

For Gerhard Kubik

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of his 60th birthday

with a foreword by David Rycroft

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GIORGIO ADAMO, Rome

First Notes on a Psychoanalytic Approach to the Functions of Music

In the psychoanalytic studies on the relationship between mother and child in the first months/years of life, and the function of "transitional objects" and "transitional phenomena" (Winnicott 1971) in the critical moments before sleeping and more generally in the process of self formation, the lullabies and other types of organized sound, like nursery rhymes or play on words, have recently been discussed (de Benedetti Gaddini 1993). Following on from these studies, some considerations are examined here regarding questions of particular interest for ethnomusicology, such as the role of lullabies at the heart of musical culture, and the function of music in general.

1.

The role of transitional objects and phenomena is in connection with the child's process of differentiation between inner reality and external reality. In the first period of life, a dramatic experience the child has to face is the loss of fusion with the mother, together with a series of frustrations and a sense of anguish linked to the process of separation/individuation. This is where a "transitional" area is found, according to Winnicott:

I have introduced the terms "transitional objects" and "transitional phenomena" for designation of the intermediate area of experience, between the thumb and the teddy bear, between the oral erotism and the true object-relationship, between primary creative activity and projection of what has already been introjected, between primary unawareness of indebtedness and the acknowledgement of indebtedness ("Say: 'ta'"). By this definition an infant's babbling and the way in which an older child goes over a repertory of songs and tunes while preparing for sleep come within the intermediate area as transitional phenomena, along with the use made of objects that are not part of the infant's body, yet are not fully recognized as belonging to external reality. (1971: 2)

A little later, dealing with the problem of defining human nature, which cannot be limited to the binomial inner reality-interpersonal relationships, Winnicott affirms that:

[...] the third part of the life of a human being, a part that we cannot ignore, is an intermediate area of experiencing, to which inner reality and external life both contribute. It is an area that [...] it shall exist as a resting-place for the individual engaged in the perpetual human task of keeping inner and outer reality separate yet interrelated. (Ibid.)

It is in this intermediate area of experience that transitional objects and phenomena are placed, and therefore it includes lullabies. And it is in this area, the potential space between mother and child, that, according to Winnicott, play, creativity and cultural experience take place.

2.

To go to sleep represents a traumatic moment for the child,

[...] où, fermant les yeux, il perd une réalité qui est objective, partagée et, dans une certaine mesure, constante et prévisible, où il retrouve le monde imprévisible de sa propre réalité intérieure. (de Benedetti Gaddini 1993: 271)

Here are brought into play a series of techniques and systems to induce sleep, among which the reassurance mechanism is made up of a wide range of situations from direct contact with the mother (rocking in her arms, laying the baby on her back) to the use of substitute-objects which are distinct and separate from the mother's body and the baby's.

Il est probable que les berceuses chantées au berceau ou au lit de l'enfant constituent une solution de compromis entre l'objet transitionnel et le bercement dans les bras, et contiennent, dans une certaine mesure, la symbolisation de la réunion perdue intrinsèque de l'objet transitionnel. Dans le bercement au berceau, au lit à bascule ou leurs équivalents, quand il est accompagné par des berceuses, des comptines, ou des calembours et des rimes dénués de sens, [...] ce sont surtout les rythmes, les cadences et plus encore les rimes et le jeu de mots qui permettent à l'enfant de revivre la rassurante fusion qu'il a perdue et de contrôler ainsi la relation avec la réalité externe, par la modulation du détachement. (Ibid.: 275).

Analysing the lullaby sung by a Calabrese grandmother while putting her one-year grandson to sleep in a rocking chair, Renata de Benedetti Gaddini notes "dans cette cantilène, parsemée d'accents aux allures d'arabesque, la capacité de la grand-mère à s'identifier à l'enfant qui dort et à répondre à ses besoins" (Ibid.: 279) and reveals four aspects in the performance structure: the rhythm made by the knocking of the rocking chair on the floor, which varies in frequency during the first two minutes and stops when the child stops crying; the rhythm

of the rocking, that lasts for the duration of the lullaby (10 minutes); the vocal rhythm, that diminishes in intensity and finally ceases; the pause in the vocal rhythm, apparently used by the grandmother to adapt to the baby's needs in a continuous modulation of tone and rhythm of song which literally accompanies the baby towards sleep, until it no longer needs the reassuring presence of the grandmother.

3.

For those who are used to working with music as an experience in sound, this interpretation of the function of a lullaby in the process of putting the baby to sleep, is extremely suggestive. We can note some characteristics that play a very significant role in the experience of sound in general. In the area of sensorial modalities, through which we have contact with the outside world, the perception of sound represents an intermediate phase between physical contact through touch, and the separation/distance revealed to us by sight. From the point of view of physical-acoustics, sound is something that happens in air (exactly that: a succession of compressed and rarified conditions of air), something that establishes a distant physical contact between a source of vibration and a part of our body which functions as a receiver (the ear-drum membrane). The perception of sound is basically a passive experience: we cannot select from the sounds present in the environment in which we find ourselves like we can, in fact, select with our eyes, turning to look in a certain direction. And we cannot decide to eliminate sound from our field of perception as we can avoid seeing by closing our eyes. All of this characterizes the particular manner that the external contact is realized through sounds.

But there is another important aspect to consider: to the sounds that we receive from the outside we can add the sounds produced by ourselves. So the sound that is heard by our ears will be the sum of the sounds produced by others (or something else) and the sounds produced by us. Therefore it is at the base of a particular experience of fusion/separation, or of a shared reality, which is the case, to a large extent, of musical experience.

It is, therefore, very probable that

1. the experience of sound in general represents a particular area in which we experience the first form of contact with the outside world,
2. this area provides an ideal ground to carry out the dialectics on fusion/separation,
3. it is in this area that the child maintains contact with the outside world after he/she has closed his/her eyes, moving towards a step-by-step separation.

In this connection, perhaps greater investigation could be made of the production of sound (crying, whimpering, babbling) by the child when going to sleep.

4. *The Lullaby as a Musical Form*

From the musical point of view, it is important that sound communication between mother and child be made through a formal structure, for example the lullaby. As de Benedetti Gaddini points out, it does not seem that it is sufficient to hear the mother's voice, but the elements of rhythm, rhyme, sound of words are very important and useful in connection with movement and the tone of the voice, and these are basically among the main elements of the formation of music in general.

Therefore two questions arise: what is the musical rapport that occurs between the formalization of the lullaby and other musical patterns in use in a given music culture? And what musical rapport occurs, if it exists, between lullabies of different music cultures? In other words, in what measure does the specific musicality of the lullaby participate in the specific musicality of a culture, and in what measure, on the other hand, can one find universal, or at any rate intercultural elements in lullabies?

Studies of folk music in Italy have revealed some interesting situations. As was shown, for example in the study on Sardinian music (Carpitella, Sassu, Sole 1973) and that on peasant and pastoral music in Basilicata (Adamo 1982; 1993a; 1993b), lullabies appear to represent a kind of nucleus base in which elements and principles of musical structure are contained which are then found in many other use-categories (see also Biagiola 1989). In Basilicata, for example, lullabies occupy a central position in the female repertoire, and that is the one in which are conserved the oldest traces of their musical culture. Musical analyses have not only shown a consistent style among the different use categories, but also that the lullabies, probably because of their open structure, half improvised and without any direct social control in their performance, seem to reveal the essential essence of the musicality of a certain community, as if the deep structures of the music manifest themselves better in a situation where surface structures are less rigid organized. It was because of the characteristics of two lullabies that, at the conclusion of a study many years ago, the following affirmation was made:

[...] [le due ninne-nanne,] nonostante o forse proprio perché così particolari, rivelano probabilmente le caratteristiche più generali dello stile musicale tradizionale arcaico della Basilicata: una struttura a base pentatonica; un limitato sviluppo melodico; l'uso di formule stereotipe, di elementi base, quali ad esempio determinate sequenze di intervalli, in un processo di montaggio della linea melodica; il gioco di microvarianti e soprattutto l'ambiguità della realizzazione del modulo (variazioni dell'intonazione, irregolarità metrico-ritmiche etc.); una tendenza a manipolare il testo verbale di riferimento a fini "musicali". (Adamo 1982: 116)

[...] [the two lullabies,] notwithstanding, or perhaps because of their peculiarities, probably reveal the more usual characteristics of the ar-

chaic musical style of the *Basilicata*: a structure based on pentatonic; a limited melodic development; the use of stereotyped formulae, of basic elements, such as, for example, a determined sequence of intervals, in the process of constructing the musical line; the play of micro-variants and above all the ambiguity of the accomplishment of the pattern (variation of tone, metric-rhythmic irregularities, etc.); and a tendency to manipulate the verbal text for a "musical" purpose.

It seems possible, therefore, to put forward the hypothesis, to be verified by research into different cultures, that there is not only a great similarity between lullabies and the rest of the repertory, but that these represent a sort of condensed musicality of a certain culture. This could mean:

1. that lullabies are the first steps to the musical world of the community in which one is born, and therefore a form of first perception of the fundamental elements of a given musicality (in terms of timbre, rhythm, expressiveness, melodic patterns, etc.);
2. that – and this is even more interesting – the elements that guarantee the functionality of the lullaby in terms of organized sound, also work for all the other musical expressions of a given culture. In other words, the principles of the organization of sound – repetition, assonance, analogy, cyclic structure, etc. – that make the lullaby work as an element of reassurance, and as a bridge from inner reality to the outside world, between the known and unknown, are the same principles that govern the musical organization of sound in general.

On this base a comparison research could be developed that should compare not only the surface structures (particulars of temporal, rhythmic or melodic configurations, that often represent significant analogies at the intercultural level), but above all the place that lullabies occupy in the musical repertory of a community, and the principles on which the organization of sounds is based.

5.

We have seen above (Nos. 1 and 2) how the moment of putting the child to sleep, that represents the natural setting of the lullaby, is characterized as a sort of primary critical moment of particular importance to the development of the personality of an individual. Ethnomusicology investigation shows how the presence of music is found, playing a very important role, in most of the critical moments of life during which the identity of an individual is put to test, often through dramatic processes of separation.¹

I am thinking here in particular of some significant and widespread musical activities, such as:

- funeral laments;
- wedding music;

- music for initiation ceremonies;
- music in the presence of trance.

5.1. *Funeral laments*

The critical situation one finds oneself in at the moment of the loss of a loved one, without doubt presents an analogy with the dramatic process of separation/individuation of infancy. As was underlined in an anthropologic and ethnomusicologic study (De Martino 1975)², a fundamental aspect of the lamentation is made up of the *ritualization* of crying, that is of the expression of bereavement in a codified social and cultural form, that allows an objectiveness and a ritual control of the pain and therefore provides an aid to overcome the crisis. An essential part of the ritual is the formalization both verbal (frequent use of the stereotypes) and musical. From this point of view, the laments assume the character of improvisation/variation on a melodic and metric-rhythmic pattern (cf. De Martino 1975; Brailoiu 1981; Adamo 1982). This affinity between musical formalization and the ritual control of pain seems very similar to the affinity between musical formalization and reassurance revealed in the lullaby.

5.2. *Wedding music*

Also in the case of weddings we find ourselves confronted by a critical moment of passage, of change of identity. If we examine the rites linked to weddings, and in particular the role of music in these rites, we note how the moment of separation is underlined, and in particular the separation, or departure, of the bride from the parents' house. In various regions of Italy the music used for weddings in the peasant and pastoral environment, takes place at various times during the traditional ceremonial cycle lasting twenty-four hours – starting from the evening previous to the wedding: the key moments are represented by the two most dramatic occasions, that is the moment before leaving the parents' house and the moment the married couple go away to their own house (Tuzi 1988). At the moment before leaving the parents' house we find the traditional bride's lament, that in Italy, and as noted by Brailoiu in Romania, seems to emerge as a sort of transposition of the funeral lament (Tuzi 1994). There have not been many studies on this argument in ethnomusicology, nor is there very much documentation available, but on a record dedicated to wedding music in a village called Bolshe-Bykovo in the Belgorodskaya region in the south of Russia, it is possible to hear the bride's lament in which are contained evident elements of crying (even though ritualized).³

5.3. Music for initiation ceremonies

An extremely good example for the discussion I have undertaken is included in Gerhard Kubik's extensive study on the circumcision schools *mikanda* (plural of *mukanda*) among the VaMbwela and VaNkhangala in the south-east of Angola. Kubik (1981) explains the significance of this institution:

One of the objectives of *mukanda* is the modification of the strong dependence in this society of small boys on their mothers and other female persons in the extended family.

Different African societies have developed different ways to respond to this relationship, either to "break it" abruptly or transform it gradually at a certain stage, so that the growing child may become self-reliant. The eastern Angolan people have the *mukanda* institution for the male children. It is a *pre*-puberty school. After completing *mukanda*, the young boy, who is no way yet considered as a grown-up, but just as passing towards adult age, no longer stays in the house of his mother. He either stays in his own house, or with some male relative, or in a house with other boys. The relationship with his mother is now marked by a continuation of affection with the addition of psychological distance.

The role of music (and dance) in the process of socialization and learning that represent the period of isolation of the boys (*tundanda*) in the *mukanda* with their guardians/teachers (*vilombola*), and their young assistants (*tulombola-tito*), is of extreme importance:

Besides the *vilombola* specialized music and dance teachers may be hired. Music and dance practise is in itself an important educational objective of this institution. The initiates are introduced into the cognitional system of music and dance in their culture. On the other hand, songs and musical practice are a vehicle for the transmission of extra-musical contents designed to produce a modification of behavioural patterns. (Ibid.)

From the musical form point of view, it is interesting to note how some songs, carried out by the whole *mukanda* community, reveal a complex structure and a highly organized technique of combination between the various parts, both vocal and rhythmic (percussion).⁴ This would seem therefore to confirm, on the formal-musical plane, the dialectic between the development of the individual personality and social integration, which represents maybe the essence of the *mukanda* institution.

Another case that it seems appropriate to quote, is that of the music and dance in the *domba* initiation school of the Venda girls in South Africa, as described by John Blacking:

Domba is the last of a series of initiation schools that prepare girls for marriage. Although there is much emphasis on sex and reproduction, the schools are not concerned solely with fertility. They are designed to prepare

girls for institutionalized motherhood, together with all the rights and obligations that go with it. (1973: 79–80)

[...] Each performance of the dance symbolizes sexual intercourse, and successive performances symbolize the building up of the fetus, for which regular intercourse is thought to be necessary. The music and the dance are not meant to be sexy: they symbolize the mystical act of sexual communion, conception, the growth of the fetus, and childbirth. (Ibid.: 80)

What seems particularly interesting in the case of the *domba*, is the importance of this in the Venda society:

There are only two types of politically regulated communal music that can really bring traditionally-oriented Venda together. They are *tshikona*, the national dance, and *domba*, the pre-marital initiation dance [...]. (Ibid.: 78)

and in the graphic scheme drawn by Blacking to demonstrate the relationship between the social and musical structure of the Venda society, the *tshikona* and the *domba* occupy a central position as “the most important music, controlled by rulers” (Ibid.: 79). It is understood that Blacking’s aim was to show the deep relationship between the organization of music and the organization of society: and in fact he succeeds in showing, through detailed analyses (Ibid.: 80–88) the musical relationship between the *tshikona* and the *khulo*, which is the culminating dance in the *domba*. This takes us to the problem referred to regarding lullabies: could a deep relationship exist between the specific functions of music created for particular critical situations, and the function of music in the general sense?

5.4. *Music in the presence of trance*

The relationship between music and trance has been among one of the more stimulating questions in ethnomusicology for sometime. Gilbert Rouget, in his wide study *La musique et la trance* (1980), drawing on a vast historic and ethnographic documentation, tries to throw light on the various types of trance (distinguishing in particular the trance of being possessed, to which he has mainly dedicated his study, from the emotional/religious trance and shamanism) and faces the fundamental problem of musical action: “moral” action, as already maintained by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, or physical action? Rouget opts clearly for the first solution, disproving repeatedly, for all types of trances, any ideas of mechanical or automatic action at the neuro-physiological level, linked to the presumed efficacy of a particular rhythmic or melodic structure of the music. The sphere of action is always carried to the emotional, cultural or social plane. How much Rouget’s arguments are in agreement with the arguments presented here regarding lullabies and other situations of crisis and loss, appear evident, above all in his analyses of possession. In the possession, the central element

is composed of the breaking down of the barrier that limits personal identity: "[...] qu'est-ce que la possession en effet, sinon, essentiellement, l'envahissement du champ de la conscience par *l'autre*, c'est à dire par quelqu'un venu d'ailleurs?" (1980: 142). The result is "l'identification du sujet en transe avec la divinité qui en est tenue pour responsable" (Ibid.: 438). What is the function of music in all of this? In reality, it is thanks to music that the identity of divinity is felt and revealed publicly:

[...] la fonction de la musique est évident. C'est grâce à elle et en s'appuyant sur elle que le ou la possédé(e) vit publiquement, en la dansant, son identification avec la divinité qu'il ou qu'elle incarne. La musique n'est alors ni émotionnelle, ni invocatoire, ni incantatoire, elle est essentiellement identificatoire. En jouant sa "devise", les musiciens signifient cette identité à la foi au danseur en transe, à ceux qui l'entourent, aux pretres, aux spectateurs. La langue que parle la musique est comprise par tous, chacun la décodant à son propre niveau. C'est à travers elle et à travers la danse qu'elle suscite que s'opère la reconnaissance de la présence du dieu par le groupe tout entier, reconnaissance qui est indispensable, car elle authentifie la transe et lui confère son caractère de normalité. La musique apparaît ainsi comme le principal moyen de socialiser la transe.

Bien entendue, le déclenchement de la transe obéit très fréquemment à la même logique. C'est en entendant *son* air, *sa* devise (ou plutôt celle de son dieu) que le possédé entre le plus souvent en transe. (Ibid.: 439-40)

This is not the place to expand a psychoanalytic interpretation on the phenomena of trance and possession, but the analogy seems very feasible between the action of music as an element of control, ritual or social, of the loss of identity and total identification with the other (omnipotent), and the mechanism of reassurance through reunion with the mother that is found in this particular area of contact represented by the world of sound, when the child closes his/her eyes and disconnects with external reality. The combination of music/dance can be considered, from this point of view, analogous to the combination lullaby/rocking.

Others have already noted how the rites of possession can be seen as a sort of limit case in which the potentiality of music is manifested:

In nessun altro contesto come nei riti della possessione la musica rivela così chiaramente la sua essenza di metalinguaggio in grado di rappresentare i meccanismi logici ed emozionali della psiche umana e di fornire loro un contenitore spazio-temporale che legittimi, senza soluzione di continuità, i ripetuti passaggi dal reale al sovranaturale, dal "normale" all' "alterato", dal fisico al mentale.

[...] Indipendentemente dalla specifica questione della transe, le pratiche tradizionali della possessione costituiscono anche, per la particolare sovrapposizione fra rito, gioco e musica che le caratterizza, un passaggio obbligato

per chi voglia comprendere gli aspetti più basilari del comportamento musicale. (Giannattasio 1992: 263)

In no other context as in the rites of possession does music reveal so clearly its essence of meta-language able to represent logical and emotional mechanisms of the human psyche and to provide them with a temporal-spatial container that legalises, without breaks in continuity, the repeated passage from real to supernatural, from the "normal" to the "altered", from physical to mental.

[...] Independent of the specific question of trance, the traditional practice of possession also constitutes, because of the particular overlapping of rite, play and music that characterizes it, a forced passing for those who wish to understand the basic aspects of musical behaviour.

In Giannattasio's thoughts on music and trance, I find his frequent references to play as particularly interesting. Regarding the *Mingis* cult, which he studied in Somalia, he tells us that in Somali to say "take part in the *Mingis*" one uses the verb *ciyaarid*, which means "play", and also "play music", "sing", and "dance", inseparable aspects of the same action – "play the *Mingis*" (Ibid.: 259). And to analyse the *Mingis*' ritual and the action which music has, he applies the analysis model of play used by Piaget, based on the defining of a symbolic plan, a plan of rules, and a sensory-motory plan. Beyond the specific arguments of Giannattasio, this reference to play leads us again to Winnicott. Play as an extension of the transitional phenomena. Cultural experience as an extension of play.

6.

Perhaps for some it is difficult to recognize a link between the function of the lullaby and the function of music in the life of man, or between a possession ceremony and the "normal" superimposition and interference between individual imagination and collective imagination which takes place in any case of shared cultural experience. To those who are unconvinced, I would advise reading the excellent "Lettre sur l'opéra" that Rouget (1980: 338–348) presents as written by a young ethnomusicologist from Bénin, in which, with great and elegant irony and wit, he shows the perfect equivalence between a performance at the Opéra and a possession ceremony, asking himself, amongst other things: "Et si, en fin de compte, la fonction esthétique n'était rien d'autre, pour tel type de société, que ce qu'est la fonction religieuse pour tel autre type?" (Ibid.: 341). For an ethnomusicologist, in fact, this type of approach should not be difficult.

Starting with the lullaby, and through a series of other situations in which the music seems to accompany dynamic processes of growing up, the "identity crisis", the formation of the self, we have actually touched upon a series of key problems that face the anthropology of music. Still today we are a long way from a true

and suitable theory of musical experience. For a long time now it is as if we are going round two questions, but it is as though there is a certain disinclination to face them directly: the question of the basis of musical experience and the question of the function of music.

From this point of view, it seems we should recognize a debt to John Blacking, first for stating clearly, if nothing else, the problem of psycho-biological foundations of music and the musicality of man, and for having tried to link the forms and ways of organizing sounds to the forms and ways of social interaction. Likewise certain important contributions in the area of comparative and systematic musicology in the German language should not be forgotten, particularly regarding the relationship between "biologischem Grund" and "kulturellem Überbau" (see Graf 1980). Also the recent evidence in the studies of cognitive psychology of music undoubtedly represents a positive factor for the development of new understanding.

Nevertheless, it seems to me that in facing this type of problem, there are two basic shortcomings: the lack of sufficient attention to the development phases of the individual, above all early infancy,⁵ and the lack of the use of psychoanalytic theory. In this case, I think that Winnicott's ideas, with which I began these pages, are extremely useful.⁶ Winnicott affirms, regarding cultural experience, something that sounds extremely well to the ears of an ethnomusicologist:

It interests me [...] as a side issue, that in any cultural field *it is not possible to be original except on the basis of tradition.*

[...] The interplay between originality and the acceptance of tradition as the basis for inventiveness seems to me to be just one more example, and a very exciting one, of the interplay between separateness and union. (1971: 99)

The place where cultural experience is located is in the *potential space* between the individual and the environment (originally the object). The same can be said of playing. Cultural experience begins with creative living first manifested in play. (Ibid.: 100)

Placing music in this potential space, in this intermediate area, can probably help us to understand a great deal of the mystery of music. Music, that is organized sound, could represent the first grounds, much before speech, on which to play the act of communication with that which is outside the self. On the basis of biological roots, there should immediately be, perhaps above all in the world of sound, a sensibility to the organization – that "Gestaltungsfreude" of which Walter Graf speaks (1980: 232) – that will be at the base of musical experience. It is here that the dialectic between union and separation can begin, between the reassuring known and the frightening unknown, between the need to order and creative search for the self, that characterizes human life. Is not music a continuous game of affirmation and negation of the norm? Is it not the privileged place of ambiguity of the code, never certain, never objective, not in its

grammatical structure nor in its "semantic" references? (Winnicott again: "The intermediate area to which I am referring is the area that is allowed to the infant between primary creativity and objective perception based on reality-testing." [Ibid.: 11]).

The western culture is often contested between dual substances: mind/body, reason/emotion. Ethnomusicology tells us that there can be no comprehension of musical experience if one is a victim to this dualism. As Rouget says: "la musique [...] est le seul langage à parler à la fois (qu'on me passe l'expression) à la tête et aux jambes" (1980: 442). Once again, it is the process of the self formation during the first development phase of a person that can help.

The usefulness of an approach based on psychoanalytic theory is not only in the elaboration of a theory of music. From this can stem a series of hypotheses for research. The mother-child relationship in different cultures should be examined closely. Ideas on the role which the habits in the treatment of children can play on relationships of the members of a community with music, can be examined and verified. And, naturally, an interdisciplinary collaboration in this field would be highly desirable.

Notes

- ¹ On the concept of "rites of passage" in anthropology, see also the classic study by Van Gennep (1909).
- ² In this volume, De Martino uses largely the results of a research carried out in southern Italy in the 50s in collaboration with Diego Carpitella, the initiator of ethnomusicology in Italy.
- ³ *Traditional Wedding of South Russia*, Melodiya C20-17881-4, 2 LPs. On disc 1, beginning of side 2: "The wedding day. At the bride's house: Wake up, my girlfriends (the bride's lament)".
- ⁴ See in particular the analysis of piece B1, "nocturnal song", in Kubik (1981).
- ⁵ It should be noted here, among the exceptions, the already mentioned article by Walter Graf (1980).
- ⁶ Interesting references to Winnicott, above all through the work of Didier Anzieu (e.g. 1977), are present in *Les écritures du temps. Sémantique psychologique de la musique*, by Michel Imberty (1981).

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