardinal Amette and the ICDM have stepped in to sort it all out
Explicit/Implicit Knowledge	Everyone knows about the controversy surrounding tango but this article informs us of the solution

The opening introduction immediately underlines the structural need for order 'adjudicate the case of the tango', almost implying its criminality and this is the key element to the whole text. The fact it will be 'fit' even for 'convent schools' underlines a misplaced arrogance at

claiming its decency. It is an odd thing to say – why would convent schools want to dance tango? It seems to claim tango will now be pious. Woven throughout the text are negative expressions which highlight the serious attitude the actors have taken, which seems rather sensationalist and may be a decision by the author to increase the dramatic effect.
The way in which new paragraphs begin (or are connected) also exaggerate the drama 'No other international discussion', 'The danger which besets', 'They have laid down certain rules' etc. are all quite declamatory and reveal a desire to control this social phenomenon, which uncovers more layers such as fear of lower classes or foreigners deciding what contemporary culture should be and how only dominant institutions can control that. The use of passive tenses, certain pronouns and nominalization hides who began the process of blame. The actors blame the Americans for raising 'the ire of Archbishops and dancing masters alike' and curiously Argentina is not mentioned once. So, the root of this dance has been erased temporarily from the discourse here. It would seem to belong wholly to the Global North. It is after this discursive event that the appropriation of tango by Europe really began. This article is a perfect example of the European Global North dominance over culture from the Global South. Not only does it imply that correct tango can only be danced in Paris, but it also demonstrates their belief that only they have the artistic right to decide what tango officially is. The power is clearly in the hands of the Parisians and Europeans.

Sample 3: Tango Traces a Society
Author: Lois Draegin
Date: June 23, 1985, Section 2 Page 8

By LOIS DRAEGIN

When the Argentine tango was introduced to the United States by Vernon and Irene Castle in 1913, it became the rage in ballrooms, theaters and films, as popular as rock and roll is today. It even caused scandals for its blatant sensuality. But the story of this riveting dance didn't begin in 1913, and it didn't end when the style faded from fashion in the 50's. The tango is part of a rich and ongoing 100-year Argentine tradition of rhythmic music, gutsy songs and dynamic couples dancing.

"You don't really know the full story of the tango here in America," says Hector Orezzoli, co-creator of "Tango Argentino," the tango revue that opens at City Center on Tuesday. This is the story "Tango Argentino" intends to tell, balancing tango songs, dances and orchestral numbers, performed by 30 of Argentina's purest exponents of the style, including the top singer Roberto Goyeneche. An orchestra of 12 (including four bandoneons, the accordion-like instrument that gives tango music its plaintive air), five singers and 13 dancers will compose the cast. But the story these performers tell is not just the story of an art form. Mr. Orezzoli says; it's also the parallel story of the development of Argentine society, with its blend of European and African elements.

The show, which comes to New York after a huge success in Paris this season, is apparently the first large-scale production devoted just to the tango. It took Mr. Orezzoli and his partner, Claudio Segovia, 10 years to get it on. "Tango is something we're passionate about," says Mr. Orezzoli, to explain their long devotion. These two men, Argentine theater designers who live in Europe, feel a special mission to fight for art forms that are "endangered species," Mr. Orezzoli claims. The pair has also created a flamenco revue, in homage to a style that shares tango's passionate intensity and earthy roots.

There's no text, no narrative to tie their tango "digest" together. "We wanted to let the music, the movement, the voices speak for themselves," Mr. Orezzoli explains. In "Tango Argentino," the tuxedoed orchestra sits on the stage and, in a stream of 31 numbers, the music, dance, songs and costumes trace the evolution of the tango, starting in 1880.

This earliest tango was a rough and tumble dance performed by men of the Buenos Aires demimonde who were called *porteños* because they lived near the outskirts of the port city. But as these *porteños* became accepted into Buenos Aires drawing-room society, so did the tango. And when the dance hit Paris in 1912, it became a European sensation. Tango was everywhere, a fixture in cafe society and on the stage. Rudolph Valentino — in full gaucho get-up — brought into the screen in "The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse."

Over the years, the dance became sleeker and more sophisticated, serious and more dramatic, as different influences were absorbed. Endless variations and styles kept it fresh through the 50's, when its mass popularity began to ebb. Tango still exists today, but it is supported mainly by small groups of aficionados. Surprisingly, Japan boasts one of the biggest audiences for the form.

A tango revue draws on 100 years of Argentine dance, song and music.

In "Tango Argentino," Mr. Orezzoli says, they sought to span the time and styles from the primitive beginnings in the slums to the elegant and sophisticated ballrooms. But the intent in creating this program, Mr. Orezzoli says, was not just to present a simple recreation of the history of the tango. The wish was to capture the spirit of the *porteño*, the passionate, unruly energy that gave birth to the tango.

"Tango is more like a feeling," Mr. Orezzoli says, "a spirit of fighting and sensuality, a love story, a ritual elaborately performed by two people who speak the same language." Thus, the cast was chosen to bring a living tango spirit to the stage. The performers — who range in age from the 20's to the 60's — were found in cabarets and nightclubs in Argentina. "The most important thing," Mr. Orezzoli notes, "was to choose people with strong personalities and identities. They are not just performing, they are human beings who are playing their own experience, because they are also part of the story. Some are not very young. Some are a little fat. Some of the singers are not in the best vocal condition, but they have a strong emotional quality. That is also part of the story we wanted to tell. It's a story of a culture that was created in adversity. And these are the people who made it."

•

Each dance couple — most of whom are married — has developed its own personality and movement language. Gloria and Eduardo, Mr. Orezzoli points out, dance in the popular style of neighborhood ballrooms, while the elegant Mayoral and Elsa Maria are inheritors of the salon tradition; their dancing is quieter, with an emphasis on body line. Nelida and Nelson have developed a sophisticated acrobatic partnership in the tradition of the European ballroom dance.

The singers, too, throw the weight of their personalities into songs that incorporate such melodrama as "For me there is no consolation and that's why I get drunk, to forget our love" and "I'll toss the cloak of dawn around my shoulders, my next to last whisky will age in its glass, my death, in love, will arrive on a tango step, and I will die precisely at 6 o'clock."

To extend the temperamental *porteño* feel to the production, Mr. Orezzoli explains, most of the dancers are costumed in black, tuxedos for the men and dresses slit high and low for the women. Hair is slicked back.

Using independent artists gives "Tango Argentino" the authentic, emotional feeling its creators desire, and they base their show on the talents of the performers. That can make the working process a little unpredictable. "When we make a show we never know what will happen," says Mr. Orezzoli, "because the people are very emotional. They're professionals, but they're not machines. They work with feelings, so it's always a little dangerous." After he and Mr. Segovia structure the show, they speak to the dancers. "Then we leave them alone to create their mystery. That can be difficult, but it's the mystery we want to find."

Though the tango is not widely popular anymore, it's not a relic — that would seem to be the message of the successes of "Tango Argentino" in France and Italy. (The troupe is appearing in Canada prior to arriving in New York, and a German tour is scheduled for next year.) Sales of tango records have increased after each appearance, Mr. Orezzoli boasts, and in France the style was even seized upon by designers who used tango music for fashion shows.

But in a world where every radio plays the same songs, it can be difficult to gain access to the tango. That's where "Tango Argentino" comes in. "Everybody has a mythical idea about the tango, but they don't know that it's serious music and dance, not just a matter of fashion or something chic," Mr. Orezzoli says. "It is more than that." ■

Lois Draegin is a freelance writer with a special interest in dance.

Narrative Structure: Headline + Lead+ Satellites+ Wrap-up	Neutral headline – Lead is historical introduction which integrates interview with co-creator of the show Tango Argentino. Moves to introduction of the new show and includes quotes. Then the history of its creation. Then refers to tango history including moments such as the Hollywood film The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse, the birth in Buenos Aires outskirts, the success in Paris and subsequent acceptance in Argentina, through to its decline in the 1950s. Repeats usual discourse on tango history. Many more satellite paragraphs of the interview with Mr. Orezzoli and wrap-up mentions difficulty of musical access and the tango myth idea with Mr. Orezzoli again claiming there is more to tango than we see.
Events	Tango Argentino show coming to New York
Actors & Status	Hector Orezzoli, co-creator & producer
Language Analysis	Expressions: it became the rage, it even caused scandals, style faded from fashion, huge success in Paris, a spirit of fighting and sensuality, a love story, a culture that was created in adversity, Quote: "You don't really know the full story of the tango here in America", "Everybody has a mythical idea about the tango...it is more than that." Nouns: melodrama, mystery, relic Collocations: riveting dance, blatant sexuality, purest exponents, gutsy songs, dynamic couples, plaintive air, long devotion, endangered species, passionate intensity, earthy roots, European sensation, endless variations, primitive beginnings, elegant and sophisticated ballrooms, unruly energy, strong emotional quality, sophisticated acrobatic partnership, temperamental porteño feel, emotional feeling, Adjectives: rich and ongoing, passionate, elegant, authentic, unpredictable, dangerous, Ranking: the first large-scale production devoted to tango Superlatives: earliest tango was a rough and tumble dance, Japan boasts one of the biggest audiences, Comparatives: over the years the dance became sleeker and more sophisticated, serious and more dramatic Negatives: tango is not widely popular Tenses: Past simple, present simple, passive Nominalization: No, the text is very immediate and who acted is clear
Discursive Plane	Tango, Intimacy, Emotions, Art, Global North, Struggle, Myth, Fashion, Dance
Ideological Standpoint	Identity, Education, Artistic Validity, Cultural exchange desired on more equal terms, Fight to protect culture
Causality	Mr. Orezzoli presents his show but his desire for deeper cultural understanding is ignored by the journalist. Reference to the influence of Europe on tango's success.

Explicit/Implicit Knowledge	This article assumes very little implicit knowledge due to its inclusion and description of the history of tango

This article rearticulates many of the words frequently associated with tango (please see Table of Collected Articles), mentioning the 'primitive beginnings' moving to the 'rage in ballrooms' and by the second sentence the writer brings in 'It even caused scandals for its blatant sensuality'. So, we have immediately been placed back within the sensuality framework normally associated with tango. This sets up the general theme of the whole article however, the major difference being the desire of Mr Orezzeli being to educate people to gain a better understanding of the art form behind the images. Due to the framing by the author, which reinstates the Global North's role in the acceptance, history and success of tango, this article does not manage to truly educate in the way Mr Orezzeli desires. Not having a copy of the spoken interview, means we don't know what else he said that the author didn't include. The quotes used from him, for the most part, fit into the usual discourses, and no new viewpoint of knowledge is stated. He does refer to other avenues of thought 'fight for art form', 'capture the spirit of the porteño', 'Everybody has a mythical idea about the tango but…' that are not explored by the journalist. In the last sentence he says 'it's more than that' but there is no refence to what that more is. So, this article is also interesting for what it leaves out and what Mr Orezzeli implies – there is a disconnect in the message.
The writing focuses more on history, dance, and clothing than the music – which was a huge part of the success of the show, only bringing it in in the last paragraph and stating 'it can be difficult to get access to' on the radio. However, 1985 was the year that tango reappeared in the USA after more than 15 years of silence due to the dictatorship, so it is not surprising either that access was very limited.
The language is quite different from the previous two articles, and we can see the influences of the new commercialized style of writing, which was also influenced by narratives, storytelling and other market-based trends happening in contemporary journalism. This is the second article to appear in 1985 and was another discursive event as it was the first to use such an array of colourful adjectives, collocations, and vivid expressions. All of these continue to be used in articles written by journalists in the New York Times today.

Sample 4: Piazzolla's Rhythm-Driven Tangos
Author: Stephen Holden
Date: May 12, 1988, Section C Page 22

Review/**Music**

Piazzolla's Rhythm-Driven Tangos

By STEPHEN HOLDEN

It is only in the last three years that Astor Piazzolla, the 67-year-old Argentine composer and architect of the style known as nuevo tango, has become widely recognized in this country as a protean "semi-classical" musician comparable in some ways with George Gershwin.

Mr. Piazzolla's contributions to the successful Broadway dance revue "Tango Argentino," his music for the Off Broadway show "Tango Apasionado" and several recordings, of which the most ambitious is the orchestral "Concierto Para Bandoneón/ Tres Tangos" (Elektra Records), have helped to give Mr. Piazzolla a flavor-of-the-month fashionability. And on Saturday evening, the composer and virtuoso of the accordion-like bandoneón appeared at the Beacon Theater in a major concert that covered 25 years of his work.

•

Two-thirds of the evening was devoted to pieces composed for Mr. Piazzolla's New Tango Quintet, a remarkably flexible and finely coordinated ensemble that includes Horacio Malvicino, guitarist; Fernando Suarez Paz, violinist; Hector Console, bassist, and Pablo Ziegler, pianist, in addition to Mr. Piazzolla playing the bandoneón. The evening culminated with a performance of his diaphanously lovely "Concierto Para Bandoneón" (1979), in which he was joined by the Orchestra of St. Luke's conducted by Lalo Schifrin.

•

Although the music spanned more than 25 years, the evening's older pieces, dating from the early 1960's, showed Mr. Piazzolla's compositional style to have been fully evolved by then. These short pieces for quintet, which break down the rigid formality of the traditional tango while maintaining an ominous underlying rhythmic pulse, compact an extraordinary array of influences — from Argentine folk music to Ravel — in the same way they compress feelings of tenderness, savagery and seduction into highly dramatic chamber pieces.

Much of the music's power derives from its textures, at the center of which is Mr. Piazzolla's bandoneón. The instrument's keening timbre can evoke an overwhelming poignancy as well as harsh, stark feelings of cruelty and danger. Moving from lush, tremulous sighs to eerie caterwauling whines, Mr. Paz's violin extends the emotional landscape of the pieces to even further extremes. The percussive lyricism of Mr. Ziegler's keyboards suggests Ramsey Lewis's piano turned in a semi-classical direction. Mr. Console's stand-up bass is alternately strummed, bowed and slapped.

"Concierto Para Bandoneón," which is scored for strings, harp and bandoneón, embodies many of the same stylistic collisions as Mr. Piazzolla's chamber works. Dramatically vivacious, with soaring Mediterranean-flavored melodies and echoes of Stravinsky, it also lacks the percussive underpinnings that give the chamber music its density and compactness. At Saturday's performance, the special textural pungency of the bandoneón was muted by the orchestra.

GIVE A CITY CHILD
A FRESH AIR SUMMER

Narrative Structure: Headline + Lead+ Satellites+ Wrap-up	Headline emphasizes feel of musical style, Lead introduces Piazzolla and compares to Gershwin, first satellite paragraph mentions several US successes, next then reviews the concert, then describes Piazzolla's music and influences, then more emotional description of the bandoneon and other instruments, wrap-up finishes with the orchestra piece but some negative comments.
Events	Piazzolla concert in New York
Actors	Astor Piazzolla, composer & musician
Language Analysis	Expressions: flavor-of-the-month fashionability, extraordinary array of influences, stark feelings of cruelty and danger, soaring Mediterranean-flavored melodies and echoes of Stravinsky Adjectives: protean semi-classical musician, virtuoso, accordion-like bandoneon, ominous, tenderness, savagery, seduction, power, harsh, Verbs: lacks (state verb) Collocations: remarkably flexible, finely coordinated ensemble, diaphanously lovely, fully evolved, highly dramatic, overwhelming poignancy, lush tremulous sighs, eerie caterwauling whines, emotional landscape, semi-classical direction, stylistic collisions, dramatically vivacious, special textural pungency, muted Comparatives: comparable….with George Gershwin, further extremes Superlatives: most ambitious Negatives: only in the last three years that Piazzolla (67) …has become widely recognized Nominalization: No
Discursive Plane	Fashion, Art, Tango, Classical Music
Ideological Standpoint	Cultural Validity, Aesthetic Judgement
Causality	Piazzolla's contributions to tango
Explicit/Implicit Knowledge	The readers are expected to know who Piazzolla is and what a bandoneon is, but the author includes some well-known (although somewhat derogatory) references in order to help situate things

The author shows immediately through his use of adjectives, that he holds a somewhat mixed feelings and refuses to completely validate Piazzolla's artistic work. As with most of his adjectives, they can be interpreted in many ways. For example, 'protean' means ever-changing, variable, erratic, versatile, adaptable, multitalented etc. To which he adds a comparison with Gershwin, who was never considered to be a serious musician, and later 'semi-classical musician' which again emphasizes this lack of commitment to validating tango music – presenting it rather as not being something else. Describing the bandoneon as 'accordion-like' is actually very insulting for bandoneon players and belittles the incredible expressive difference between the two instruments, whilst denying it an identity in its own right. Whilst his use of 'extraordinary

array of influences' can also be interpreted as brilliant or strange. Whilst the journalist also compliments Piazzolla (see Collocations) he also continues his stance of having to relate tango to something else to give it an identity, such as 'soaring Mediterranean-flavored melodies'. Now although this may be an attempt to create connections for his assumed readership, this does continue the sense of need for validation through other avenues. His use of 'special textural pungency' to describe the timbre of the bandoneon is somewhat disturbing to say the least, and also ambiguous, after which he finishes on a negative note.
We can still see the trend of more evocative and colourful language as begun by the previous article (sample 3). Using collocations with more extreme adverbs or quantifiers has become a hallmark now of tango discourse.

4.0 Ethics

Using published newspaper articles from 1914, 1920, 1985 and 1988 removes any major concerns for ethics. There is no direct harm towards any individual implied in this research but consent for use of the authors work may be necessary. The journalists work is publicly shared and therefore there is no invasion or disregard for privacy. There are potential issues of copyright as they come from the NYT archive, of which I am a subscriber. Articles published before 1923 are legally considered in the public domain, however, the other two articles are still under copyright law.

5.0 Researcher's Experience & Position

'The suspicion of only finding what one sets out to find always lingers in the air' (Hoey, 2001, p. 9)

Challenges, Strengths & Weaknesses

This project was a difficult undertaking, due in part to my inexperience in discourse analysis, but also to the incredibly rich and varied discourses that tango is enmeshed in. It was a fascinating and sometimes overwhelming journey. The amount of articles was much less than expected over a period of 110 years but far more work than anticipated and it was extremely hard to decide which articles to focus on in more detail.

Conducting discourse analysis has allowed me to discover more nuances than previously suspected but has also revealed that so much more analysis could be done on these four articles than I have space to include here. Through my research I discovered many different approaches to discourse analysis and feel much more work is needed for me to find the best approach for these articles. This work has revealed a lot, but one issue was knowing what kind of language to use to describe some of the structural observations, as well as a proper understanding of how to deal with all the data a text supplies. I feel my contextual understanding of my research questions have been very well answered and have

led to new insights, but my work on critical discourse theory needs improvement. Indeed, Fairclough says this is an 'interpretative art which depends upon the analyst's judgement and experience' (1995, p. 77).
Creating a table summarizing keywords from the 110 years was very helpful in seeing how discourse has progressed historically and made it easier to see which articles can be considered as discourse events.
An additional difficulty was in deciding upon which discourse planes were involved and what the dominant ideological standpoints were for each sample text. This process needs more refining. Fairclough comments that 'ideology is most effective when its workings are least visible' (1989, p. 85), and alas to me some remain still invisible.

Another issue was my 20-year participation within tango as a musician and teacher, it gives me a certain bias which has impacted upon this work and is inherent in my research questions. This is not necessarily a bad thing but has meant that I may have had a more emotional reaction to some references in the articles than others might, leading me to interpretations that others might not have. However, this also gave me insights into certain references that may be missed by others, and that certain cultural codes of tango also position me differently from an anglophone with no experience. It became apparent that most of the NYT journalists are not participants in tango culture, as revealed in their discourse, and this lack of involvement within meaning making, practice and the Argentine 'frameworks of interpretation' (Hall, 2013, p. xix) means their discourse perpetuates cliches unknowingly.

My choice of inductive logic, which aims to 'establish limited generalizations about the distribution of, and patterns of association' (Blaikie & Priest, 2019, p. 92) by way of descriptions of 'characteristics and regularities' (idem, p. 93) was a good foundation to start from, as it allows for unsuspected things to reveal themselves. The characteristics initially chosen were those of language relating to sensuality gained from personal experience within the field and the extensive background work I carried out that was not included here. The paradigm of interpretivism was fitting as I believe the tango world I know is 'constituted from the meanings the participants produce' (Blaikie & Priest, 2019, p. 107) but in contrast, the analyzed newspaper discourse here is a mediatized tango world in which meanings are created by non-participants and this has produced a conflictual discourse in tango's identity, which I want to untangle and share.
One of the reasons for choosing a post-structural approach was its inclusion of the 'marginal, the excluded' (Sarup, 1993, p. 100), of making invisible voices and ideas visible, and the belief that 'no on system reveals the entire truth' (Sarup, 1993, p. 91). I fully agree with this in general, and here it is clear to me that although critical discourse analysis is extremely fruitful, it is unable to give the whole picture for all the discourses surrounding tango. Not having the image of dance, not the sound of music, nor the feel of the embodiment of this art form does mean that much is missed out – in fact entire other essential discourses around tango are ignored – this obviously, is a big weakness in using CDA. Still, because much of the tango experience in the West is had through the mind, and through the media, the contributions towards research in unpicking complexities of power and cultural hegemony are very valid, helpful, and useful

6.0 Key Findings

Q1 In what way is tango represented in the New York Times?

This research has shown that tango has an over-simplified yet complex identity within the NYT discourse. It is presented as sensuous, dramatic, high energy, elegant, sexy, steamy, passionate, smooth, suave, decadent, sleek, abusive, male-dominated, powerful, virtuosic among others. Although much of this can be seen as positive, there remains doubt about the artistic value of this genre, with different authors expressing varying degrees of acceptance and judgement. Within cultural acceptance as a concept, there is the need to validate and consider equal alternative values and viewpoints. This does not yet seem to have truly or fully happened. But this is most likely due to the more superficial understanding of what tango means and what it really represents. The shocked religious tone has given way to a colourful decorative emotional and sensual one.

Furthermore, it would appear too that the 'commodification of romance' with in the 'mass markets of consumption' (Illouz, 1997, p.26) have had a strong effect upon journalistic discourse and within the tango economy itself. Indeed when working with media, the content producer must also entertain the reader (Fairclough, 1995, p. 4). Sample 3 is a good example of the tension which exists between the tango producer's desire to give more information and the journalists desire to entertain.

There are multiple ideologies at play which show various layers of power, such as gender, identity, money, culture and nation which demand much more research.

Q2 Has this representation changed over time?

From the Table of Articles (p.10), one can observe several types of attitudes, starting with religious in the 1910-20s, to more factual in the 30-40s, with more evocative writing from the 1960s onwards and an explosion from the 1980s, where references to sex and sensuality becoming extremely frequent. This ties into the new adoption of narrative journalism from the 1960s, which 'added a specific form of emotional appeal, a validation of feelings and how they structure human experiences' (Schmidt, 2019, p.8). In fact, a key feature is to 'engage the imaginations of the readers, transporting them to unfamiliar places' (idem, p. 106). The NYT, being an influential paper, can be considered a contributor in having constructed and mediated the 'cultural norms, values and routines' (Schmidt, 2019, p. 10) around tango discourse in the USA.

7.0 Conclusion and Outlook

My research has been a mix of semiotic focusing on the 'how of representation' and discursive, on the 'effects and consequences' relating to meaning, power relation and identity construction (Hall, 2013, p. xxii).
Several interesting points revealed themselves, one being the distinct lack of alternative discourses from an Argentinian point of view – in many cases the judgement always came from outside and made no reference to what tango means for Argentinians – the article with Mr. Orezzoli (Sample 3) implied more but was never voiced. The cultural hegemonies of Europe and the USA are obvious.
As McManus discovered 'The ongoing sexualization of the tango is thus articulated alongside a long history of colonial and post-colonial racial stereotypes' (2013, p. 210) and 'the underlying racial and gendered prejudices that such representations articulate remained largely unnoticed and rarely contested' (McManus, p. 196). Which is still the case today.

At the turn of the 20th century, Buenos Aires had a 'terrible international reputation' (Guy, 1990, p. 5) as being dangerous, full of sex trafficking into tango dancing slavery for European women. Due to colonialism, Argentina was an easy target for 'vilification' (idem, p. 13). It was viewed as 'inferior and immoral' (idem, p. 14). However, it's identity also witnessed a paradox, known as either the 'Paris of South America' or 'Sin City' (idem, p. 37). So, these conflicting identities were embedded into the reception of tango and therefore also in how it was reported in the NYT. In reference to minorities, or those from different ethnic origins, the media tends to construct a 'narrow and generalized version' of events which are often 'restricted and stereotypical' (Hodkinson, 2017, p. 225).

Hall remarks that 'representation functions… more like the model of a dialogue', for which however, we need shared cultural codes (2013). It is precisely this aspect which seems to be missing where meaning in tango ends up as 'an unequal exchange' (Hall, 2013, p. xx) due to a certain lack of cultural understandings framed by varied interpretations of the different world views. The anglophone world has not yet learned how to translate tango culture more meaningfully. It would also seem that they use tango culture for different things than Argentines do. Indeed, Fairclough comments 'the possibilities for miscommunication (between people) are ample' (1989, p. 48).

As Hall asks, ultimately then, is this tango discourse an 'effective exchange'? (Hall, 2013, p. xxvi)
While the 'erotic' discourse typifies Argentines into certain ideological and cultural constraints, it has also led to the explosive development of the tango tourist industry which brings a lot of money into Argentina and helps tango artists make a living, thereby contributing to its continuation and taking it off the endangered cultural list. It was even ratified by UNESCO in 2009 as part of the 'Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity' so it is in many ways a success story (https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/tango-00258).

It could be argued that part of what keeps tango attractive to westerners is its lack of transparency, frequent reference is made to the myth of tango by both Argentines and others, seemingly keeping the center hidden from view.
However, this dissonance between lived experience of tango and the representation of tango ultimately contains it within discourses which don't seek full cultural understanding and weaken the cultural value placed upon it – we have much more to learn from this genre that would enrich North-South relations and teach us about creativity and resilience, which are two fundamental aspects of tango that are regularly ignored by newspapers like the NYT.
Critical discourse analysis has proven to be very fruitful within tango research, and little has been done on this yet, so it opens up a new branch of research into this genre. However, including video content analysis would render such media-tango research much more complete.

7.1 How could this be expanded as a thesis project?

There is much scope for this to be expanded into a thesis project by increasing the number of articles analyzed, as well as using a wider range of analysis and methods from the aforementioned discourse theorists including work on newspapers by van Dijk (such as diagram below).

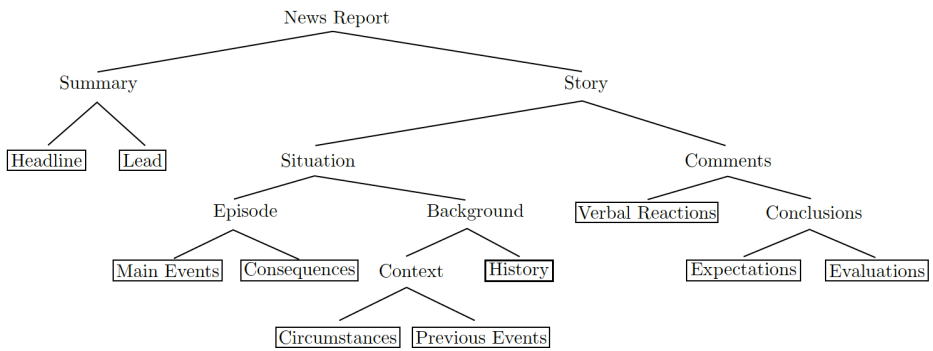

Figure 1: The hierarchical discourse structure of news proposed by van Dijk (van Dijk, 1988).

Figure 3. Taken from Victor et al (2018, p. 27).

It would be extremely interesting to have the space to go more deeply into intertextual links, relationships between different discourse stands, schematic views and other structural aspects. From a linguistic point of view being able to explore more aspects of language such as metaphors, language relating to ideologies and power, and grammatical aspects like lexical cohesion would be beneficial.

Additionally, being able to include wider range of newspaper articles from the UK, France, Japan, and Argentina to get a much more complete view of the discourses surrounding tango and how they interlink (or not) and contrast with the anglophone ones would reveal much. And finally further exploration of post-structuralism and how that is expressed and functions within tango discourse as well as deeper investigation of gender – which is apparent within many of the texts I looked at but was not included in this research.

Getting more data would also allow for a quantitative analysis of the frequency of certain words, terms or other types of repetitions and ability to discern what the cumulative effects of that may be (Jäger & Maier, 2009). I would also include all the data I found during my background research to place these discourse strands into their various interacting larger contexts.

One aspect of post-structural thought inspired by Foucault, is 'his claim that every exercise of power is accompanied by or gives rise to resistance (which) opens a space for possibility and freedom in any context' (Flynn, 2003, p. 36). Being able to take this further would allow exploration of perhaps why *tangueros* insist upon the myth of tango. Another that could encourage new insights would be to pursue a line of through relating to 'the possibilities and potentialities of desire' following work by Deleuze, Guattari and on the importance of emotions by Lyotard (Sarup, 1993, p. 95).

From the sociological point of view including more theory from Hall about representation would contribute more depth and his 'circuit of culture' is something I would like to explore.

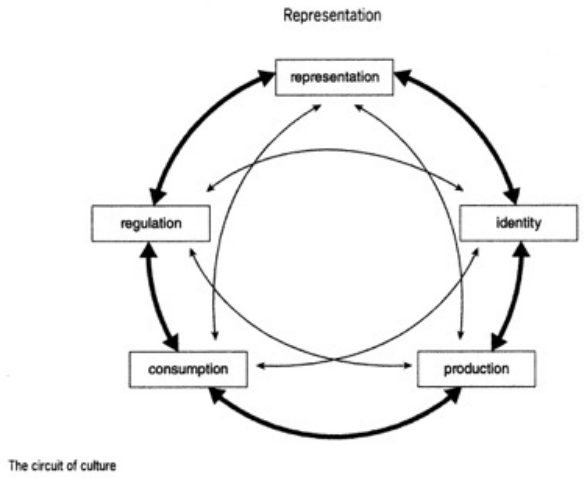

Figure 4. Taken from Hall (2013, p. xviii).

References

Blaikie, N. & Priest, J. (2017). Social research: Paradigms in Action. Cambridge & Malden: Polity Press.
Castro, D.S. (1999). The Massification of the Tango: The Electronic Media, the Popular Theatre and the Cabaret from Contursi to Person, 1917 – 1955. *Studies in Latin American Popular Culture* 1999 Vol 18, p.93 22p.
Carvalho, A. (2000). Discourse Analysis and Media Texts: a Critical Reading of Analytical Tools. *International Conference on Logic and Methodology*. Braga, Portugal: Centro de Estudios de Comunicaçao e Sociedade.
D' Emilio, J. & Freedman, E.B. (1988). *Intimate Matters: A history of sexuality in America*. Third Edition. Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press.
De los Angeles Montes, M. (2014). Tango, senses and sensuality. DOI: 10.12977/ocula36
Draegin, L. (1985). Tango Traces a Society. *New York Times*. June 23, 1985, Section 2 Page 8
Fairclough, N. (1989). *Language and Power*. Harlow: Longman Group UK Limited
Fairclough, N. (1995). *Media Discourse*. London: Hodder Headline Group.
Fairclough, N. (2009). A Dialectical-Relational Approach to Critical Discourse Analysis in Social Research. Chapter 7. *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis Second Edition.* Wodak, R. & Meyer, M. (Eds.). London: Sage
Flynn, T. (2003). Foucault's Mapping of History. Chapter 1. *The Cambridge Companion to Foucault Second Edition*. Gutting, G. (Ed.). New York: Cambridge University Press.
Guy, D. J. (1990). *Sex and Danger in Buenos Aires: Prostitution, Family, and Nation in Argentina*. Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press.
Hall, S. (2013). The Work of Representation. Representation Second Edition. Hall, S., Evans, J. & Nixon, S. (Eds.). London: Sage Publications Ltd.
Hodkinson, P. (2017). Media, Culture and Society: An Introduction. London: Sage Publications.
Holden, S. (1988). Piazzolla's Rhythm-Driven Tangos. *New York Times*. May 12, 1988, Section C Page 22.
Illouz, E. (1997). *Consuming the Romantic Utopia: Love and the Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism*. University of California Press.
https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/tango-00258
Locke, T. (2004). Critical Discourse Analysis. London: Continuum International Publishing Group.
McKee, A. (2003). Textual Analysis: A Beginner's Guide. First Edition. Sage Publications Ltd.
McManus, E.J. (2013). The Tango in Translation: Intertextuality, Filmic Representation, and Performing Argentine Tango in the United States. *TranscUlturA*l, vol. 5. 1-2 (2013), 194-213
New York Times Archives (Anonymous Authors):
https://www.nytimes.com/1914/01/22/archives/tango-shame-of-our-days-patriarch-of-venice-issues-energetic.html
https://www.nytimes.com/1920/05/25/archives/tango-is-approved-by-archbishop-cardinal-amette-pronounces-it.html

Reisigl, M. & Wodak, R. (2009). The Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) Chapter 4. *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis Second Edition.* Wodak, R. & Meyer, M. (Eds.). London: Sage
Sarup, M. (1993*). An Introductory Guide to Post-Structuralism and Postmodernism*. Second Edition. University of Georgia Press.
Schmidt, T. R. (2019). *Rewriting the Newspaper: The Storytelling Movement in American Print Journalism*. University of Minnesota.
Studlar, G. (1989) Discourses of Gender and Ethnicity: The Construction and De(con)struction of Rudolph Valentino as Other. *Film Criticism*, Vol; 13, No. 2, Winter.
Törnqvist, M. (2013). Tourism and the Globalization of Emotions: The Intimate Economy of Tango. London: Routledge
UNESCO https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/tango-00258
Verboord, M. & Janssen, S. (2015). Arts Journalism and Its Packaging in France, Germany, The Netherlands and the United States, 1955-2005. *Journalism Practice*, 9:6, 829-852, DOI: 10.1080/17512786.2015.1051369
Victor, W., Yarlott, H., Cornelio. C., Gao, T., Finlayson, M. A. (2018). Identifying the Discourse Function of News Article Paragraphs. *Proceedings of the Workshop on Events and Stories in the News*, pp. 25-33, Florida International University.
Viladrich, A. (2019). Think global, act Argentine! Tango émigrés and the search for artistic authenticity. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 42:6, 901-918, DOI: 10.1080/0149870.2019.1543892.
Wang, W., & Liu, Weihua. (2015). Critical Discourse Analysis of News Reports on China's Bullet-Train Crash. *CS Canada Studies in Literature and Language*, Vol; 10, No. 2, 2015, pp. 1-8.
Williams, J. (2014). Understanding Poststructuralism. Chapter 1. Routledge.