

Small's concept of gestures, in particular the idea of musical icons, has already arisen in our fieldwork. From when I first started researching jibaro music to when we walked into Santiagos for the first time, it was very quickly clear that the cuatro is not only featured in the jibaro sound, but iconic of Puerto Rico itself. The cuatro is so inextricably linked to the history and music coming out of the small Caribbean island that the sound of the instrument's ten string melodies immediately conjures the island to mind. As William Cumpiano described it to us, the cuatro defines what it is to be Puerto Rican, no matter where one is geographically.

Although I am pretty sure I have heard cuatros before in Caribbean music and was familiar with their distinctive sound, I never connected them with Puerto Rico specifically. Before learning its heritage, the instrument was simply a hallmark of Caribbean music to me. The musical icon of Small's description still requires knowledge of its existence and only takes on its full meaning with the right past experiences.

Musical icons, unlike most visual icons, are often more complex than just one sensory experience though. Upon seeing a visual icon you can recognize it when you see it later. When an instrument is a musical icon though, there are two modes of expression—visual and auditory—and they are generally orthogonal to each other. Knowledge of what a cuatro looks like doesn't necessarily tell you what it *sounds* like, and vice versa. Most of the time you experience these two modes of expression in tandem (i.e. when musicking), but audio recordings or photos of the instrument isolate one mode or the other. I've realized explicitly that when representing a musical icon, it's important to play both the sound and also show what instruments define and make the sound's distinctiveness.

The ritual of musicking that Small describes also arises when considering the Santiago family. Most of their music-making occurs on a weekly basis at the same time in the same place with mostly the same people. Almost all of the musicians are family, and they play not just for the restaurant's Friday night patrons but for themselves. It is clearly a time for the family to come together, eat, drink, and be merry. They chat and joke with each other while performing, and occasionally a little family history slips through the lips of Gego, the son, when he's in front of the mic.

Talking with the family revealed that they see their Friday night ritual as a way not only to come together at least once a week, but also as a way to embrace and keep alive their Puerto Rican culture. This is especially important for those who were born in and grew up in Massachusetts and have never set foot in Puerto Rico. They also believe that music, like the food they cook, can instill some sense of appreciation for their culture into those who haven't experienced it before. These are the beliefs Small is talking about when he says, "You will believe in the myth only if you enjoy the ritual, and you will enjoy the ritual only if you believe in the myth." In my mind, this begs the question of who doesn't believe in myth? Who doesn't enjoy the ritual? What family members are absent every Friday night or begrudge coming? This is definitely an aspect of the Santiagos' musicking that I want to investigate a little more as a result of thinking about Small's text.