

# A Voice Like Thunder: Corsican Women's Lament as Cultural Work

Ruth Emily Rosenberg

Funeral rites are commonly understood as a means by which communities reestablish normal or ideal social relationships following death. Lament, which has played a prominent role in such rites, has been studied in numerous cultural and historical contexts as a practice that is effective on both a personal and collective level. An individual lamenter facilitates the collective confrontation with death through a performance that combines musical and verbal signification (in the forms of homage, praise, etc.) with non-linguistic utterances such as stylized crying or weeping, the meanings of which are culturally constructed (Urban 1988). As a predominantly (in many contexts exclusively) feminine mode of expression, lament has more recently been examined in its relationship to gender identity (Tolbert 1990a, 1990b, 1994; Briggs 1992, 1993). In the Greek context especially, it has been demonstrated that lament can serve as a privileged arena within male-dominated society in which women express gender-specific concerns (Auerbach 1987; Seremetakis 1990, 1991; Caraveli 1986; Caraveli-Chaves 1980; Danforth and Tsiaras 1982).

The funeral laments improvised by women on the Mediterranean island of Corsica constitute one of the oldest and perhaps most significant oral traditions on the island. Called *voceri* (sing. *voceru*), these laments were traditionally performed over the body of the deceased and accompanied by wailing and other demonstrations of grief. The practice presumably predates the introduction of Christianity, and written references appear in sources dating back to 1506 (Ettori 1978:248). By the late-nineteenth century the *voceru* was in decline and its practitioners gradually disappearing, though the practice endured in villages of the island's interior. Today, though the *voceru* is considered by many Corsican poets and singers to be foundational to Corsican expressive culture, funeral laments are no longer performed as a living tradition anywhere on the island.

Though it was not customary in Corsica to sing laments for the long dead or to improvise *voceri* outside of the funeral context, some laments, because of their connection to significant events or their exceptional beauty, circulated orally or were transcribed. Many of these laments appeared in collections of Corsican popular song published during the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Though these consist mainly of texts without melo-

dies, first-hand accounts from the same period describe the sound and spectacle of lamentation within the context of the funeral ritual.<sup>2</sup> Twentieth-century scholars continued to collect *voceri* and began to explore their sociological significance, anticipating their imminent extinction.<sup>3</sup> Field recordings made between 1948 and 1973 by ethnomusicologists Felix Quilici and Wolfgang Laade contain several *voceri*, though these were performances recorded outside of their intended ritual context, sung from memory by people other than the original improvisers.<sup>4</sup>

Though studying a tradition that is no longer found in the field presents special challenges, it also has the potential to transform traditional/defunct repertoires from folkloric objects or literary specimens into meaningful tools for anthropological and ethnomusicological understanding. In particular, the study of extinct musical practices has the potential to help us better understand the gender structure of a given society in the past, as Tullia Magrini's work on Italian ballad singing (1995) demonstrates. This paper is, in part, a modest attempt to respond to Magrini's suggestion that "the same repertoires that have been transmitted to us as collections of mere literary or sonorous objects may turn out to be essential instruments for the reconstruction of gender identities from a more or less remote past" (2003:5). The application of this approach to the Corsican lament tradition seems especially appropriate, given that the decline of the *voceru* was virtually coterminous with its invention as an object of folkloric interest in the late-nineteenth century.

In the first half of this paper, I demonstrate the ways in which the Corsican *voceru* accomplished the cultural work associated with death and mourning in traditional Corsican society. This analysis draws on recent work on Greek lament that shows how, within patriarchal societies, laments can serve as a means by which women assist their community during times of crisis, comment on social relationships, and enter into conflict. In the second half of my paper, I consider how the *voceru* has, in one particular instance, been adapted to accomplish comparable cultural work in the twenty-first century. This example demonstrates that, though the tradition of improvising laments is defunct, the repertory can be used to perform new social functions. It suggests that in Corsica, and perhaps elsewhere, the female voice *in song* retains its peculiar authority in times of conflict and crisis.

### The *Voceru* and the Funeral Ritual

The fourth largest island in the Mediterranean, Corsica today has a population of about 240,000 people. Though the island is part of France, Corsicans

have retained a strong sense of regional identity that was shaped in part by a long history of invasion and domination, notably by the Genoese from 1100–1700. In the twentieth century, Corsica suffered economic decline and rapid depopulation, the result of both emigration and heavy casualties suffered during both world wars. During this period many aspects of traditional life, including the Corsican language, faced the threat of extinction. An autonomist movement emerged in reaction to the island's dire political and economic situation in the late 1960s and 1970s, and the cultural reawakening (*riacquisto*) associated with it helped, among other things, to defend and preserve Corsica's distinct musical culture.

Corsica's traditional music is mainly vocal. The major category of song still found in living tradition is the secular polyphonic *paghjella*, typically sung by three men. Polyphonic masses, which once existed in great diversity in Corsican villages, have also survived and are sung for feast days and funerals (Bithell 2003:46). Secular and sacred polyphonic singing is found on the many commercial recordings of Corsican music made in recent decades, alongside newly composed songs of a political nature. The act of singing traditional music in Corsica has itself been conceived of as a political act by many since the 1970s, as Caroline Bithell has extensively documented (1996, 2003, forthcoming). Though they appear with much less frequency on commercial recordings, several genres of monodic song also exist, including threshing songs, various laments (for animals, soldiers, bandits, etc.), *chjam'è rispondi* (a form of improvised debate performed by two men), and songs traditionally performed by women, which include lullabies and the extemporized funeral lament (*voceru*).

Until the twentieth century the *voceru* was an essential part of the domestic funeral ritual in Corsican villages. There were variances depending on locality, but the main parts of the rite can be generalized to some degree. When death was announced by the tolling of the church bell, women began their lamentation in the form of cries and wails. Large groups of mourners gathered at the house of the deceased, where the body was laid out on a bier (*tola*) in the common room. While male mourners generally remained silent, sometimes in an adjacent room, female mourners gathered in a circle around the *tola*. Upon entering the house women embraced the deceased and made gestures of grief such as pulling their hair, striking their chests, and scratching their faces. They intermittently addressed the deceased, posing questions or urging him/her to get up.

The *voceru* would not commence until the priest had come, performed his duties, and departed. A close female relative of the deceased, typically a mother, wife, or sister, would usually be first to sing. If no one in the family was disposed to improvise the responsibility fell to an experienced mourner

## Current Musicology

---

(*voceratrice* or *pleureuse*), known for her improvisatory skill. Breaking away from the group of women and coming closer to the deceased, the lamenter would begin her improvisation. The textual form of the *voceru*, common to many indigenous Corsican genres, consists of three octosyllabic couplets with end-rhymes (usually on lines 2, 4, and 6). The melodies on which the verses were sung varied according to locale or performer but were characterized by descending motion, usually stepwise, and the prolongation of penultimate and final notes of each line. Limited melodic variation gave *voceru* the quality of an incantation, and the steady, rhythmic delivery of lines might be punctuated by swaying, waving a handkerchief, or lightly striking the bier (Ettori 1978:250).

Sobbing while improvising, the lamenter was accompanied by cries from other mourners, who might interject in between verses or repeat the last word of a line as a chorus. These improvisations could stretch into thirty or more stanzas, and women often sang until they were overcome either by emotion or exhaustion (Saint-Germain 1869:173). A *voceru* might end with a formulaic invitation to the next lamenter, who would then commence her own *voceru* (Ettori 1978:250). Surviving texts suggest that sometimes women alternated stanzas, making the lament into a fairly direct dialogue between mourners.

Mourners often stayed all night at the house of the deceased, though women and men might occupy different rooms (Marcaggi [1898] 2001:20). Although the tradition was seen as pagan by church authorities, a funeral repast might be served during the vigil. At daybreak, the church bell rang again and the *confreterie* arrived to carry the casket (or shrouded body) to the church. This precipitated renewed cries of grief among those accompanying the procession. Following a church service, the body was taken to the burial place and the coffin lid was closed, again provoking renewed lamentation if women mourners were present. A funeral banquet called a *conforto* followed burial. Obligatory attendance by neighbors and extended families meant these could become large, costly affairs (26).

Vendetta killings were common in Corsica prior to the twentieth century, and funeral rites for victims of murder were somewhat different. The windows of the deceased's house would be closed, the body not washed but set out in the same clothes worn at the moment of death. Gestures of grief were, not surprisingly, more intense than in normal funerals, and *voceri* in these circumstances involved themes of vengeance and were often quite graphic. A dance was customarily performed around the bier for homicide victims, though this practice seems to have been nearly extinct by the middle of the nineteenth century. One observer described how female mourners formed a circle around the bier and "move[d] round the dead body howl-

ing, breaking the circle, and again closing it, always with loud lamentation and gestures of the wildest grief” (Gregorovius 1855:36). With few exceptions, *voceri* for murder victims culminate in oaths of vengeance against the assassins. The behavior of mourners reflected this inevitability: witnesses observed male mourners of murder victims striking their rifle butts against the floor, and women often brandished the victim’s bloody shirt or a blood-stained handkerchief.

## Collectivizing Grief

Lament is one way in which communities deal with the crisis of death. Though the event may cause grief and pain for many, it is the lamenter’s job to “transform these emotions from internal and individual into relational, interactive, and collective ones” (Briggs 1992:350). In many societies this responsibility falls to women; Magrini has called women’s labor to this end their “work of pain” (1998). As designated mourners, Magrini explains, women conspicuously express extreme grief and pain and facilitate a collective encounter with death:

Death shakes and restructures the community, which must endure the loss and process the connected feelings of fear, grief, and even protest against God. The technique of the lament, which airs and works out the different feelings connected to the loss, is conceived in view of erecting a permanent separation between the dead and the living and of transforming the fear of the deceased person—believed to contaminate the world of the living—into a feeling of affectionate memory for the deceased. Thus, ritual mourning may be conceived as “a process by which a new reality is constructed and death finally accepted.” (1998)

Like other lament traditions, the Corsican *voceri* constructed this “new reality” through a combination of text and vocal/bodily gestures that externalized the pain of separation while designating boundaries between this world and the next.

Though they involved a large degree of improvisation, *voceri* are built on a common repertoire of conventional themes, metaphors, and poetic formulae. The lyrics of a single lament may fall into several different thematic categories. A lament might address or reproach the deceased, praise the deceased, narrate part of the deceased’s life or circumstances of death, or refer to those negatively affected by the deceased’s passing, especially the mourner herself. In cases of violent death *voceri* commonly include accusations and insults directed at the guilty party, in addition to threats of violent retribution.

## Current Musicology

The symbolic language of the *voceru* is similar to that of the modern Greek lament (*mirológi*) (Danforth and Tsiaras 1982:74).<sup>5</sup> For example, water imagery is a common means by which lamenters mediate the distance between life and death in both Corsican and Greek laments. Water is a symbol of life and fecundity, while death and the dead are associated with drought and thirst. In one *voceru*, a sister laments that her loss is so great that her life is “draining away like water from the river” (Viale [1855] 1984:101).<sup>6</sup> In another, a mother laments her daughter by complaining that she herself will soon die, since her child will not be able to bring her a drink of water should she fall ill (29).

Light and darkness is another important opposition used in *voceri* to highlight the deceased’s transition from the world of the living to the world of the dead. The deceased may be praised as a source of light that is now extinguished, as in a *voceru* in which a mother likens her daughter’s death pallor to “a darkened sun” (“un sole oscuratu”) (Viale [1855] 1984:27). *Voceri* may depict the past as light or bright, using images of blackness or darkness to describe immediate funeral context or the uncertain future. This emotional contrast is drawn by a Corsican mourner who symbolically reverses the death she is lamenting by negating the darkness, “No, Santucci is not dead; I am wrong, I am mistaken: the moon is not hidden, the sun is not dark, the stars on their course are still sparkling” (“No, Santucci nun è mortu; eo m’ingannu e facciu errore: nun s’è scuratu lu sole; le stelle in lu so viaghiu hanu tutte u so culore”) (52).

Conventional themes and imagery are a means by which lamenters create what Anna Caraveli-Chaves calls “bridges between worlds.” Laments create such bridges in order to demonstrate the boundaries between “vital realms of existence: life and death, the physical and the metaphysical, present and past, temporal and mythic time” (1980:144). The lamenter poetically traverses these opposing realms, allowing those listening to collectively confront death. *Voceri* accomplish this in myriad ways. The following *voceru*, improvised by a sister for her brother, a priest, illustrates some of these:

This morning, my sisters,  
You are all invited:  
We must sing the first mass  
Of father Jean André;  
Come and bring the linens  
And the plates and silverware.

The parish of Acquale  
Will all be invited.  
We must sing the first mass  
That Jean André has awaited.

Stammatina, e miò surelle,  
Site qui tutte invitate:  
S’ha da fà la Cantamessa  
Di Ghiuvann’ Audria l’Abbate;  
Or purtate le salviette:  
E li piatti e le pusate.

La Parrocchia dill’Acquale  
Resterà tutta invitata.  
Ha da fà la Cantamessa  
Ghiuvann’Audria aspettata:

Here are the priests and godmother;  
This will be a fine mass.

But your mouth is closed,  
You listen to no one . . .  
Yes, now I see  
That you are no longer with us.

Let's regain our senses  
And speak the truth;  
This morning Giovanni  
Will go into the grave . . .

C'è li preti, e la madrina;  
Ci serà messa parata.

Ma vo'avete chiusa a bocca;  
A nissuno date udienza . . .  
Avà si po' chi ci vecu  
Chi di voi ne simmu senza.

Or punimmu a mente a segnu  
E parlemmu in pusitura;  
Chi stamane Jann'Andria  
Ha da scende in sepultura . . .  
(Viale [1855] 1984:40–41)

In the first stanzas of this *voceru*, the lamenter sustains the illusion that her brother is still alive. She addresses a group of women, but instead of asking them to help her mourn, which would be conventional in a *voceru*, she asks them instead to raise their voices to participate in the happy occasion of her brother's first mass. The second verse continues this pretense, but in the third verse the lamenter enacts her personal realization of her brother's death as if to prepare others for the terrible news. Such denials and reversals of death appear frequently in *voceri* and allow the lamenter to contrast two realities: the alternative reality (or fantasy) in which the deceased still lives, and the mourners' actual, irreversible circumstances. In this particular example the lamenter abandons the alternative reality in the third verse with a firm declaration of death. The *Cantamessa* to which she refers is revealed to be the Mass for the dead, not the debut mass of a new priest. She further locates her brother in the realm of the dead in the fourth verse by referring to the physical location of burial, which is part of the world of the dead.<sup>7</sup> The imagined scenario, by contrast, makes reference to domestic items such as linens and plates, which belong to the world of living. The distance between the imagined scenario and reality is thus created, effectively articulating boundaries between life and death.

Having symbolically "invited" the entire community to share her experience in the second verse, no one is allowed to escape the bitter truth expressed in the fourth ("Let's regain our senses and speak the truth"). The lamenter asks her fellow mourners and the larger community to confront the death with her, in effect collectivizing the experience of grief.

### Lament as Gendered Expression

In addition to doing this "work of pain" on behalf of the entire community, laments can have special significance for the subculture of women who par-

## Current Musicology

ticipate in their creation. Laments draw attention to the “separate world of women,” addressing their specific challenges (Caraveli-Chaves 1980:148). *Voceri* often directly address this collectivity by inviting women to mourn; though heard by all, the invitation calls for active participation only from other women, reinforcing their dominance in the ritual context. In the *voceru* quoted above, the lamenter begins and ends by addressing a group of women: “This morning, O my sisters, you are all invited . . .” She closes the lament by invoking them again, “Let me speak, sisters, for I’m lamenting my misfortune” (“Lasciatemi di, o surelle, perch’eo pienghiu u miò destinu”) (Viale [1855] 1984:42).

Though many outsiders have depicted Corsican women as pitiful and powerless creatures, traditional Corsican society afforded women access social spaces outside the home and certain other rights that do not fit the stereotypical view of women’s roles in Mediterranean societies. Their agricultural responsibilities brought them into contact with other women and gave them the opportunity to socialize, for example, and they enjoyed some legal claim to inheritance and land.<sup>8</sup> However, because women often depended on men for support, security, and their access to social life, the death of a male relative could have a particularly devastating effect on women in Corsican society. Strict codes of chastity meant that women who lost the male relatives who protected their honor were especially vulnerable. *Voceru* texts often address difficulties that face the female mourner in these circumstances. For example, a woman who has lost her daughter imagines her future isolation: “If sickness should confine me to bed who will wipe my brow, who will bring me a drink of water, who will keep me from dying?” (“S’eo cascu malata in lettù, chi m’asciuverà u sudore? Che mi derà un gottu d’acqua? Chi nun mi lascerà more?”) (Viale [1855] 1984:29). In another *voceru*, a mother of two laments being left alone with no one to help her with her crops (Ortoli 1887:139). The following verses, attributed to a young woman, pertain to the death of her two brothers, killed the same day:

Death, o death may you be cursed for all the misfortune you have caused! From such a full house You have only spared one child! Is it left up to me To be the head of the household?	Morte, o morte, tu scia tinta Chi ci hai fattu tantu mali! Una casa cusì piena L’hai ridotta a nicali! Or este tucatu a me A fà lu rechi-casali?
---	---

I was the only woman Around the family hearth I had all of my five brothers at my disposal. Ah! Now, yes, I have lost	Eju di li feminelli Era sola a lu fuconi Eu li me’ cinque fratelli Li pudia tutti disponi. Avà sì chi l’achiu persu
---	---



The right to be heard!

Lu dirittu di ragioni!  
(Viale [1855] 1984:100–01)

In this particular *voceru* the improviser does not lament her brothers' deaths as much as her own uncertain fate. Later in this *voceru* the author juxtaposes the prosperity and security of the past (represented by the family hearth) with the darkness and emptiness of the present when she says "I want to dye myself black like the wings of a crow" ("Vógliu tinghiemi di neru cuúme d'un córvu li piumi"). With no male relatives to ensure her rights or status, the sister anticipates a life of silence and mourning.

Laments like this one signify the precarious status of women who lacked male protection; others address complicated cultural codes of family honor and shame that impacted women in particular. Chastity was the most important virtue for young women. To maintain her honor, a woman entering into a relationship not sanctioned by her family might be allowed to marry, but the resulting rift between the two families could be significant. Laments frequently explored the tensions created by such unsanctioned marriages (Ettori 1979).<sup>9</sup> In particular, such laments sometimes attacked husbands and in-laws for alienating women from their immediate families. In one *voceru* a woman reproaches her deceased sister's husband for having taken her sister away and made her live in poverty, bringing shame on her family. The lamenter also accuses him of negligence for not notifying them of her illness until it was too late:

O Jan-Fili, my brother-in-law  
You have behaved badly.  
You sent the news [of the death]  
By sounding the church bell.  
I only had one sister;  
You should have done otherwise.

O cugnatu Jan-Fili  
Avete trattatu male.  
Ci avete mandatu a di  
A lu son di le campane.  
Unn'avia che sia surélla;  
Quest'un l'aviate da fàne.  
(Viale [1855] 1984:46)

In addition to addressing interfamilial conflict, laments can protest actions of the broader community or its institutions. This function of lament has been noted among the Warao of Venezuela (Briggs 1992, 1993), the Hakka in China (Johnson 1988), and in the Greek tradition, where such laments can be found both in contemporary examples as well as in the tragedies of Sophocles and Aeschylus (Foley 1993; Seremetakis 1990, 1991; Caraveli-Chaves 1980). Lament in these contexts may be one of few acceptable forms of social commentary available to women in a male-dominated society. In Corsica, such protest was often directed at the clergy or the government. In one lament a woman says she wishes she could see the intestines of a corrupt priest in a bowl (Ortoli 1887:248). In another, the lamenter

## Current Musicology

---

protests the French law that disarmed Corsicans in an attempt to curb vendetta killings. She blames this law for leaving her husband defenseless against his assassins:

I want to curse the king	Bestemmià bógliu lu Ré
And curse the courts!	Maladi lu Tribunàle!
Because the disarmament	Perché lu disarmamèntu
Should not have happened;	Nun l'avianu da fàne;
The time of assassins	Lu tempu dill'assassini
Is right now!	Appunt'è quistu d'avàle!
	(Viale [1855] 1994:81)

As in these cases, it is in *voceri* for violent deaths related to vendettas that such accusations and threats are most commonly found.

### Vendetta Songs

Because of its intimate connection to inter-clan conflict and revenge-code violence, the Corsican *voceru* had “real-life” repercussions beyond those discussed above. The poetic skill that could produce tender elegies for a natural death yielded in cases of homicide virulent threats, insults, and encouragement to male relatives to seek vengeance. Over the course of the nineteenth century the image of the vengeful Corsican mother or widow became something of a stereotype, but there is ample evidence to show that women’s laments were indeed a means of inciting men to commit violent acts. This would appear to have been true also elsewhere in the Mediterranean world, as is clear from the long history of legislation, stretching back to the rule of Solon, that sought to restrict female lamentation on the grounds that it was a disturbance to peace and stability (Alexiou, Yatromanolakis, and Roilos 2002:14–23).<sup>10</sup>

The role that *voceri* played in conflict in Corsica went beyond impassioned incitement. Protracted feuds were a highly regulated form of conflict on the island during the nineteenth century, as Stephen Wilson explores in his exhaustive study. Whatever the external form of a particular conflict, feuding was above all a means by which individuals and collectivities defended their “honor” against attack. As testimonies to the character and courage of the deceased, *voceri* for victims of homicide were a way of posthumously defending the honor of the victim and his/her family. The primary way of upholding a family’s honor, in many cases, was to exact revenge. As a “true” account of a conflict, validated in performance, lament served a juridical purpose by ascribing blame to an individual or family.<sup>11</sup> Lament performance was in this way an opportunity to justify revenge and

commence—or continue—a feud, which generally required the approval of the community (Wilson 1988:197). Thus, in addition to their perceived access to unseen realms, Bithell has noted that lamenters, “[t]hrough the deployment of what might be described as their lamenting obligations . . . are thus able to play an active and indeed decisive part in the direction of local politics” (2003:44).<sup>12</sup>

## Gender and the Musical Revival in Corsica

The foregoing discussion has established that the Corsican *voceru*, in addition to being a vital part of the traditional funeral ritual, could be multivalent in terms of its social function. This did not prevent, and indeed may have helped precipitate, its decline and ultimate extinction around the turn of the twentieth century. There were many contributing factors, most of which can be traced to the gradual assimilation of the island into France that began in earnest during this period. Revenge-code violence, to which the *voceru* was intimately linked, declined. Continental values began to replace those of the village, especially among Corsica’s urban *polie* classes. As the older generations of *pleureuses* passed away, fewer young women were interested in learning to improvise (Ettori 1978:249).

The successful revival and preservation of much of the island’s traditional music was one of the greatest achievements of the self-described “cultural militants” of the 1970s. Polyphony during this period was adopted as an “emblem of the collective phenomenon” and an important site of language activism (Salini 2000:11). The performance of Corsica’s sacred and secular polyphony today flourishes with the proliferation of singing groups (mostly all male) who tour the island and also produce commercial recordings. Such singing groups, which also perform political *chansons*, are still associated with a militant cultural and political agenda. Singing polyphony has become, according to Bithell, a primary way of performing a “unequivocally Corsican identity” (2003:49).

Though the *riacquisto* focused renewed attention on all forms of traditional song, women’s songs (lullabies and laments, mainly) today have no real place in public music making (Bithell 2003:48). Like the island’s monodic songs generally, women’s songs have been partly overshadowed by due to an emphasis on “elaborate musical forms” in the collection and study of Corsican traditional music (Salini 2000:10). The male genres are also simply more versatile than women’s in terms of their performance context: *paghjelle*, for example, were traditionally performed in bars, at fairs, or during the hunt (Bithell 2003). Today, polyphony groups entertain tourists and locals in concerts throughout the island, often performing outside to large

audiences. The female genres of song, traditionally linked to now-vanished rituals, are obviously of a much more intimate nature, their subject matter hardly suited to entertainment.

The difficulty of adapting the traditional female repertoire into a relevant or even appropriate means of musical expression has had an impact on the traditional division between men's and women's singing practices. Despite the disapproval of some male singers, Corsican women have been participating in and forming polyphony groups. Recordings by such groups as Les Nouvelles Polyphonies Corses and Donni di L'Esiliu indicate that in the past decade or so, women have crossed definitively into male musical territory. This move has been motivated above all by a desire on the part of women to participate more fully in Corsica's musical culture and establish a public musical voice (Bithell 2003). Clearly, the "conquest" of the polyphonic field represents one strategy by which women singers have established such a voice, though the break with tradition was initially, and perhaps necessarily, "done in an imitative manner, as a mirror" (Salini 2000:11). This begs the question: if women are singing men's songs, what of the "old" female repertoire? Might the *voceru*, for example, have any efficacy in this ongoing process of bringing women's voices into Corsica's musical, cultural, and political dialogue?

### A *Voceru* for the Twenty-First Century

An interpretation of a well-known *voceru* appears on a recent recording by Corsican singer Anna Rocchi. Rocchi was raised in the village of Rusio, a stronghold of traditional Corsican music and singing. She is part of a celebrated musical family, and she sang with her brothers in the pioneering militant group *Canta U Populu Corsu* when she was a young adult. Recently she released her first solo album *Da l'Alturaghja* (2004) at the age of 48. This CD reflects Rocchi's deep engagement with and defense of Corsican culture. Many of the songs are original compositions touching on a broad range of social, environmental, and political causes. Rocchi's album also includes versions of some traditional Corsican songs, including an interpretation of a lament called *Voceru per Caninu*.

The text of Rocchi's *Voceru per Caninu* is based on an old and well-known lament from the Fiumorbo, a region located in the island's interior. It is a *voceru di mala morte*, originally improvised by the sister of a man named Caninu who was killed in a surprise ambush near the village of Ghisoni. Like the majority of extant lament texts, *Caninu* was published well after the time of its initial performance and presumably underwent

many changes as it circulated in the oral tradition. The text of the lament seems to have been standardized to some degree after it appeared in print; most versions of the song closely follow the one first published by Corsican scholar Salvatore Viale in 1845. Rocchi's version of *Caninu* includes seven out of the eleven stanzas usually found in published versions of *Caninu*, and is set to a melody that she and her collaborator Éric Gineste identify as indigenous to the Fiumorbu region (2004).<sup>13</sup>

Save for the lyrics, textual format, and rhyme scheme, Rocchi's version initially seems to bear no relation at all to the *voceru* genre. Melodically, Rocchi's version lacks the repetition that *voceri* often have within each stanza (a common form is A[a+a]BB, for example), and therefore lacks the distinctive quality of incantation. Rocchi's performance is moreover an uptempo, folk-rock piece with an accompaniment of guitar, bass, drums, and synthesizer. Nevertheless, I would argue that Rocchi's recording of *Caninu* represents an attempt to reclaim something of the original function and significance of the *voceru*. In the context of Corsica's male-dominated music revival, Rocchi's *voceru* not only asserts the historical importance of women's voices in Corsican society but suggests that there is a place, and perhaps even a need, for women's songs in the current cultural and political environment.

The text of the *voceru Caninu* is a bitter rendering of an event that took place in the years just following the French conquest of Corsica. The French had arrived on the island in the mid-1700s to serve as mediators between the republic of Genoa and supporters of an independent Corsican state. Genoa's rule of the island had been increasingly threatened by rebellions against its corrupt administration, and in 1735 supporters of independence formed their own government and military, eventually drafting a constitution that was admired among Enlightenment *philosophes* for its democratic principals. Hopes for a Corsican republic were dashed when Genoa ceded the island to France in 1768. The French got their own taste of the Corsican resistance that had stymied Genoa: an army of 30,000 was needed to overpower the Corsican opposition to monarchical rule (Gregory 1985:32). The decisive defeat of Corsican forces, led by the venerated General Pascal Paoli, occurred at the battle of Ponte Novu in the spring of 1769. Though Paoli went into exile, in the years that followed many of his supporters resisted surrendering to the French army, led by Comte de Marbeuf.

As Rocchi's liner notes explain, in 1775 Marbeuf's army attempted to subdue a group of Corsican "rebels" near the village of Ghisoni. Having been lured, unarmed, to a supposed rendezvous, the Corsican shepherds were ambushed and killed by Marbeuf's forces with the aid of some Corsican soldiers. The shepherds were not only defenseless but hopelessly outnum-

## Current Musicology

bered. Caninu was the name of one of the men that was killed in this incident. Word spread that it was a fellow Corsican, acting on Marbeuf's instructions, who had orchestrated the ruse that resulted in the massacre. This "traitor," Galloni, is named in the first verse of the lament improvised by Caninu's sister. The verses that follow narrate the events of the massacre, dwelling on the cowardice and treachery not just of the French but of the Corsican traitors, who, according to the sister, belonged to a *barbara razza*. In the last two verses the sister addresses her brother directly and swears he will be avenged, even if she has to do it herself.<sup>14</sup> The full text of Rocchi's version follows:

I wish that my voice  
Was as powerful as the thunder  
That passes through the gorges  
Of San Petru and Vizzavona  
So that everyone could hear  
About the great feats of Galloni

All of them, at Lucu di Nazza  
They were together  
In a barbaric race [family].  
The soldiers and the bandits.  
With yesterday's storm  
They all left together!

At the bottom of the valley  
The wind was howling  
It carried from Ghisoni  
Misfortune and terror  
You could sense in the air  
Murder and Treason!

They left quickly  
All the wolves and the lambs  
And they marched together  
To the sound of the *chalumeau*  
Once at the mountains  
They cut your throat

When I heard the screams  
I appeared at the window  
And asked "What is the news?"  
– They killed your brother  
They surprised him on the mountain  
And slaughtered him

Looking at your wounds

Eu vurria chi la me voce  
Fussi tamant'è lu tonu  
Ch'ella franchessi la fuce  
Di San Petru è Vizzavona  
Per chi soni in ogni locu  
La gran prova di Gallonu

Tutti à lu Lucu di Nazza  
Elli s'eranu adduniti  
Cùn quella barbara razza.  
Li suldati è li banditi  
Cù a timpesta d'arimani  
Tutti insieme sò partiti!

In fondu di lu rionu  
Si sintia rughjà lu ventu  
Chi purtava da Isonu  
A malora è lu spaventu  
Si vidia chi per aria  
C'era accidia è tradimentu!

È so subitu partiti  
Tutti i lupi cùn l'agnelli  
É marchjavanu adduniti  
À lu son' di i cialambelli  
Quandu ghjunsenu in la serra  
Ti taglionu i garganelli

Quand'eu intensi li briono  
M'affaccai à lu purtellu  
Dumandai: "Chi nova c'hé?"  
– Anu tombu u to frateddu  
L'anu presu ind'a sarra  
N'anu fattu lu maceddu

À guardà le to ferrite

My pain increased  
Why do you no longer answer me?  
Has your heart really gone?  
O Cani, beloved of your sister  
You have changed color!

I want powder and cartridges  
To load my gun  
I want to put on an ammunition belt  
I want to arm myself with a pistol  
O Cani, beloved of your sister  
I want to avenge you.

Mi s'accresce lu dulore  
Perchè più nun mi rispondi?  
Forse ti manca lu core?  
O Cani, cor di suredda  
Ai cambiatu di culore!

Vogliu polvere è cartucci  
Per armà la mio schjuppetta  
Vogliu cinghje la carchera  
Vogliu cinghje la tarzetta  
O Cani, cor di suredda  
Vogliu fà la to vindetta.  
(Rocchi 2004)

Though the text used by Rocchi and the CD liner notes make it clear that *Caninu* is a song about French injustices against Corsicans, it is interesting to note that the earliest song collections (Tommaseo [1841] 1973; Fée [1850] 2001; Viale [1855] 1984) tell a somewhat different story. They suggest that the massacre in the *voceru* was part of a long-standing feud between the bandit Caninu and his rivals, who, with the help of some soldiers, ambushed and killed seven men, including Caninu. These sources do not mention of the involvement of French forces or Marbeuf, nor do they identify Galloni, though his name still appears in these versions. More recent studies describe the historical context of the song in the same way Rocchi does in her liner notes: as a massacre of about a hundred disarmed shepherds by Marbeuf and Corsican “traitors.” It may be that the familiar version of *Caninu* is a combination of two different *voceri*, as Ghjermana de Zerbi has suggested (1983), which would explain the discrepancy. It may also be that the political climate of Corsica during the late-twentieth century shifted the song’s emphasis onto the French/Corsican conflict.

While the exact provenance or historical accuracy of the song is in question, it is clear that Rocchi chose this particular *voceru* because of the song’s political and historical import. As a *voceru*, it is, in fact rather unconventional in that it has such a strong narrative component; most familiar *voceri*, by contrast, are more personal and mournful than *Caninu*. In Rocchi’s version, several verses of *Caninu* that address the mourner’s grief are omitted. As a result, her lament sounds more like a ballad with its emphasis on the historical episode. Rocchi’s *Caninu* is thus primarily framed as a song of protest against French injustices in Corsica, and only secondarily as a lament. Shepherds like the ones massacred in Fiumorbu, Rocchi explained to me, represented the freedom and autonomy of Corsican society before it became French. The *voceru* serves as an important reminder of France’s mistreatment of Corsicans, a subject that, Rocchi said, “we can relate to

## Current Musicology

---

today.” As political commentary, Rocchi’s *voceru* avoids the sentimentality and nostalgia that has characterized “folkloric” or popular renderings of the female repertoire. It retains, however, the social and political efficacy of the female lament tradition.

Given Rocchi’s political motivations and the obvious novelty of the arrangement, the authenticity of her song with respect to a Corsican musical tradition might seem beside the point. However, Rocchi herself stressed to me that her primary concern to avoid distorting (*denaturer*) the meaning of the lament. Above all, for her this meant remaining true the emotions of the composer/improviser. She had at first objected to Gineste’s arrangement of *Caninu* on these grounds. However, she later decided that the instrumental accompaniment contributed to the song’s emotional intensity by underscoring key moments in the narrative. For example, the song begins with Rocchi singing the first verse unaccompanied, highlighting several essential aspects of the text. In this verse the mourner not only states her intention to lament but claims her right and her ability to be heard far and wide. Only the sound of thunder could be loud enough, violent enough to express her outrage. She identifies the community affected by the murder, which includes not only the bereaved but presumably the murderers as well, whom she singles out in the last line. This statement is juridical; though she ironically suggests that she wants to sing Gallonu’s praises, she is actually accusing of him of the craven “feat” of killing defenseless men.

The authority of the solo voice and the improviser having been established, stanzas two through four narrate the buildup to the massacre with accompaniment that also grows in intensity. A spare guitar accompaniment joins the voice on the second verse, to which drums are added on the third stanza. An ethereal sounding electric keyboard enters during an uncertain pause before stanza four. The introduction of the electronic sound is very unexpected in this context; coming after the line “murder and treason,” its unnatural quality suggests perversity of the soldiers’ mission and an ominous “ill wind” that predicts “misfortune and terror.” The keyboard motive recurs after every subsequent stanza, as the guitar, bass, and drums build intensity. In the sixth stanza the texture thins abruptly. The guitar drops out, leaving the drums, bass, and an electronic effect that simulates a choir sustained faintly behind Rocchi. The significance of this stanza within the context of the *voceru* is that it marks the definitive end to the narrative portion and focuses instead on the sister’s emotional state. Also, *Caninu* is referred to by name for the first time, and the lamenter establishes her close proximity to his body. The content of this stanza is also perhaps the most typical of the *voceru* genre; the sister addresses her dead brother in an intimate manner, expressing disbelief (“why don’t you answer me?”) and resig-



nation (“you have changed color!”). From this realization, “witnessed” by the electronic “voices” that accompany her, the threats of the final stanza begin. The texture reaches its thickest point during this verse, as the full accompaniment returns to back up the unlikely avenger.

Despite her initial reluctance to record a *voceru* that departed so fundamentally from the tradition, Rocchi’s efforts do serve, in some sense, the primary goal of a *voceru* performance. From her perspective, the instrumental accompaniment enhances the “drama” of her performance and “gives it the strength it needs” through dynamic, timbral, and textural contrasts. In a traditional performance this emotional intensity would be communicated through other means: sobbing or icons of crying, audible breathing, melodic contour, physical gestures, etc. By relying heavily on the instrumental accompaniment Rocchi approaches the affective ideal of lamentation on the recording without having to emote “artificially” with her voice. This compromise suggests to me an effort on Rocchi’s part to distance her interpretation of *Caninu* from the traditional funeral rite and avoid a disrespectful or disingenuous “reenactment” of grief. The peculiarities of the text—in particular the way in which the sister sets herself up as a detached narrator of events—make it suited to this more declamatory and less introspective interpretation. Rocchi’s performance also represents a departure from older, more sentimentalized renditions of laments that reflected the influence of the French and Italian *chanson* style.<sup>15</sup> This earlier, “folklorized” style employed the upper register and a great deal of vibrato, resulting in a much gentler, self-consciously “expressive” tone. Rocchi’s strong middle register creates a more heroic sounding lament and turns *Caninu*, by the last verse, into a true battle cry. In these ways, Rocchi’s voice reflects the political and aesthetic agendas of the *riacquisto*, which sought to replace a “diluted, often derivative, and inescapably commercial or tourist-oriented product with ‘real’ Corsican voices” (Bithell 1996:42).

Though it has been somewhat difficult for female singers to participate in the male-dominated music scene in Corsica, *Caninu* represents one strategy for overcoming this obstacle. Like women who sing polyphony, Rocchi has found a means by which to express her cultural pride and political engagement. Unlike female polyphony groups, Rocchi’s means do not involve “trespassing” into traditionally male spaces of music making. Instead, Rocchi has sought what she believes is a distinctly feminine mode in which to express herself. For her, this means not just the *voceru* or the lullaby that appear on her album, but also the newly-composed *chansons* that address political and social struggles all over the world. It is women more than men who are moved by the suffering of others, Rocchi told me, which is why, in

## Current Musicology

---

Corsican society, it has traditionally been women who sing about subjects like death. Her belief seems to have been formed in her early years singing in all-male singing groups. Although she identified with the same political and cultural causes as her fellow singers, she says found it hard to “find a place.” Men and women simply have different ways of expressing themselves, she told me. Observing that Corsicans can “defend their culture in many ways,” she says that, for her, singing a *voceru* is “a way of defending something.”

By deploying *Caninu* as a tool of political protest Rocchi helps reclaim the female repertory as historically, musically, and politically meaningful. She places herself in a tradition of singing about the conflict between France and Corsica, transforming the *voceru* from a dead tradition into an effective practice. Moreover, she cultivates a degree of identification with traditional female singing practices in Corsica by insisting on the special responsibility of women to sing about social struggle and conflict. For Rocchi, this responsibility extends beyond the Corsica to the rest of world.<sup>16</sup> Her experiment suggests that the capacity of the female voice, and especially the female lament, to move between different realms of existence and even cross into zones of conflict may indeed make it a tool for the mediation of the national, religious, and ethnic boundaries that mark conflict in the twenty-first century.

### Notes

I would like to thank Gary Tomlinson for his guidance and his assistance with this paper. I am grateful also to Carol Muller, Anna Rocchi, and especially to Caroline Bithell, who provided me with generous aid and valuable insights while I was conducting my fieldwork in Corsica in 2004.

1. Collections that include a significant amount of laments include Tommaseo ([1841] 1973), Fée ([1850] 2001), Ortoli (1992), Marcaggi ([1898] 2001), and Viale ([1855] 1984), from whose text most of the examples in this essay are drawn.
2. See for example Beaulieu-Delbet ([1897] 1992), Gregorovius (1855), and Saint-Germain (1869).
3. The work of Fernand Etori (1978, 1979), who spearheaded a broad inquiry in the 1970s based at the Centre des Études Corses, is of particular importance. Also see Southwell-Colucci (1933) and Zerbi (1988).
4. Quilici's recordings were made in 1948, 1949, and 1960–63. Laade's field recordings were made in 1956, 1958, and 1973. Both collections are held at the Phonothèque of the Musée de la Corse in Corte. Two commercially recordings are also available (see discography).
5. The important elements, conventions, and symbols of the Greek lament tradition are discussed in detail in the seminal work of Alexiou, Yatromanolakis, and Roilos (2002).
6. All translations are mine unless otherwise noted. Variations in the original Corsican of

some laments reflect the dialect of different locales and are reproduced as they appear in the original source.

7. It has been demonstrated that in Corsica tombs and other funerary markers are particularly significant as delimiters of different cosmic (as well as social and geographical) spheres (Caisson 1978). For more on Corsican beliefs about the spirit realm, see Carrington (1971:45–61).

8. For a discussion of the wide variation of women's roles and responsibilities in rural Corsica in the late-nineteenth century, see Ravis-Giordani (1979).

9. Though Ettori (1979) provides a valuable discussion of how *voceri* expressed familial tensions and acrimony among the living, he does not fully explore the degree to which expressions of discord in *voceri* relate specifically to women's lives.

10. Recent scholarship suggests this remains a concern in parts of Greece. Michael Herzfeld, in his study of masculinity and conflict in Crete, noted in one case that villagers feared the improvised laments of an outraged widow would "plant in her impressionably young children the seed of future revenge" (1985:87).

11. Seremetakis argues that Maniat laments can function as truth-claims supported by the "inherently jural and historicizing structure" of antiphony (1990:508). The antiphonal nature of *voceru* performance, though not discussed in detail here, suggests that Corsican lament served a similar "record-keeping function" for the community in conflict.

12. Though much has been made of the way in which *voceri* contributed to conflict and feuding, the juridical nature of lament could also temper interfamilial or inter-communal enmities. Except in extreme circumstances or in the case of homicide, attendance at funerals was obligatory for every member of the community. Therefore, the rite afforded feuding factions a liminal context in which to convene. *Voceri* might speak to these tensions and serve to diffuse them. This is another way in which the special authority of the lament granted women a degree of political influence within the seemingly narrow funereal context (Wilson 1988:384).

13. All subsequent quotes refer to the same interview.

14. See Arrighi-Landini (1997) for a detailed analysis of the narrative, metrical, and rhyme structure of this particular lament.

15. Two examples of *voceri* in this style can be found on a disc by Ciosi and Nicolai (1990). For additional remarks on this style, see Bithell (2003:47).

16. Bithell has noted that women's polyphony groups are likewise much more outwardly directed and concerned with more global issues, while men's groups remain more engaged with Corsica's immediate political, economic, and environmental problems (2003:59).

### References

- Alexiou, Margaret, Dimitrios Yatromanolakis, and Panagiotis Roilos. 2002. *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition*, 2nd ed. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Arrighi-Landini, Marie-Joseph. 1997. *Voceru—Poésie: La naissance du chant. Etudes Corses* 49: 5–28.
- Auerbach, Susan. 1987. From Singing to Lamenting: Women's Musical Role in a Greek Village. In *Women and Music in Cross-Cultural Perspective*, edited by E. Koskoff, 25–43. New York: Greenwood Press.

## Current Musicology

- Beaulieu-Delbet, J. [1897] 1996. *Souvenirs de Corse*. 1897. Nîmes: Lacour.
- Bithell, Caroline. 1996. Polyphonic Voices, National Identity, World Music, and the Recording of Traditional Music in Corsica. *British Journal of Ethnomusicology* 5: 39–66.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2003. A Man's Game? Engendered Song and the Changing Dynamics of Musical Activity in Corsica. In *Music and Gender: Perspectives from the Mediterranean*, edited by T. Magrini, 33–66. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Forthcoming. *Transported by Song: Corsican Voices from Oral Tradition to World Stage*. Oxford: The Scarecrow Press.
- Briggs, Charles L. 1992. "Since I Am a Woman, I Will Chastise My Relatives": Gender, Reported Speech, and the (Re)Production of Social Relations in Warao Ritual Wailing. *American Ethnologist* 19 (2): 337–61.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1993. Personal Sentiments and Polyphonic Voices in Warao Women's Ritual Wailing. *American Anthropologist* 95: 929–57.
- Caisson, Max. 1978. Le Mortes et les Limites. In *Pieve e paesi: comunità rurali corses*, edited by M. Caisson, 159–68. Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique.
- Caraveli, Anna. 1986. The Bitter Wounding: The Lament as Social Protest in Rural Greece. In *Gender and Power in Rural Greece*, edited by Jill Dubisch, 169–94. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Caraveli-Chaves, Anna. 1980. Bridge Between Worlds: The Greek Women's Lament as Communicative Event. *Journal of American Folklore* 368 (93): 129–57.
- Carrington, Dorothy. 1971. *Granite Island: Portrait of Corsica*. London: Longmans.
- Danforth, Loring M., and Alexander Tsiaras. 1982. *The Death Rituals of Rural Greece*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Ettori, Fernand. 1978. Introduction à l'étude du vocero. In *Pieve e paesi: comunità rurali corses*, edited by M. Caisson, 246–67. Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1979. Le Vocero comme catharsis des tensions familiales et sociales. *Etudes Corses* 7 (12–13): 177–200.
- Fée, A. L.A. [1850] 2001. *Voceri: Chants populaires de la Corse*. Nîmes: Lacour.
- Foley, Helene. 1993. The Politics of Tragic Lamentation. In *Papers from the Greek Drama Conference: Nottingham, 18–20 July 1990*, edited by A. H. Sommerstein, 101–43. Bari: Levante editori.
- Gregorovius, Ferdinand. 1855. *Wanderings in Corsica*, vol. 2, translated by Alexander Muir. Edinburgh: Thomas Constable and Co.
- Gregory, Desmond. 1985. *The Ungovernable Rock*. London and Toronto: Associated University Press.
- Herzfeld, Michael. 1985. *The Poetics of Manhood*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Johnson, Elizabeth L. 1988. Grieving for the Dead, Grieving for the Living: Funeral Laments of Hakka Women. In *Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China*, edited by J. L. Watson and Evelyn S. Rawski, 135–63. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Magrini, Tullia. 1995. Ballad and Gender: Reconsidering Narrative Singing in Northern Europe. *Ethnomusicology Online* 1. <http://research.umbc.edu/eol/> [August 3, 2005]
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1998. Women's Work of Pain in Christian Mediterranean Europe. *Music and Anthropology* 3. <http://www.muspe.unibo.it/period/MA/> [August 3, 2005]
- Magrini, Tullia, ed. 2003. *Music and Gender: Perspectives from the Mediterranean*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Marcaggi, Jean-Baptiste. [1898] 2001. *Les Chants de la Mort et de la Vendetta de la Corse*. Nîmes: Lacour.
- Ortoli, Jean Baptiste Frédéric. 1887. *Les voceri de l'île de Corse*. Paris: E. Leroux.
- Ravis-Giordani, Georges. 1979. La femme corse: images et réalités. In *Pieve e paesi: comunità rurali corses*, edited by M. Caisson, 191–207. Paris: Centre national de la

recherche scientifique.

- Rocchi, Anna. 2004. Interviewed by the author together with Caroline Bithell.
- Salini, Dominique. 2000. Corse: polyphonies féminines. In *Corsica: Polyphoniesféminines/Women's Polyphonies*, 3–13. Buda Records 1977772.
- Saint-Germain, Léonard de. 1869. *Itinéraire Descriptif et Historique de la Corse*. Paris, n.p.
- Seremetakis, C. Nadia. 1990. The Ethics of Antiphony: The Social Construction of Pain, Gender, and Power in the Southern Peloponnese. *Ethos* 18 (4): 481–511.
- . 1991. *The Last Word: Women, Death, and Divination in Inner Mani*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Southwell-Colucci, Edith. 1933. *Canti popolari corsi*. Livorno: Giusti.
- Tolbert, Elizabeth. 1990a. Magico-Religious Power and Gender in the Karelian Lament. In *Music, Culture and Gender*, edited by Marcia Herndon and Susanne Ziegler, 41–56. Berlin: Institute for Comparative Music Studies.
- . 1990b. Women Cry with Words: Symbolization of Affect in the Karelian Lament. *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 22: 80–122.
- . 1994. The Voice of Lament: Female Vocality and Performative Efficacy in the Finnish Karelian itkuvirsi. In *Embodied Voices*, edited by Leslie C. Dunn and Nancy A. Jones, 179–94. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tommaseo, Niccoláo. [1841] 1973. *Canti popolari toscani, corsi, illirici, greci*. Bologna: Forni.
- Urban, Greg. 1988. Ritual Wailing in Amerindian Brazil. *American Anthropologist* 90: 385–400.
- Viale, Salvatore. [1855] 1984. *Canti Popolari Corsi*. Bologna: Forni.
- Vuillier, Gaston. 1896. *The Forgotten Isles, Impressions of Travel in the Balearic Isles, Corsica, and Sardinia*. New York: D. Appleton & Co.
- Wilson, Stephen. 1988. *Feuding, Conflict, and Banditry in Nineteenth-Century Corsica*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Zerbi, Ghjermana de. 1983. *L'image de l'homme et celle de la femme dans le vocabulaire affectif des voceri*. DEA Institut de Linguistique et Phonétique: Aix-en-Provence.
- . 1988. Pleureuses traditionnelles corses: le panegyrique du patrilignage. *Peuples méditerranéens* 44–45: 89–107.

#### Discography

- Ciosi, Antoine and Maryse Nicolai. 1990. *Canti Pupulari di Corsica*. Consul CM 88.09.
- Laade, Wolfgang. 1990. *Corsica: Traditional Songs and Music*. Jecklin Disco JD650–2.
- L'Esiliu, Donni di . 2000. *Corsica: Polyphonies féminines/Women's Polyphonies*. Buda Records 1977772.
- Quilici, Felix. 1982. *Musique corse de tradition orale*. Archives Sonores de la Phonothèque National APN82–1/3.
- Rocchi, Anna. 2004. *Da l'Alturaghja*. Albiana CDAL016.