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Italian traditional music in Adelaide

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To begin, I’d like to raise a few issues that I hope will be clarified by this paper. They relate to the general theme under which this paper was requested for the recent Second National Folklore Conference in Sydney in October 1986: ‘multicultural influences upon the Australian folk heritage’. The questions I want to raise are these:

• In what sense is it useful to talk about ‘the Australian folk heritage’ in the singular?
• In what avenues might any ‘multicultural’ influences operate?
• How would it be possible to identify such influences after the event?

In the interests of decentring the debate a little, I’d like to turn the theme around and consider instead the Australian influence on Italian traditional culture in Adelaide. But in order to do that, we need to ask: what is Italian traditional culture?

Italy has a number of historical and geographical features that make its traditional popular culture extremely diverse. Political unification did not occur until 1861, and the national language remained largely literary and bureaucratic in use until the middle of this century. Because of this relatively recent political and linguistic unification of the country, regional cultures characterised by diverse dialects and rich oral traditions thrived until quite recently, when the impact of mass media has tended to
overwhelm the underlying cultural diversity. Some aspects of these traditions have survived more strongly in Australia than in Italy because of lack of competition from the national language, while others have died out due to changes in traditional community structures. Before going on to discuss the Australian situation, it will be helpful to illustrate the diversity of regional cultures by considering some examples of traditional musical styles.¹

In the south of Italy there has been extensive contact with Greek and Arab traders and settlers over many centuries, and this can be heard in the Islamic features of their traditional music. An example of this style is given in Appendix 1: a Sicilian cart-driver’s song, or ‘Canzune’, recorded by Elsa Guggino at Capaci, Palermo (Sicilia), 1964.

Along the Adriatic coast, there are vocal styles that show affinities with those from Balkan countries. One is a style called in Umbria and Le Marche ‘canto a vatoccu’, in which two voices move more or less in contrary motion, finishing an octave apart. Related styles are found in Italian-dialect-speaking areas of Yugoslavia and in Romagna. Appendix 2 gives an Umbrian example of this style, a ‘Canto a vatoccu’ recorded by L. Gennero at Pretola, Perugia (Umbria), in 1969.

Because the north of the country was traversed by major trade and pilgrimage routes, there was considerable interaction in this area with mainland European traditions, a factor reflected in dialect as well as in traditional culture. In the north of Italy, there is a varied repertoire that includes many of the pan-European ballads as well as other ballads that are unique to Italy. Choral performance style predominates. Appendix 3 gives an Italian version of Lady Isabel and the Elf Knight (Child 4), ‘El fiol del signor conte’, performed in Alpine choral style by the ‘gruppo di Santa Croce’, recorded by Roberto Leydi and Alberto Fumagalli at Santa Croce di San Pellegrino, Bergamo (Lombardia), in 1966.
In many parts of the North, the popular tradition has seen the development of Alpine choirs that compete in festivals rather like the Welsh eisteddfod. In Genova, in the North-east, teams were formed in taverns to compete in the local style of ‘trallallero’ singing, an example of which is found in Appendix 4: ‘Ea m’ou dixeiva unna votta me nonna’, recorded in a tavern by Edward Neill.

The existence of related vocal styles in other parts of the country including Tuscany and Sardinia, and outside Italy, in Georgia and Brittany (Leydi, 1973, p 26) has led some musicologists to suggest that these styles may be remnants of an archaic polyvocal singing practice that predated the development of diatonic harmony in art music.

Appendix 5 gives an example of one Sardinian vocal style, the Barbagia tenor, used in this case for dance music, recorded by Diego Carpitella.

Since all of these have been more or less public c forms of performance, let’s finish this whirlwind tour of Italy with a solo lullaby, ‘Fatte la nanna’, performed by Italia Ranaldi of Poggio Moiano, Rieti, in the central region of Lazio (Appendix 6).

These examples represent only a tiny part of the great diversity of Italian traditional music—in fact, I have recently devoted an 1100-page thesis to the study of 500 variants of just one song (Barwick, 1986). The point that I’d like to stress at this stage is the independence of each of these traditions, to clarify that when I am talking about Italian music in Adelaide, I am referring to the music of the Calabresi, the Furlani, the Veneti, the Marchigiani, and all the rest who came to Australia, each with their own cultural baggage. It is certainly useful to talk about ‘Italian traditional music’ if one wants to distinguish it from Vietnamese or Argentinian or Irish traditional music, but on the other hand one would be seriously misled if one imagined that Italian traditional music can be encapsulated in ‘O sole mio’ and ‘Funiculi funiculà’—in fact both
of these are known and performed by very few Italian people of my acquaintance. Rather, such songs fit the peculiarly Anglo archetype of the sunny Mediterranean people, whom one can pigeonhole and not take terribly seriously. Italian traditional songs address the very serious questions of poverty and war and sexual politics; they are far more often angry or sad than cheerful and carefree. And yet many non-Italian Australians become almost angry when Italian songs are presented that do not fit the stereotype.

One reason for this attitude may be that in cultures like the Anglo-Australian that are one or two generations removed from a living orally-transmitted singing tradition, much of what we do know of our own folk heritage has been taught in schools, with all depressing and really vital issues weeded out in the name of moral upliftment or the peculiar concept of ‘entertainment’. I have witnessed the process going on in the incorporation into the Italian language curriculum for South Australian primary schools of material originally recorded in oral tradition: one Tuscan lullaby that included references to wanting to give the baby away, and to not having enough money to pay the rent was ‘bowdlerised’ to a simple list of all the relatives who wanted to look after the baby.

This brings me to my next main point: the inherent changeability of the oral tradition. Although the well-meaning teacher who changed the words of that lullaby was distorting it in a way that can only be understood in the context of the Western literary establishment, the willingness to adapt the text to fit a new function is certainly not alien to the oral tradition. In the written tradition tampering with a text may be an act of gross disrespect of the author and to Art (I think that most people would disapprove of what Bowdler did to Shakespeare), but in the case of the lullaby, the anonymity of the author (which is really the lack of an author in the strict sense) has preserved the user’s sense of power over the song, although I daresay that no deviation will be allowed on the part of
the teachers and children who will use the supposedly authentic folksong as part of the ‘creative’ and ‘fun’ side of the curriculum.

Changeability is part of what keeps an oral tradition alive: variation occurs in a number of non-random ways that serve to keep the songs and music performable rather than to impress the audience with a display of virtuosity of the performer (which is how improvisation is regarded in the practice of art music. Inevitably the processes of variation are affected by transplantation of the tradition to a new environment, and I’ll illustrate this briefly in the next part of the paper.

I grew up in an Italian suburb of Adelaide, where we listened to Umberto Tozzi on the jukeboxes in the local pizza parlour and where on Saturday afternoons the streets resounded to the band practice that was an institution for the many Italian boys of my acquaintance involved in either rock and roll or 60/40 bands. As a non-Italian speaker I was excluded from the domestic sphere, which meant that I was unaware of the extent of performance by women. Despite living in the midst of a thriving community of expatriate Marchigiani, I only had access to the music performed by Italians that was considered suitable for and by the Anglo-Australian public, that is, ‘acculturated’ music, mainly in English, based on American popular musical models. The barrier was not caused by conscious prejudice on either side, but rather by the lack of common language and social structures.

Learning to speak Italian gave me the possibility of entering into Italian-speaking social circles. Like most Anglo-Australians, I was unaware of the extent of the Italian social network, which for many Italians in Adelaide revolves around the regional clubs such as the Fogolar Furlan. As well as providing meeting and drinking places and bocce rinks, these clubs have varying degrees of commitment to the preservation of traditional culture, and may sponsor folkloric
dance groups or alpine choirs. My experience is that the lack of reinforcement outside the extended family together with the language barrier that often develops between first and second generation means that, in the absence of a conscious effort, traditional music is generally not performed by younger people, even though they may be present on occasions such as weddings or religious feasts when there may be group performance of relevant songs by first generation people.

However, that conscious effort in the shape of study and performance of traditional songs has been promoted by a number of people, most notably Professor Tony Comin of the Italian discipline at Flinders University, who teaches courses in Italian popular culture as part of the undergraduate and honours programmes at the University. Partly as a result of the interest generated by these courses, traditional songs have been included in Italian language courses at both primary and secondary level, an the high school music curriculum now includes a section on Italian traditional music. Theses in ethnomusicology at the University of Adelaide have been written by me and by Diana Busolin, and the collection of oral traditional material has formed part of some projects by students at Flinders.

However, apart from personal holdings by Professor Comin and some students, the state of recording of traditional Italian culture in Adelaide is as bad as in the rest of the country, and will probably continue to be so in the absence of adequate funding and trained field workers. A community music project recently sponsored from within the Italian community resulted in collection of some material, but unfortunately it is of poor technical quality. Fieldworkers in non-English-speaking communities must have extensive knowledge of the popular tradition, as well as a good command of the language and all the usual technical skills and social sensitivity required in such situations.
In Adelaide there have been a number of performing groups, usually made up of students or ex-students of Comin’s popular song courses, that have had the aim of presenting Italian traditional song in original style: Compagnia Folk, Due Voci, La Lega and Terra Mia are included in this list, all of whom have had some links with the Italian Folk Ensemble, which was initially formed to present theatrical works in Italian, many of which incorporated traditional songs and music in community theatre. There was so much demand for separate performance of the songs that the Ensemble has tended to perform more music than theatre. I was a member of this group from 1977 to 1984, and I’ll draw on this experience to illustrate a few points about the Australian influence on Italian traditional music.

Although the group was in the main successful in its aim of maintaining fidelity to the spirit of the popular tradition, the practice of learning songs from a set text or from published recordings, and the very setting off of a group of specialist performers was in some sense contrary to that tradition, and inevitably led to performance situations that would never occur in the context of a purely oral tradition. Furthermore, since the group was made up of people from a variety of backgrounds, there were real problems in agreeing on appropriate performance standards: for example, Southerners tended to prefer faster tempos than Northerners, whose preference for harmonisation often was at odds with the Southern idioms of highly decorated solo lines. These problems were overcome to some extent when performing to Italian audiences, partly because of audience participation fostered by the popular tradition of inclusive performance and the Ensemble’s practice of choosing material from the regional tradition relevant to a particular audience. In such contexts, questions of professionalism and standards were less important.

But with non-Italian audiences, problems in deciding appropriate performance standards and repertoire were exacerbated. The most
important single factor, in my opinion, was the audience’s lack of understanding of the language, which meant that performers felt they had to be even more entertaining, which in general led to axing or abridgement of long songs, increase in tempo, and elaboration of vocal lines and instrumental accompaniment—in short, an increasing approximation to the parameters of the three-and-a-half-minute pop song. Once more, audiences outside the tradition tended to be presented with those aspects that were most like the mainstream Australian (American?) idiom.

Performance conditions in Australia have also affected musical styles and structures. The Ensemble often performs in low-ceilinged rooms with sound-absorbent ceiling tiles, or even outdoors: such poor acoustic environments have an especially detrimental effect on polyvocalic songs, which in Italy were usually performed in resonant high-ceilinged rooms in stone buildings; this resonance not only lent a richer timbre to the vocal tone, but was also important for pitch placement, especially in the more complex harmonic arrangements. The Ensemble has tended to rely on instrumental accompaniment, and, occasionally, electronic amplification to offset these factors. Traditional instruments, which were more widely used in the Central and Southern regions, are neither readily available nor adapted to Australian conditions, so have been replaced by standard folk guitars and percussion instruments, although musicians in the Ensemble have incorporated use of some traditional instruments, such as the button accordion, when appropriate.

The most obvious way in which the Italian Folk Ensemble demonstrates is Australian Italian context is in its selection and adaptation of a repertoire of migration songs. Over the last century, literally millions of Italians, mostly from the poor rural classes, have left their homes to make new lives abroad, in Northern Europe and the Americas as well as in Australia. Old songs were adapted to incorporate this experience, and many new songs were created, and
the Ensemble continues this tradition. In many cases, emigration songs could be adapted by replacing ‘America’ with ‘Australia’, but in other cases more extensive adaptation has taken place. The example in Appendix 7 is adapted from a Tuscan ‘saltarello’ dance song.

Other Italian political and protest songs have been adapted to deal with such specifically Australian issues as exploitation of migrant workers, Federal elections, and uranium mining. Some attempts have been made to translate songs or to write English words to fit Italian musical models, but because of the difficulty of situating these in an appropriate performance context, while I was with the Ensemble these songs were only performed as part of a theatrical production.

It is worth exploring some of the reasons why non-Italian-speaking audiences are not receptive to English versions of Italian songs. Most performances to such audiences were in the context of ‘multicultural’ events, when performers are encouraged to display their differences from mainstream Anglo culture as colourfully and as entertainingly as possible. But from the ethnic perspective, colourfulness and entertainment are effectively contradictory. Colourfulness ideally requires exaggeration of those aspects of the performance that characterise the public image of the group and distinguish it from others. Therefore, Italians must sing in Italian, and preferably in the lively and/or emotional fashion that fits the stereotype. Entertainment, on the other hand, means that the audience must not be required to work too hard: therefore, as already mentioned, nothing too far removed from the parameters of mainstream popular music should be performed, and attempts by groups to give background to the material or to challenge the audience’s preconceptions are not welcomed by organisers. Italians are not alone in perceiving the doctrine of multiculturalism as running the risk of trivialisation and constriction of their popular tradition.
in an Anglo-defined pigeonhole. Multicultural concerts are certainly not the avenue for any real interaction between the musical traditions of different cultures.

How, then could such interaction take place? One possibility is suggested by the activities of the Adelaide folk/rock group Local Import, whose membership includes a number of Italian Australians and one performer of Anglo-Irish background who has previously performed Italian traditional music. In addition to politically oriented songs in English, this group also performs Italian traditional material in a folk/rock style, sometimes in the form of instrumentals, sometimes in Italian. Appendix 8 documents one such example, an instrumental based on the traditional Tuscan melody ‘Mamma mamma mi sento un gran male’, followed by the well-known partisan song ‘Bella ciao’, performed by Local Import in 1984. This example is particularly interesting because the group does not perform as an Italian group (although it is associated with political moves to increase the participation of non-English-speaking cultures in mainstream Australian society), and, although anyone familiar with the tradition would be able to identify the melody in the instrumental section of the piece as Tuscan, it is not labelled as such. It is also possible to identify many Anglo-Australian folk elements in instrumentation and musical structure.

Can one describe this as an example of Italian influence on the Australian folk heritage? Only, I think, if it were taken up and performed by other non-Italian groups; in the meantime, it can only be cited as yet another example of the Australian influence on the Italian tradition. Yet, one should not underestimate the importance of conscious individual efforts such as these; it is the aggregation of any number of casual individual histories that forms the mass movements that are commonly the subject of folklorists. But given that all popular traditions are in a constant state of change (and indeed, that this is a necessary condition of their existence), how
could one identify multicultural influences, especially musical ones, after the event?
Clearly, only from the perspective of a profound knowledge of the original traditions.

Not only is that knowledge increasingly difficult to obtain, but also any interaction between the musical traditions is unlikely to take place in public situations that are easily monitored, and the resultant music will not be explicitly labelled with details of its provenience. Italian popular musical traditions have interacted with mainstream Western music for centuries: from musical evidence alone, how could one possible separate out the specifically Australian phase of this interaction?

Such knowledge can only be made available through documentation and analysis of these traditions in process: what is actually going on in specific situations in Australia? Unfortunately, without sufficient funding and highly trained personnel, the original musical traditions of non-English-speaking Australians, and therefore the mode and the extent of their interaction with mainstream Anglo-Australian culture, are likely to go undocumented, and therefore be effectively lost to future generations.

I’d like to return now to the questions raised in the introduction to this paper: in particular, I think we can clarify how the theme ‘multicultural influences on the Australian folk heritage’, while unproblematic from the Anglo-Australian perspective, embodies profound contradictions from the perspective of those non-dominant ‘multicultural’ traditions. If, for convenience’s sake, we are going to talk about the multiplicity of independent musical traditions currently performed in Australia as ‘the Australian folk heritage’, then ‘multicultural influences’ do not act upon it form the outside; the question might better be addressed as ‘multicultural strands in the fabric of Australian folklife’. On
the other hand, if we read ‘multicultural’ as opposed to ‘Australian’, as I think is suggested by the terms of the statement, then the theme is recast as ‘multicultural influences on the Anglo-Australian folk heritage’. It has already been made clear that the linguistic barrier, if nothing else, acts as an all but impermeable insulator separating one cultural tradition from another; much as we might like to believe in the possibility of the melting-pot, all the evidence points in the opposite direction, and indeed the maintenance of that myth serves no-one’s interests but the dominant culture’s. What multicultural influences there may be on the Anglo-Australian folk heritage are likely to operate subtly and anonymously. I believe they can only be adequately accounted for by decentring our critical perspective and placing non-English-speaking Australian cultures centre-stage.
Appendices

Appendix 1

Cartdriver’s song ‘canzune’, recorded by Elsa Guggino at Capaci, Palermo (Sicilia), 1964.

Maiden you came to me in my sleep

three sweet words and you went away

and when I woke in the morning

and felt that you were at my side

I turn towards you and see no-one;

cry, my wife, for your lost husband.

Appendix 2

‘Canto a vatoccu’, recorded by L. Gennero at Pretola, Perugia (Umbria), 1969.

With you my sweet I have never sung before
and for the first time I greet you.

We have arrived at the very top
my love if you love me tell me first.

My love don’t sing me so many verses
I am stil l young and can’t remember them all.

Let this lovely couple keep singing
they remind me of two frogs.

If the lady of the house doesn’t bring us wine
tomorrow we’ll go somewhere else.

Sing, all you over there, because we are singing
if you don’t we’ll make fun of you.


Appendix 3

Ballad in Alpine choral style, ‘El fiol del signor conte’, performed by a men’s chorus at Santa Croce di San Pellegrino, Bergamo (Lombardia), recorded by Roberto Leydi and Alberto Fumagalli, 1966.

The son of the count wanted to take a wife
he wanted to marry the Englishwoman, the daughter of a knight.

In the evening he proposed and in the night he married her
and early in the morning he set off for France.

He covered thirty miles and the Englishwoman never spoke
he covered thirty more and she begins to sigh.
Why do you sigh Englishwoman whyever do you sigh?
I sigh for my mother for I’ll never see her again.

If you sigh for that there’s no harm in it
but if you sigh for anything else the knife is ready.

I pray you sir count to lend me your sword
I want to cut a branch to shade my horse.

When she had his sword she plunged it into his heart
and then mounted her horse and returned home.


Appendix 4


My grandmother once told me
while she was lighting the fire
if you want to find a wife here
make sure she doesn’t speak Latin.

Make sure she doesn’t have a man’s voice
or eyebrows joined together
or two points on her nose
and make sure she hasn’t lost her mind.
Make sure she’s not bowed down with age
and that she doesn’t bind her breasts.


**Appendix 5**

Sardinian dance song, Passu torrau, performed in the Barbagia tenor style by four men (the four voices are known as *bassu, contra, boghe* and *mesa ‘oche*). The leading voice, the *boghe*, sings the text in free rhythm, and the other three voices join in after a few moments with a rhythmic refrain based on traditional nonsense syllables, such as *bim-bà-rim, bim-bo*, or *bar-ri-là*. This song was recorded in Orgosolo (Nuoro).

Today, the twentieth of May in my village
you can feel the spring has really arrived
the shepherds who passed the winter in Baronia
along the coast and in Campidano
return with their sacks and mantles
following the flock to their home country.
(chorus)

They do the milking not far from the village
and put aside the milk for gifts
and they are asked from all sides
how things have gone during the winter
they answer sadly in a tired voice
(chorus)

We barely managed to save
the rent for the grazing grounds
the profits have all gone to the landlord
(chorus)

**Appendix 6**

Lullaby performed by Italia Ranaldi of Poggio Moiano, Rieti (Lazio).

Go to sleep my child it’s night-time
the sheep have all come home
they’ve come in, the little ones and the big ones
lullaby.

Mummy’s darling, lovely jasmine vine
don’t cry my child here is the breast
you can draw out the inside of my heart
your mother loves you so.

Go to sleep my sweet child
I’ve made you a bed of violets
for a coverlet the clear sky
and for a pillow I give you my heart
lullaby.

Appendix 7


(verse 1)  My love is called Costante
           I keep him shut up behind closed shutters (x2)
           so that he can’t go off and emigrate

(chorus)  Nai nai na who’s got it can make it
           can make fifty of them and then eat them up
           quick quick quick four to Mum and five to her
           and if she doesn’t agree, four to Mum and five to sister.
           turulalla, turulalla, you’ll die without trying it
           What’s this? Pizza with raisins, piping hot
           kneaded with the hands of my sweetheart.
           Nai nai na jump the ditch and come over here
           if you break your neck come to me and I’ll cuddle you

(verse 2)  Mamma mamma
           don’t marry me to an emigrant, it’s shameful x2
           give me the farmworker from the countryside (chorus)

(verse 3)  Mamma mamma
           stop telling me to marry him x2
           she who marries and emigrant is unfortunate (chorus)

(verse 4)  My love wants to go to Australia
           there’s not a girl who’ll marry him x2
           so he’ll have to stay her with me in Italy (chorus)

[Note: I can probably arrange to publish the Italian text for this one.]
[Music notation of ‘Stornelli dell’emigrante’ by Linda Barwick, 1986]
Stornelli dell’emigrante

Non mi dà l’inganno che vergogna
Non mi dà l’inganno che vergogna
Pochi piglia l’emigrante e poi resta in Australia

E tu veglior mia, da in Australia non c’è più una ragazza che lo piglia
Non c’è più una ragazza che lo piglia
Così dovrà restar con me in Italia.

Appendix 8

Instrumental based on the Tuscan song ‘Mamma mamma mi sento un gran male’ followed by singing of ‘Bella ciao,’ performed by Adelaide band Local Import’ (private recording, 1985).

Appendix 8, part 1

The text of ‘Mamma mamma mi sento un gran male’ is published in (Currà, Vettori, & Vinci, 1977, p 106). The original version was performed by Anna Principe of Pegoletto, Arezzo (Toscana), and recorded by Caterina Bueno, who performed it on her record *La veglia* (Bueno, 1968).

[Musical notation of ‘Mamma mamma mi sento un gran male’ by Linda Barwick 1986]

English translation of the text notated above (not sung by Local Import, who performed the piece as an instrumental):

Mamma mamma I am suffering / the cure is in the garden.
In the garden there are violets, if you like I will send for them to be picked.
Oh how stupid is my mother! she doesn’t recognise the illness.

[English translation by Linda Barwick]

1 Local Import comprised Keith Preston, Deborah Baldassi and Lou Poiana.
Appendix 8, part 2

‘Bella ciao’ is the most famous song of the Italian resistance in WWII, and has been recorded many times; a revival version was performed in the play of the same name produced in 1964 by the Nuovo Canzoniere Italiano for the Spoleto Festival, and is reproduced on the LP Le canzoni di ‘Bella ciao’: un programma di canzoni popolari italiane a cura di Roberto Leydi e Filippo Crivelli. Dischi del Sole, DS 101/3 (Nuovo Canzoniere Italiano, 1964). Text and music are in (Leydi, 1973, pp 374-376).

[Music notation of ‘Bella ciao’ verse 1 by Linda Barwick]

This morning I got up (o bella ciao bella ciao bella ciao ciao ciao)
this morning I got up and found the invader.

O partisan take me away / for I am going to die.

And if I die as a partisan / you must bury me.

Bury me up there on the mountain / beneath a beautiful flower

And the people who pass by / will say “what a beautiful flower!”

“This is the flower of the partisan / who died for liberty”
References


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1 All the examples cited here in appendices 1-6 are available on published recordings, with textual transcriptions, and sometimes musical transcriptions, reproduced in attached booklets; for reasons of copyright, only English translations of the words are given in the relevant appendix.

2 ‘60/40’ bands play 60 percent of one sort of music and 40 percent of another. Typically in my youth in Adelaide in the 1960s this meant 60 percent danceable pop or country music tunes and 40 percent rock and roll.