Voice, Body, Technologies: Tales from an Arbëresh Village
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Resumen
La voz humana, en diferentes contextos culturales y con vari collegamenti interdisciplinarios, costituisce uno dei principali argomenti di indagine della ricerca etnomusicologica. Le tecnologie svolgono un ruolo importante, sia nella pratica delle performance vocali che dal punto di vista degli studiosi; tuttavia le implicazioni della mediatizzazione della voce non sempre sono state pienamente prese in considerazione. Il saggio affronta alcune questioni, sul piano teorico e dell'etnografia, relative alla performance vocale, intesa come prodotto culturale, e al suo incontro con la tecnologia, termine questo usato nel suo più ampio significato, che va dalle tecniche dell'oralità ai sistemi di registrazione. Gli esempi discusso provengono dalle ricerche personalmente condotte dall'autore, e relative alla minoranza arbëresh di S. Costantino Albanese, in Italia meridionale.

Abstract
Across a variety of contexts, and thanks to various interdisciplinary cross-pollinations, the human voice has come to constitute one of the key fields of ethnomusicological research. Technology plays an important role in the practice of vocal performance as well as the practice of ethnomusicological scholarship; yet the implications of the voice’s mediatization have not always received adequate consideration. This essay raises a few theoretical and ethnographical questions related to vocal performance and its cultural production, particularly with regards to technology, a term used here broadly to include systems of versification in oral performance as well as recording devices. The case studies examined are drawn from the author’s own field research, and concern the arbëresh minority of S. Costantino Albanese, in the southern Italian region of Basilicata.

Palabras clave
Voce, tradizione orale, incorporazione, tecnologia, lavoro sul campo, etnomusicologia, comunità arbëresh.

Keywords
Voice, oral tradition, embodiment, technology, fieldwork, ethnomusicology, arbërsh community.

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To Veniero Rizzardi for his sixtieth birthday

The documentary prejudice

In the opening pages of his book Capturing Sound, Mark Katz provides his readers with the following anecdote:

In 1905 soprano Adelina Patti was finally persuaded to commit her famous voice to wax. After singing a short selection, she heard her recorded voice for the first time. “My God!” she reportedly exclaimed, “now I understand why I am Patti! What a voice! What an artist!” (Katz 2004: 28).

The veracity of this anecdote may be subject to doubt, but it yields a powerful image: that of the great singer approaching the end of her career—Patti was by then well into her sixties—who suddenly seems able to take stock of her vocal prowess—and even of her artistic personality—by listening to her own voice on record. The anecdote speaks eloquently of the complex relationship between a sonic event already thick with implications—the singing human voice—and that same event’s reproduction by means of an external support. If we then also consider that the singer in question was one of the foremost protagonists of nineteenth-century opera—Patti was said to have once been accompanied at the piano by an elderly Rossini—the episode might come to symbolize a key moment of passage. Here, amid the early diffusion of sound reproduction technology, we can perceive the moment of transition from an originary mode of consumption of vocal performance—mouth-to-ear transmission—to a mediatized form of consumption.

The historical encounter between sound and the technological means of its transmission and recording—and the epochal shift this encounter engendered—immediately became the subject of a lively debate, one that accompanied ensuing technological developments in near-parallel motion over the years. New sonic phenomena—such as the transmission of sound at a distance, sound’s increasingly widespread reification and commodification, and artistic initiatives based on the manipulation of recordings—have elicited a steady stream of timely commentary
throughout the twentieth century, beginning with Arnheim, Adorno, and Schaeffer, to name only the most familiar thinkers. In more recent times, the debate on this subject has flourished into a fully-fledged scholarly discipline, one keenly aware of the non-evolutionary trajectory of the relation between sound and technology, particularly with regard to the “quality” of the techniques of reproduction and consumption. The non-evolutionary trajectory is especially apparent when we consider technologies such as low-fi and lossy compression, both of which have grown extremely popular in our own time, thanks to, among other things, internet file sharing. If we are to grasp the complexities of mediatized sound, we must therefore take into account not only technological development, but also the meanings and values acquired within shifting networks of production and consumption, as well as specific cultural contexts.

The human voice has come to represent a topic of special relevance within the broader discussion over technologically mediated sound. This much is immediately evident, for instance, in the Sound Studies Reader (Sterne 2012), which dedicates a whole section exclusively to the human voice and its specific cultural and technological implications. Indeed, crucial to the thought of philosophers, anthropologists and scholars of vocal phenomena—from Derrida, to Zumthor, to Ihde—has been the problem of the voice’s “source” understood in reference to forms of linguistic expression, communicative and artistic performance, and physical and bodily dimensions.

Ethnomusicology has taken an ambiguous position vis-à-vis these issues. On the one hand, the discipline makes extensive use of recording technologies; indeed, these technologies constitute the primary means of objectifying the sonic data necessary to define the field of enquiry. One could even argue that the modern discipline of ethnomusicology—such as it has been configured over the course of the past century—is rooted in sound-recording technology. Indeed, one of the dates conventionally used to mark the birth of the discipline is 1877, the year of the invention of the phonograph. At the same time, however, it has not always been fully acknowledged that recorded sound—and here I echo Mark Katz—is mediatized sound, and as such it is fundamentally implicated in the problem of the role and significance of media. Transcription, analysis, interpretation of sonic data, along with all other scholarly modes of engagement with recordings are, in the end, forms of utilization and consumption of an already mediatized sound. The tendency to neglect the mediated nature of recorded sound is related to what we might call a “documentary prejudice”. This prejudice has closely determined the methods of inquiry both of ethnomusicology and of other disciplines dedicated to the study of vocal traditions and the mechanisms of orality. The act of recording has thus often been considered a merely functional
intermediary stage, and the sonic data fixed on an external support have been construed as a neutral and objective document to be employed as the point of departure for further analytic and descriptive research. The erroneousness of this long-standing prejudice emerges all the more forcefully if we consider that, for a long time, scholars have focused their attention primarily on cultural contexts in which the passage from oral to aural and mimetic-imitative processes constitute the primary means of knowledge transmission. This is true of canonical topics of research such as oral polyphonic traditions, narrative songs and epic traditions—all cases in which the recorded datum, and therefore the mediatization of the voice, has constituted the turning point in a process of textualization of the performative event.

In recent times, new forms of enquiry have helped to foster a growing awareness of the constructed and negotiated nature of sonic documents. This follows—at some distance—an analogous sensitivity that has already been developed with regard to photographic and audiovisual documentation. Far from a mechanical and objective process of capturing and fixing, the act of recording involves technical, theoretical and aesthetic choices, and is often guided by specific working hypotheses that can have a decisive impact on key technical features. Field recordings, in particular, take on an important role in the researcher’s increasingly conscious construction of a shared, dialogic pathway between herself and the principal actors within her field of enquiry (Feld and Scaldaferri 2012).

The voice recorded during field research, then, is not only disembodied and (decon)textualized; it becomes a novel object, and as such it suggests and leaves open a range of interpretive courses to the scholar. Yet it may also be used and consumed by the community in which it originated, thus activating a plurality of new symbolic and evocative functions. A case in point here would be the spate of recent initiatives aiming to recover and retool historical recordings deemed to have aesthetic value or an identity-building purpose. This network offers a new field of possible considerations for scholars—considerations as relevant in relation to current usage of recordings made in the past as they are in relation to contemporary recording practices.

In the pages that follow, I narrate three episodes revolving around the meeting between sound and recording technology that occurred during ethnomusicological research and fieldwork. Each episode bears a unique relationship to the human voice, and takes place in a small village in

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1 We need only think of Simha Arom’s use of playback in order to analytically record the individual parts of Central African polyphonic repertoires; Steven Feld’s employment of specific montage operations and DSM microphones mounted on the head in order to create soundscape compositions; or again Milman Parry’s alternating use of two recording devices in the 1930s as a way of recording the full length of an epic song performance without interruptions.
Basilicata, Southern Italy. More specifically, the episodes unfold in S. Costantino Albanese, an Arbëresh linguistic community: founded in 1500 by Albanian refugees, the community has retained its identity and language by way of an oral tradition, including musical practices whose kernel is vocal polyphony. S. Costantino is, in other words, a classic context for ethnomusicological and linguistic research. Indeed, the village found itself the object of some of the earliest Italian field expeditions led by Diego Carpitella and Ernesto De Martino, and has continued to attract researchers including linguist Martin Camaj, ethnographer Papas Antonio Belluscì, anthropologist Stefano Fiorini, and occasional visits of eminent foreign scholars like Simha Arom—and also my own recent work in the area (Scaldaferri 1994; 2013). This high volume of scholarly attention makes S. Costantino one of the sites in which musical practices and their transformations have been most richly and evenly documented across the span of more than half a century.

The events I recount below—some of which I was directly involved in—unfolded over three decades, between the 1950s and the 1980s. During this period S. Costantino transitioned from a prevalently illiterate and oral mode of existence to rising literacy levels, brought about by the dissemination of primary schooling; the village’s century-old geographical isolation also came to an end during this time, thanks to newly-built transport networks. In these same years a number of southern rural areas came into contact with technologies for audiovisual recording and reproduction. As I will show, these technologies were not only employed as the scholarly means of documentation of musical traditions, but also simultaneously enjoyed and used by the locals according to their own, independent set of traditions and practices.

Using the episodes as case studies, I will reflect on the constructed nature of sonic documentation, the intense negotiation necessary for its production, and the variety of functions and meanings that a recording may accrue within a specific cultural context. These levels of mediation are especially rich when—as is the case here—the scientific and documentary purposes of a recording are flanked by an oral tradition that interacts with the technology through its own symbolic and emotional functions, as well as its own modes of textual transmission (such as the use of rhythm and versification). Such a framework can allow for new and thought-provoking insights into the complex and ambiguous relationship between the voice and its multitude of attending bodies—the body from which the voice issues, the bodies of those who listens to that voice, and, of course, the nonhuman, technological body that records it.
Anna’s weeping

“She wept the same way again this evening, poor Anna… the other night they left her out to weep over there, on the balcony.” This the comment made on an autumn evening in 1988 by the nonagenarian ce Anxhullina Futacit –Angela Laico on the Italian civil record—upon hearing the recording of a ritual weeping performed by her childhood friend Anna Sogga for the tape recorder of Carpitella and De Martino, many years before. Anna died in 1959, at the age of 70; the recording of the funeral lament dated back to April 1954, when the two scholars travelled to S. Costantino as part of their field research on Arbëresh communities in southern Italy (Scaldaferri 1994; Ricci and Tucci 2004).

Ce Anxhullina belonged to an illiterate generation, and had dedicated her life to working as a housewife and peasant; in her old age, she usually spent her days embroidering under her house’s balcony, dressed—always—in the traditional Arbëresh attire. Upon obtaining—thanks to Carpitella—the tracks recorded in S. Costantino in 1954 (which were then yet to be published), I began collecting information on the singers and on the context of the recordings. By 1988, I had made a habit of listening to these materials in the company of locals, some of whom were hearing again the voices of relatives and friends who’d passed away a great many years before. It was a sort of ritual listening, a gathering around a tape recorder that awakened strong emotions and became the occasion for discussions, as well as (from a scholar’s perspective) enlightening observations on the value that such a recording could take on in the local collective imagination.

Among the pieces recorded in April 1954 was the funeral lament performed by Anna Sogga for her own mother, which was then partially transcribed in De Martino’s book Morte e pianto rituale. De Martino noted the constant presence of the interjection “oh-oh,” almost like a sob, as the distinguishing trait of the performance (De Martino 1975: 126):

Oj mëma ime / ma ku të nistin e të qelltin sëmënat mëma ime o - o / ma çë kuraxh s(i) ’kam t’ë bënj mëma ime / se mua më le vete e sëkam njiri mëma ime o - o / e oj mëma ime / ma çë kuraxh bëre sëmënat ‘dlinje ka shpia mëma ime o - o (...) 

oh my mother / where have they taken you and carried you this morning, my mother oh-oh / must be brave, what should I do my mother / why did you leave me alone and I have no-one my mother oh-oh / eh oh my mother / how brave you were to leave the house this morning my mother oh-oh / (...) (Scaldaferri 1994: 80).
The collective listening sessions in S. Costantino constituted a sort of restitution of these materials to the communities to which they belonged. The materials, locked up for years in the archives of the National Academy of Santa Cecilia in Rome, had been safeguarded by a bureaucratic system that had ended by denying access to those who were—after all—the recordings’ legitimate proprietors. The extreme difficulty of access had in turn fostered all kinds of wild speculation regarding the recordings’ ultimate purpose, with some going as far as suspecting that the tapes had been exploited for commercial purposes.

In S. Costantino, listening to these sound materials elicited different reactions depending on the age and background of the listeners. The youngest generation, who had received primary schooling in the Italian language and were quite familiar with radio and LPs, were greatly moved, particularly whenever they first heard and recognized the voices of parents or relatives who’d passed away. The familiarity with the media allowed them to fully grasp the difference between the external support and the sonic event whose trace was preserved therein, and they thus understood the recordings as touching statements left by loved ones.

For people like ce Anxhullina Futacit—who had been young at the beginning of the twentieth century, in an intensely isolated rural environment, and had thus next to no contact with reproduced sound—listening to these materials elicited different, slightly more complex emotions. Ce Anxhullina had experienced proximity to sound and audiovisual recording technologies very late in her life; during the 1980s—she would occasionally find herself looking at the TV screen at home, or overhearing sound recordings or radio broadcasts. All this was, however, foreign to the coordinates of her cultural universe; the people she could see or hear through these media were not the fleshly beings of her real world, but unknown presences that were cognized and perceived only in mediatized form, endured passively without being given a full place in her everyday consciousness. The voice of Anna Sogga lamenting her departed mother was, however, the voice of person she had met in the flesh, someone long gone who was re-emerging from the past—a sort of “resonant tomb,” as Sterne would have it—that needed to be accommodated within her conceptual horizon, lest it be perceived as an absurd and unnatural phenomenon. For ce Anxhullina, Anna’s weeping was not only, or even primarily, a recorded voice capable of eliciting emotion, but instead something that demanded to be inserted within a context to which it did not usually belong. A few observations on Arbëresh lexical aspects will help us to understand ce Anxhullina’s imagination at work here.

As the Arbëresh language has no technological lexicon of its own, it has acquired, over the
past few decades, the Italian verb “registrare” (to record) in order to indicate recording; the verb has been adapted and conjugated according to Arbëresh grammar. This mingling of Italian and Arbëresh has been possible thanks to the younger generations who, having studied Italian at school, are bilingual, and thus make frequent use of linguistic borrowings from Italian whenever their home tongue lacks a suitable word. Nephews and sons of the performers who’d been recorded in the 50s referred to the musical tracks as “registrazioni”, recordings, and thus grasped the difference between the external support and its sonic content. They were able to think of the recording as the trace of vocal performances by relatives who’d passed away. It was this awareness, brokered by language, that allowed them to be moved to tears by what they heard.

_Ce Anxhullina_, along with the people in her generation who didn’t speak Italian, could only use the lexicon of old Arbëresh language. Listening to the recording of Anna’s weeping was the first time that _ce Anxhullina_ was directly confronted with the act of recording; in order to indicate recording she thus repeatedly employed, in a nearly spontaneous fashion, to the verb _marr_, which means “to grasp,” “to seize,” as well as “to learn.” _Marr_ is also used to explicitly indicate the learning of a song on the basis of listening, according to what would once have been the passage of sound from mouth to ear typical of oral tradition: the voice perceived through the ear is “seized” and memorized. Local speaking practice also includes the expression _merr vesh_, literally to “take to one’s ears,” which means, metaphorically, to listen with great attention, to apprehend and to obey, or even to memorize a rule, whether it be a musical and performative one, or a command one can’t help but heed. To record somebody’s voice meant, then, to take their voice, but not in the sense of deprivation, but rather as an apprehension, the seizing of something for the purpose of sharing it and giving it back later.²

In the lexicon and imagination of people of _ce Anxhullina’s_ generation, who were crafting new meanings—not yet settled by common use—for familiar Arbëresh words, the meaning of the act of recording the voice was spontaneously traced back to the apprehension and memorization of actions meant to be repeated as part of performative acts. Recording the voice implied therefore a kind of humanization of the machine. The tape recorder became an aggregate of ear and mouth: a “talking ear” that listened, learned and was then able to repeat what it had heard.

² The verb _marr_, which is used frequently in relation to the voice and to musical performance, is also used to indicate the phenomenon of a performer adjusting herself to the pitch and tessitura of a fellow performer as a result of auditive conditioning. It is also worth noting that in the Albanian polyphonic tradition, the verb _marrë_ indicates the singing of the first soloist, that is, of the singer who initiates and opens the performance. The three parts of polyphonic singing are each described with a different term: _marrës_ (to begin, to take the tune), _prerës_ (to wait/to cut the tune), _iso_ (to sustain a drone on the vowel “ë”); Tole 2007. The verb _marrë_ is thus closely related to the performative dimension in both mainstream Albanian language and in Albanian dialects.
Through this network of associations, the machine appeared much like a person who, after carefully listening to a song, is able to let us hear it again at a different time and place. Anna’s disembodied voice had somehow enfleshed itself into an external support; ce Anxhullina thus heard the recording as a sort of metonymy of her old friend’s performance. If, that is, recording the voice meant to have the recording apparatus learn something by ear, to have it sound forth again meant to witness the weeping of whatever part of Anna the recorder had apprehended when it “took her to its ear.” Rather than an action capable of eliciting emotion, listening to the recording became a kind of bizarre game: ce Anxhullina was indeed amused by this activity, and didn’t seem at all moved. For her, perhaps, the images evoked by the recorded sound bled into and mingled with her memory of her old friend Anna, who was conjured up again and obliged, every evening and in varying locations, to repeat the lament for her dead mother.

The “uncle from America” and his mission

Laj Pepini Shirokut (1900-1980)—Giuseppe (Peppino) Chiaffitella on the civil record—will continue to live on in the memory of the people of S. Costantino as the “uncle from America.” Popular with young people and a sports fan, in 1947 he created the village’s football pitch by obtaining a patch of land and persuading the adults of the village to clear it with ploughs and spades, so that the local youths had a place to play football. He emigrated in his youth, following in his father’s footsteps to work in New York as a tailor at the eve of the Great War. In New York he connected with a community of people from the same village, who had arrived along with the great migratory flows at the beginning of the century. Peppino was committed to keeping alive his Southern roots, and to preserving the relations between the village and the migrant community by helping to facilitate family reunions, teaching English, and sharing photographs. His work as a facilitator was allowed, in part, by his relatively frequent trips back to his home town. Starting from 1957, one of the things brought by Peppino on his trips was a Recordio tape recorder. With this device, he recorded the voices of relatives and friends separated by the ocean, and then shared them by organizing small house parties that became both recording and listening sessions. He thus realized a series of true sonic postcards, to which, during the 1960s, he would also add amateur videos shot with a Super 8. In the same years in which Carpitella and De Martino had taken an interest in the documentation of the traditional singing practices of rural southern areas, Peppino recorded not only traditional songs and musical instruments, but also conversations, names of people, greetings
and birthday wishes; he even tried to document the multifaceted local soundscape, and shared his recordings as much as possible with emigrants, so as to replenish their memory of their community of origin.

The generosity and nearly spasmodic effort made by Peppino to encourage these contacts and keep alive the memory of the village testify not only to his especially kind personality; they are also likely products of a tragic life event. In 1943, Peppino’s only son, then thirteen years old, died of illness in the village, while the father was in the United States. At that time, contacts with S. Costantino were interrupted because of the war, and the village was in a condition of extreme isolation. Peppino would find out about his son’s death only some years later; he then entered into a deep crisis, and was beset—perhaps for the rest of his life—by a deep anxiety about the barriers of geographical distance, an anxiety that he may have attempted to quell through his intense dedication to others.

The key token of Peppino’s mission is the significant corpus of tapes, films and photographs preserved by his relatives to this day. An emblematic example among these is a tape from a recording session carrying the hand-written label “La voce dei parenti ed amici di S. Costantino Albanese—ai loro cari in America anno 1958” [the voice of the relatives and friends of S. Costantino Albanese—to their loved ones in America, year 1958]. Peppino invited into his home and gathers around the tape recorder those who have relatives in America. Using different languages—Arbëresh, English, or Italian—depending on the interlocutors, he introduced the message of each guest, and his words betrayed a sense of wonder about the possibility of owning a machine able to record the voice and allow it to travel across the ocean.

...with this tape recording machine, we are sure living in a marvelous age, when even if we are separated from our friends and relatives by a great distance... And now you, through this wonderful... called tape recording, you will have the great pleasure of hearing the voice of yours relatives. And now I will talk in Albanian... dot e dinja çi ju tho ajo zëmer, kur më gjegjëni kto voxht e gjirive tuaj çë ko vitra ç'i m'i lat n'j'nes t'k'tire rrehjeve t’Shkostandinit, kush e di sa dot ju thojn e sa dot ju ringraxiarin për çi do i bët (...) [I wish I could know what your heart is going to feel when you hear the voices of these relatives you left behind among the mountains of S. Costantino many years ago. Heaven knows how much they’d like to tell you, and how much they’d like to

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3 The materials, kindly made available by Stella Scutari and Rosalba Scaldaferri, include tapes, Super8 films, and numerous photographs recently digitized at the University of Milan’s Laboratory of Ethnomusicology and Visual Anthropology (LEAV). Among the recordings, some hold extraordinary documentary value in terms of musical practices and especially of polyphony. They include the songs of Kristos Anesti on Easter morning and the festive bells and whole soundscape of a village about to undergo a radical transformation; furthermore, they contain the only recorded performance of the polychoral vallja on Easter Monday, 1957, which might have been one of the last occasions in which this dance was performed. Sections of the video materials have been used in Rossella Schillaci’s documentary Vjesh/Singing (2007), on the practice of female singing in Arbëresh villages in Basilicata.
The tone of the messages recorded on this occasion varies much depending on the age and experience of those present; these variations reveal different levels of awareness of the function of the medium. Among the recorded documentation is the message of the brothers Andrea and Franco Schillizzi, then just over twenty years old. They greet their far-away relatives with enthusiasm, expressing—as Peppino had done—their amazement at this device that allows the voice and its emotional charge to travel, and gives listeners the sensation of having their relatives right by them when they hear their voices. Note how the brothers switch to the Italian language (underlined in the translation) to emphasize their enthusiasm for the new technology:

(...) U jam Frangu it nip, e si voxha vjen nj’Merket dish t’vinja dhe u...ringrazjarmi laj Pepini se ju siell questa bella voce nostra nj’Merket e mun t’na gjegjni bellu pulitu fako t’na kishit ktu (...) 

Jam Ndreu it nip, grazju lai Pepini çi kle keq in gamba e suall dall’America una cosa qaq meravigliosa, munt gjegjni voxhen tënde (...) 

(...) I am your nephew Franco, and just as my voice will come to America, I wish I could come there too; we thank uncle Peppino for bringing our beautiful voices to you in America, where you can hear it in all comfort, as if we were near you. 

(...) I am your nephew Andrea, and I thank uncle Peppino who has been so clever and has brought from America this marvelous thing that lets you listen to our voices.

The recording session opens, however, with a heart-rending message: the greeting of the old miller, ce Dhurana—Dorina Abitante—to her daughter Maria, who departed to America thirty years before with part of the family. Listening to ce Dhurana’s voice sends shivers down one’s spine. Even if one has never met her, the sound of her voice, preserved until our days, causes a strong emotional reaction; this was likely also the experience of her relatives who heard her voice in the U.S. a few months after it was recorded back in S. Costantino. Because the old woman is addressing a daughter she has neither seen nor heard since the day of her departure, she performs a ritual weeping that closely follows the melodic modes and formulations of a funeral lament (vajtim) such as the one performed by Anna Sogga. Ce Dhurana lists the names of relatives, uses interjections and ritual expressions: all markers of the structure of the funeral lament carefully identified by De Martino:
Oj Maria ime / çi je e bën / si më muar malli oj bir im / çi bën Sepa it oj biri im / e Ndonj çë bën Ndoni / e shoaja çë bën / e Stina çë bën / Sepa vogel çë bën / Pietri çë bën oj bir im / si më muar malli or bir im / oj bir im Stela çë bën/ ime moter / gjith gjirt e tona çë bënjen oj bir im / e na rrimi mir ktu bir im / se m’duan gjith mir e dihçirdhonj / oj bir im sa m’dërgove / se m’mandinove me cukarama oj bir im / oj zëmra ime oj bir im /
Marie t’ringraxjar sa graxje ka Krishti / aq vjet çë mbet / e aq paq m’shpti e tu bil

O my Maria / what are you doing now / how I wish I could see you, my daughter / how is Giuseppe, my daughter / and Antonio, how is Antonio / and how is his wife / and how is Celestina / and how is little Giuseppe / Pietro, how is he my daughter / how I wish I could see you, my daughter / my daughter, how is Stella / my sister / how are all our relatives, oh my daughter / and we here are all well o my daughter / because they all love me, and I keep going / my daughter, the many things you sent me / you supported me with sweets, my daughter/ o my heart, o my daughter / Maria I thank you for all the grace Christ gives me / so many years you’ve been away / and I wish much peace to you and your sons

The funereal atmosphere of this song is perhaps especially apparent to a contemporary listener who, in hindsight, is able to grasp the tragic connotation taken by mass emigration to North and South America in the first decades of the twentieth century. We must also bear in mind, however, that in rural society the metrical structuring of vocal expression could accompany not only the event of a funeral, but also traumatic moments of separation like a bride’s goodbye to her parents, or a mother’s goodbye to a conscripted son. These were songs performed mainly by women; the discipline of rhythm and melody was to serve as a means of controlling emotion and keeping composure while publicly expressing one’s feelings, a means of banishing the risks of the phenomenon that De Martino termed “crisis of presence” (De Martino 1975: 126; 2012). For ce Dhurana the message to her daughter is not a personal emotional outburst—as might have been the tears she had shed-thinking of Maria and of the nephews she’d never meet—but a greeting to be performed in public, in front of Peppino and her other relatives. Therefore she could only express herself by adopting a ritual form, recalling stereotypical formulas well worn by tradition.

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4 In the imagination and spoken practice of the inhabitants S. Costantino, as is the case with many towns and villages that have experienced emigration to the U.S., America (Merko) was the land of well-being by definition, a place where one went to make one’s fortune. From there, one could help the family with their income, all the while keeping up hope of coming back home one day. It is worth noting that the help was often in the form of small symbolic tokens, like the sweets that ce Dhurana occasionally received from her daughter via Peppino. There existed, however, also a complementary and opposite vision of America: the America sperduta “America of the lost,” or America disgraziata “unfortunate America,” where emigrants were said to have disappeared who gave no further news of themselves, whether because they had died, or because, having failed to make a fortune, they were too ashamed to keep in touch.

5 It is worth noting that the text in which De Martino most fully elaborated the concept of “crisis of presence” in relation to Southern Italian mourning rituals (De Martino 1975) has not been translated into English. De Martino’s concept of the “crisis of presence,” however, is well known in Anglophone anthropology since at least the 1990s, thanks in part to Italian scholars who published in English-language journals. See for instance Pandolfi, 1990; Saunders, 1993; Magrini, 1994; Bartocci, 2000. An English translation of De Martino’s essay of 1956 (“Crisi della presenza e reintegrazione religiosa”) by Tobia Farnetti and Charles Stewart has been published in 2012 (De Martino 2012).
Besides, this greeting was also to be entrusted to someone who would then pass it on to her daughter. Her greeting was to be “taken”, in the sense we explored earlier, so as to be reproduced later. For the illiterate generation, a text could be better memorized by an external subject if it was metrically formalized. In metric form, the message would stand the highest chance of being preserved in the memory of he or she who had learnt it, and thus of travelling with them across great distances. The better the text is organized in verses, the more easily it will be memorized and reproduced. The technology of the word allowed by versification remained, for the old miller, the most efficient system of relaying a vocal message. In her mind, it is the metrical structure of the song that will allow it to extend itself beyond the individual performance. Verses and song-form allow the message to be easily learned by either a human ear or a machine that is listening and memorizing; the content of the performance may then be reproduced later in front of the intended final recipient.

After ce Dhurana’s weeping, Peppino likely intuited that the remaining messages, especially those from female guests, ran the risk of turning into a series of formal weepings; in passing the microphone to the next guest, he asks her pre-emptively not to sing any laments (“mos bëni bir birò!”) and to limit herself to a few words of greeting. His sister-in-law obeys and does not intone a lament, but she does address the tape-recorder as if she were communicating with “something” that joined the recording apparatus to the distant figure of Maria. She thus begins by saying “Nimirenj me Marien dopo trent’anni” “I speak again with Maria after thirty years...”. Like the Schillizzi brothers, Peppino’s sister-in-law also uses a few Italian words in her message. She seems to do so in order to emphasize the special occasion that is the recording session, but also to hint at the foreignness of this machine that “takes” her culture and language “to its ear.”

The tape recorded in S. Costantino in 1958—which begins with the weeping of the old miller—can be paired with another one labeled “La famosa risata di Fiorina Calimano, Brooklyn S.U. 1960” [The famous laughter of Fiorina Calimano, Brooklyn U.S. 1960]. It was recorded while Peppino was in Brooklyn, having dinner at the house of the emigrant couple Fiorina and Nicodemo, so as to listen with them to the tapes recorded in the village, and then record new greetings to bring back there on his next trip. Faced with the tape recorder, Fiorina can only burst into uncontrollable laughter—which then gave the title to the tape—as if, in the absence of a guiding social context, she were unable to check her emotions. Nicodemo uses instead a more traditional and rigorous mode of address in order to speak to the distant fellow villagers: a metrically formalized text. This is not, however, a lament—which is a predominantly female form—but a
poem (një kënkë) in which he expresses his gratitude towards Peppino for this wonderful experience. Here we are probably dealing with a nostalgic reprise of a social practice common in Nicodemo’s youth: that of formulaic verse greetings shared among villagers. Nicodemo’s chosen form of address occurs, within a shared cultural framework. As is clear from Nicodemo’s recorded command—thuaj [you must tell]—he humanizes the artificial ear that is to “take” his verses and later sound forth his greeting. In this case, also, the greeting is codified into verses before being entrusted to the tape recorder, almost as if to ensure that it will really follow Peppino across great distances, and reach their friends overseas.

Thuaj kët kënkë thaj Nikudhem / se m’pilqen keq ai katund / ma jam keq llarqu e s’kam si t’vinj / ma sonde 

kam at bukur Pepin / aï na ben at bukur festin / Inzot i daftit atii si daftit vet / ku e për një mil vjet / ma rrini 

allegru e kur t’vinj ai n’katund / se gjit jeta bie allegramendu / po rrini akortu e / mos e disturbarni / ipni 

kuraxh atij e rrikiria / se ai bèn e shkoni jet / (...) 

You must tell them: this is the song that Nicodemo told / because I like that village so much/ but am too far away and cannot go/ but tonight I have dear Peppino as my guest / and he’s making merry with us / may the 

Lord grant him every wish / now and for a thousand years / you must be merry when he comes to the village / because he spends his whole life in merriment / be careful / and don’t bother him / hearten him and have fun / because he will get you to know the world (...) 

The song of the deaf old woman

In the mid 1980s I was working of the documentation of the traditional vocal repertoires of S. Costantino; to this end I organized recording sessions with the most authoritative performers active in the village. Among them were the sisters Giulia and Rosina D’Amato, daughters of a couple of excellent performers who had been recorded by Carpitella and De Martino in April 1954. During a series of meetings, I collaborated with the D’Amato sisters in order to excavate the collective memory of the village for the lyrics and melodies, as well as the polyphonic structures, of local traditional songs. In the end, we were able to reconstruct and record—fragment by fragment and via recording sessions where I myself participated as a performer—the text and music of the totality of traditional songs of the village, some of whom had fallen out of the active repertoire (Scaldaferri 1994).6

6 The work I undertook with the D’Amato sisters—who were later joined by Antonietta Brescia, Velie Loprete and my mother Teresa Scutari—
Only in two cases—two songs that had been out of the repertoire for a very long stretch of time—did the extraordinary memory of the D’Amato sisters prove insufficient. One was the song *Vjeshi katundit* (the song towards the village). This song used to be performed by women catching sight of their village homes upon returning from the countryside; in order to announce their return, they’d join their voices in a song of greeting to their fellow villagers.

The other case was *Korroxhina*, a sumptuous song performed on the eve of wedding days by women in their feast-day dresses walking along the village streets; the melody was characterized by a dance-like rhythm that guides the performers’ step as well as their singing.\(^7\) I was already quite familiar with the melody of *Korroxhina*, as it had been set to different texts for various traditional occasions; I did not, however, know the verbal content of *Korroxhina*, which took the form of a lengthy, versified collective message of well-wishing to the newlyweds.

The only person who would have known both the song *Vjeshi katundin* and the words to *Korroxhina* was Maria Salerno (1898-1996), who was then in her eighties, and went by the Arbëresh name *ce Maria Zotit*, “aunt Maria of the Priest”, because she was the daughter of a priest. Illiterate, and endowed with prodigious memory, *ce Maria Zotit* had been an extraordinary performer in her youth, as had also been her mother.

There was one very serious obstacle to working with *ce Maria*: due to old age, she was hard of hearing. She could not, that is, hear others, and most importantly she could not even hear herself, and was thus unable to control the acoustic effect of her voice. To indicate her own deafness, she indeed used the expression *s’gjegjem*, “I can’t hear myself.” She perceived her own voice only as a vibration of her phonatory apparatus, which probably led her to conceive of it as an internal sensation, an intimate part of her being. Her vocal emissions were thus controlled by means of the behavioral memory of her vocal organs, a memory she had, of course, acquired over time. For me, recording *ce Maria* was almost like being in charge of the direct passage from mouth to the magnetic tape, without the mediation of the ear.

The crucial importance of the feedback between mouth and ear emerged with great poignancy when *ce Maria* attempted the performance of the much-sought-after *Vjeshi katundit*. The impossibility of hearing herself as she sang made it impossible for her to control and adjust—as a normal-hearing performer might have done instinctively—her vocal performance, particularly

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\(^7\) The piece in question belongs to the category of danced songs, known as *vallja*, which were performed until the end of the 1950s and whose last performances were documented through the aforementioned recordings made by Chiaffiteila. See above, footnote 3.
with regards to intonation.

According to local Arbëresh spoken practice, melody is referred to as *voxha*, “voice,” the “voice” of the song. In the repertoire of *vjesh*, the “voice” of the song consists of lengthy phrases with little rhythmic articulation, long note values, subtle melodic movement and rich ornamentation. The ornamentation—which includes yodeling and falsetto singing—was precisely the element emphasized and personalized by highly talented performers such as *ce Maria* had been at the peak of her abilities. In the performance of *vjeshi katundit*, she now used the gestural language of a great virtuoso, thus mechanically re-enacting a past mode of performance; yet she was no longer able to exert control over her vocal delivery, and struggled to steady her pitch. In the absence of her hearing guiding the intonation of the minimal and subtle melodic motion, the recorded material consisted of a voice that constantly rose and fell. From such a recording, one could perhaps evince the overall contour of the melody, but it was impossible to determine any of the exact pitches, which constitute a rigorously controlled aspect of this repertoire. Only the words—“*e ni vemi te katundi*” [and now we go to the village]—were intelligible, despite the syllabic dilation and dilution effected by the frequent interjections and melisma.

I then played this recording of *vjeshi katundit* to the D’Amato sisters and other performers active at the time, but no-one was able to decipher, remember or “reconstruct” any part of the melody. The break in the loop between the mouth and ear of the performer meant that we could only retrieve a token of a song’s existence: we could, that is, lend its verbal content a fixed textual dimension, but were not able to access the song’s performative profile. The incident served as a reminder of the fact that in the transmission from mouth to ear, the first receptive ear is that of the singer herself: its role as a mediator and controller of the voice is irreplaceable.

However, the deafness of *ce Maria* proved also to be a precious tool, as it allowed for a greater understanding of another performative mode, one that was not based on controlling function of the ear, but on bodily rhythm. Indeed, *ce Maria* also performed—often and without the least difficulty—rhythmic declamations of song texts; she could do this on demand, as long as one succeeded in the complex task of conveying to her which text she needed to recite. It was therefore possible to record, in a few sessions, several performances of the rhythmic recitation of the text of the *Korroxhina*, as well as other poetic texts. In the declamation of *Korroxhina*, each line

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8 This term corresponds to the modern Albanian word *zëri* (voice).
9 It is important to keep in mind that the polyphonic structures of *vjesh* include intervals like seconds and imperfect unisons, which yield beat frequencies at cadential points; such phenomena are a case in point in proving the extreme control of intonation required of performers (Scaldaferrri 1994: 90).
is rigorously articulated according to isochronous stresses (marked in bold in the text below), and our performer accompanied herself with small rhythmic movements like the swaying of the head and small hand gestures. These movements, which worked as mnemonic props, helped her to enunciate the complex rhythmic scaffolding of the poetic lines:

\[
\begin{align*}
&Kam \ u \ k\text{ë}n \ e \ s'kam \ u \ k\text{ë}n \\
&kam \ u \ k\text{ë}n \ k\text{ë}tu \ dreq \\
&s\text{on}de \ çë \ m'\text{erdha} \ vet \\
&Korroxhina \ me \ shndet \\
&d\text{ot} \ e \ thom \ se \ më \ i \ nget \\
&t'im \ v\text{il}au \ dhë\text{nd}rith \\
&s'imë \ m\text{ater} \ nusies \\
(...)
\end{align*}
\]

I’ve been here and have not been here / I have already been around here / and tonight that I’m here on my own / Korroxhina with all my good wishes / I want to say because it’s your turn / my brother the groom / my sister the bride (...) (Scaldaferri 1994: 144)

*Ce Maria’s* recorded performances of the *Korroxhina*—which I then transcribed and analyzed—allowed not only for the reconstruction of the subtle poetic rhythm of this individual text, but proved invaluable in analyzing the rhythmic process behind Arbëresh versification. The recordings also helped to reveal a performative mode that involved only the rhythmic declamation of a text, without singing. This mode became the subject of a field of further enquiry and analytic attention, which was eventually extended to other poetic repertoires of the Albanian language. Among these repertoires were also the texts of epic Albanian songs, whose attending modes of performance and recitation—also based on formal control exerted through rhythmic bodily movements—would in due time be documented (Scaldaferri 2008; 2011).

If *Ce Maria’s* deafness has confirmed the central role of the ear in the control of vocal performance, and brought to the surface once again the auto-communicative loop present in every performance, it has also allowed for the exploration of a specific bodily technology for the mnemonic retention of words, a form of embodiment of the verbal text. This technology allows one to perform what has been preserved in—even grooved into—the deepest layers of memory thanks to rhythm and to mechanically repeated gestures. Here, then, is a reminder—through an odd role-reversal—of the kinship between the physicality of the performer’s body—wherein
memory is preserved—and of the recording apparatus.

Epilogue

The moment in which an old tradition reaches out towards new, not yet consolidated practices—“cultural collision,” to use a term dear to Havelock—can often open for us new vistas on the processes at work behind certain cultural phenomena.

The three episodes recounted here are joined by the common denominator of the meeting between voice and recording technology, and more specifically the meeting between the forms of expression and technologies of orality (such as systems of versification) and recording technology. This moment of encounter yields a thick network of relations. Within it, we find the perception of the voice—and of listening to the voice—as a cultural extension of the body, an essential component of identities that are at once individual and collective. If the voice—with its intense affective charge and emotional aura—is disincarnated and “extracted” through recording, it also acquires, within a specific context, a nearly autonomous cultural dimension.

The autonomous valence of the disembodied recorded voice allows it to shape the cultural perceptions of the machine that produced the recording in the first place; and yet the act of vocal embodiment is as much a culturally mediated technology as the act of vocal disembodiment: the voice, written into the body thanks to the mnemonic technologies of orality, can even guide performative acts independently of the feedback of the ear.

The case studies offered here exemplify some of the implications of the mediatization of the voice, and the ways in which mediatization allows for the creation of new values and meanings. These new values and meanings are as relevant to scholars as they are essential to the collective imagination and customs of the locals. They may indeed offer a few points of departure for a reconsideration of the meaning that vocal phenomena—particularly those belonging to traditional cultures—acquire when recording technologies intervene, for whatever reason, in the circuit between ear and mouth.

Translated by Delia Casadei
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