Generative Principles of Dance Music in Central Calabria

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CALABRIA is one of the southernmost regions of Italy, located between Basilicata and Sicily. Its music has been an object of study since the 1950s when Alan Lomax and Diego Carpitella (Lomax and Carpitella 1957; Lomax 1999; Ricci and Tucci 2007), and Walther Hennig (1956), conducted the first field recordings in the region. Since the late 1970s, growing attention has been given to the music phenomena of the region, and the number of publications concerning Calabrian music has become more extensive. Researchers have focused on specific areas of the region (e.g., Ricci 1995, 2012; Ferlaino 2017; Associazione Felici e Conflenti 2017; Adamo 2006), on the organological features and repertoire of specific instruments (e.g., La Vena 1986, 1994, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2005; Ricci and Tucci 1982, 1994; Plastino 1994; Santagati and Villani 2010; Tucci and Ricci 1985; Cravero 2006), on specific repertoires (Plastino 1995; Bevacqua 2006), and on individual musicians (Ricci 2006a; 2006b). Alongside with these, a large number of publications concerning the music of the whole region as well as anthologies of Calabrian music have appeared (e.g., Ricci and Tucci 1988, 1997, 2004; Gatto 2007; Tucci 2009; Alario 2014).

In this article, I offer insight into the generative principles of dance music for eight-bass diatonic accordion from Central Tyrrhenian Calabria.[1] This is a small area of Calabria that lies across the border between the provinces of Cosenza and Catanzaro and surrounds the valley of the River Savuto (Figure 1). Research in this area has identified shared musical and organological features that have led scholars to view it as a distinct area (La Vena 2005; Ferlaino 2017; Bressi et al. 2017). The Pilgrimage of the Madonna di Conflenti, along with smaller religious and secular celebrations, played a crucial role in shaping the shared repertoire of this region, which is differentiated from other areas of Calabria. Dance music in this area consists almost exclusively of pieces for the local bagpipe and for eight-bass accordion.[2] Dance music is one of the most consistently practiced repertoires, and it has a prominent role in the social and religious life of the area (Bressi et al. 2017).

My article sheds light on the concepts of modularity and micro-variation in the dance music of this region. Although familiar to Italian ethnomusicologists, these processes have not yet come to the attention of the international musicological community. My article offers a contribution to the study of formulaic music and real-time musical processes, which is the result of looking into a highly formalized process of melodic recombination and variation. It also contributes to Italian studies on modularity by looking into an under-studied repertoire. To date, studies on modularity in Calabria have focused exclusively on bagpipe music. I propose repertoire-based analyses that take into account the emic theory of music that has emerged from extensive ethnographic

1. The eight-bass diatonic accordion is a type of diatonic accordion that features typically 19 to 23 melodic buttons and eight bass buttons (hence the name).
2. Classified as *zampogna conflentana* and known in the area only as *zampogna*, this bagpipe belongs to the broader family of the *surduline* (La Vena 2005).

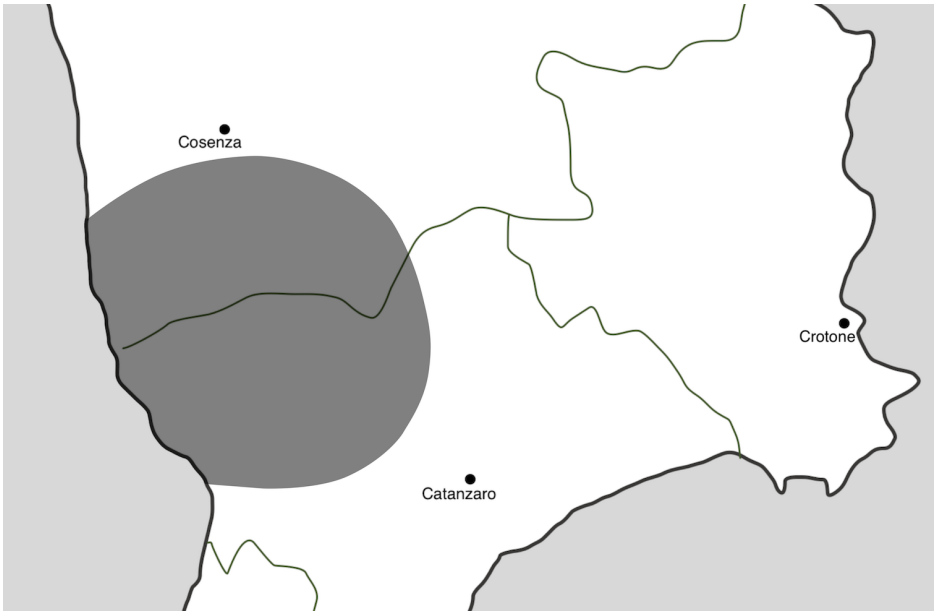

Figure 1. The portion of Calabria that is the object of this study.

observation. Although similar to the generative principles of bagpipe music, those processes are extended here to the formation of more complex melodic constructions. By comparing multiple versions of the same tune, my article also brings new insight into problems related to the ontology of the tunes. Whereas previous analyses of Italian modular music acknowledged the melodic constructions as the defining factors of the pieces' identities, in the repertoire I am focusing on, the tunes are defined by key modules that appear to be decidedly more important than the complete melodic constructions of which they are parts.

Research into generative principles has grown considerably during the past decades as scholars have tried to understand how musicians organize sound into structures that are meaningful for them.[3] Research has focused on formulae, schemas, and formulaic principles in relation to real-time musical processes. For example, Mats Johansson (2017) describes how thematic improvisation in Irish traditional fiddle music relies on well-defined strategies for melodic and rhythmic variation. He illustrates how performers create, on the spot, "a continuous stream of melodic-rhythmic variations without compromising the identity of the tune in question" (26). David Racanelli (2012) identifies recurring formulae and formulaic principles in Mandé griot guitar improvisations: he shows how "improvisation occurs within strictly defined limits and along formulaic lines" (152). Studies of Gamelan have focused on the use of melodic formulae (Becker 1980) and repetition, offering a perspective on a repertoire that relies on the juxtaposition of recurring patterns. North Indian music has also been studied with a focus on schemas, seed ideas, and improvisation (Zadeh 2012; McNeil 2017): researchers have identified

3. With the term *generative principles*, I refer to the culturally acquired system that governs the way music is generated, shared and performed by the musicians from the area. My use of the term is not to be confused with Lerdahl and Jackendoff's (1983) generative grammar. Whereas they refer to a set of rules specifically designed to test cognitive characteristics of tonal music, in my article, I use the term generative principles to refer to the system through which musicians from an area organize sound into meaningful structures.

recurring melodic shapes as well as the real-time development of melodic nuclei. The above-mentioned research offers invaluable input for the study of a repertoire, such as the one studied in this article, that relies on the constant repetition, variation and recombination of melodic fragments in the course of performance.

Scholars have also sought to understand the generative principles of Italian and southern Italian folk music, but these studies are accessible only to an Italian-speaking readership. Research has focused on formulae, modules, seed ideas, and the interrelation of these techniques with improvisational and real-time processes.[4] For instance, Tullia Magrini (1988) describes the use of melodic formulae, along with a fluid modality and melodic variability, in Adriatic singing. Giorgio Adamo (1993) identifies a common melodic nucleus in diverse vocal repertoires from Basilicata. Studies of dance repertoires from central and southern Italy have identified generative processes based on the perpetual iteration and variation of standardized melodic fragments. Researchers describe this music as being constructed through a set of separate parts—often classified as *modules*—that are combined to form a complete whole. Modularity, the use of modules to construct larger musical phrases, is a real-time process that is observed at many analytical levels, from the recombination of different melodies to the recombination of the melodies' internal constituents. Giovanni Giuriati (1982) identifies in the *tarantella montemaranese* of Campania a series of melodies that are repeated, varied and strung together throughout the performance.[5] These melodies are made of smaller components that are also varied and recombined, not unlike glass particles in a kaleidoscope. In this music, modularity operates both on the level of the recombination of melodies as well as on the level of the recombination of their internal components. In his study on the *saltarello di Amatrice* in Lazio, Giuriati (1985) identifies one melody that can be stretched through the iteration, variation, and recombination of some of its parts.[6] Francesco Giannattasio and Bernard Lortat-Jacob (1982) describe music from Sardinia in terms of the recombination and variation of small melodic fragments that are recombined like Lego blocks into different shapes.

Studies on Calabrian bagpipe music have also identified modular processes in which a melodic fragment is constantly repeated and varied. Vincenzo La Vena (2002, 2003, 2005) describes the music for *surdulina* bagpipe in northern and central Calabria as the development of an underlying basic melodic structure through "modular iteration." Chiara Cravero (2006) highlights the recurrence of melodic fragments and phrases in music for *a paro* and *a moderna* bagpipe in southern Calabria. Carlo Crivelli's (1979) analysis of Calabrian bagpipe music identifies a process that he calls "micro-variation," which is based on the continuous iteration and variation of small melodic fragments.

4. Tullia Magrini (1988) defines formulae as stock phrases which are only partially defined so that a part of their elements still satisfies the definition; her definition resembles Leo Treitler's (2007) formulaic principles. Modules are melodic fragments that are recombined to form larger constructions (Giuriati 1982, 1985; Giannattasio and Lortat-Jacob 1982). Giorgio Adamo (1993) identifies a common melodic nucleus that works as a seed idea from which different melodies germinate.

5. The *tarantella montemaranese* is a dance tune performed during the Carnival celebrations in Montemarano, a town in the Italian region of Campania.

6. The *saltarello di Amatrice* is a dance tune for diatonic accordion (originally bagpipe) and frame-drums originating in Amatrice, a town in the Lazio region.

Unfortunately, Crivelli neglects ethnographic observations entirely and conducts analyses that do not take into account rhythmic and harmonic alternation, a fundamental feature of this music which is also reflected in the related dance. Bernard Lortat-Jacob (1989) proposes a different analysis of the same recordings that takes into account the indissoluble link of this music with dance.[7] He analyzes bagpipe music as a concatenation of short musical fragments that are recombined through a modular principle. Although they provide a significant contribution to the study of micro-variation and modularity in Calabria, his analyses are limited to bagpipe music and focus mainly on rhythm and ornamentation, while mostly neglecting elements of melodic variation. They also approach the pieces as self-standing objects without comparing multiple performances, or attempting to understand these processes in the broader context of a repertoire.

Building on the above-mentioned research, I discuss modularity and micro-variation in dance music for diatonic accordion in central Calabria, and relate these concepts to the emic approach to music-making that emerged during ethnographic observation. In the first part of this article, I introduce the object of research, the methodology and the theoretical framework. In the following section, I briefly discuss the instrument and introduce the melodic materials of dance music as conceptualized by the tradition bearers. I then analyze two pieces of dance music: *fina* and *quattrubassi*. The analysis of *fina* provides insight into modular processes that, similarly to bagpipe music, revolve around a single melodic shape. This section also describes the processes of real-time manipulation of the musical materials. The analysis of *quattrubassi* describes modularity in more complex tunes, in which different melodic fragments and musical elements are recombined into more extended melodic constructions. This section compares performances from different players, and illustrates how the shared tunes vary considerably among the musicians of the area. A final part discusses the significance of the different melodic fragments in defining the tunes' identity.

Conceptual Framework and Methods

In central Calabria, dance pieces are referred to with the vernacular word *sunata*, which refers generically to a piece of instrumental music, or more extensively with the locution *sunata d'abbaḍḍu* or *sunata ppe abbaḍḍare,* which are the terms used explicitly for dance music.[8] I will adopt the short version to refer to dance pieces throughout the paper.[9]

7. The harmonic alternation of bagpipe music has a counterpart in the dance, which is often based on figures that change the supporting leg along with the music.
8. Calabrian dialect is mostly a spoken language, and some of its phonemes are absent in spoken Italian. Written renderings of Calabrian vernacular have drawn on a wide variety of transcription methods, most of which are self-made. In the absence of a standard method widely adopted in the literature about Calabria, nor in the region's vernacular literature, I have opted for Gerhard Rohlfs's (1982) phonetic transcription of Calabrian dialect for the transcription of the vernacular terms employed in this paper. Calabrian vernacular literature offers too wide a variety of transcription methods, while Rohlfs's work on the regional language, although not completely up to date with the advancement of phonetics, still stands as the most complete and systematic attempt to accomplish this task. I will replace Rohlfs's phonetic sign ḍ with đ, since use of this sign has become an established practice in many ethnomusicological publications on Calabria.
9. I will avoid using the term *tarantella*, also sometimes found in the area, because it commonly presents a misleadingly unifying view of southern Italian music (see, for instance, Castagna 2006). Furthermore, *tarantella*, besides being sometimes used to refer to a generic dance piece associated with the dance *a*

When comparing different renderings of a *sunata* by a performer, a considerable degree of melodic variability emerges. Furthermore, each performer has a somewhat different and personal way of performing a tune. Nevertheless, the different versions are recognized and appreciated by the listeners as simply being different performances of the very same tune. Musicians from central Calabria seem to conceptualize neither composition nor improvisation.[10] This is mostly a "player's art" (Williams 1973); in this music, the performer–composer–improviser collapses into a single person whose role is not defined in relation to any of these three categories. In central Calabria, the process of producing, interpreting and transforming music in real time is intrinsic to the act of performing.[11] An analysis of these real-time phenomena of variation, which takes into account the emic theoretical system that governs this music, reveals that the terms "composition" and "improvisation" prove inadequate. David Fossum (2017, 5) observes that "given the imprecision of the term 'improvisation,' when culture bearers or musicologists use the term—or deny its applicability—the most helpful question may not be whether the term is appropriate or not, but rather what motivates the desire to use it (or deny it) at all." My interpretation of Calabrian music phenomena without referring to those terms is not intended to draw lines, exclude, or divide (Nooshin 2003); it is rather an attempt to find a conceptual framework that is more suitable to the way music appears to be conceptualized and verbalized in the region.

In central Calabrian dance music, the performers rely on a way of producing music extempore in relation to shared models that appear to be perceived as being clearly defined and stable—in their words, a *sunata* is "always the same" despite the observable degree of variability discussed in this article. The realization of a well-structured model recalls what Martin Williams (1973) calls "extemporization." With this term, Williams refers to those real-time processes in a jazz performance that are not commonly ascribed to the realm of improvisation: for example, realizing walking-bass or piano voicings.[12] Building on this concept, Vincenzo Caporaletti (2005) analyzes the real-time music-making

tarantella, in this area also identifies a specific *sunata* for *organetto*.

10. During research, I recorded a corpus of *sunate* associated with specific names. These names unequivocally identify the tunes rather than referring to broader categories, such as styles. When talking about the *sunate*, musicians use the definite article, as in "la fina," "la quattrubassi," "la zopparella," or "chiđđa ca sonenu ari Cu$\chi\chi$ienti" ("the one they play in Conflenti"). Instead, when referring to styles, which most commonly happens in vocal music, the expression used is "a la," so that one sings "all'arietta" or "alla petrejancara."

11. Bruno Nettl (1974, 2013) regards composition and improvisation as part of a continuum. This is a significant contribution to the understanding of real-time processes in music that attempts to solve the opposition between these practices and to disassociate improvisation from the negative connotations that have historically been attributed to it. In fact, as Nettl observes, for decades western musicology attributed an improvised, intuitive, or primitive character to most non-Western musics, in opposition to the thoughtfulness and rationality of Western composition. In doing so, they perpetuated a colonialist agenda that supported the vision of a developed western civilization opposed to underdeveloped foreign countries. In this context, Nettl's spectrum, by shifting the focus to performance, attempts to overcome a use of the term "improvisation" that "served ideological purposes" (Nooshin 2003) and relegated all non-Western musics to an indistinct category of otherness (Nettl 1983). In her book on Iranian classical music, Laudan Nooshin (2015) thoroughly explores the power relationships often embedded in musicological discourses. Among other themes, she discusses how the composition–improvisation duality often "served to mark purportedly essential differences between Western art and Other musics" (Nooshin 2015, 10).

12. Another example could be Gjerdingen's schemata (2007), stock musical phrases used as melodic and harmonic skeletons in passages of music in the Galant style.

in the aforementioned jazz practices, and in other oral traditions where the concepts of composition and improvisation are not present, as a realization of a well-defined and stable model. He defines "extemporization" as a real-time "creative strategy" (Caporaletti 2005, 110) that responds to a highly structured normative code. Extemporization is embodied in the performance practice, and enabled by the player in relation to a culturally defined, virtual model. It is not "simply an expressive variant of the text, as interpretation is for Western music in the last three centuries, but it exerts a constructive function on the text itself" (111).[13] Extemporization is proper to oral culture where music is not conceptually and perceptually bound to the visual medium of the score. It is grounded in what Caporaletti calls the "audio-tactile principle," a process that validates the supremacy of embodied cognition in the generation and perception of music. Caporaletti ascribes extemporization to the category of improvisational processes, although he then distinguishes it from "proper improvisation," to which he attributes a wider degree of textual creation. However, one can argue that extemporization is a subset of improvisation: a type of real-time transformation that deals with a strictly defined model through likewise strictly defined rules. This form of real-time agency seems to describe well the emic view of musical variation. As I will discuss, Calabrian musicians seem to refer to a well-defined and stable model—they acknowledge the stability of a *sunata* although they do not directly mention a model—and seem to conceptualize their playing in a way that recalls Caporaletti's notion of extemporization.

Methodologically, this article draws both on ethnomusicological research and on my experience as a folk musician who takes part in the musical life of this area. My study involved both ethnographic methods and analysis of melodic structure. I conducted extensive observations during more than a decade of research in the region. The recordings presented in this article are published in their full duration on the CD attached to Ferlaino (2017), except the recording transcribed in Figure 10, which was kindly provided by a fellow researcher, Andrea Bressi, to whom I am immensely grateful. I recorded the music with digital devices; I transcribed the music by slowing down the recordings and crosschecked the sound files with observations of the fingerings adopted by the musicians. I recorded over forty musicians, both in private recording sessions and during social gatherings, such as festive occasions, while playing for dancers. Data collection included interviews concerned with technical aspects of the music and the methods of learning it, as well as with the importance of social interaction in developing one's musicianship.

I was born in a small town in the region that is the focus of this study, and I have been trained as a folk musician. I learned to play *zampogna* and *organetto* according to the traditional method based on imitation. Professional musicianship is an uncommon practice in central Calabria: aside from rare exceptions, musicians did not, and mostly still do not, play for a fee or in front of an audience of listeners. Music has a social and participatory function which is still strong in the area. In the past, there was no formal

13. Translated from the Italian: "l'estemporizzazione non è semplicemente una variante espressiva del testo, come l'interpretazione nella musica eurocolta degli ultimi tre secoli, ma ha una funzione costitutiva . . . del testo."

musical training and no "vertical" teacher–apprentice relationship.[14] The trainee would follow some (or even one) musicians of note and would learn to play by imitation. The bagpiper Vittorio Mendicino described this method clearly during a recording session: he said that people would learn to play the same way they learned to smoke, just doing what somebody else was doing.

The way I learned to play *zampogna* and *organetto* seems to match the accounts that emerged during interviews and conversations with folk musicians in the area: I befriended and hung out with older bagpipers and accordion players, imitated their playing, and occasionally received advice or "corrections" about how I should play. This experience as a folk musician parallels my research: auto-ethnographic methods (Ellis, Adams, and Bochner 2011) provide a framework for understanding the music that is the object of this study. Because I was learning how to perform as an insider (Bochner and Ellis 1992, 165), my "biographical experience" (170), the advice and "teachings" I received, and the often unrecorded conversations with folk musicians support the data that emerges through music analysis and ethnographic methods. I rely on auto-ethnography because it provides information that supports both the analysis of relevant cultural artifacts (Boylorn 2006) and the data collected through interviewing cultural members (Foster 2014).

Musical Elements

Eight-Bass *Organetto*

The diatonic button accordion, known in Calabria as *organetto*, is present in the area that is the object of this study almost solely in its eight-bass version (Figure 2).[15] The instrument spread to central Calabria during the twentieth century, and has been slowly taking over a place that had been almost completely dominated by the *zampogna conflentana* (Guizzi and Leydi 1985; Leydi and Guizzi 2001; La Vena 1986, 2005).

Figure 3 and Figure 4 respectively are diagrams of the bass buttons (left hand) and the melodic-buttons (right hand) of an *organetto* in the key of G. The production of sound is bound to the direction of the bellows: the same button produces two different pitches depending on whether the bellows is opening or closing. In both figures, the upper half of the circle denotes the sound obtained when closing the bellows; the lower half, the sound produced when opening it. In Figure 3, small letters denote a single pitch, in this case, the fundamental of the corresponding chord; capital letters indicate a chord. All chords are major triads except for the inner-top A which is usually a minor triad—although among the instruments sold in Calabria it is common to find the corresponding button also producing a major triad.

Figure 4 shows the notes produced by the buttons of the melodic keyboard. The Italian name for the buttons in the inner row, identified with circled numbers, is *vocette*,

14. The training method somewhat resembles the "in the field" traditional method of Bulgarian *horo* players described by Buchanan and Folse (2006, 59).
15. In fact, many of the *sunate* of central Calabria take advantage of the harmonic and melodic solutions offered by the lower register of the bass keyboard.

Figure 2. Eight-bass *organetto* played by Giuseppe Colosimo.

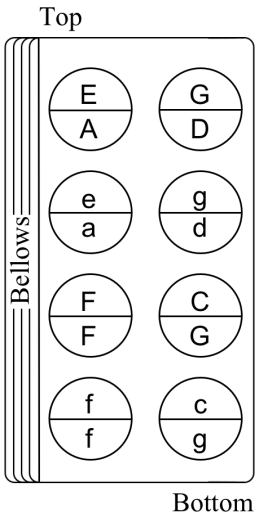

Figure 3. Bass buttons of an eight-bass *organetto* in G.

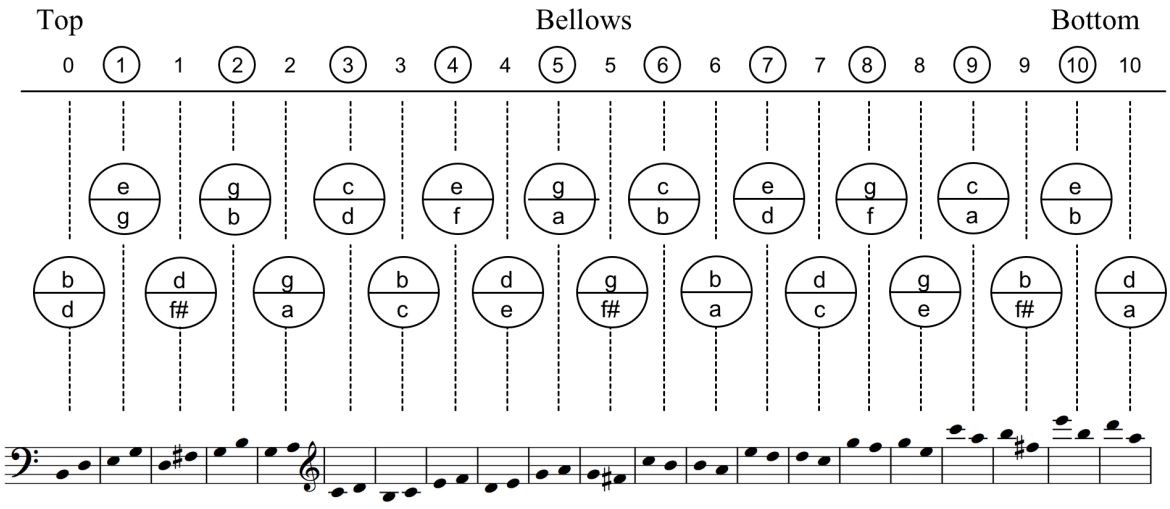

Figure 4. Melodic buttons of an eight-bass *organetto* in G.

while those in the outer row are called *voci* (Giannattasio 1979). In central Calabria, musicians do not distinguish between the two, and refer to both with the term *vucette*. In my analyses, when referring to the buttons, I will abide by the diagram provided in Figure 4 and refer to *voci* with the corresponding plain numbers and to *vocette* with circled numbers.

The instrument is characterized by a limited range of modes and scales, and it lacks a full chromatic scale. Furthermore, when closing the bellows, only half of the notes available on an *organetto* are accessible, while the other half are accessible when opening it.[16]

The organological features of the *organetto* work as a frame in which the musicians produce melodic variations. To overcome some of the instrument's limits, players modify their *organetti* to respond to their creative demands. These modifications consist of the permanent inversion of reeds on a specific button and the exchange of reeds between two buttons. To relate the transcriptions to the physicality of the instrument, I have transposed the music to a key that matches the diagrams of the *organetto* provided in the figures above.[17]

16. Inverting the direction also results in a change in harmony. Some virtuoso passages are obtained by inverting the direction of the bellows for a fraction of a pulse so that the regular alternation of chords, indissolubly linked to dance moves, is not interrupted.

17. In dance *sunate*, the internal division of the beats is not univocal. In fact, it is common for (a) binary and ternary divisions to coexist, (b) binary and ternary to be interchanged in the same *sunata,* or (c) a figure to be interpreted somewhere between ternary and binary division. As Vincenzo La Vena maintains: "Binary and ternary divisions of the beat are contrasting typologies in written music, but much less in oral traditions where the proportions among the sounds within a beat are not rigorous" (La Vena 2005, 132). Besides, every musician has a personal and peculiar way of articulating the pulse. These differences characterize the style of each musician and can be compared to the jazz musician's personal way of interpreting swing. However, a transcription of all these subtle details would jeopardize the readability of the score. Therefore, I have opted to prioritize readability, because of my focus on melodic and rhythmic variation.

Girate

Dance *sunate* work on the concatenation of short passages of music that last only a few beats. Musicians from central Calabria refer to these short melodic fragments with the term *girata* (turn). *Girata* is both a term and an object. As a term, *girata* can be translated as "melodic fragment," since it refers both to a larger melodic construction and to its smaller constituents. As objects, *girate* are the melodic ingredients of a performance: finite melodic units with a clear internal structure—a beginning and an ending—and a specific function in relation to larger melodic constructions. They are strung together to create longer melodic constructions that expand and contract without clearly defined patterns. *Girate* also seem to determine the shortest melodic duration conceptualized by musicians in the area: in fact, musicians never refer to melodic fragments that last for less than two beats. *Girate* have flexible structure and duration: they can be a whole phrase or merely a short melodic cell with a determined function. They last no less than two beats, and can stretch out to eight or more beats.

In practice, a *girata* can be a short self-standing passage, as in examples 1 and 2 in Figure 5; a whole melodic phrase, as in examples 4 and 5; or merely a two-beat passage used to connect other structural elements, as in examples 3 and 6. Example 5, despite being the same melodic fragment as example 4 with the addition of a pick-up figure, is described by musicians as a different *girata*. Musicians are well aware of these entities and of their functions. They can track the origin of specific *girate*, acknowledge from whom they picked them up, or explain which personal *girata* they added to a specific tune in order to personalize it.[18]

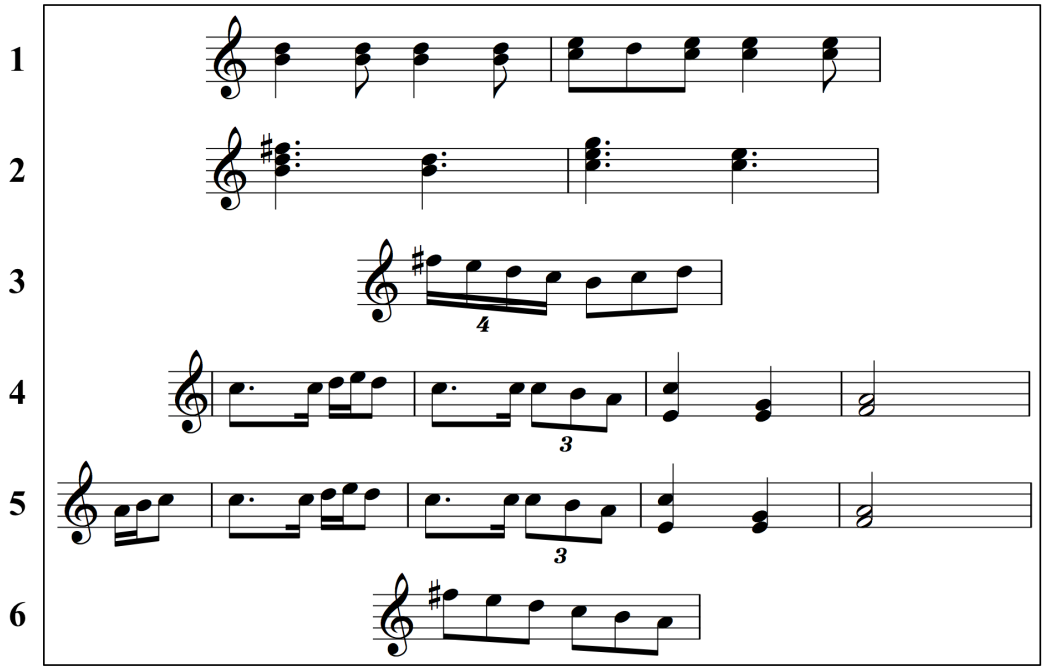

Figure 5. Examples of *girate*.

18. Emblematic is an interview with Antonio Funaro, who pointed out how he introduced his own invented girata in a *sunata* "made" by his uncle, to "modernize" ("ammodernare") the tune.

Girate are the actualizations of underlying formulaic principles. It might happen that when a musician is asked to play the same *girata* twice the results differ, albeit slightly. However, *girate* are not loose entities; their variability seems instead to be connected to the act of remembering and to the embodiment of a practice of variation. Remembering is an active process through which the subject reconstructs their personal perception of the salient details of an event—see for instance Leo Treitler's (2007) work, which draws on Frederic C. Bartlett's (1995) research. In other words, events are not memorized, nor are they recollected, as a whole. According to Treitler, the performer remembers "salient features" of the personal experience of an event rather than the actual event. The act of recollection is also a reconstruction of the experience stored in memory rather than a perfect reproduction of the past event. I maintain that the act of remembering together with the embodied practice for generating music discussed in this article give *girate* their variable character.

In this article, I will break the *girate* into fragments that last two beats for several reasons: the music analyzed here revolves around the alternation of V-I chords, each chord lasting two beats; the melodic fragments adopted in performance always appear in a specific harmonic area; this duration also has a correspondence in the dance, in which the dancers change step and alternate the supporting leg along with the harmonic changes; and ethnographic data show that the minimum duration that the musicians seem to conceptualize for a *girata* is two beats.

Case Studies

Fina

An ideal starting point for the analysis of this music is Erminio Mastroianni's *fina*. This *sunata* is an exemplary simplification of the processes at issue, for it revolves around a single formulaic principle that is actualized into a series of *girate*. I first discuss how the *sunata* is the result of a series of variations of a single formulaic principle. I then show how the sequence in which *girate* appear changes at every performance, thus demonstrating how the tunes are actualized in real time.

Fina is one of the main dance *sunate* of central Calabria. It works on the alternation of V and I (G - C) chords in a major modal setting that allows the use of the raised fourth scale degree—in this case the *f*♯ of button 9 in Figure 4—as major seventh of the V chord.[19] Figure 6 is a transcription of the first few seconds of one of Mastroianni's performances.[20] I lay out the two-bar excerpts—a full alternation of V and I chords—so as to have a vertical correspondence of the pulses in each *girata*. I delimit the pulses with a vertical line, dashed

19. This *sunata* is named after the characteristic of using the highest register of the *organetto*: in fact, *fina* means "high-pitched." It is also known as *tribbucette* ("three voices") since it involves mainly the simultaneous use of three buttons (*vocette* ⑥, ⑦, and *voce* 9) of the *organetto* (see Figure 4). Mastroianni calls it instead *quattruvucette* because he uses mainly four buttons (*vocette* ⑥, ⑦, ⑧, and *voce* 9).
20. I recorded this performance on August 5, 2005, in a private session at Mastroianni's house. The original key is B♭. This is an excerpt of track 11 published in Ferlaino (2017).

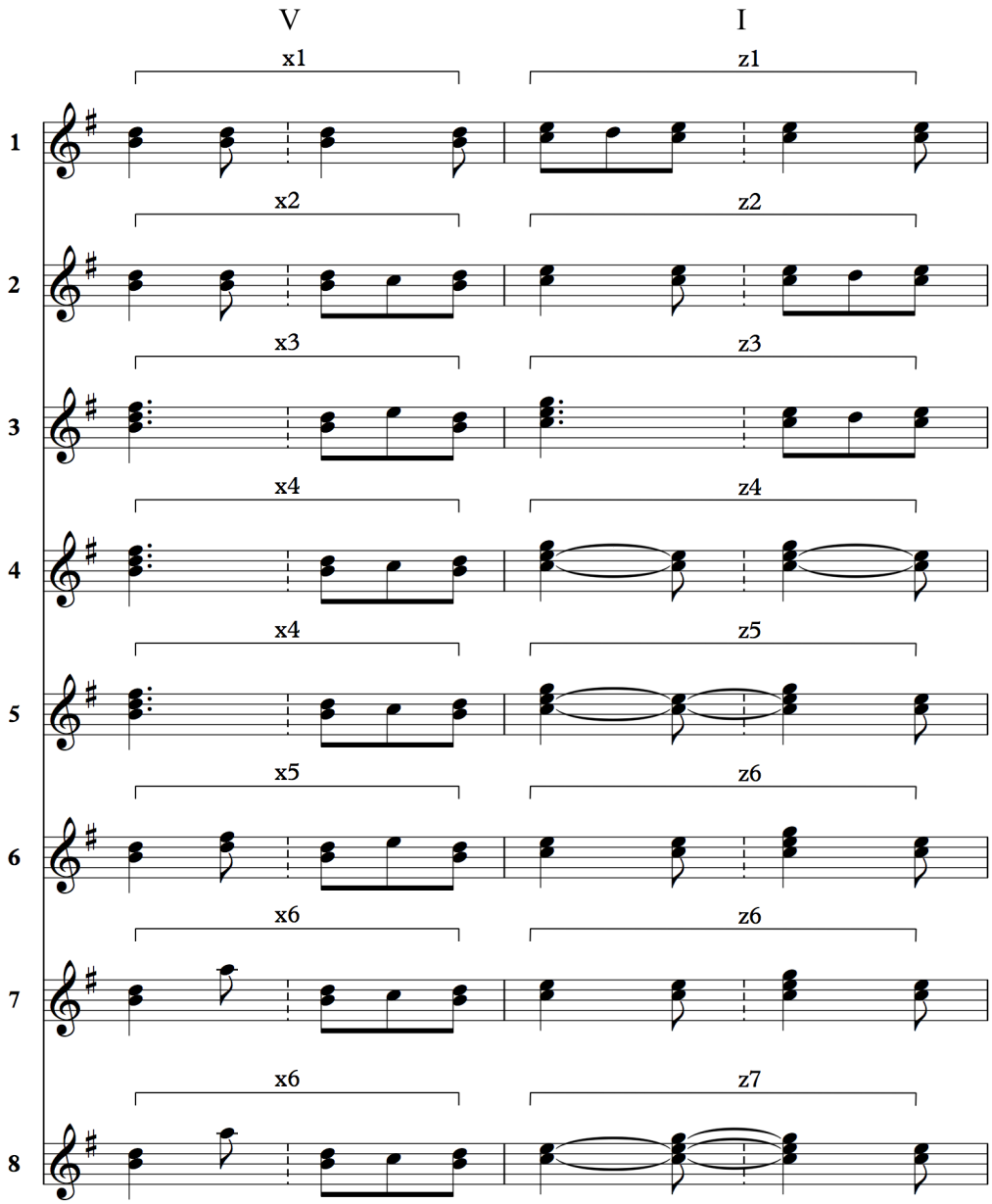

Figure 6. Opening 13 seconds of the *fina* performed by Erminio Mastroianni.

within the same chord, solid when the chord change occurs.[21]

The vertical layout allows us to readily observe how each repetition responds to a common formulaic principle. Each harmonic area is characterized by a specific two-beat fragment, identified in Figure 6 with **x** for the area of V, and **z** for the area of I. In Figure 6, **x2** is equivalent to **x1** with the addition of *c* as a passing note during the second beat. In **x3** Mastroianni augments the dyad *b*-*d* with the addition of *f*♯ during the first beat, while he adds *e* as a neighbor note during the second beat. The same kind of variation is also observable in fragments belonging to group **z**.

21. Here, as in the following transcriptions, I omit the bass line since it plays a negligible role in the melodic variation discussed here.

Naming the two-bar *girate* **K**, I rewrite the fragment above as an alphanumeric transcription in Figure 7. This transcription allows us to observe that in every harmonic cycle, Mastroianni performs different actualizations of a single formulaic principle **K**, formed by two fragments, each specific to one harmonic area. Figure 8 shows **K** as a formulaic principle; in this transcription I use diamond noteheads to denote the underlying formulaic principle and distinguish it from its actualizations.

Thus, the whole performance is structured as a sequence of *girate*, each of which is a slightly different actualization of the music fragment **K** transcribed in Figure 8. Italian ethnomusicologists define this process, based on the constant iteration and variation of underlying melodic structures, as *micro-variation* (see, for instance, Crivelli 1979; Lortat-Jacob 1989; Giuriati 1982). The underlying melodic/rhythmic structures are always preserved, while the foreground changes at each repetition. To observe the extent of this variation process, I transcribe the first 37 seconds of the same performance of *fina* in Figure 9. Mastroianni realizes **K** 24 times: 22 are new versions, whereas two are exact repetitions of a version that appeared previously: **K**7 and **K**16. We also notice that the *girate* are constructed using a handful of elements: in this case, 13 versions of **x** and 13 of **z**, recombined in different ways.[22]

Calabrian musicians are well aware of this variation process, although they do not verbalize it explicitly in a structured way. It emerges in the way Calabrian musicians evaluate their performances. In fact, both listeners and musicians appreciate variation: performers with a limited repertoire of *girate* are regarded negatively as "always playing the same thing" or using "only a few *girate*."

K1	K2	K3	K4
x1 z1	x2 z2	x3 z3	x4 z4
K5	**K6**	**K7**	**K8**
x4 z5	x5 z6	x6 z6	x6 z7

Figure 7. Alphanumeric transcription of Figure 6.

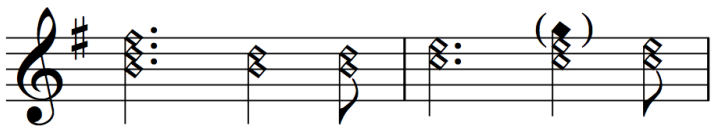

Figure 8. Formulaic principle underlying Mastroianni's *fina*.

22. Giuriati's (1982) analyses of the *tarantella montemaranese* identify a lower level of variation within the duration of one beat. He shows how variation at higher melodic levels is produced by varying and recombining only a few small one-beat melodic fragments. The same economy of means can be recognized in Calabrian music. Each *girata* consists of one **x** and one **z**, which are respectively formed through the repetition and variation of two one-beat figures, one for **x** and one for **z**.

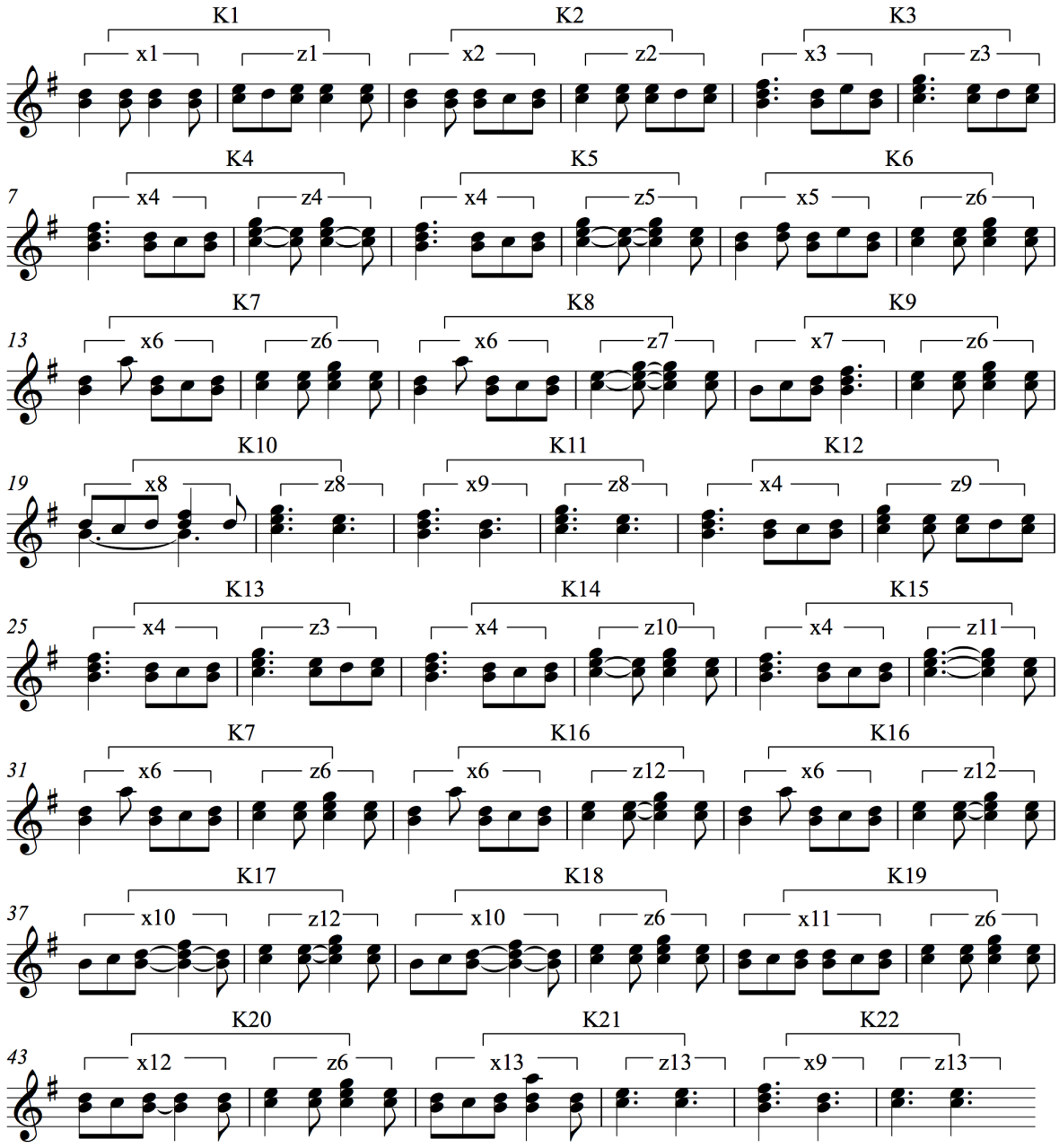

Figure 9. Initial 37 seconds of Mastroianni's first performance of the *fina*. Click here to listen.

The sequence in which *girate* appear in a performance is not fixed or predetermined: a *sunata* is not recollected from memory as a whole, nor as a strophic piece of music made of a predetermined sequence of melodies. Instead, a *sunata* results from an undetermined number of actualizations of the underlying melodic structure, which are strung together and recombined in the moment of performance. To observe how different successions of *girate* emerge in different performances, I will now compare the previous transcription with the first 37 seconds of another performance of Mastroianni's *fina* in Figure 10.[23] In this second version, new *girate* and new realizations of **x** and **z** appear. However, most of

23. This performance was recorded by Andrea Bressi in a private session at Mastroianni's house on September 23, 2017. The original key is F♯.

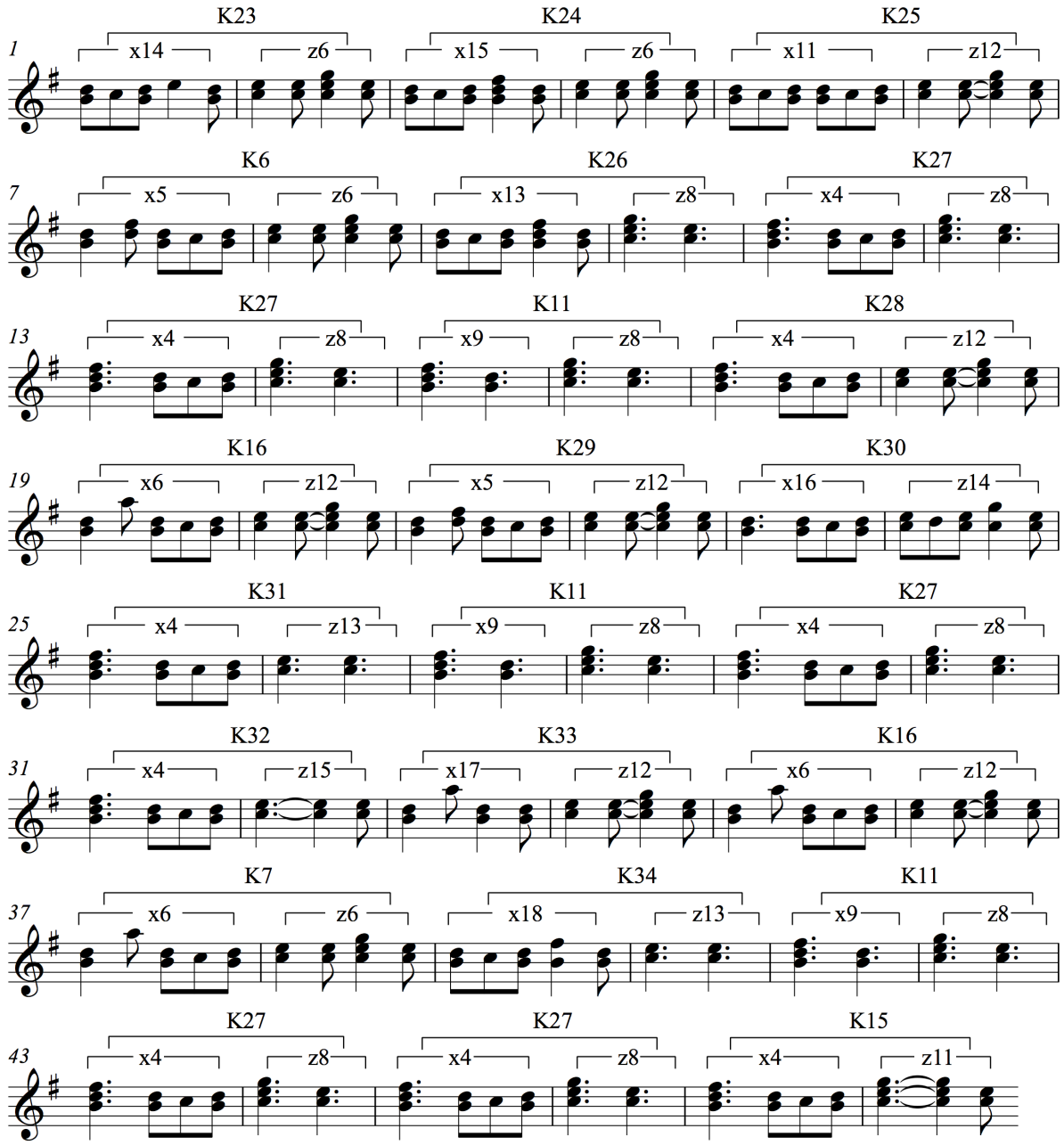

Figure 10. Initial 37 seconds of Mastroianni's second performance of *fina*. Click here to listen.

the actualizations of **x** and **z** are the same as those of the version transcribed in Figure 9. This time, Mastroianni repeats more *girate* than in the first version: **K27** appears five times, while **K11** and **K16** appear two times each. Most important for this analysis, the sequence in which he strings together his *girate* is entirely different.

For easier comparison, I lay out the two versions using alphanumeric transcription in Figure 11. We can observe that the order of the *girate* changes in each performance. Thus, the form of a *sunata* is determined by the perpetual, real-time recombination of micro-varied melodic shapes.

Version transcribed in Figure 9

K1	K2	K3	K4	K5	K6
K7	K8	K9	K10	K11	K12
K13	K14	K15	K7	K16	K16
K17	K18	K19	K20	K21	K22

Version transcribed in Figure 10

K23	K24	K25	K6	K26	K27
K27	K11	K28	K16	K29	K30
K31	K11	K27	K32	K33	K16
K7	K34	K11	K27	K27	K15

Figure 11. Alphanumeric transcriptions of Mastroianni's performances of *fina*.

Musicians are aware of both the stability of the model and the variability of *girate* and the order in which they are performed. Mastroianni, for instance, when speaking of the way this music works, says that the *sunata* is "always the same thing" ("chiđđa sempr'a stessa è") and that you play it "as it comes [to you]" or "as it happens" ("cumu vene").

Musicians realize the shared melodic shapes underlying a *sunata* in a multitude of varied versions. Variation works within a specific model defined by culture and the performer's memory: these two work as a frame within which music takes place, binding the performer's creativity to the available cultural tools: "always the same thing." The performer's creative need takes advantage of pre-existing repertoire that is recalled from memory and constantly transformed. Recalling music from memory is fundamental to oral traditions (Treitler 2007), and it gives the repertoire a very dynamic character. The music analyzed here results from the perpetual reinvention and re-aggregation of stereotyped elements (Magrini 1988): "as it comes." Mastroianni's words hint at the type of generative principles that govern this music. He seems to refer to a stable model that comes into being in real time in a variable and unpredictable way. The way he conceptualizes his playing recalls Caporaletti's (2005) extemporization: the process of acting extempore on a well-defined and highly regulated, virtual model.

The performers rely on a profound knowledge of the system that governs the music. At an "expert level" of skill acquisition the performer has a holistic perception of the rules and materials involved in music-making that is thus actualized intuitively in the performance (Dreyfus, Dreyfus, and Athanasiou 2000). The generative principles observed here reveal the development of extemporization skills through which the musicians can manipulate the musical material in the course of performance. The creative process relies at once on the actualization of the formulaic principles acquired, the recollection of *girate* previously memorized, and the "creation" of new ones in real time.

The analysis of Mastroianni's *fina* provides insight into music that revolves around a single melodic shape that is iterated and varied, similar to what has emerged in research on bagpipes from the area (La Vena 2005). In *sunate* such as *fina*, the generative processes of bagpipe music presumably migrated to the newly introduced instrument; however, *organetto* offers access to a much larger number of notes and "harmonic" solutions than the local bagpipe does. We can speculate on how these aspects may have triggered the differentiation of the repertoires for these two instruments: evidence points towards the development of the bagpipe's modularity into a process that took advantage of the extended possibilities offered by the *organetto* (Ferlaino 2017).

Quattrubassi

I will now analyze the *quattrubassi* to show how the processes discussed earlier were transferred to the *organetto*, an instrument that offers a much wider melodic and harmonic range than the local bagpipe. In this *sunata*, musicians string together different fragments into more extended melodic constructions through an accumulative process. In the following analyses, I will focus only on the melodic types that the players utilize in performance—which I identify with letters—rather than on their different actualizations, which I previously identified with numbers following the letters. These analyses are meant to demonstrate how modularity works in more complex *sunate*, and they allow a discussion of the degree of variability that emerges when different musicians play the same piece.

Figure 12 is the transcription of an excerpt of Antonio Sposato's *quattrubassi*.[24] This *sunata* alternates V and I chords—C and F in Figure 3—every two beats in a major mode with the raised fourth scale degree.[25] I analyze the piece as a series of musical phrases of different lengths which conclude with a cadence in dyads (labelled with **Q**). As I will illustrate later, ethnographic and auto-ethnographic data corroborate the choice of the cadential dyads **Q** as the key analytical tool for this *sunata*. The lengths of the phrases are: 4 - 4 - 4 - 4 - 4 - 4 - 4 - 4 - 8 - (2 - 2 - 2 - 2 - 2). The last five two-bar cells (in parentheses) could also be considered as a longer 10-bar phrase that ends with the long resting tone in bar 50.

Sposato constructs his melodies through variations of the fragments **a**, **b**, **c**, and **Q**. Fragment **Q**—which sits at a higher hierarchical level of analysis, and hence is labelled with a capital letter—is a two-bar cadential formula which in its basic form consists of **p** and **q**. In bars 40 to 50, Sposato repeats **Q** five times: he stretches out the cadence melodically by combining **q** with materials that could be considered derivations of **b**—labeled $\mathbf{q}^{b}$—due to their melodic shape and their function of preparing the cadence.

Leo Treitler (2007) speaks of "formulae" as stereotyped musical entities with a specific function, and which can appear in specific positions within a broader musical phrase. Formulae have stable salient features, while other features are susceptible to

24. I recorded this version on August 2, 2005, during a private session at Sposato's house. The original recording is in the key of G. This is an excerpt of track 2 in Ferlaino (2017).
25. The *sunata* is named after the technical feature that requires the performer to use the lower four bass buttons of the *organetto*: the external when closing the bellows and the internal when opening it (Figure 3). It is also known as *cu χχentara*, from Conflenti, the place where it originated.

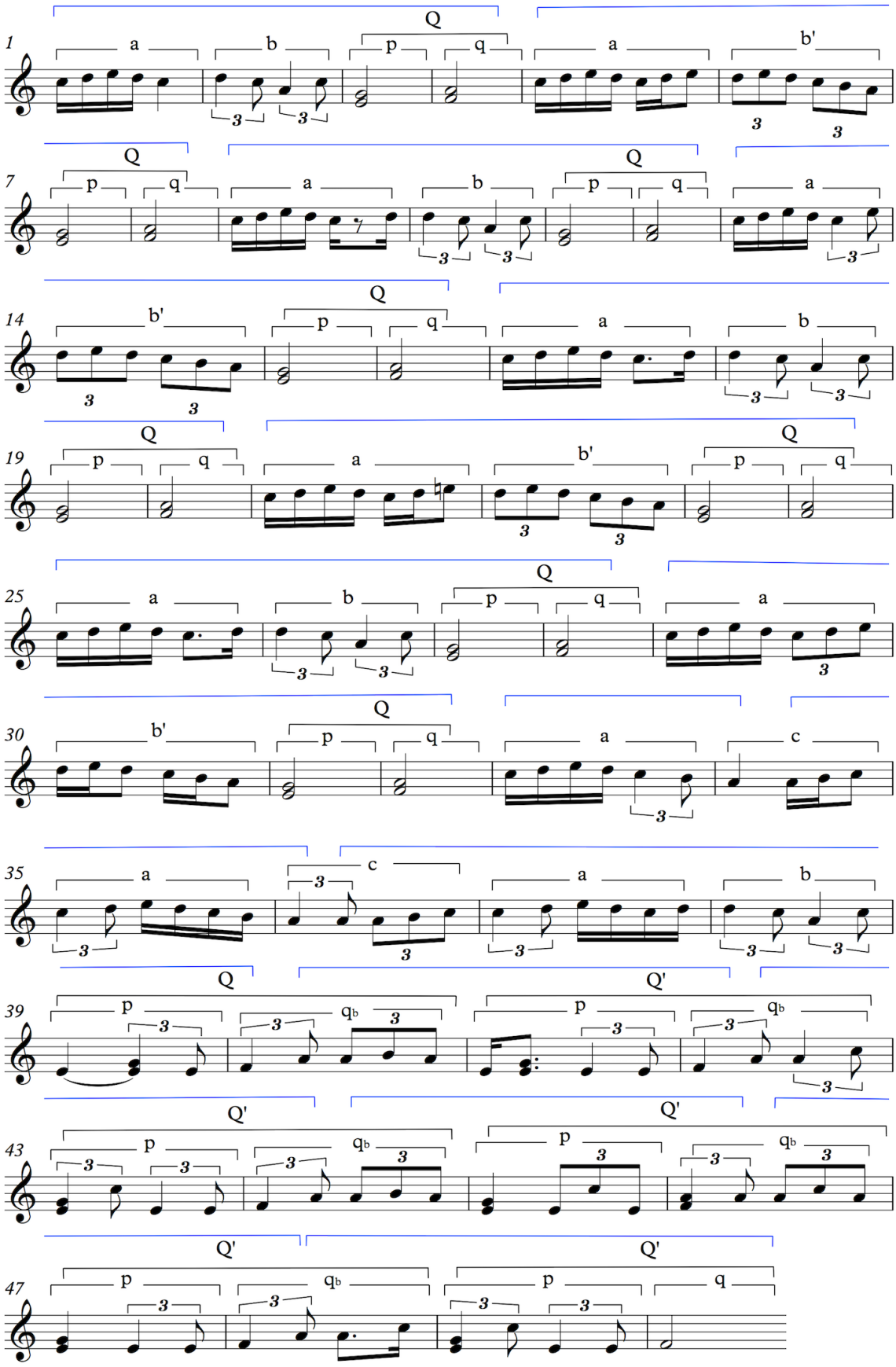

Figure 12. Excerpt of *quattrubassi* as performed by Antonio Sposato. Click here to listen.

variation. They manifest as musical objects that are "virtually the same" (175). We can analyze **Q** as a recurring formula whose function is to conclude the longer melodic constructions. This feature will become even more evident after comparing this performance with others by different players. In the rest of the performance, Sposato keeps expanding and contracting his phrases without a determined pattern, although the four-bar melodic constructions are predominant. He also introduces new melodic materials.[26] The piece can be transcribed with the sequence: **abpq - ab'pq - abpq - ab'pq - abpq - ab'pq - abpq - ab'pq - acacabpq^{b} - pq^{b} - pq^{b} - pq^{b} - pq^{b} - pq**.

This *sunata* makes use of a higher number of melodic materials compared to the music analyzed earlier. While in the *fina* a single two-bar melodic shape was iterated and varied, in the *quattrubassi* different melodic fragments are strung together in various combinations. This process is also characteristic of other *sunate* of the area such as, among others, *tarantella*, *femminile*, and *tirati 'nu corpu* (Ferlaino 2017). We can observe recurring patterns in the way Sposato sequences the melodic fragments. Each fragment appears only in one harmonic area: **a** and **p** are specific to the harmonic area of V, whereas **b**, **b'**, and **q** are specific to the area of I. They also hold specific functions within the longer phrases: **a** always starts the melodic constructions whereas **Q** always concludes them; **c** connect different fragments—it is used to return to **a** to stretch out the melodic constructions; **b** and its derivation **b'** always prepare the cadence.

With the blue brackets in Figure 12, I also try to show how a folk musician might divide the piece empirically into *girate*. This interpretation is purely speculative, and derives from observations and conversations with musicians from the area. As is evident from the transcription, the duration of the *girate* expands and contracts in different ways, even when the constructions derive from similar materials. Far from providing a clear picture of their structure, this interpretation emphasizes how modularity—meaning the stringing together of smaller elements into larger constructions—is not mere analytical speculation, but is clearly conceptualized in the emic theory of music.

To show how the *sunate* vary considerably from performer to performer, I now compare Antonio Sposato's *quattrubassi* with versions by two other musicians: Carmelo Scalese (Figure 13) and Antonio Funaro (Figure 14).[27] Differences between these three performances emerge in the division of the beat, and in the metric interpretation. Even more significant differences are observable in the actual melodies played and their developments.

26. In the rest of the performance Sposato adopts a module which could be considered an extension of **b'**, although I identify it as a borrowing from the *sunata tarantella*. Borrowings from different *sunate* are a common practice in dance repertoire of the area (see, for instance, Antonio Funaro's *quattrubassi* transcribed in Figure 14). In Sposato's case, however, the melodic fragment is not transposed (*tarantella* is in a different key and adopts the upper basses (G/D in Figure 3) of the *organetto*). The result is a minor ninth (*f*♯ produced by button 9 in Figure 4) during the first beat of the fragment. This *girata* is also used by other musicians. The harsh-sounding minor ninth denotes a specific taste for harmonic dissonance that can be found among many musicians and in different tunes—for instance minor *sunate* played on instruments featuring only major bass buttons (Ferlaino 2017). During the performance, Sposato also "modulates" to the *sunata fina*: modulating freely between *quattrubassi* and *fina* is also a common practice among musicians of the area.

27. I recorded Carmelo Scalese's version in July 2005; the original recording is in the key of A♭. This recording is an excerpt of track 41 in Ferlaino (2017). Antonio Funaro's version was recorded on December 28, 2005; the original recording is in the key of C. This is an excerpt of track 22 in Ferlaino (2017).

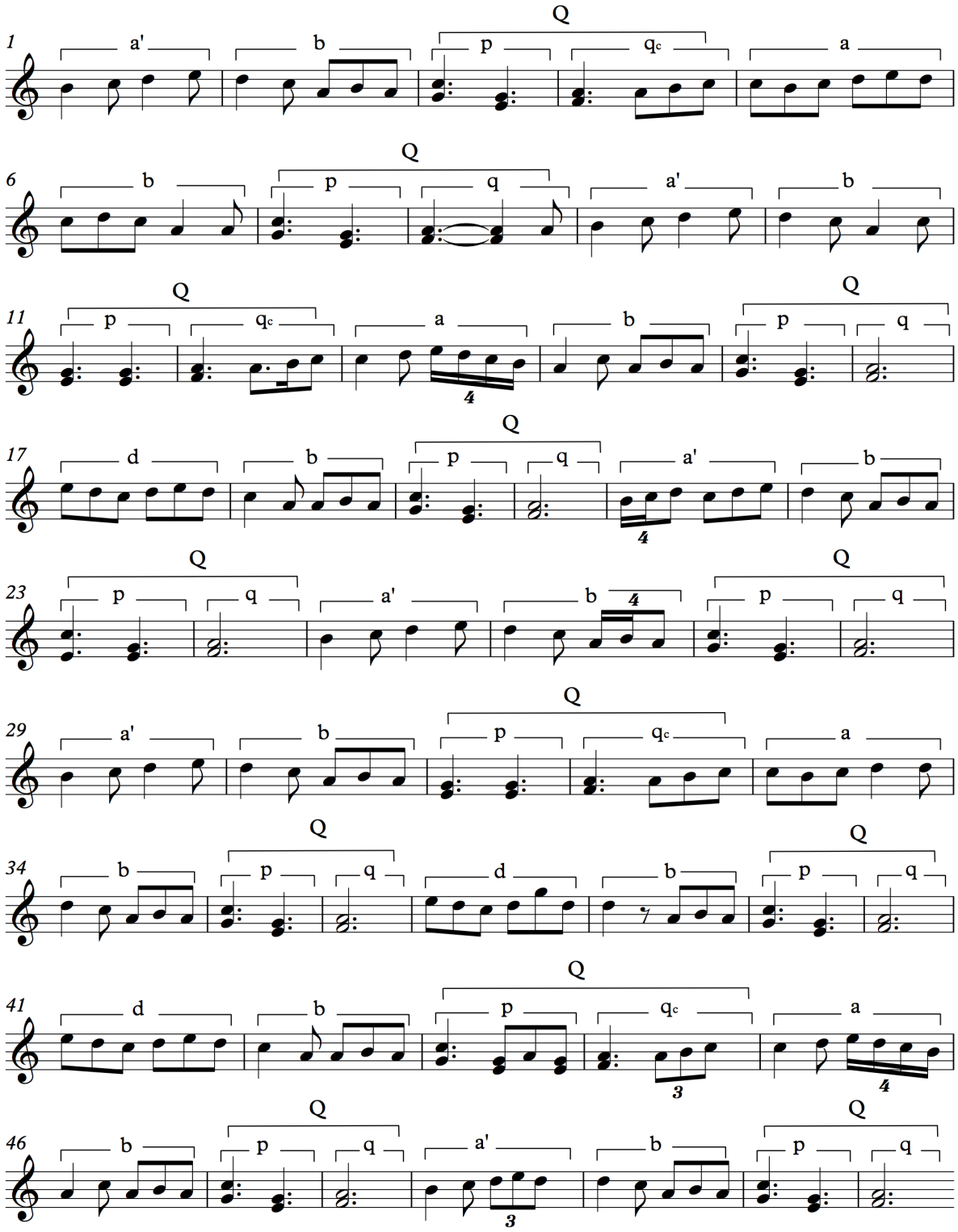

Figure 13. *Quattrubassi* performed by Carmelo Scalese. Click here to listen.

While in Figure 12 we saw melodies of variable length, in Figure 13 Scalese constructs phrases that always last for four bars, and his whole performance adheres to this structural arrangement. Yet, it is possible to recognize materials derived from the same *girate* used by Sposato together with new ones. Although most of Scalese's phrases start with the pitch *b* instead of *c*, the melodic figures respond to a common formulaic system which makes it

possible to relate them to the fragments labelled **a**. The piece can be transcribed as follows: **a'bpq^{c} - abpq - a'bpq^{c} - abpq - dbpq - a'bpq - a'bpq - a'bpq^{c} - abpq - dbpq - dbpq - a'bpq - a'bpq**.

Scalese uses two different fragments to start his melodic constructions: **a**, its variant **a'**, and **d**. In this version, Scalese combines **q** with melodic materials whose shape and function can be associated with fragment **c** of Figure 12: in fact, **q**^{c} is a composite fragment that combines the cadence with a pick-up figure that reconnects to **a**.

Antonio Funaro's *quattrubassi*, transcribed in Figure 14, introduces a new complexity and variety, as well as a higher variability of phrase duration. His melodic constructions have the following measure lengths: 6 - 8 - 2 - (2 -2 - 2 - 2) - 8 - 12 - 10. In the rest of his performance, Funaro constructs phrases that expand and contract without a constant pattern. The sequence in parentheses can be analyzed as a melodic elaboration of **Q**, in which four two-bar elements are arranged together to construct a longer eight-bar phrase. The piece can be transcribed as follows: **aedbpq^{c} - aededbpq - pq^{b} - pq^{b} - p'q^{b} - p'q^{b} - pq^{c} - aededbpq^{c} - aefededgdbpq^{c} - A'B'A'B'A'B'A'bpq^{c}**.

Funaro introduces new melodic material: **e**, **f**, **g**, **A'** and **B'**. Materials belonging to **a**, **d**, **f**, **p**, and **A'** pertain to the harmonic area of V, whereas **b**, **e**, **g**, **q**, and **B'** are in the area of I. Funaro constructs more complex lines, with a composite internal structure: for instance, through the connecting element **e**, he repeats parts of his lines and stretches the constructions. A similar function is performed by **g**, which at bar 40 connects the two fragments labelled **d**. **A'** and **B'** seem to be derived from **a** and **b**, although their function and provenance are very different. Funaro borrows these two fragments from a different piece for *organetto* called *zampognara*.[28] The adoption of *girate* that belong to different *sunate* is a common practice in the dance repertoire for *organetto*.

In music like the *quattrobassi*, we recognize a set of melodic materials, governed by common formulaic systems (Treitler 2007), that are recombined continuously in the moment of performance into ever-changing melodic constructions. Giovanni Giuriati (1982) compares the micro-varied recombination of melodic fragments to the glass particles of a kaleidoscope: a handful of elements are continuously recombined to produce ever-changing shapes.

Only a few fragments are shared among the three performers: **a**, **b**, **p** and **q**. Furthermore, every musician has a different and personal way of interpreting these fragments into actual *girate*. For instance, Sposato and Funaro's *girate* **a** always start on the pitch *c*, whereas in Scalese's performance they often start on *b* in the variant **a'**. Other melodic materials are less commonly shared: for instance, fragments **d** and **e** are absent in Sposato's performance, who instead is the only musician to use the full version of fragment **c**. Only Funaro uses **f** and **g**, and he is also the only musician who borrows

28. The *zampognara* is a *sunata* that imitates the melodic ambitus of the *zampogna* and its *girate*. Although the *zampognara* is played in a different register of the *organetto* (the upper external bass buttons, D-G in Figure 3), Funaro adopts its melodic materials to add variety to his performance. Sometimes musicians do not transpose these borrowings, which therefore produce intervallic and harmonic clashes that are very much appreciated by musicians from the area.

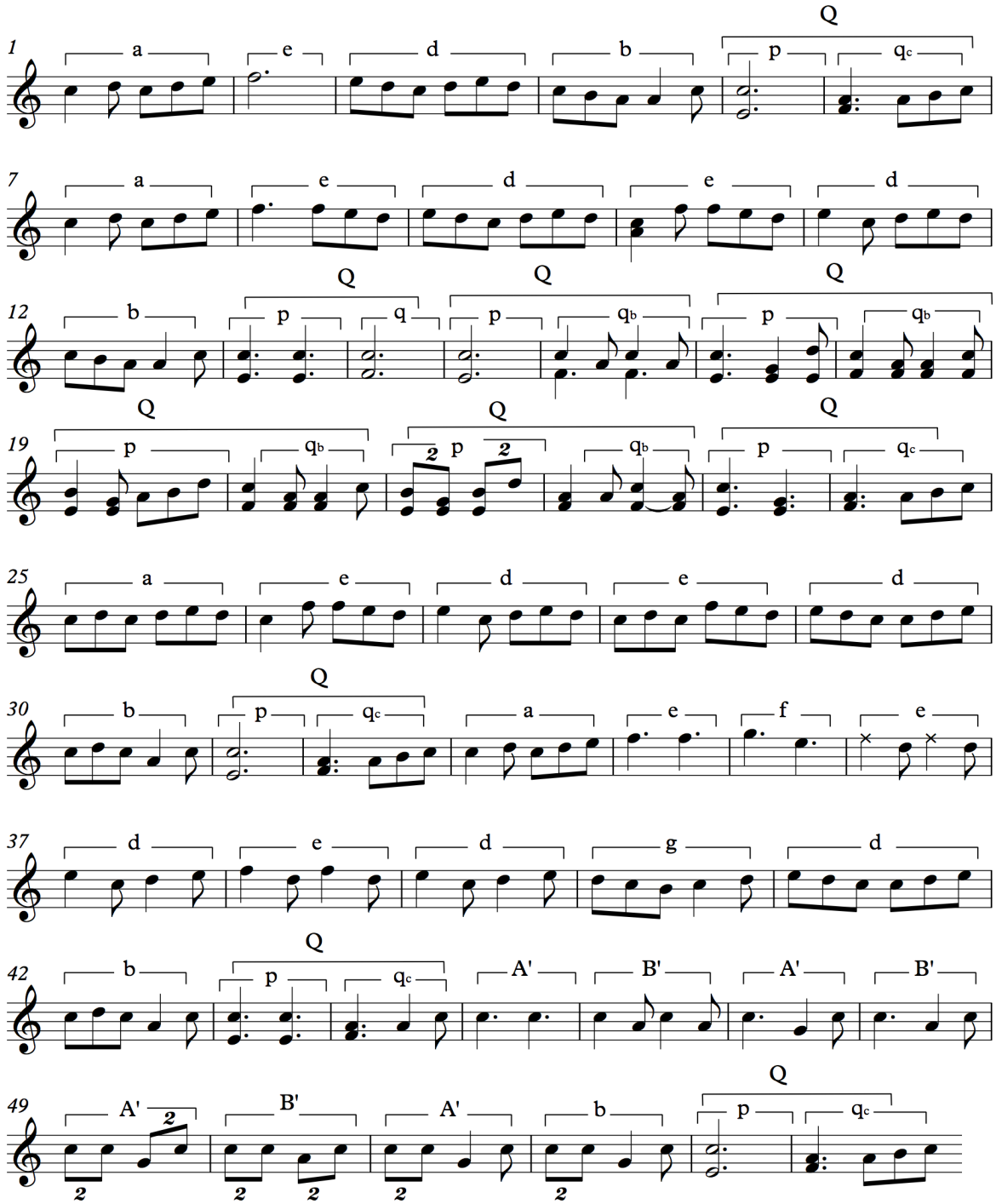

Figure 14. Excerpt of *quattrubassi* as performed by Antonio Funaro. Click here to listen.

materials from different *sunate,* as in **A'** and **B'**. Furthermore, Sposato plays with a pronounced duple character while the other two musicians have a distinct triple beat division. Players personalize the realization of the melodic shapes according to their taste, skills, and musicianship.

Fina and *quattrubassi* are functional to dance and are both bound to the same two dance styles (Ferlaino 2018). Similarly to the music discussed here, both dance styles work on the principles of real-time modular iteration, variation and sequencing of short

patterns. Musicians and dancers influence each other through visual, musical, and dance interaction. This interaction produces visible effects on the way musicians manipulate the materials. Musicians are keen to play for "good" dancers; their playing is fortified by the interaction with the dancers and vice versa. On the contrary, musicians are often disheartened by playing for "bad" dancers or for no dancers at all. Especially in the absence of dancers, the performers seem to be less keen to play, often resulting in fairly short performances, whereas a *sunata* would normally last up to 30 minutes.

Discussion: The Defining Factors of the *Sunata*'s Identity

The analyses above show how musicians sequence, and repeat through variation, extemporized melodic structures. This is true both for *sunate* that revolve around a single *girata* and for music that involves different melodic fragments. Ethnographic data also showed how the musicians perceive the *sunate* as the real-time actualization of a stable and clearly defined model. However, the analysis of *quattrubassi* showed a considerable degree of variability among the performers. Musicians do not share the *sunate* in their entirety, which instead vary considerably from performer to performer, nor do they share fixed melodies. Despite the differences that emerged in the analyses, musicians and listeners recognize the three performances as simply being different versions of the very same piece. In this way, they acknowledge the performers' unique styles.

With such a degree of variability, questions arise concerning the perception of the identity of a *sunata*. How can different performances of the same piece show such a significant variability and still be perceived as corresponding to the same stable model ("always the same thing")? Where does this identity reside? In his discussion of medieval chant, Leo Treitler reflects on what would have counted as "the same" and what the criterion of "sameness" would have been in that musical culture (Treitler 2007). Drawing on Simha Arom's (1996) studies of polyphony, he concludes that the criterion of "sameness" must have resided, analogously to what happens in other oral cultures, in adhesion to a common model. Similarly, the "sameness" among the three performances of *quattrubassi* seems to reside in the adhesion to an underlying model, rather than in the surface manifestation, which may vary. However, is the identity perceived as the adhesion of all the musical elements used in performance to a holistic model underlying a specific *sunata*? Or, rather, are some elements more important than others in defining the piece's identity? This second case would explain why some fragments can be excluded from a performance without jeopardizing the piece's identity, or why borrowings are perceived as an "enrichment" of the *sunata*, rather than as a change to a different one, a practice which in the area is referred to as *vutare* ("to turn into").

For instance, at a banquet, I was sitting at a table with two musicians when they asked me to play a *sunata*. As an inexperienced accordion player, I reproduced the melodies I had learned by imitating one of the two musicians. I was extremely disappointed by their laughter, as they mocked my playing. When asked, the musicians replied that I was playing something similar to a *quattrubassi*, but not quite that tune. They explained that my piece "sounded like" a *quattrubassi* but it was not, the reason being that I was missing the dyads in the cadence: "you have to press two buttons [at the same time]."

Evidently, the cadential dyads are the most characterizing element of this *sunata.* Although I was playing melodic shapes that correctly belonged to *quattrubassi*, I was concluding my constructions with a monodic cadence instead of the dyads; this was enough to jeopardize the identity of the tune. Figure 15 shows the kind of material that was, and was not, considered *quattrubassi.*

The musical elements used in a performance thus play a specific role in defining the identity of a *sunata*. Often there seems to be one indispensable characterizing element, in the absence of which the *sunata* is not fully recognized. In the case of the *quattrubassi*, the most characteristic element consists of the cadential dyads **Q**, which conclude the melodic constructions. Without the dyads, the piece does not sound, to the ears of folk musicians, like a *quattrubassi.*

One more example, this time concerning the *fina*, could help to strengthen this argument. During the recording session, the four-bass *organetto* player Giuseppe Mazza proposed to play the *fina.* He said, "Do you want [me to play] the one they play in Conflenti? This one," followed by the fragment transcribed in Figure 16.

This fragment, which closely resembles the structure that appears to underlie Mastroianni's *fina* transcribed in Figure 8, seemed, for Mazza, enough to express his intentions and explain which piece he was about to play. Afterward, he played the tune transcribed in Figure 17.[29] The melodies deployed during the performance seemed to be less explicative and less important in defining the identity of the *fina*. The whole *sunata*, for Mazza, could be condensed into the short passage of Figure 16.

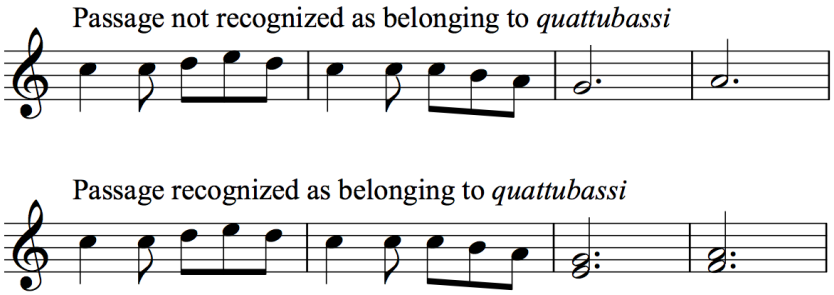

Figure 15. Passages that I played at the banquet.

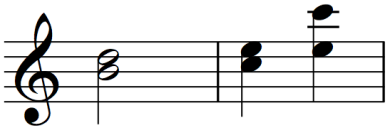

Figure 16. Music fragment played by Giuseppe Mazza to describe the *fina*. Click here to listen.

29. This recording was taken in July 2005. The original key is B; this recording is an excerpt of track 49 in Ferlaino (2017).

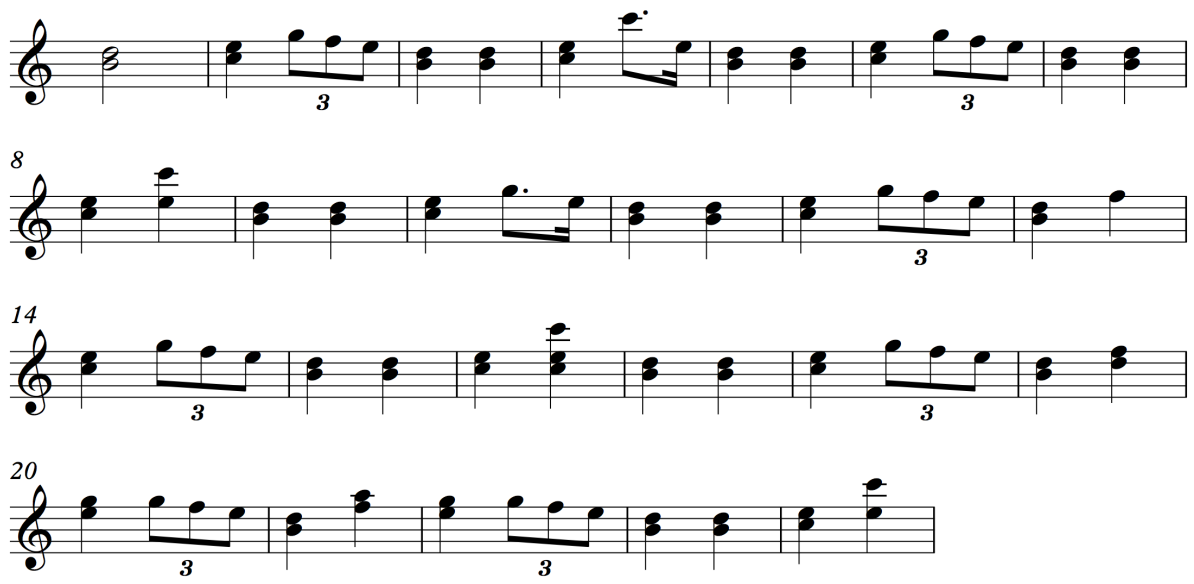

Figure 17. Giuseppe Mazza's *fina*. Click here to listen.

It is also noticeable that the version played by Giuseppe Mazza uses a fourth scale degree (*f*) that is a perfect fourth above the tonic pitch instead of an augmented fourth above (*f*♯), which usually characterizes this *sunata*. Mazza, in fact, used to play a four-bass accordion which does not feature the raised fourth scale degree that is present instead on the eight-bass accordion. Nevertheless, this does not seem to affect his performance of this *sunata*, which is still recognized and appreciated as being the *fina*.

Another example concerning the *fina* helps us to understand how the musical elements used in performance have differing importance in defining the identity of a *sunata*. At a public gathering, I observed an accomplished musician "correcting" a novice while she was performing the *fina*, shown below in Figure 18. The less experienced performer was playing "wrong" *girate* because she was missing one dyad. The elder musician stressed the importance of playing the characterizing element of the *fina* correctly: "you have to play with two fingers [at the same time]."

We can speculate here on a system that works with different orders of materials, each of which has a specific function in defining the identity of a *sunata*. Musicians from the area share different fragments that they string together in real time to perform a *sunata.*

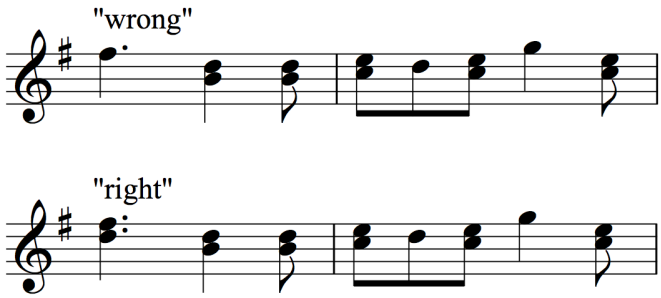

Figure 18. Melodic fragments deemed wrong and right for the *fina*.

Some of these elements are fundamental and indispensable for defining the identity of a *sunata*: this is the case of the characterizing fragments labeled as **Q** in *quattrubassi* and **K** in *fina*. These musical elements appear to be more important than the melodic constructions to which they belong: if they are absent or not correctly played, the identity of the *sunata* is not fully recognized. This characteristic is at odds with the conclusions of current studies on modularity in central and southern Italian music. Researchers identify the tunes with the melodies resulting from modular processes. While this may be true for the music described in those studies, in the music of central Calabria some elements are more important for defining the identity of the tune than the resulting melody of which they are parts. This explains why, despite the almost complete correspondence between the two melodies in Figure 15, musicians would recognize only the second one as *quattrubassi*.

Other elements are indispensable for and unequivocally associated with a *sunata*, although they are less important than the key elements for defining its identity. These are shared among all musicians. They hold specific functions within the melodic constructions of which they are the building blocks—for instance, fragments **a** and **b** in Figures 12, 13, and 14. Another order of elements includes *girate* that are shared among only a few musicians or are characteristic of a specific player. Although uniquely associated with a *sunata,* these *girate* play a negligible role in defining its identity. Their presence or absence does not affect the *sunata*'s identity, as in the case of elements such as **d**, **e**, and **f** in Figure 13 and Figure 14. Borrowings, such as **A'** and **B'** in Figure 14, are also accepted and appreciated. Indeed, all *girate* are mobile, as they can migrate to enrich the melodic developments of any *sunata* without undermining its identity.

Conclusion

The generative processes discussed here have been passed on by oral tradition by and to practitioners who are immersed and actively participate in the musical life of the region. During the 1960s, the profound changes that occurred in Calabrian social structure following the economic boom introduced new training methods and aesthetic models, which contributed to a reduction of the social space in which this music had previously functioned. The traditional, participatory, collective musicking (Small 2011) came into relation with the audience–performer duality of the concert setting. At the same time, a vertical teaching method—through which *sunate* and *girate* are taught note by note, although still mostly in a context of oral transmission—partially replaced the traditional training method based on imitation. In the imitation-based training, the trainee would try to catch repertoire, phrases and style while following accomplished musicians in their everyday musical activity. The trainee would not receive detailed instruction concerning what and how to play—for instance concerning the exact sequence of notes.[30] In the note-by-note training the formal trainee–teacher relationship of music tuition takes place. The teacher plays at a slow tempo and repeats the *girate* until the trainee catches them. The musicians who learned through the note-by-note method are more likely to play *sunate* as

30. As noted above, this training method resembles the "in the field" method described by Buchanan and Folse (2006) concerning Bulgarian *horo* players or the "learning-at-the-pub" method of Irish traditional players described by Cope (2002), Sommers Smith (2001), and Johansson (2017).

a predetermined sequence of rather fixed melodies. This neglect of the socially acquired, generative processes of this music would lead to a reduction of modularity and micro-variation, pushing the music into more fixed melodic structures. In some extreme cases, it is possible to observe two musicians who play a *sunata* in perfect unison; an almost impossible task for those who learned by imitation. Traditionally trained players would instead actualize the melodic shapes independently. They would each play their own variations, creating what could be considered a juxtaposition of two solos. As Tullia Magrini (1989, 91) describes it, they would contribute to creating a musical output that aims "at a maximum of sonorous quality, which is obtained by summing up every kind of sonorous source."

Bernard Lortat-Jacob (1989) describes the modular process as a tree, where modules would branch out into variations, which would then sprout in turn. He depicts the transformation of the fluid form of Calabrian music into a fixed, strophic one as that of a tree that loses its branches. For years, this seemed to be the fate of the music described in this paper. However, recently a new generation of musicians has arisen, rebuilding the link with the older generations. Thanks to a genuine interest in its generative processes and teaching methods, this music is slowly winning back its social role in the public sphere. Older and younger generations have come together once again and re-established a participatory and public performance practice that has injected new vitality into the repertoire. The "arousal of a new or renewed creativity" (Lortat-Jacob 1989, 164) may make the tree green again.

My interest in the generative processes of Calabrian music goes beyond this ethnomusicological inquiry. As a creative musician, I am currently conducting practice-based research aimed at incorporating the theoretical framework and practices of Calabrian music into the making of contemporary music. Folk music in Calabria has been regarded mostly as a source of material for folk-rock bands. In this context, musicians focus exclusively on melodic and rhythmic materials and incorporate them into the strophic form of well-arranged songs. As a trained improviser, extemporization, micro-variation and modularity offer new territories to explore, beyond the quotation of melodies and the use of Calabrian music vocabulary. The analytical work presented in this paper provided a theoretical ground to the practice-based research I conducted as a PhD candidate. The techniques described here have become a consistent part of my saxophone routine. I applied these processes to diverse musical materials, mostly original, to achieve, starting from practice, the creation of melodic shapes that could, in turn, be actualized in ways similar to those analyzed in this paper—the results of these artistic investigations are published in the CD "Bad Habits" (Ferlaino 2016). They have become an essential part of my creative practice and are still the object of artistic investigations. In this exploration, I approach the generative process from a perspective whose aim is to expand the spectrum of techniques available to the contemporary musician and is perhaps a personal way to overcome the duality I have perceived as a musician immersed in two different musical traditions.

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