

Media, virtual communities, and musics of oral tradition in contemporary Sardinia

Marco Lutz

Affiliazione University of Cagliari

§ Oggetto dell'articolo sono alcuni gruppi *Facebook* dedicati alla musica tradizionale sarda, di cui vengono analizzate le dinamiche di interazione tra i membri, i contenuti condivisi e, più in generale, l'utilizzo che viene fatto di Internet. Condotta con la metodologia dell'etnografia virtuale, la ricerca si concentra sull'impatto che l'utilizzo della rete ha avuto rispetto alle modalità di diffusione della musica e delle informazioni ad essa connesse, con particolare riferimento alle pratiche musicali fino a un recente passato incentrate perlopiù su relazioni faccia a faccia.

Proponendo il concetto di 'Virtual Sound Group', vengono analizzate le ripercussioni che l'uso di *Facebook* e altre piattaforme digitali hanno avuto sul modo in cui la musica viene diffusa, sulla varietà di documenti sonori a disposizione degli utenti, su come gli eventi dal vivo vengono promossi e sul loro impiego come strumenti di auto promozione da parte di musicisti e appassionati.

§ This article focuses on some Facebook groups centred on Sardinian traditional music, analysing the dynamics of interaction amongst the members, the contents they share and, more generally, the use they make of the Internet. Using the methodology of the virtual ethnography, the research reflects on the impact that Internet has had on both the music diffusion and the related information, especially on musical practices which, until recently, were mainly based on face-to-face relationships. By proposing the concept of a 'Virtual Sound Group', the work analyses the deep impact *Facebook* and other digital platforms have had on the way the music is diffused, on the variety of sound documents available to the users, on how live events are advertised, and their use as tools for the self-promotion of both the musicians and the aficionados.

IN ethnomusicological research, the relationship between scholars and the musicians who were the object of their inquiry has changed over time. The pioneers of this discipline never actually got to meet these musicians in person, so they were limited to analysing the music fixed on wax cylinders by missionaries, government officials or adventurers who went to the colonial lands for various reasons. When the first ethnomusicologists started going into the field, armed with the methodologies developed by anthropologists, they often stayed for short periods to record sound documents with the aim of collecting music, mainly considered as the heritage of an ethnic group, a geographical area or a single village. Over time, the relationship between the scholars and the members of the communities they were studying developed, especially in the cases of extended fieldwork which required the learning of the local language. Although they interacted with several members of the community they were studying, many ethnomusicologists established privileged relationships with some 'informants' (skilled narrators of their own culture, talented musicians, people with a special status). Their music, or their ideas about music, often became the subject of their books. The global circulation of world music, and subsequently the capillary diffusion of the Internet have further modified the relationship between ethnomusicologist and the men and women who represent the object of his/her research. This fact requires the development of methodologies that are not only based on direct contact between people – as in classical ethnography – but also take into account a new scenario in which geographical distances are shortened and relationships are ever more mediated by technology.

Nowadays on the Internet we can find a massive presence of music coming from different parts of the world, which is of interest to virtual communities that are sometimes exclusively focused on music. This scenario raises new questions for the ethnomusicologist who has to face two aspects that are inseparable for a discipline that considers music as a social fact. On the one hand, there is the music itself, which is subject to new forms of mediatisation that accelerate its diffusion and cause it to mutate at a speed and in ways previously impossible to imagine. On the other hand, there are the people who perform and listen to it, to whom the Internet offers new ways to consume, share, and discuss. These people no longer form tight-knit local communities where the sharing of knowledge is based on face-to-face relationships, and with whom the scholar was once able to enter into direct contact.

The modern ethnomusicologist has the opportunity (or rather the duty) to also deal with new virtual communities, which are often delocalized and culturally less homogeneous, held together through their passion for the same music, and linked to each other thanks to the Internet. All this establishes a new facet to the relationship between scholar and subject(s), which implies a deep rethinking of research methodologies and, in part, of the aims of the discipline. Social sciences have been considering these theoretical aspects for a few decades (HANNERZ 1992, HANNERZ 2000, APPADURAI 1996, HINE 2000),

whereas ethnomusicology has only recently started to deal with them (LANGE 2001, REILY 2003, COOLEY *et alii* 2008, WOOD, WOOD 2008, CROWDY 2015). The aim of this article is to develop some of these themes, starting from the observation of how the Internet has become part of the musical life of many Sardinian people (but not only), as a new way for them to cultivate their passion for the music of oral tradition, and how this has influenced the practice of music.

Social sciences have mainly addressed the *virtual world* or the *cyber world* with two different approaches. On the one hand, new communication technologies have been studied for the potential they offer as a tool for collecting and analysing data, giving rise to methodologies such as virtual focus groups, online ethnography, and cyber research. On the other hand, the new ways of connecting and grouping provided by the Internet have themselves become the object of study.

Assuming that computer-mediated communication (CMC) is a particular form of communication – which therefore can be studied with an ethnographic approach (DICKS *et alii* 2005, PINK *et alii* 2016) – some scholars have proposed the Internet as a specific cultural context (HINE 2000, HINE 2005). Taking this point on board, an exciting challenge for contemporary ethnomusicology is the analysis of a cultural context (also in the singular case just described) in which the musics of the world are object of discussion within varying-sized communities of people.

In this article, I have favoured the second approach, focusing my attention on some virtual communities who are mainly or exclusively interested in Sardinian traditional music, and analysing the dynamics of interaction among the members, the content they share, and the use they make of it. Moreover, I shall focus on the impact all this has had in the making of music. My attention will be directed in particular to some groups on the Facebook social network.

Mediatisation of Sardinian Music

One of the topics of this article is the mediatisation of Sardinian music. Although musical practices, such as the *cantu a tenore*, the *cantu a chiterra* and the dance music for *launeddas*, still continue to be passed down and learned without the aid of written scores, thousands of performances have been recorded in various audio formats for almost a century. This has had a significant impact on the diffusion and use of such music and, consequently, on the ways of learning it. One of the aspects I shall take into account in the next pages is the circulation of this huge corpus of sound documents, with particular reference to the use that has been made of them as a result of the spread of Web 2.0.¹

¹ The term *Web 2.0* refers to the stage of evolution of the World Wide Web characterised by the diffusion of online applications that allow users to interact and communicate with each other through media such as chats, blogs, forums, video-sharing websites or online social networks such as Facebook and Twitter (see SHELLY - FRYDENBERG 2011).

Before focusing on this last stage, a brief overview of the recording of Sardinian traditional music will be useful. This will allow us not only to place the analysed sound documents on a timeline but also to consider their circulation on the Internet as the latest stage along the path of the history of the mediation of Sardinian music.

The first recording of Sardinian traditional music goes back to 1922, when the record label *Grammofono* released two 78rpm by Gavino Gabriel, a musician and musicologist from the sub-region of Gallura, who sang a few songs whilst accompanying himself on the guitar. From then to the end of the 1950s, the market of Sardinian music was the prerogative of national and international recording labels such as *Columbia*, *Voce del Padrone*, *La Fonografia Nazionale* and the already mentioned *Grammofono*, which published over two hundred titles (see GUALERZI 1982 and LEYDI 1997).

1948 saw the first of a series of scientifically based recording campaigns throughout Italy promoted by the *Centro Nazionale Studi di Musica Popolare* (National Centre for the Study of Popular Music)², the institution that came into being by will of Giorgio Nataletti. In January 1950, *Raccolta 13* became the first of many Sardinian campaigns carried out by the Centre. In 1955 the German researcher Felix Karlinger came to Sardinia in order to make various audio recordings in different villages throughout the island (KARLINGER 2008). At the end of the same decade, the Danish ethnomusicologist Andreas Bentzon started his extensive fieldwork on the music for *launeddas*, collecting hundreds of sound documents (BENTZON 1969).

A new phase in the history of the recording of Sardinian music began in the 1960s, with the emergence of two phenomena. First of all, 1962 saw the creation of *Nuraghe*, the first Sardinian recording label, followed by *Tirsu*, *Tekno record*, and subsequently *Aedo* and *Frorias*. These were to release hundreds of titles aimed primarily at the local market.³ Passing from vinyl to audiocassettes, and then more recently to compact discs, the regional labels have created hundreds of titles that document the history of musical genres including *cantu a chiterra*, *cantu a tenore*, and music for *launeddas* and accordion. The distribution of these recordings is mainly managed, today as in the past, by travelling salesmen who go from village to village following the calendar of religious festivals. Several of these titles contribute in developing the careers of some of the best-known singers, musicians, and improvising poets.

The early 1960s saw the apparition of the first reel-to-reel portable recorders (especially the *Geloso*) which were used by a few aficionados to record musical performances and poetry contests in context, usually at village festivals. Thus, numerous archives sprang up containing thousands of recordings, often of poor quality but valuable from the documentary point of

² See CENTRO NAZIONALE STUDI DI MUSICA POPOLARE 1963.

³ At the same time, various 33 and 45rpm records of *cantu a chiterra* were released by the Neapolitan recording label *Vis Radio* from 1960 onwards (see ANGELI 2006).

view. This practice is still widespread today among the aficionados of Sardinian music, who have passed to cassette recorders or in some cases to video cameras.

Ever since the 1990s, when the first home recording studios appeared on the island, many musicians have started to self-produce their cassettes and CDs rather than relying on recording labels. Many of these recordings are not distributed within the official market, since they are sold directly by the musicians at the end of their performances.

The advent of the Internet can be considered as the last stage of the path referred to here. As the Internet became more widespread in the mid-nineties, the first websites dedicated to Sardinian music were created, such as the guitarist Lino Talloru's site or the one belonging to the *Sonus de Canna* association. The former site (www.talloru.net) made it possible to listen to various examples of dance music for guitar in midi format, while the latter (www.sardinia.net/sonus) collected the results of the research on the main *launeddas* players carried out by the members of the association, and provided a photo, an audio extract and a short bio in both English and Italian for every player.

However, it was with the advent of Web 2.0 that the relationship between Sardinian music and the media changed significantly. On the one hand, most of the previously mentioned sound documents (historical recordings, 1970s' and 1980s' commercial hits, documents coming from private archives, and so on) began to circulate again through video-sharing platforms such as YouTube. On the other hand, thanks to the broad dissemination of portable audio-video recording devices (including smartphones), dozens of videos of the different genres of Sardinian traditional music are shared on the Net daily. Many virtual communities dealing with Sardinian music are often active in the diffusion of this material which has become the focus of their discussions and comments.

Virtual Sound Groups

I shall use the term 'virtual sound groups' as a combination of two concepts from different disciplines to identify the groups of people who are the subject of my research. The first is the virtual community, which refers to «a group(s) of individuals who come together through computer-aided communications mechanisms to share information of interests» (BAIM 2006, pp. 145-146). The second is sound group, a term proposed by the ethnomusicologist John Blacking in 1984 to define «a group of people who share a common musical language, together with common ideas about music and its uses» (BLACKING 1995, p.232). Therefore, a virtual sound group can be considered a group of people who share a common musical language, together with common ideas about music and its uses, and who come together through computer-aided communications.

The members of a virtual sound group are subject to a dual process of enculturation.⁴ The first is the one that allows them to acquire the knowledge required by performers and expert listeners of a musical genre. In other words, the command of a specific musical language is not only considered to be the practical ability of the performers, but also the whole knowledge that a person with a certain level of experience in listening to that music must possess. In Sardinia, this means the ability not only to distinguish between different dance rhythms and to recognise a particular style, but also to identify the geographical origin of a song, to master the technical jargon and the genealogy of the musicians, to recognise the historical recordings, and to feel at home within musics often based on complex poetic and musical languages. Ultimately, it means being able to provide one's own aesthetic judgement and to take part in *sa crítica*, the mechanism through which, even today, the aficionados can control, guide, and in some cases censure the creativity of the performers (MACCHIARELLA 2009, MACCHIARELLA 2011). Thanks to the second process, the members of a virtual sound group are able to communicate in a way that is appropriate to the opportunities and limits offered by the new technologies, for example by posting short messages, often attaching multimedia content such as photos or videos or taking part in quick fire exchanges that fade away in a short time, or even using the "like" button as a tool to show their approval.

The members of a virtual sound group interact within an environment that Abigail Wood defines as an *Internet-music-culture*, characterised by «interpersonal activities which primarily take place via computer-mediated communication, and take music as their principal focus» (WOOD 2008, p. 172).

Sardinian Virtual Sound Groups

The virtual sound groups I have researched are predominantly active on the Facebook social network; the focus of their attention is the different musical practices and the traditions of improvised poetry practised in Sardinia. Two types of virtual sound groups exist, an established one and a short-lived one. In the former all the members belong to the same "group", a place that allows people to come together around a common cause, to discuss issues, post photos, and share related content. Facebook groups are identified by a name and are managed by one or more administrators, who assign different privacy levels, thus allowing access to everyone or members only and giving them the opportunity to share content and/or comment on it. The short-lived virtual sound groups arise spontaneously around a post (a text comment, a photo or a video); members have at least one friend in common (necessary to be able to access the same content) and share the same passion for the music that is the object of discussion.

⁴ I use the term enculturation in its anthropological meaning (see HERSKOVITS 1948 and MEAD 1963).

All the groups I have observed are dedicated to a specific repertoire of Sardinia traditional music, as their names suggest: *Launeddas: suonatori e apprendisti suonatori* (Launeddas: players and apprentices), *Trallallera campidanesi* (Trallallera from Campidano), *Poesia improvvisata campidanesa* (Improvised poetry from the Campidano area), *Cantadores a chiterra* (A chiterra singers), *Tenore Sardegna* (Sardinia Tenore) and *Ballu campidanesu dell'oristanese: tutela, valorizzazione e salvaguardia* (Sardinian dance from the Oristano region: conservation, promotion and preservation), to name but a few.

The peculiarities of these groups are different from those usually studied by scholars, such as the mailing list *World music from a Jewish perspective*, a community of over 5000 members spread around the world (see WOOD 2008). The groups I am interested in are mainly composed of only a few members (from a few dozen to about 2000), most of whom live in Sardinia, know each other personally, and apart from interacting on Facebook, frequently meet up face-to-face. In many cases the groups also include Sardinian emigrants, whose group membership allows them to feel part of a world which they cannot live in person on a daily basis because of the geographical distances involved. This data can easily be collected by browsing the groups because, as opposed to other platforms where membership is often anonymous, Facebook users generally use their real identity.

The members of these groups normally have a double linguistic competence. Everybody knows Italian, the vehicular language mainly used on the island, and also Sardinian, the vernacular language used in traditional music. In recent years, the Sardinian language has been the subject of a heated debate, in which its value as a symbol of identity for the Sardinian people has been underlined. Among the supporters for the re-appropriation of the Sardinian language, there are many aficionados of improvised poetry and traditional music, who often express themselves in Sardinian on social networks. The use of the Sardinian language is necessary when quoting poems or lyrics, but the members (most of whom support the regional independent parties) often use it ideologically on the Internet as a means to emphasize the unbreakable bond between the language and the Sardinian culture. It is therefore possible to find posts with a hybrid language, where regional Italian, diverse Sardinian linguistic varieties, and some neologisms (mainly Anglicisms) of internet-language are merged together.

The Groups' Activities

The members of the Facebook groups undertake different kinds of activities depending on the focus of the group or on the interests of the single users. However, a comparative analysis allows us to identify the most recurrent ones, which are listed and described in this paragraph. Moreover, these will be compared to some of the activities observed in the groups of Sardinian music aficionados who do not use the Internet. It is important to recall that these are

not two clearly distinct groups; in fact, Facebook Groups are mostly made up of people who were already aficionados of Sardinian music, and for whom the Internet is a new tool for cultivating their passion.

Sharing recordings is one of the most common activities, with a predilection for the historical ones and unpublished documents (recent or past) belonging to private archives. Added to these are photographs and, in the case of improvised poetry, poems created by the users themselves or verses taken from poetic contests of the past.⁵

Many aficionados of Sardinian traditional poetry and music are also collectors. They devote much of their time, energy, and money to collecting published material, and to personally recording musical performances and poetry contests.⁶ While a large part of the aficionados of Sardinian music collect and exchange recordings or other documents, only a few of them have dedicated their lives to collecting thousands of recordings, books, and photographs (which often take up a whole room of their house). The latter perfectly know the details of the careers and biographies of the most famous musicians, and are able to recognize the most common historical recordings, as well as the style of a geographic area or of a single performer.

The opportunities offered by the Net have considerably increased the sharing of recordings and other documents concerning the Sardinian traditional music. Facebook Groups have become the favourite place where to post different kind of documents. The users themselves make some videos directly using smartphones or small camcorders. They record public performances or meetings between aficionados and post them on their personal pages or to the groups, so that this material becomes immediately accessible to all the members, who can then share it in turn. Moreover, some users have created YouTube channels where they upload their own recordings, which can be shared on Facebook by people who have no connection to them.⁷ In recent years, YouTube has become a valuable source for the aficionados, who publish both original recordings such as those just mentioned and numerous published pieces (often without the permission of the copyright holders).

It is important to highlight that most of the material held by the aficionados consists of audio recordings, while the platforms they use on the Internet (mostly Facebook and YouTube) do not allow audio to be shared unless it is combined with a video. This has led to a phenomenon of remediation,

⁵ Since the second half of the XIXth century, booklets with the transcription of the verses improvised during the poetic contests have been published for the Sardinian local market.

⁶ One example are the characters in the documentary *In viaggio per la musica* by Marco Lutz and Valentina Manconi (<<http://www.sardegna.digitalibrary.it/index.php?xsl=626&id=236Z>>).

⁷ One example is Marcello Tola's YouTube channel (<<https://www.youtube.com/user/tomar16>>), which includes about nine hundred videos of *cantu in chiterra*, a musical genre spread throughout northern central Sardinia, in which two or more singers (*cantadores*) accompanied by a guitar and an accordion compete in public contests (*garas*) usually held during religious festivals. The channel, which has 450 members and over 67 thousand views (as of 01/03/2015), contains *garas* recorded mainly by the owner himself.

whereby the same aficionados are converting their audio recordings to video. Using simple editors such as Windows Movie Maker, they digitize their private audio archives creating videos that can be shared on Facebook or YouTube. In many cases, the sound of the original recording is combined with some images, such as a photo of the performers, the cover of the album from which the recording was taken, a landscape or historical photos of the village from which the performers originate or in which the recording was made, as well as images with a symbolic value such as the Sardinian flag, the map of the island or a *nuraghe*.⁸ In some cases we can also find images that have nothing to do with the content of the recording, such as the koala appearing in numerous videos shared in the Facebook group *Cantadores a chiterra*.⁹



Figure 1 – Some examples of images used for sharing audio recordings as video on YouTube and Facebook.

⁸ The *nuraghe* is the main type of ancient megalithic edifice found in Sardinia, developed during the Nuragic Age between 1700 BC and 730 AC. Nowadays, it has come to be one of the symbols of Sardinia.

⁹ Of the 483 members of this group (as of 01.03.2015) one of the most active is Antonio Caria, a connoisseur of *cantu a chiterra*, who has uploaded hundreds of videos from his personal collection.

It is interesting to stress how the aficionados of Sardinian music have modified their listening behaviours according to the technological tools available on the Net. At the same time, they have acquired new specific skills such as a rudimentary use of video editing software.

Some users spend a lot of time surfing the national and international digital archives in search of material related to the music they are interested in. This is the case of the *launeddas* maker and player Pitano Perra,¹⁰ who has posted dozens of images of ancient wind instruments from the Mediterranean area on his page. The ancient origins of the *launeddas* is a topic that fascinates many players, in virtue of the existence of a bronze statuette from the Nuragic period dated to the VIII-IX century BC, exhibited in Cagliari's Archaeological Museum, showing a musician playing a similar instrument. When one of the members of the group *Launeddas: suonatori e apprendisti suonatori* posted a photo of a statuette depicting another player of a multipipe wind instrument, an interesting and animated debate arose among the various members.¹¹

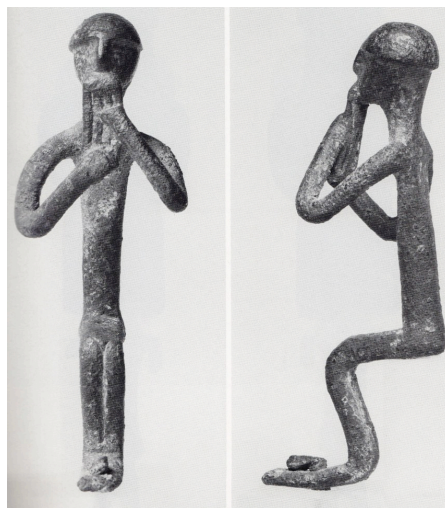


Figure 2 – The Nuragic bronze statuette from the Borowski collection posted by Pitano Perra on the *Launeddas: suonatori e apprendisti suonatori* group.

Taking part in discussions is another common activity for the *virtual sound groups*. Both the posts and the shared documents are the objects on which the members of the groups focus their comments, debates, and discussions. The sound documents immediately stimulate comments on the quality of the performance; the data regarding historical recordings are reconstructed in detail (the users try to trace the names of the musicians, the occasion, and so on), and the videos of the most beloved musicians are accompanied by posts

¹⁰ *Launeddas* are a set of three single reed cane pipes widespread throughout southern Sardinia.

¹¹ The post dates from 12th February 2014. The statuette, representing a syrinx player, belongs to the Elie Borowski collection and is today exhibited in the Bible Land Museum in Jerusalem. In the following days further discussions were held outside the group.

that praise their quality. In groups devoted to improvised poetry, many users share their poems, which are followed by several replies, leading to the creation of short poetry contests on the Internet (see the article by Daniela Mereu, pp. 137-160 in this volume).

Usually the posts which receive the highest number of comments are those dealing with the same topics discussed by the aficionados who do not use the Internet. Just to give some examples: the aficionados of the *cantu a tenore* discuss which villages have truly preserved the musical tradition and those which have re-invented it in recent decades; the aficionados of the *cantu chiterra* are divided between those who prefer playing the guitar only with their fingers and those who prefer to use a pick; the aficionados of the *launeddas* propose their theories on the archaic origins of the instrument or on the requirements a player must have in order to be considered a 'maestro'. If we compare the discussions on Facebook with those held face-to-face, we can see that the issues remain more or less the same, and the only thing that actually changes is the way they are carried out. The debates have to adapt to the characteristics of the social network, which encourage the users to post brief messages and to have short-lived discussions, because the content becomes less accessible over time as new posts are inserted.

The promotion of public performances is another very popular activity among the Facebook Groups of Sardinian music aficionados. This is encouraged by the fact that it is possible to create 'events' that can be shared with one's own contacts or with the members of a group quickly and at no cost. Its efficiency and simplicity have certainly favoured the adoption of this communication / information tool, but the frequent use of Facebook events depends on the particular situation of Sardinian music.

Among the contexts in which traditional music is more present are the religious festivals held in every village. The *launeddas* players accompany the statue of the saint during the processions and the *cantadores a chiterra*, the groups *a tenore*, and the improvising poets perform on a stage during the evening events. The festivals are organized by a local committee composed of volunteers who promote the secular and religious programmes by affixing posters in the village or, for the bigger festivals, in the surrounding villages or in places of transit (e.g. bars on main roads).

Before the spread of the Internet (and sometimes still today) this was the only way to find out about the live performances of music and improvised poetry. So, every time the aficionados or the musicians and poets met up, they used to gather information on the subsequent events. In order to be able to attend a musical performance or a poetry contest, it was essential to be part of a face-to-face based network through which one was informed about the dates and places where they were to be held. From this point of view, the Internet has proved to be a particularly useful tool. Nowadays, the organizing commit-

tees, the *Pro Loco*,¹² and individual musicians advertise the programmes of the festivals or their concerts via Facebook, which are then immediately shared in the thematic groups.



Figure 3 – Posters promoting concerts of Sardinian traditional music posted on Facebook.

A *cantu a chitarra* performance would be typically advertised in the following way:



Figure 4 – Advertisement

[IMMINENT MEETING! / ATTENTION PLEASE! Notice to all wild-eyed aficionados of the *cantu a chitarra*!!!! Saturday, February 28 at the Canonico Liperi hall in Osilo, in via Duca degli Abruzzi, a special evening of *cantu a chitarra* will take place. Participating singers: Emanuele Bazzoni, Marco Manca, Franco Figos, Marco Sias and Antonello Senes. Accompanied on the guitar by Antonio Marongiu and Tore Matzau. On the accordion Tore Podda. Presented by Nino Manca. Guest of honour Franco Falchi. Starting at 20.30. You are all invited! (my translation)]

¹² *Pro Loco* is a Latin phrase that may be translated as ‘in favour of the place’. It identifies Italian grassroots associations that seek to promote some particular place, usually a village or a small area.

Finally, Facebook is used by its members, be they aficionados or musicians, to assert themselves and to carve out a role within the virtual community, which has a direct impact on real life. Sharing historical or particularly rare recordings from their archives, commenting on sound documents showing their expertise, posting photos together with the most famous musicians or attending numerous performances are all ways in which the aficionados build their own image as experts of Sardinian music within the virtual communities. Posting photos documenting their long career and highlighting the large number of performance to which they are invited are an effective way for the musicians to build their image as professionals who are in great demand for the festivals.

Moreover, the extensive use of Facebook allows the musicians to cultivate their relationships with the various organizing committees, folk groups, and more generally with their ‘employers’. For example, it is very common that the day after a performance, the accordion player Roberto Fadda thanks and applauds the organizers, the dancers, and the public with messages such as:

grazie a tutti della bella serata e anche questa volta la pioggia non vi ha fatto perdere d'animo . . . la passione vince la ragione !!!!! MITICI :))))))))))

thanks to all for the beautiful evening, once again the rain did not make you lose heart. . . passion conquers reason !!!!! MINDBLOWING :)))))))))) (my translation)

otherwise

Bellissima serata a Santa Reparata a Usellus, stanco ma ne è valsa proprio la pena, un grande ringraziamento al comitato e a tutti gli artisti, ballerini e amici :))))))

What a beautiful evening was had by all at Usellus for the Santa Reparata festival, I'm tired but it was well worth all the effort, a big thank you to the committee and to all the artists, dancers, and friends :)))))) (my translation)

Conclusions

In recent years Internet use by the musicians and aficionados of traditional Sardinian music has had a significant impact on the music itself. While this music continues to live on in traditional contexts such as patron saint festivals, the birth of virtual communities dedicated to Sardinian music has modified the way in which it is appreciated, shared, and discussed. Modern methods of communication have given the users fresh opportunities to cultivate a mostly pre-existing passion, which through the use of Internet has taken on new characteristics.

This article has highlighted some aspect of how Facebook has encouraged the birth of *virtual sound groups*, which are characterized by a creative use of the Internet, seeing that, as I have tried to demonstrate, the users have had to

adapt their ways of communicating to the characteristics of the medium. In a sense, on the social network they replicate behaviours, practices, and topics, which already exist in face-to-face based communities. In the case of traditional Sardinian music, the Internet has had a profound impact on the way the music is diffused, on the quantity of sound documents available to the users, on how events are advertised, and as a tool for the self-promotion of both the musicians and the aficionados.

These aspects are not only limited to the *virtual sound groups*, but are also reflected in real life. For example, the wide diffusion of sound documents on the Internet has modified the relationship between mediated music and learning processes. Most of the elderly musicians learnt their skills from their teachers and by listening to the limited number of recordings they were able to find (on vinyl and audio cassettes). The fact that they did not have access to many recordings meant that these musicians frequently adopted the style of these historical recordings, thereby running the risk of an exaggerated standardization of playing. Today, the situation has completely changed: a young musician who wants to learn Sardinian music by listening to sound documents can find a vast quantity of recordings (from various periods, by various performers, and so on) on the Internet which will increase his awareness of the existence of different musical styles. As I have tried to demonstrate here, e-fieldwork focused on virtual sound groups allows us to observe and understand the behaviours of people who have found a new way to cultivate their passion for traditional music through social networks. Such behaviours, born on the Internet, cannot be ignored by the contemporary ethnomusicologist, who has to update his methodological tool-kit in order to analyse the complex dynamics that unite the virtual world, the real world, and the passion for music in our everyday life.

Bibliography

- ANGELI, P. (2006), *Canto in re. La gara a chitarra nella Sardegna settentrionale*, ISRE, Nuoro.
- APPADURAI, A. (1996), *Modernity at large: cultural dimensions of globalization*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.
- BAIM, S.A. (2006), *Draw to Participate in Virtual Communities*, in *Encyclopedia of Virtual Communities and Technologies*, ed. by S. Dasgupta, Idea Group Publishing, London, pp. 145-149.
- WEIS BENTZON, A. F. (1969), *The launeddas: A Sardinian folk-music instrument*, 2 vol., Acta ethnomusicologica Danica, Copenhagen.
- BLACKING, J. (1995), *Music, Culture and Experience: Selected Papers of John Blacking*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Centro Nazionale Studi di Musica Popolare (1963), *Catalogo Sommario delle RegISTRAZIONI 1948-1962. Il Centro internazionale per la musica tradizionale liturgica: costituzione, scopi, fonoteca*, Grafico Tiberino, Roma.
- COOLEY, T. J. – MEIZEL, K. – SYED, N. (2008), *Virtual Fieldwork: Three Case Studies*, in *Shadows in the Field: New Perspectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology*, ed. By G. Barz and T. J. Cooley, Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp 90-107.
- CROWDY, D. (2003), *Peer production and changing norms in music practice: An ethnomusicological perspective*, «Journal of Peer Production», 6 (<<http://peerproduction.net/issues/issue-6-disruption-and-the-law/peer-reviewed-articles/peer-production-and-changing-norms-in-music-practice-an-ethnomusicological-perspective/>>).
- DICKS, B. – MASON, B. – COFFEY, A. – ATKINSON, P. (2005), *Qualitative Research and Hypermedia: Ethnography for Digital Age*, Sage, London.
- GUALERZI, M. (1982), *Discografia della musica popolare sarda a 78 rpm (1922-1959)*, «Culture musicali», Vol. 2, pp. 167-192.
- HANNERZ, U (1992), *Cultural complexity: Studies in the social organization of meaning*, Columbia University Press, New York.
- _____ (2000), *Transnational Research*, in *Handbook of Methods in Cultural Anthropology*, ed. by H. R. Bernard, Altamira Press, New York, pp. 235-256.
- HERSKOVITS, M.J. (1948), *Man and his Works, the Science of Cultural Anthropology*, Knopf, New York.
- HINE, C. (2000), *Virtual Ethnography*, Sage, London.
- _____ (2005), *Virtual Methods: Issues in Social Research on the Internet*, Berg, Oxford.

- KARLINGER, F. (2008), *Sa Mùsica Sarda 1955*, CD with booklet, Live Studio, Cagliari.
- LANGE, B.R. (2001), *Hypermedia and Ethnomusicology*, «Ethnomusicology», 45/1, pp. 132-149.
- LEYDI, R. (1997), *Discografia della musica popolare italiana – Sardegna*, «Fonti musicali italiane», 2, pp. 249-280.
- MACCHIARELLA, I. (2009), *Cantare a cuncordu. Uno studio a più voci*, Nota, Udine.
- _____ (2011), *Appassionati e tifoserie: il ruolo attivo degli ascoltatori*, in *Progetto Incontro: materiali di ricerca e analisi*, ed by D. Caocci – I. Macchiarella, ISRE, Nuoro, pp. 220-233.
- MEAD, M. (1963), *Papers in Honor of Melville J. Herskovits: Socialization and Enculturation*, in «Current Anthropology», 4/2, pp. 184-188.
- PINK, S. – HORST, H. – POSTILL, J. – HJORTH, L. – LEWIS, T. – TACCHI, J. (2016), *Digital Ethnography: Principles and Practice*, Sage, London.
- REILY, S.A. (2003), *Ethnomusicology and the Internet*, «Yearbook for Traditional Music», 35, pp. 187-192.
- RICE, T. (1987), *Toward the Remodeling of Ethnomusicology*, «Ethnomusicology», 31/3, pp. 469-488.
- SHELLY, G.B. – FRYDENBERG, G. (2011), *Web 2.0: Concepts and Applications*, Cengage Learning, Boston.
- WOOD, A. (2008), *E-Fieldwork: a paradigm for the twenty-first Century?*, in, *The new (ethno)musicologies*, ed by H. Stobart, Scarecrow Press, Lanham, pp. 170-187.

Marco Lutz, etnomusicologo, è docente a contratto presso le università di Firenze e Palermo. Ha conseguito il dottorato di ricerca in *Storia e analisi delle culture musicali* all'Università di Roma "La Sapienza" nel 2003. Ha svolto attività di ricerca in Sardegna e a Cuba; è *coordinating editor* di *Analitica - Rivista Online di Studi Musicali*.

Marco Lutz, ethnomusicologist, is adjunct professor at the Universities of Florence and Palermo. He gained his PhD in *History and Analysis of Musical Cultures* at Rome's 'La Sapienza' University in 2003. He has carried out fieldwork in Sardinia and Cuba and is coordinating editor of the *Analitica - Rivista Online di Studi Musicali* journal.