

NOTES ON TEJANO MUSIC

José R. Reyna

The present study is intended in large part to fill a gap in the study of *Tejano* music which has resulted from neglect on the part of scholars—a situation not unlike that which exists in many other areas of Chicano Studies. Therefore, what follows is primarily a descriptive treatment of the subject. Although there is also an attempt to discuss the subject from an historical perspective, that is not the principal consideration at this time, since much more basic research is needed for precise historical documentation. In the future, once a basic framework has been established, more detailed analytical, even polemical, studies will no doubt be undertaken.¹

The focus of this paper is upon instrumentation and orchestration as distinctive features of the Chicano music of Texas. Other aspects, such as Chicano lyrics, individual performers, groups, dance tradition, comparative questions, and the role of the Tejano music industry are touched upon only briefly,² for it is in instrumentation and orchestration that we can see the evolution of a strain of music that is clearly Chicano/Tejano, although it is influenced by Mexican and American traditions. It should be stated further that at any given time in this evolution there have existed ensembles consisting of various combinations of instruments, some of which can still be found in South Texas. All of these contribute to the broad range of Chicano music tradition in Texas. But at present, there are two types of groups that are dominant—the *conjunto* and the *orquesta* or *banda*. It is the evolution of these two forms which I will examine here.

The first to appear as an independent and identifiable type was the conjunto. Among Chicanos in Texas, the term “conjunto,” which in Hispanic countries, including Mexico, may refer to different types of musical groups, has come to refer to a group in which the accordion is the principal instrument, with the bass, guitar, and trap set providing the rhythm and accompaniment. Of course, this ensemble is a relatively recent form, that is, the accordion, guitar, bass, and drums did not really

become firmly established as a musical unit until the 1940s and 1950s. The exact origins of the conjunto Tejano, as well as of its Mexican relative the *conjunto norteco*, are impossible to ascertain primarily because of their folk origins. It is possible that the former is a descendant of the latter, which might be a logical conclusion in view of the fact that most Chicano cultural traditions are of Mexican provenience. One problem, however, is that the conjunto norteco has been the unwanted stepchild of Mexican folkloric and popular music, having been eclipsed by the *mariachi* and other forms considered more representative national types. Thus, it has been and continues to be ignored by the students of Mexican popular music and by purveyors of Mexican culture.

The key to determining the origins of the conjunto would seem to be the appearance in Mexico and South Texas of the accordion and certain non-Hispanic musical forms identified with the conjunto, especially in its early stages. For instance, the schottisch (in Spanish, schotis), redova, waltz, mazurka and particularly, the polka—all European instrumental forms introduced during the French period (1864-1867)—were the rage among the elite in Mexico, and by the late nineteenth century became part of Mexican folk music tradition. This assumes further that these forms were also transmitted to Texas where they became equally popular among the folk.³ The same route would have been followed by the accordion, similarly a non-Mexican contribution to conjunto tradition.

It is a well-known fact that German immigrants settled in the South Texas/Mexico border area as early as the 1830s, which means that the features mentioned above could have been introduced first in Texas then transmitted south into Greater Mexico. This could be true especially of the accordion.

Recent work by Arhoolie Records has added another theory to the origin of the conjunto. According to Chris Strachwitz, the accordion and related musical forms arrived in the Rio Grande Valley area in the latter half of the nineteenth century with German and Bohemian mineworkers, became established there, and subsequently spread north and south from the border area.⁴ This seems to be the most acceptable conjunto-origin theory. But an important weakness of this position is the assumption that the same form, which is referred to as norteco in Mexico, emerged along the border, then traveled north and south from the border area. Strachwitz concludes, for example, that “we have seen norteco accordion music reach the zenith with the incredible success of the conjunto ‘Los

Relámpagos del Norte' during the 1960s."⁵ In reality, 'Los Relámpagos' was a conjunto from Northern Mexico (in that sense, a "conjunto norteño") which was distinguished by style and commercial success rather than by substantive contributions to the evolution of the conjunto. As we shall see later, Texas conjuntos reached this stage of development by the 1950s.

Among Tejanos in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century there were a number of instrumental combinations, large and small, which might have included the accordion, bass, guitar, and drums as part of the ensemble. But, rarely were all four included in one group. Elderly informants whom I have interviewed over the years say that these groups were more or less random combinations of instruments and musicians which were in part dependent upon the occasion. For example, large groups were used on special occasions or large celebrations, where *marchas* were part of the event. It is apparent that acoustics also played an important role in determining the size of the group which would perform. Informants noted that the accordion was not used on these occasions because it could not be heard in large places or from outdoor *plataformas*, where dances were often held in South Texas through the first half of the twentieth century. My conclusion, therefore, is that in the embryonic stage of the conjunto during the 1920s and 1930s, small gatherings afforded the most propitious setting for the accordion and guitar to become a team. Of these, the *cantina* ultimately became the most important medium in which the conjunto could develop. This was due to electronic amplification of two relatively mute instruments.

Although the accordion and guitar were a team by the 1920s, the present Texas conjunto form was not achieved until the 1940s or 1950s. The drums (or *batería*), for example, did not become an integral part of the group until the 1940s, although a bass drum was used at times before then. Before the invention of the acoustic bass, the standup bass was also used sporadically. A comparative study of conjuntos norteños and Texas conjuntos would show the typical conjunto norteño did not evolve to this ultimate stage until the 1960s.⁶

The standard conjunto in Texas at present consists of all four instruments, each utilized in a prescribed manner.

The typical accordion is a Hohner instrument, the most popular type being the Corona.⁷ The use of this model dates back to at least the 1920s, although modern models are more complex than the early ones.

Originally, the standard accordion was a Vienna or German-style instrument with ten treble buttons and two bass spoon keys, a type which is still used among Cajun musicians in Louisiana. In the late 1920s or early 1930s a 21-button double-row model was introduced and used by Chicanos until the introduction of the triple-row 31-button model in the 1940s. The bass keys, which are part of all of the models, have been used only rarely by Chicano accordionists. The most common key signatures are F (Fa) and G (Sol), although the variety of keys depends upon the degree of mastery of the musician. As a lead instrument, the accordion is used not only for the melody line in instrumental pieces such as the polka, but also for introductions, background obbligato, and interludes or solos, especially in vocals. Early recordings dating to the 1930s indicate that the typical accordionist of that era relied principally on a simple one-line melody, which created a very lively sound in faster tempos. But by the 1940s most accordionists had mastered two- and three-line harmonies, which gave the accordion a fuller, more mature sound. In Texas they have continued at this level while at the same time refining the traditional introductions and passages ("licks"). One notable exception to the traditional style of accordion playing is Esteban Jordán. Jordán possesses unparalleled technical mastery of the accordion, and always spices up traditional conjunto tunes with modern chord progressions, and jazz riffs. His repertoire also includes jazz, blues, rock, and standard pop tunes, which he has performed at the Monterey and Newport Jazz Festivals.⁸ Unfortunately, the Chicano demand for traditionality is such that in recent years Jordán has been in greater demand for college performances and other "cultural" events than for Chicano dances.

Three other outstanding accordionists, Paulino Bernal, Oscar Hernández, and Bobby Naranjo also emerged but are distinguished by their mastery of the larger Hohner Maestro IV chromatic accordion. All three incidentally have been associated at one time or another with the renowned Conjunto Bernal.

With regard to the accordion it should be said that the piano accordion has been used very rarely.

The standard guitar used in conjuntos is the *bajo sexto*, a 12-string Mexican guitar almost completely unknown in the United States. The "bajo," as it is called, is somewhat deeper than the six-string acoustic guitar, and has steel strings. It is also different from the American 12-string guitar in the type and size of strings it requires, and in the way in which

they are arranged and tuned. The bajo is typically tuned like a six-string bass, i.e., G/1st, D/2nd, A/3rd, E/4th, B/5th, G/6th. The three lower register strings (4th, 5th, 6th) are thin-over-thick string sets tuned in octaves; the three upper register strings (1st, 2nd, 3rd) are sets of thin strings tuned in unison. The string sets are placed 1/1, 2/2, 3/3/, 1/4, 2/5, 3/6. Most bajos and strings are imported from Mexico, although there have been a few Chicano guitar makers who make bajos.

The function of the bajo originally was to provide both the bass line (with the three lower register string sets) and the guitar rhythm (with the upper-register strings). Since the introduction of the acoustic bass in the 1950s the bass line has been provided by that instrument, while the bajo usually is limited to up-beat rhythm. In fact, the lowest string sets (2/5 and 3/6) are so low in any case that most *bajistas* no longer use them at all, installing instead sets of drone strings. Because the accordion is in fact the lead instrument in conjuntos, *bajistas* are rarely in the limelight.

The standard six-string guitar is rarely used in conjuntos. It is used primarily by conjuntos which, due to the influence of the Chicano big bands, play more American music than the typical conjunto. Also, once electric guitars were introduced they could be heard as easily as the bajo. Nonetheless, although the harmonic possibilities of the six-string guitar are greater, its function is usually the same as that of the bajo sexto: to provide rhythm.

The function of the bass, as stated above, is strictly to provide the beat (on one in 2/4 or 2/3 time; on one and three in 6/8 time; and on one, three and four in four-beat Latin rhythms such as *boleros*). There is no "walking bass line" in Tejano music.

The drums, which became a part of the Texas conjuntos in the 1940s, are the usual trap set. Their function has evolved from a style in which the bass drum was pounded on the down beat, the snare on the off beat, and the cymbal banged occasionally, to one where the bass drum is used sparingly (and muffled), and the snare and cymbal are tapped much more lightly.

There have been other important developments in Texas conjunto music in the last three or four decades which deserve attention. In the 1950s, for example, amplification of the bajo, bass, and accordion became standard. In fact, this amplification also permitted the use of the six-string guitar for more harmonic accompaniment, especially in slower tunes such

as boleros and slower, romantic rancheras. The almost exclusive use of the six-string guitar in the Tejano bands, and the mutual influences between them and the conjuntos has contributed to the increased use of the instrument in conjuntos, as well as to the emergence of a third type of ensemble.

An important development during the 1940s and 1950s was the virtual disappearance of the schottisch, redova, waltz and mazurka, all important music and (especially) dance traditions in Texas, although conjunto musicians still learn these forms as part of their apprenticeship, and perform them on request. Even the polka, which continued as a viable form into the 1960s, is rarely found in recent recordings, a sign perhaps of its impending demise. In part, this is due to the rhythmic similarity between the polka and the two-beat *ranchera*, an extremely popular contemporary genre. In fact, because of their similarity, people tend to confuse the two forms. Recent album jackets, for example, often list rancheras as polkas. Thus, although the popularity of the two-beat dance step remains strong, more two-beat rancheras are being composed than are polkas.

Perhaps the most noteworthy characteristic of conjuntos since the 1960s is that the musicians have attained a remarkable degree of proficiency, stylization and prestige, all of which merits much more attention. While the degree of professionalism, and the impact of the recording industry and of broadcasting reflect an increasing de-folklorization of the conjunto, the standard ensemble as described here is firmly established as a major genre of Chicano music tradition in Texas.

Although it is not possible to list all of the popular conjuntos, mention should be made of some of the outstanding groups. The early decades ('20s, '30s and '40s) included those of Pedro Ayala, Santiago "El Flaco" Jiménez, Narciso Martínez, and Bruno Villarreal. There have been countless groups since the 1940s, including Tony de la Rosa, Agapito Zuñiga, Rubén Vela, Rubén Naranjo y Los Gamblers, Henry Simmerly, Los Pavos Reales, Rene Joslin, Raul Ruiz y Los Campeones, Los Guadalupanos, Los Alacranes de Angel Flores, Gilberto Pérez y Sus Compadres, and Roberto Pulido y Los Clásicos.

It is also important to note that the 1960s saw the emergence of a related type of ensemble in which the organ, and later the synthesizer and other keyboard instruments, became the lead instrument. Probably the first group of this type was Los Fabulosos Cuatro, formed by Ramiro

de la Cruz (“Snowball”) and Mel Villarreal (“Sonny Bono, Jr.”). This group established a genre which has become extremely popular among Chicanos. In addition to a difference in the lead instrument, the guitar used is the standard six-string electric guitar, instead of the more “Mexican” sounding bajo sexto. This change in instrumentation gives the group much more flexibility, volume, and depth, allowing it to perform not only polkas, rancheras, boleros, and various other types of Mexican and “Latin” music, but also rock and jazz with more verisimilitude than would come from simply turning up the volume on an accordion. Because most of the keyboard musicians also play the standard accordion, they can simply switch instruments if the authentic conjunto sound is desired (guitarists can also usually play the bajo sexto). Nonetheless, in spite of their obvious relation to the conjunto, these groups are never called conjuntos. Most often they are simply called “el grupo Tierra Tejana,” etc. In fact, I have found that they resent being referred to as conjuntos.

In order to understand the other important type of Tejano group—the banda or orquesta—it is essential to have an understanding of the developments in conjunto music discussed above, as well as an appreciation of the popularity among Chicanos of the polka and ranchera. Equally important is recognizing the obvious influence of American “swing” musicians such as Glenn Miller, Benny Goodman, Tommy Dorsey, Jimmy Dorsey, etc., of the Big Band Era of the 1930s and 1940s. There were, of course, differences between the early Tejano bands, which emerged in the 1930s in the urban areas, and the typical Anglo big band. The Tejano bands were, for example, usually smaller, as were many local Anglo bands around the country. Quite often Chicano bands excluded the trombone, for no apparent reason. Otherwise, until the early 1950s their instrumentation was essentially the same as that of the Anglo bands. Because Chicano musicians were trained in the American tradition, the repertoires of the early bands included the latest American standards, which were readily available in stock arrangements. However, the Chicano bands soon took on a decidedly Tejano flavor, which cannot not be called typically “Latin.” For example, the first Chicano band to become nationally prominent among Chicanos was that of Beto Villa, from Falfurrias. This group played Mexican as well as American standards. However, Villa also added swing-style arrangements of Mexican folk music, which is something the Mexican big bands of Luis Alcaraz (“El Millonario”), and Pablo Beltrán Ruiz, etc. (who belonged to the elite of Mexican society) never did.⁹ There were, to be sure, many other bands throughout Texas

(Ray Barrera, Mike Ornelas, and Balde Gonzalez, to mention three from Corpus Christi). There were also larger "society" bands (Ralph Galván, for example) which performed primarily on major occasions such as weddings, *Quinceañeras* (Debutante dances), high school boys' and girls' social club dances (of which there were many by the 1950s), school proms, and Christmas and New Year's Eve dances.

It is especially important to recall that the 1940s was the decade in which the Texas conjunto attained its classical form, and that the most popular genres associated with it were the ubiquitous polka and ranchera. So popular was conjunto tradition that most of the bands of this early period regularly employed an accordionist (button-style, of course) and bajistas (if the guitarist did not play bajo) in order to meet the demand for conjunto music which existed among Chicanos. (Even the society bands played traditional Mexican music). However, neither pure conjunto nor pure swing instrumentation provided the sound which was to become the Tejano sound.

An important transitional stage came in the mid-1950s with the emergence and tremendous success of the Isidro López band, which illustrates unequivocally the ties between the conjunto and the band. "El Indio," as he is called, continued in the big band (Tejano-style) tradition of Beto Villa, but introduced some changes which made it clearly Chicano. For example, while the instrumentation of Villa's band was still basically the same as that of Anglo bands, which gave his polka arrangements a sound reminiscent of polkas "a la Lawrence Welk," the López band was much smaller. But it established the standard instrumentation of Tejano bands: two trumpets, two saxes (alto and tenor) and rhythm (bass, guitar, piano and drums) although the piano was dropped in the 1960s in favor of the organ and other keyboards. But López' most significant contribution was the actual incorporation of the button accordion and bajo sexto within the banda/orquesta, demonstrating graphically the ties which existed between the conjunto and the band. Tunes (especially polkas, rancheras and boleros) now had to be arranged for a special kind of band, one which integrated both big band and conjunto elements, and blended the two sounds into one which was entirely different from anything which existed either in Mexican or American traditions. Furthermore, the first famous Chicano "crooner," López, an urban Chicano from Corpus Christi's "La Cuarenta" barrio, set an important precedent in Tejano band tradition. That is, as a result of his immense popularity and success, big band instrumentals quickly began to take a back seat to featured vocalists.¹⁰ But

again, this period represents only one stage in the evolution of Tejano band instrumentation.

With the bond between conjunto and band firmly established, Tejano band tradition was ready to assume its classical form. Actually, this took place almost simultaneously with the success of Isidro López. The band which led the way was that of Oscar Martínez, who had once been a trumpet player in López' band. Martínez formed his own band in the mid-1950s, which consisted of two trumpets, alto sax, tenor sax, guitar, piano, bass and drums. However, the accordion and bajo sexto were excluded altogether from this ensemble. Consequently, arrangements now required that the brass and saxes assume the role of the accordion (for introductions, interludes, etc.), while the guitar, bass, and drums provided a quasi-conjunto rhythm and background. The piano, which evidently did not fit into this format, was also, in time, phased out of Tejano bands.

Beginning in the late Fifties, the new brassy sound led to a veritable proliferation of similar bands which attained even greater success not only in Texas, but also throughout the Southwest and even in Mexico.¹¹ The list of major Tejano bands includes Sunny and the Sunliners; Little Joe and the *Latinaires*; Agustín Ramírez; Johnny Canales; Joe Bravo; Freddie Martínez; Alfonso Ramos; The Royal Jesters, and a host of others too numerous to mention.

Because the bands all shared the same features, by the 1970s stylization within the larger tradition became as important as the singers who headlined them. Among the popular bands were Tortilla Factory, Los Casinos, The Mexican Revolution, and La Connexión Mexicana. Also, many were spin-offs from other bands. For example, Latin Breed was a spin-off of Sunny and the Sunliners, and Latin Breed in turn led to the formation of another band, Jimmy Edwards. This proliferation certainly attests to the importance of the Tejano band sound, which reached its peak in the 1970s. Indeed, there have been no substantive changes in the genre since the late 1950s, although allowances are made for stylistic expression.

An important innovation during the 1960s was the introduction of the organ, which served much the same function as the conjunto accordion. It was, evidently, this innovation which led to the creation of the "grupos" mentioned earlier, in which the organ (or some similar electronic instrument) is combined with guitar, bass, and drums to produce a unique conjunto/band sound. I have treated it as an extension of conjunto tradition primarily because of the obvious influence of conjunto

instrumentation on this genre. But the musicians themselves, who usually have formal training, all have more in common with band-tradition musicians than with those of conjuntos. Some groups such as Roberto Pulido y Los Clásicos, are not referred to as conjuntos even though they actually utilize the (chromatic) accordion rather than fancy keyboards. And although they include saxophones (alto and tenor), they are not referred to as *bandas* either.

The most noteworthy feature of the Tejano big bands is their versatility. Being bicultural phenomena they can simulate a very credible "Latin" sound, which Anglo bands can rarely accomplish. On the other hand, they can also sound like a typical Anglo band, which few if any Mexican bands can do. Thus, their repertoires include rock, jazz, Dixieland, *cumbias* and *salsa*, in addition to the staples (Mexican/Tejano rancheras, polkas, and boleros). Indeed, variety was present as early as the 1950s, as the bands of that period also played everything from Tejano and Mexican, to rock-and-roll and Country and Western.

Although the instrumental pattern for bands was firmly established by the 1960s, complete maturity was attained in the first half of the 1970s, that is, two decades after the conjunto. Since the late '60s the principal innovations in band music have been related to arranging, which is often quite complex, and to the degree of skill and professionalism of individual musicians, many of whom have received degrees in music and are band directors in school systems throughout Texas.

Perhaps the most accomplished of the band musicians is José Gallardo, a gifted and versatile musician from Corpus Christi who mastered the jazz trombone (Frank Rosolino - style), the piano and bass at an early age. As a junior high school student in the early 1950s he formed one of a number of bands which young Chicanos modelled after the Anglo swing bands. As a high school student, when the bands of Isidro López and Oscar Martínez became extremely popular, he played with them. After graduating from high school he joined the Stan Kenton band for a time, studied music at North Texas State University, formed a Ramsey Lewis-type jazz trio, and later joined the Mongo Santamaría band on trombone. During the '70s he also played with La Familia (formerly Little Joe and the Latinaires) for whom he prepared perhaps the best Tejano band arrangements, including several with a studio string section, a technique emulated by several other bands.¹² He subsequently lured most of those musicians away and formed Tortilla Factory, also known for its outstanding

arrangements and talented musicians. For a number of years Gallardo has been musical director of a late-night talk show in Germany. Thus, skillful arrangers and composers such as Gallardo and Gilbert Cedeño have left their mark on Tejano band tradition.

Because there has been a great demand for Tejano music, most Chicano musicians have not had to relocate to other parts of the country in order to market their talents. This has of course had a significant effect on the course of Tejano music tradition, and has greatly enhanced the quality of the music. The depth of talent in the area is attested to by the success of Tejanos who have pursued “the big time.” Among these are Freddie Fender (Baldemar Huerta), Johnny Rodríguez, Trini López, Henry Cuesta (Lawrence Welk Orchestra), and Luis Gasca. Sunny Osuna, Freddie Martínez, and Carlos Guzmán have all appeared in Mexican movies.

Special mention should be made of Johnny Herrera, a gifted and prolific composer from Robstown who has written many beautiful songs, including some (“Te Traigo Estas Flores” and “De Rodillas”) that have been recorded by international recording artists such as Lucha Villa and María Victoria.

In conclusion, Chicano music, influenced by nineteenth-century Mexican and European forms, and later by the American swing bands, evolved into two distinctly Tejano genres—the conjunto and the orquesta or banda. Conjunto tradition, which features the accordion, bajo sexto, bass, and drums, developed over a period of approximately a century, reached maturity in the 1950s, and produced many outstanding groups. It also played an important part in the emergence and form of the Tejano band—*La Onda Chicana*. The banda, which was modelled on the Anglo swing bands of the 1940s and ‘50s gradually evolved unique instrumental patterns with a distinctly Tejano sound. Because both conjuntos and bandas are now firmly established in Tejano tradition, and because Chicano culture is musically multicultural, experimentation and innovation (such as the hybrid form which emerged in the ‘60s) are accepted so long as they do not represent a radical departure from tradition.

NOTES

- ¹ The observations presented here are based on independent research which began in the late 1960s. They have been discussed in numerous formal papers and lectures since 1971. For a review of the first such discussion, at the University of Texas at Austin, see Alma Canales, "Música Chicana," *Magazín*, Volume I (December 1971), pp. 14-15. Since the publication of an earlier version of this paper, Manuel Peña has written several articles on the conjunto. See especially his authoritative work, *THE TEXAS-MEXICAN CONJUNTO: HISTORY OF A WORKING CLASS MUSIC*, Austin, University of Texas Press, 1985. It is an indispensable source for students of Chicano music. Dan William Dickey includes a section on the conjunto ("The Recorded Corrido") in his work, *THE KENNEDY CORRIDOS: A STUDY OF THE BALLADS OF A MEXICAN AMERICAN HERO*, Center for Mexican American Studies, Monograph No. 4, Austin, University of Texas Press, 1978.
- ² For discussions of cultural and political issues in Tejano music, see José R. Reyna, "Tejano Music as an Expression of Cultural Nationalism," *Revista Chicano-Riqueña*, 4:3 (1976), 37-41; and, José E. Limón, "Texas Mexican Popular Music and Dancing: Some Notes on History and Symbolic Process," *Latin American Music Review*, 4:2 (1983), 229-245.
- ³ A possibility suggested by Professor Américo Paredes (conversation October 1971).
- ⁴ Chris Strachwitz, "Texas-Mexican Border Music," Vol. 1: An Introduction, 1930-1960, Berkeley, Folklyric Records, 1973.
- ⁵ Strachwitz, p. 3.
- ⁶ As I have pointed out previously, conjuntos from Northern Mexico, such as Los Alegres de Terán, Los Cadetes de Linares, and Los Robles, become enormously successful in the Chicano market only when they approximate the Texas conjunto sound. But this sometimes creates animosity between Texas and Mexican conjuntos. For a brief discussion of this phenomenon, see Reyna, *op.cit.*
- ⁷ Information and brochures on the bajo sexto and accordions were provided by my friend Bobby Galvan, musician and owner of Galvan Music Company in Corpus Christi, Texas. He has provided several generations of conjunto and band musicians with instruments and thus kept pace with developments over the years.
- ⁸ For examples of the broad range of possibilities of the conjunto, see "La Bamba," Steve Jordan and Brothers, ARV International (ARV-1001), Falcon Records, McAllen, Texas.

- ⁹ Because conjuntos, Mexican and Chicano alike, have been considered as nonprestigious by “legitimate” musicians in Mexico, the Mexican big bands did not evolve in the same direction as did the Tejano bands. Ironically, the accordion was introduced into the mariachi, Mexico’s most prestigious and representative ensemble, in the 1960s (see Reyna, *op.cit.*, p. 39).
- ¹⁰ With the exception of the late Manuel Solís, who sang with El Conjunto Bernal and with his own group, Manuel Solís y Los Solistas, conjunto vocalists have not received the individual recognition that band singers have. Therefore, conjuntos are known by the group’s name. Even when the group’s name includes the leader’s name, he is usually the accordionist.
- ¹¹ See Reyna, *op. cit.*
- ¹² For examples of Tejano string arrangements, see “Para la Gente,” La Familia, Buena Suerte Records (BSR-1023), Temple, Texas.

