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European Voices II

Cultural Listening and
Local Discourse in
Multipart Singing Traditions
in Europe

Ardian Ahmedaja (Ed.)

böhlau

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Cultural Listening and Local Discourse
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CD and DVD with audio and video examples included

BÖHLAU VERLAG WIEN · KÖLN · WEIMAR

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Introduction

The starting point for the investigations for “*European Voices II*” was the research project “*Folk Terminology and Musical Phenomena*” initiated by the Institute for Folk Music Research and Ethnomusicology of the University of Music and Performing Arts in Vienna and supported by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF, Project number P18880-G12). The initial thought with regard to the project and therefore to the results of the investigations presented in this volume was connected to the fact that although the fundamental meaning of basic terminology is well established for every scholarly discipline, many concepts are often questioned and redefined. The reasons for this include different viewpoints and targets of the research, historical developments of the discipline as well as the “independent existence” of the terms.

In the case of ethnomusicology, this process is all too familiar, as researchers within the discipline focus on the most diverse of music cultures. The manifold worldviews of the resource persons and their communities, holders and interpreters of local musical practices, make the matter more complex. Such a situation has particular significance in the context of multipart singing because of the specific terminologies established among interpreters and their communities to enable communication in the processes of music making as well as the discourse about it. In this way, these terminologies become the basis upon which local musical aesthetics are deployed. For their part, local musical aesthetics substantially influence everyday musical practice and its perception.

An additional reason for dealing with questions of local terminology is the fact that on the one hand it is exposed to continuous transformations, while on the other hand it demonstrates consistency. Dealing with it therefore means finding an efficient remedy to reach a practically relevant understanding of local musical practices, which is of significant assistance in the processes of change within ethnomusicology.

An undertaking of this kind certainly includes the examination of other questions which are of crucial importance, particularly for research on multipart music. Two of them — “*cultural listening*” and the “*local discourse*” — were emphasized by Bernard Lortat-Jacob during a discussion at the international symposium “*European Voices. Multipart Singing in the Balkans and in the Mediterranean*” (Vienna, March 2005). This discussion took place while the participants were exchanging views on the priorities of the “Research Centre for European Multipart Music”. This Centre was established at the Institute for Folk Music Research and Ethnomusicology of the University for Music and Performing Arts in Vienna during the work on the FWF project “Multipart Singing in the Balkans and in the Mediterranean” (P16167-G06).

We experienced a “problematic case” related to the first question during the discussions about the concerts of groups from Southeast and Southwest Europe organised within the framework of the above-mentioned symposium. A male group from the village of Montedoro in Sicily (Italy) sang, among other things, “Gloria” from their repertoire of religious folk songs (DVD 01), whereas singers from Albania presented secular music from the southeast (DVD 02) and southwest (DVD 03) of the country. After listening to the performances of the Albanian musicians, a Sicilian singer said to one of our Italian colleagues — Ignazio Macchiarella — “the Albanians sing very well, but why in one part?” Concerts of multipart music had been announced. As a matter of fact, the music performed is considered multipart, not only from the “Albanian viewpoint”, as it can be heard in the video examples 2 and 3 included in this volume. On the other hand, singers of multipart music try with the greatest care to sing as if it were “one part”, which was done by the Albanian singers in the above-mentioned concert. Consequently the idea the Sicilian singer had formulated was appropriate, as emphasized by Lortat-Jacob during the same discussion.

Considering the question of *cultural listening* from the viewpoint of local terminology in these investigations primarily meant considering specific and individual concepts in the sense of “paying attention”, “concentrating” and “focusing on”. These concepts are established on the one hand through the processes of listening to music and music making, and on the other hand through the *local discourse*, in which singers and musicians as well as local communities are very much involved. The discourse as a communication category in which people communicate about the claim to validity of rules also plays an important role in processes of legitimating and power within the community. An essential part of the discourse is singing itself. The music therefore becomes both the object and subject of research. Of particular relevance within this framework are questions of gender, which apply to communities in which women practice multipart singing and others where they are mostly listeners, although forming a very important part of the discourse.

Researching the colourful history of the changes of this music is not least the best approach towards the hypotheses of origin which are still being debated in Eastern Europe today.

Other results of the investigations are connected with new knowledge about internationally almost unknown multipart music traditions in Europe, like those in Estonia (see Pärtlas in this volume), Poland (see Dahlig in this volume) or the Latin singing in churches of the Spanish Pyrenees (see Ayats and Martinez in this volume).

A specific position in the discussions is taken up by issues of brain research. In this context the functionality of an exact motor control system within the body for precise timing, sequencing and the spatial organisation of movements during musical perfor-

mance became particularly important. Performing and listening to music are culturally conditioned, but they are at the same time natural human abilities. Therefore the study of underlying processes is crucial and promises to uncover fundamental properties of the human brain (see Ehrenberger in this volume).

The highlight of the investigations was the symposium “*European Voices II. Cultural Listening and Local Discourse in Multipart Singing in Europe*” organized between 24–26 October 2008 in Vienna, of which the largest part of the contributions is included in this volume.

Attempts to compile a “*Lexicon of Local Terminology on Multipart Singing in Europe*” for the first time also formed part of the research. The results of the work carried out until now show that local terminology is far from presenting a corpus of “musical objects” or an “objectification” of musical grammar. It demonstrates instead how the music-making process takes place in a community and how it is perceived by the community members when they discuss and characterise it. It is remarkable that many terms are verbs. Consequently the actions they are connected to reflect everyday musical practice from the “inside”.

Another significant feature is presented by the differences in the use of terminology. Terms used while making music are different to those used when folk musicians and other community members discuss music, construct ideas, contexts of performance, contents of repertoires, and so on.

It is also remarkable that folk singers and musicians often explain the way they make music by singing or playing instead of by talking about it. In this way musical gestures become a very efficient part of the local terminology, independently of the musical culture.

Another domain in which dealing with terminology helps is the better recognition of the particular space of music making in the life of a community. It stands primarily for the understanding of how and why the ‘world of sounds’ is realised and perceived in this and not in another manner. Its particularity means far more for the community members than simply putting sounds together.

* * *

The volume is divided into three sections and an addendum. The first section contains the two keynote addresses of the “*European Voices II*” activities. In “The brain makes the music”, Ehrenberger reflects on the physical, the physiological and the philosophical definition of the question “what is music?” from the viewpoint of a physician whose research is connected predominantly with the fields of otorhinolaryngology, auditory and neurophysiology as well as brain research. In “Singing in company”, on the other hand, Lortat-Jacob is interested in the *company singers’* motivation, their

aesthetic feelings, their styles, and their extensive performances as well as the listeners, who are likely to take the singers' place and quite often covet it.

The contributions of the second section are mainly focused on issues of cultural listening and local discourse. Castéret and Ayats/Martinez concentrate on multipart singing in the Pyrenean area: on cultural listening and enunciation contexts and on Latin singing in church repertoires respectively. Religious music is also the subject of Balma's contribution, in which the identity crisis and reassertion of local pride in the Ligurian area in northern Italy are debated.

Moving to Eastern Europe, Dahlig provides an overview of historical and current developments in multipart singing in Poland as a cultural and musical phenomenon, whereas Pärtlas deals with issues of male songs in a female song tradition in Setumaa, Southeast Estonia. Gender issues are also examined by Petrović, who concentrates on multipart singing as phenomenon in rural communities of the Dinaric Alps. The last contribution of this section by Marjanović focuses on cultural listening in multipart singing traditions in the Northern and Central Montenegro coast and its hinterland.

The third section of the volume concentrates primarily on questions of local terminology. Macchiarella and Pilosu examine local terminologies of Sardinian multipart singing by chording. In the two following contributions the main focus is on musical practices in Austria: Haid examines the role of folk terminology in the research of multipart singing in Austria and Fink-Mennel analyses the behaviour of the parts in Austrian "Wanderrepertoire" yodelling. In the centre of the subsequent contribution by Račiūnaitė-Vyčiniienė is the interaction of voice and instrument in Lithuanian multipart music. It is followed by Gabisonia's examinations on terminological priorities in multipart singing in Georgia in historical and contemporary contexts. This section of the volume closes with a contribution by Psycheva on verbal projections in multipart folk singing from Central Western Bulgaria.

The addendum contains approaches to a "*Lexicon of Local Terminology on Multipart Singing in Europe*". In spite of the intensive research carried out until now on these traditions, the local terminology does not seem to have been the subject of in-depth investigation. Most of the contributions included in the addendum were prepared for the first time for this purpose. They reflect the situation within several different communities and areas in Europe, and provide different research approaches. Including them in this publication therefore helps to obtain additional insights into questions of local terminology and local discourse.

* * *

I cannot finish without thanking all participants for their wonderful cooperation during the investigations, first of all folk singers and musicians as well as the authors of the contributions to this volume.

Special thanks go to Prof. Gerlinde Haid for her steadfast help at every stage of the investigations, to Mag. Evelyn Fink-Mennel for the organisational work for the “European Voices II” activities, to Mike Delaney for the very careful proof-reading and to Christian Troger for the signal processing and mastering of the audio and authoring of the video examples.

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Ardian Ahmedaja

I. KEYNOTE ADDRESSES

The brain makes the music

Reflections of a scientist

ABSTRACT

Sound reflects small fluctuations of air pressure, acoustic sound waves. Music is an information code of spectro-temporal patterns of sound, produced by human voices and musical instruments.

Musicians require the body's own exact motor control system for precise timing, sequencing and spatial organisation of movements during musical performances.

The flow of musical information is registered and transduced by the peripheral auditory systems of performer and listener. Central auditory pathways and subsequent sensory and motor brain structures extract the temporal information relevant to the music from the complex auditory patterns.

The temporal macro- and micro-structures of music have communication functions and create in performer and listener intellectual and emotional expectations.

Playing and listening to music are culturally conditioned, but natural human abilities. The study of underlying processes promises to uncover fundamental properties of the human brain.

Scientifically, music is a very complex phenomenon. Consequently there are many different scientific approaches to music, and definitions of music.

The integration or convergence of three distinct definitions of music, which are actually predominant in life sciences, are presented here:

What is music?

1. Physical Definition:

Music is an acoustic communication system, based on sound propagation. The underlying sound waves reflect small fluctuations of the air pressure as a code for acoustic information.

Sound is energy and at the same time one of the fundamental information carriers in human society. For its propagation, the processing and the storage of information, a specific code is necessary. This code is hidden in the pitch, the intensity and the temporal sequences of sound.

In human society, there are three different acoustic communication systems: language, music, and short sound signals and vocalisations.

In language, sequences of extremely short sound packages evoke meaning and expectations.

In music, sequences of longer sound periods, exactly tuned in pitch and rhythm, evoke emotions and expectations.

Imagine the three term : *meal* — *feel* — *seal*, three absolutely different meanings with minimal acoustic differences at the beginning of the words. Only the extremely high temporal resolution capacity of the human auditory system in micro- and milliseconds detects the spectral differences between *m* — *f* — *s* and enables us to recognize the meaning.

By contrast, music starts with sound periods of at minimum several hundred milliseconds to seconds, a time period long enough for the tuning of the sound flow. The main physical difference between language and music is the order of magnitude of the corresponding time scales.

Very fast sequences of very short sound packages of language reach the intellectual part of our mind, which is mainly localized in the left hemisphere of our brain. The sound of music additionally stimulates the emotional part, the right hemisphere of our brain.

A successful communication system needs a communicator, a receiver and an adequate information flow in between. Applied to music, this means: a performer, a listener and a flow of adequate sound sequences.

The sound of music lies within a circumscribed pitch range as a consequence of the frequency sensitivity of the human auditory system and of the pitch range of human voices.

Rhythms reflect the fitness of the human motor system.

Further sensory inputs determine the quality of the musical performance: reading the notes and the visual and tactile control of instruments during playing. These sensory and motor functions are coordinated by the brain.

What is music?

2. Physiological Definition

Music is a composite of multiple brain functions, which through biological and cultural evolution have found particular resonance with performer and listener.

Music makes some unique demands on the central nervous system:

When a musician performs, at least three basic motor control functions are required: timing, sequencing and the spatial organisation of movements.

The accurate timing of movements is related to the organisation of musical rhythm, whereas sequencing and spatial aspects of movements relate to playing individual notes on a musical instrument.

A professional performer is in some ways a top “sportsperson” and the effort put into the training of the motor standards, which is not controlled by a single brain region, but by a network of brain regions, is enormous.

The performer is also a listener to his own performance and his or her auditory control mechanisms crucially influence the motor control system of the brain. Each action in a performance produces sound, which influences subsequent actions, leading to this remarkable sensory-motor interaction.

When listening to music, the human inner ear converts the mechanical information code of the acoustic sound waves into the body’s own electrical information code of the auditory nerve, which is similar in its temporal structures to the spatial structure of bar codes, which are so common in everyday shopping. The function of the inner ear corresponds to the function of a high-resolution microphone.

The human inner ear is a miracle. It lies well protected in the bony layer of the skull base. It is a resonator as well as a transducer and only three thousand (3000) inner hair cells on each side receive and convert the whole acoustical world and stimulate thirty thousand fibers of the auditory nerve. The metabolism of the inner ear is extremely delicate. Hearing impairment, hearing loss and tinnitus are the consequences of metabolic disorders, e.g. after noise exposure.

Neuroimaging studies have illuminated the auditory processing streams in the affiliated network of brain regions, including the privileged links to motor regions which are necessary for rich auditory-motor interaction.

But for all the research, how the consciousness of music sensations is generated still remains a mystery. Consciousness has no dimension in time and space and is therefore not detectible by physical or chemical instruments. Consciousness depends on brain function, but we do not know the switch between brain tissue and consciousness.

What is music?

3. Philosophical Definition

Plato and Aristotle agreed that in some way all the fine arts, including music, imitate nature. Since then — 2500 years ago — imitation has remained a topical concept in aesthetics. But in what sense does music imitate, except in “program music”? “Absolute music” does not intend anything, “absolute music” evokes emotion, but does not imitate emotion.

Nevertheless, in a certain sense, both philosophers are right. Since the 1970s, an increasing number of mathematicians and physicists have confirmed that the spectral density of musical structures reflects the subtle statistical properties of the world. Music is the mirror of aesthetic patterns intrinsic to nature.

What are the rules of aesthetics, what are the principles of beauty and art?

Art takes place in the large region between monotony and irritation, between order and chaos. Algorithms of nonlinear statistics mathematically describe this topography of art, and also the topography of music.

Any attempt to push artistic boundaries either towards monotony (boredom) or towards randomness must consider human nature.

All human creations must cope with hereditary and culturally conditioned predispositions which limit the plasticity and adaptability of human perceptions of art.

Where do these predispositions and limits come from?

The universal rules of aesthetics have evolved numerous times in plants and animals, especially due to sexual selection. Sexual selection arises from sexual competition which accelerated evolution, e.g. the beauty of flowers, the extravagant colours of fish, birds, birdsong, frog croaks, the manual percussion of African apes, and finally lipstick and hot pants.

Humans carry an incredibly large package of evolutionary history including standards of beauty. Both non-human and human beings find similar structures attractive.

For example, the beauty of flowers is not only attractive to ladies, but also to bees. Bird songs not only stimulate the corresponding population of birds, but also human emotions. By contrast, frog croaks are more of a pain in the neck — that is an emotion too — but a negative one.

But the singular phenomenon of human cultural and intellectual evolution has liberated beauty from the obligation to serve *ONLY* biological reproduction. Therefore humans are free to also focus their liberated concept of beauty on non-biological structures like landscapes, stars, abstract ideas, and the aesthetics of art — like music.

In humans, the evolutionary memory of music is modified by our cultural memory and stored in our brains. But the brain is not only a passive library of music, but also the active conductor for musical experiences.

Therefore, in conclusion:

The brain makes the music and on the other hand, music reflects natural and cultural aesthetic components inherent in our brain. Music shapes the phylogenetic and ontogenetic evolution of the brain and at the same time uncovers fundamental properties of the human brain.

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Singing in company

ABSTRACT

I shall talk about “singing in company” as it is still practised in small Mediterranean societies, and in the first place I shall refer to musical practices by “amateurs of singing” who have long mastered the resources of orality as well as polyphonic techniques. Singing brings them together at various times, at bars among friends, during small patron saint feasts, or at home among family around a table, with wine, beer or raki, according to place. I am interested in the “company” singers’ motivation, in their aesthetic feelings, their styles, and lastly their performances which keep them on the alert for long periods of an evening, or sometimes for whole nights. And of course, I am interested in those who watch them, listen to them and are not fundamentally different from them since, in the course of the evening, they are likely to take their place and quite often covet it.

My reflections refer to the two Mediterranean traditions which I know best and which still seem to resist the social behaviour characteristic of modern life: Sardinia (central and northern parts of the island) and southern Albania. To be more precise, in this study as well as in the greater part of my field of research, I exclude situations where a split is introduced between those two groups (e.g. folk festivals, traditional music show-concerts, etc.).

These countries have retained not just those very rich singing traditions, but also the mechanisms which keep them alive. In Sardinia, as in Albania, people sing spontaneously. That is to say, they always sing in company, without having had any specialised teaching nor help from any imposed and invasive masters. In all cases, close proximity is a prominent feature of the different instances of oral communication. Producer-singers and consumer-listeners are not really distinct from one another, except during the actual performance which, as a rule, implies that the protagonists should take turns. The third group is the active community or the audience itself which maintain a control on the singing. But unlike the other two, this third group has less effect during the performance than before or after the event. For example, before the event, it passes judgements on some singers (whose prerogatives are considered either too fainthearted or too bold) who want to impose their own expression at all costs; afterwards, on bunglings and conflicts which “*sa critica*” loves to underline, through abuse or different kinds of courtesies, and sometimes also through productive and restorative debate.

Singing in company is still practised in rural Mediterranean societies. This paper will deal with musical practices by “amateurs of singing” who have long mastered the resources of orality as well as polyphonic techniques. Singing brings them together at various times, at bars among friends, during small patron saint feasts, or at home among family around a table, with wine, beer or *raki*, according to the place.

I am interested in the “company” singers’ motivation, in their aesthetic feelings, their styles, and lastly their performances which keep them on the alert for long periods of an evening, or sometimes for whole nights. And of course, I am interested in those who watch them, listen to them and are not fundamentally different from them since, in the course of the evening, they are likely to take their place and quite often covet it.

These reflections refer to the two Mediterranean traditions which I know best and which still seem to resist the social behaviour characteristic of modern life: Sardinia (central and northern parts of the island) and southern Albania. There, not just those very rich singing traditions have been retained, but also the mechanisms which keep them alive. In Sardinia, as in Albania, people sing spontaneously. That is to say, they always sing in company, without having had any specialised teaching nor help from any imposed and invasive masters. In all cases, close proximity is a prominent feature of the different instances of oral communication. Producer-singers and consumer-listeners are not really distinct from one another¹, except during the actual performance which, as a rule, implies that the protagonists should take turns². The third group is the active audience which maintains a control on the singing. But unlike the other two, this third group has less effect during the performance than ahead of or after the event. Before the event, for example, it passes judgements on some singers (whose prerogatives are considered either too fainthearted or too bold) who want to impose their own expression at all costs; afterwards, on bunglings and conflicts which “*sa critica*” loves to underline, through abuse or different kinds of courtesies, and sometimes also through productive and restorative debate.

In any performance, though, there is some sort of immediacy. No sooner has the first note been struck than all the singers find themselves “embarked” upon a musical adventure whose outcome no-one can really predict. Admittedly, the musical text has a fairly precise mnemonic form and the words of the songs are usually known beforehand (literary improvisation is rather rare in the case under study), but music, in the sense which we give to this term (see above), is not comparable to an “inner score”³: it is

1 To be more precise, in this study as well as in the greater part of my field of research, I exclude situations where a split is introduced between those two groups (e.g. folk festivals, traditional music show-concerts, etc.).

2 This rule of alternation varies according to situations, as well as participant groups or geographical areas. Characteristic of the Balkan region, and thus of Albania, the function of drone ignores it partially because those who sing the drone (*iso*) can either keep to that role and, in practice, sing for a whole evening or night, or they can take their turn as first or second soloist, which does not establish the opposition between “singing” and “listening”. These different situations and practices will be treated further on.

3 In reference to Jacques Siron’s book “*La partition intérieure*” (1992).

not conceived as a closed space, the elements of which would be clearly identified not only as such, but also in relation to one another inside a referent structure⁴. It is more like a line (the Sardinian notion of “*traggiu*”) which unrolls in a limited time frame: essentially in the breath period which will allow a musical phrase to develop. As for the mnemonic form, it is mostly provided by the acoustical trace created by this very song during previous performances, but that trace is often faint. Of course, it is more pronounced when the singers have long experience of singing together; but usually there is no rule founding automatism which would lead to a standardised and quasi-academic song — “*canonico*”, as they would call it in Castelsardo [North Sardinia].

So the song is fairly often elaborated from a sketch — a potential form, waiting to be turned into an aesthetic reality, offering promises and suggesting audacity. In other words, its reality is made up first of its expressive virtualities which must be transformed into shared emotion. For what needs to be achieved are emotional reactions — preferably intense —, endeavouring to find the most efficient way of passing them on to one’s companions and sharing them. In short, what is known about a given song is mainly what can be done with it, and in particular, the possibilities it offers of “producing an effect”.

Thus the song is linear, but this linearity is only an appearance: it is made up of short low density moments, expected and known by all, which alternate with moments whose “effective” interest is proportionate mainly to its innovative or unexpected aspects and beforehand, to the spirit of freedom with which it is tackled. Now this spirit of freedom is largely subject to the space conceded by your singing companions and to the conventions binding you to them; in practice, a singer’s respect for the song (which, in fact, is a benefit to his companions⁵) can be fairly variable, for daring is also valued; you must always “do better than last time” or “do better than another rival choir” and in the end, avoid getting bored by reproducing what is too well-known. Thus a good execution is to be found between accuracy and boldness and, on a moral level, between respect and impertinence.

Admittedly, no song can escape the rules governing its musical scale. Each one follows a few melodic principles, adapts more or less smoothly to metrical regularity,

4 This applies mainly to polyphonic singing. As I have been able to observe many a time, the singers are most often incapable of executing their part correctly in the others’ absence, or even of remembering the whole song; the type of choral singing under study works as a “social body” so that each member experiences the absence of another part (supposedly complementary, but in fact indispensable) as a sort of painful mutilation on an aesthetic level and a severe handicap on a mnemonic level.

5 Respecting the song means: sticking to what you know about it — and above all to what the other is likely to know about it —, abiding by the supposedly well-known codes. Conversely, a lack of respect amounts to distorting the form, to changing it too far. That is indeed a case of “disrespect” in that it hampers your singing companions, even making them look ridiculous sometimes.

takes harmonic interactions into account, etc., and adopts a shape that makes it identifiable as a musical piece belonging to a known repertoire. But somehow this shape is only secondary. It appears as a mere convenience (*that* is the song being sung, and not another one) and no sooner is the first syllable uttered — in Albania, an “*e*” which creates a sound atmosphere and commits to a choice of key —, than all the rest needs doing. In other words, the form is open, or, to put it more clearly, opens up each time the singer, or singers, launch (or launch into) the first sounds.

Unlike what is often said, this singing in company is not quite an amusement — being essentially a matter of drawing a common energy from within the group, what would actually justify amusement? Undoubtedly, this energy and the expected result offer some pleasure, but above all they require unflagging sustaining. So this type of singing would seem to proceed from a culture of “entertainment”, using this French born word in its whole semantic field in the English language. Singing would be both a motive for festivities and an object of attention. As a general rule, in the circles where I move in Sardinia or Albania, its execution rarely goes without some feeling of earnestness. They say the song “must be respected” [*il canto si deve rispettare*], thus advising those present to respect themselves. Somehow, this would be a sort of serious game. This again is what the English term says: “entertaining” means “bearing in mind, paying attention to” something (an idea, a feeling, a proposal). In brief, singing in company would amount to focusing on an action fundamentally linked to a certain pleasure caused or brought about by singing.

In the relevant case, singing essentially means singing together and that this practice is consubstantially linked to the notion of concord, a notion which comes in a variety of forms: you sing “a chord” [especially in Sardinia] and “in concord” [seemingly to show that you get on well together]. Even if there are several ways of making music together, no type of polyphonic singing is an exception to this rule of concord, in the wider meaning of the term. And this musical concord is first and foremost social: for the singer-protagonists who are conscious of the group they form, the resulting sound always conveys a certain way of being together. And sometimes a way of not being together, for very often, because of collective energies which are more or less under control, they are never quite in concord, without really despairing of getting there one day. Other notions, lending themselves to that double socio/musical interpretation, will be present throughout this study: that of “harmony” for example, or, more complex, that of particular conflicting tension which is capable of generating “Beauty”.

It is understood that this singing in company is completely different from western choral singing, in which fully trained singers become specialists most often through musical notation and whose performance obeys a rule of duplication which leaves little room for the unexpected. For them, it is mostly a matter of doing again what they know how to do because it has already been done. Conversely, for a singer singing in

company, it is a question of turning to best account what his companion, in his way, knows how to do more or less well: in other words, accepting the other's competences (and even more so his incompetences), making do with them and conforming to them in as much as they are compatible with his own. No doubt, in this case too, it is doing again what has been done already, but it happens that, for reasons which will be expounded, this "already done" always has a taste of novelty.

A concerted action?

Let us come back to the process of singing in company:

1. it proceeds from a concerted action;
2. this action is necessary to the production, or better, to the re-creation of an acoustical form;
3. this acoustical form is more or less memorised, known and mastered.

The paradox lies in that, unlike what happens in the usual type of choral music, this supposedly concerted action proceeds from a partial and partially shared knowledge.

On an aesthetical level, the result of singing in company — the musical piece, the work thus produced — rarely comes up to expectations. For one thing, everybody knows that the most beautiful performances belong to the past. In spite of that, the most valued ones are those which can be produced in the present. This apory is relative because, ideally, the present should be given the emotional strength of a past that is often turned into a myth. While singing, each one bears in mind what others before him had known how to do with this same song, whose recorded trace he usually possesses at home. Or at times, as a sort of echo, an intimate memory, a moment taken from personal history, springs up to interfere with the present. An emotional space of another nature then opens up, suddenly changing things (see below).

Indeed, each song comes, at least partially, within the sphere of celebration, but unlike an ordinary celebration (which, most of the time, only recalls the past through the help of symbols: flags for war veterans, hosts for Christ's body, etc.), here the past is reached by an act, not through a symbol. It is no longer a question of evoking the First World War soldiers, but of putting oneself in their place, weapons in hand, with the aim of leading one's companions into action which, in its way, is also a fight.

At the heart of the matter, in polyphonic singing, there lies the idea of mutual aid. Indeed, the singers are there to realise something in common. But this particular mutual aid has no real precise object. What is handled here is first and foremost a set of signs which, because of their complex codes and above all their strictly contextual side,

paradoxically cannot really be objectivised (which means that they are not real signs). Moreover, and as though that was not enough, those who decree or understand them during a performance never do exactly what they think they are doing, so that a musical execution has no existence outside the way it is heard or performed. The song is directed at the ear, but the eye is just as much sought, and a complex set needs to be decoded. Polyphonic practice is interesting because of its polysensoriality as well as its polysemy, because each moment of the musical time is also a social time offered to the senses and directed at the affects.

By definition, those affects are “embodied”, but this embodiment is always both mediatised and socially qualified by the singers’ personal history (or rather by what is known of it). In any sung execution, there is a pragmatic dimension which can only be understood through each man’s personal life — a life which is sometimes known, which one likes to guess at and to which the song always offers a few keys (see Lortat-Jacob 2004). So the affects do not just touch you: they represent you and offer of yourself a unique image which is definite in time, partially controlled and above all subject to interpretation. They feed shared experiences (just as much as they feed on them) which are not only lived through but also played through. And if indeed they are embodied, it is also through individual histories which offer themselves up to deciphering for a few minutes, a few hours, or throughout a whole evening.

The singer’s personality

Sung in company, the song feeds on two conflicting strengths: it closely links collective play and individual initiative — an initiative taken on by the one who “breaks the silence” and strikes up first. A mere vocal gesture gives the starting signal and decisively commits the song to a path which it will be difficult, even impossible, to modify during the execution. The first uttered sound gives the tone, in every sense of the word, that is to say the pitch itself, but also the intensity, the type of expression... and everyone is committed to one range of emotion. He who is first in the chronology of the song is often first too in the hierarchy of the musical parts. So he has a great responsibility: he “takes” the song or “pulls” it, or again “attacks” it to speak like the Sardinians who do not hesitate to resort to a war metaphor. And very soon the song is formed under the aegis of its close guard made up of the other voices present. In Sardinia, the soloist — who is but relatively a soloist — is simply called “the voice” [*boghe* or *bogi*]. Through him and around him, the song is built. But things are more complicated because this “around” has no definite boundaries and because a soloist is never quite a soloist. A singer’s wish to solely assume his role of soloist is as uncalled for as it is ill-mannered. Exhibitionism can only be acceptable inasmuch as it allows

sharing. Here more than elsewhere, ignoring or even neglecting the other cannot be a mark of quality: refusing to make good use of close available strengths undoubtedly shows disrespect for it and amounts to denying the present company's competence and existence.

In spite of this well-known rule, it is clear that if you are timorous and lack personality or boldness, you cannot intend to be a singer. This point will have to be reconsidered for it is central; singing goes with a certain taste for danger, especially when you have to start first and have both the aim and the duty to sweep the others along with you. But the necessary bravery submits to the others' expectations and capacities: a singer is defined less by a specific ability to produce beauty than by his aptitude for adapting his singer's personality and keeping his ears open for his companions' personalities and intentions.

My experience as a "Mediterraneanist" invites me to view a singer (from the oral tradition) first as a creator of empathy. His technique stems mainly from his ability to draw the others out — and first of all his singing companions — by opening up, with his voice alone, a zone of affective knowledge which fundamentally goes beyond them and which in fact can only exist through the group. Music offers a sharing which includes physiological, social and acoustical constraints. Physiological, because you cannot do whatever you want with your throat, and even less so with other people's. Social, because polyphony cannot exist without (more or less) allocated roles. Finally acoustical, because sound has its own materiality obeying rules of propagation and reverberation which elude individual control and even the most obvious intuitions.

Contrary to belief, what makes that possible is not a knowledge of the grammatical mechanisms specific to a given musical idiom, but a certain threshold of complicity, a social acquisition and a sort of guild system which allows you, one day, to graduate as a singer. If you get to know the local sound, it is first and foremost because you have become familiarised with the conditions which give access to it and because you have spent a long time experimenting with it through others: you know the company of men, the mechanisms of the *greffa*⁶, and you know how to listen while you produce — which is indeed the key to a fully harmonious song.

It is often said that to sing well, you need a good ear and a good voice. But for polyphonic singers from the oral tradition, the ear essentially derives its quality from its reactivity potential. As to the voice, it is beautiful mainly inasmuch as it is endowed with a strong power of incitement and as it can offer to the others the place that they never cease to claim... the place where their pleasure is rooted.

6 The Sardinian word for a group of friends fond of travelling around (and possibly singing) together and sharing the same things.

The individual singer — and mostly the one who leads the song and who, in most cases, also utters the first note — is valued both for his voice and for his behaviour. At any rate, singing is but the acoustical form of a moral quality. If the voice is generous [singing in an undertone would be meaningless anyway] the man is supposed to be generous too. Being of a particular nature since it taps or strongly mobilises affectivity *via* music, this vocal generosity must be seen as an essential and intimate moving force of social relations.

There indisputably exists a typical personality for “the” singer. Called upon to manage those affects, to feel them, to catch hold of them instantly and fire them as they should be, he is a very reactive man, never cold and often overflowing with affection for those around him. Being a singer requires a self-denial of a particular nature, both remarkable and hard to define. For what is given really? And to whom? And, in the end, how does a singer recoup his outlay? In short, why would you want to be a singer?

On first analysis, self-denial always implies the same denial from the other (otherwise it creates embarrassment, even offence). Singing is at the heart of exchange, but it is an exchange of a particular type as it takes place within a “short circuit”: instantaneous and limited to the context of a given performance, it operates according to a logic of implication-compromise. Its nature is micro-social and micro-political, just like the nature of song.

Let us come back to the beginning of a song. By breaking the silence (see above), it opens the way to immodesty. The musical sound suddenly imposes the inevitable sharing of a “thing” which is still unknown and could just as well have remained hidden. But so that, linked to the irruption of sound, this new behavioural code can be shared, it must be agreed on by all — it must simply be agreeable. Every experienced singer knows that he runs a definite risk if he wants to impose authoritatively a game where none would find either his advantage or his place⁷. But by taking the risk of uttering the first sound, he also knows that he will not be left on his own for long. Besides, before he sets off, it is up to him to use different methods [provocation, challenge, irony, trap, emotional blackmail, etc.] to incite and convince his fellow singers to join him. For instance: “We heard you sing for a whole night with so and so, and you don’t want to open your mouth with me?” “Am I not worthy of you?” That type of provocation is clever because it touches the mechanism of offence. The person ad-

7 I exclude from this analysis some situations which are more complex, provocative and likely to create conflicts and which I have amply treated elsewhere. In those situations, the singer does not seek to satisfy his companion by making a place for him within the choir, but on the contrary, to “put him in his place” by setting traps which he will not be able to elude (set the song into a high register, for example, or producing melismatic variations which make him lose his marks, etc.) — see “Chants de Passion” (Lortat-Jacob 1998).

dressed cannot reply “Yes, indeed, you are unworthy of me!” He finds himself compelled to comply.

And there is always flattery to remedy this type of delicate situation: it can sort out a problem and it sometimes manages to overcome a companion’s reluctance. More subtle: a shrewd singer will not hesitate to sing his own praises, claiming that “with him, there is no risk... he is used to singing with everyone, he is well known for that”, etc.

However, each one knows that singing in company is first a compromise between a project and what you are capable of doing with it. In practice, when you are a singer, you keep in mind what others have achieved before you, and perhaps better than you⁸. But at the same time, each one has a personal concept of the work to be accomplished and of the song he wants to execute, otherwise he would not take the risk of “setting off” — except in a few exceptional cases, of course⁹ — even if his *savoir-faire* is not as controlled as he believes. As for the others’ *savoir-faire*, wholly necessary to a successful song, it turns out that, as a rule, no control can be exerted over it¹⁰. But we shall see that this is not really a handicap and that on the contrary, through the wide areas of uncertainty which it opens up, it is a great source of wealth.

8 I hesitated between two wordings: “perhaps better than you” or “certainly better than you”. An excellent singer, always having a very high opinion of himself, will recognise himself in the first wording. Musical reality — inasmuch as it has an objective existence — would favour the second one.

9 Wine, for example, can lead a few guests, ill-advised and bad singers, to join the group without possessing a minimum of the required abilities.

10 That is why the phrase “I can sing with everyone” repeated by some singers can be understood as much as an assertion of competence as an act of arrogance and power, claiming that you are able to control not only the other’s style but also the other singer himself. Those reflections help to understand better the motivating forces of a singer’s personality. At a certain level of passion for singing, they all seem permanently anxious to communicate some part of themselves, to stay in contact with all, even outside their performance. It could be said that singers are hyper-social beings — and that is why we are interested in them. Thus S.Z. from Fier (Albania) and G.P. from Castelsardo (Sardinia) are alike (and would certainly esteem each other if they could meet). Both always seem anxious to keep in touch with everyone around them and constantly give the impression of being afraid of losing the contact which they cultivate vocally, be it for an instant, like a fish fearing to lose the water without which it cannot survive. “Some fifteen years ago, I lost my voice, G.P. said, and that made me terribly ill” (we would say depressed). S.Z. who shares a similar anxiety over his vocal organ, gets worried and wonders: “And what if ‘that’ didn’t work anymore?” [in other words: “What would I do if my voice and my singing didn’t move people any more?... I wouldn’t be myself any more!”].

A tradition which is out of the ordinary

At all the phases of its development, the concerted work results from a rather disconcerting action. First of all, it must be clear that the song is assessed less in terms of aesthetical success than in terms of social interactions: during performance, those must be close-woven and thus matter a lot in the effect produced on the singers first, and, quasi-concurrently, on those who surround them.

Admittedly, for the singers, a beautiful song is better, but most of the time, this beauty is appraised according to the wealth of interpersonal relationships which are created for a few minutes rather than to the resulting sound. So that a song may be beautiful and yet sound flat, as long as the entente is convincing. But this entente is not preordained, for two reasons at least. The first one stems from the fact that the musical system does not rest on very rigid rules; the second one from the fact that individual know-how and expression are not necessarily in “concord”¹¹: except, of course, when the singers know each other very well.

In fact, the conditions are seldom all there to make the song “come out” faultlessly. Most of the time it is just the opposite. One must put up with the others’ vocal weakness as much as with the stylistic incompatibilities of voices which, for some reason, do not work well together. To avoid a disaster — that of an utterly bad performance — one had better put off spoilsports (prattlers, for example), boasters who have their own story to tell, sceptics and swaggerers who think that the time is not right for them to sing, and finally the indifferent. On the contrary, one must encourage the (good) singers to perform even though they refuse to “set off” because they are in mourning.

Singing binds each one in a collective compromise and you need to resort to strategies in order to overcome the obstacles to performance. Under all circumstances, a sort of battle is pitched between those in favour of singing and those who are not, and when the first get the upper hand, they have but one idea in mind: conjure up something novel and taste the strange pleasure of letting themselves be surprised by what took them so long to master. They are quite familiar with the advantage they can get from successful polyphony: a power both quadrupling (four people face to face) and “quadruplane” (four planes, levels, are summoned up to create unity).

Of course, the roles are already allotted according to aesthetic norms, so that it is not always possible to interchange parts and at any rate it is but a temporary option. However limited it is, and probably from some secret and perverse motive, now and then, the singers like to reverse roles, as though they wanted to play on their acoustical image and show that they know more than people thought they did.

11 It must be remembered that “concord” [*cuncordu*] is a word widely used to refer to the four-part choir in Northern Sardinia.

Then comes the moment of judgment at the end of the song. If it is acknowledged as beautiful, each one of the actors will derive keen pleasure and pride from it. In that case, there is not much to be said about it. If it is less so, a discussion is imperative (and sometimes explosive!). What did we do that was unacceptable? Who is responsible? And, by the way, where is the limit of the acceptable? What is it based on and according to whose references?

Except for some particular cases, where a certain academism prevails, the act of singing (a.k.a. performance) apparently does not operate along entirely pre-established rules. It is rather an occasion of “opening up” a vast field of knowledge whose elements seem badly identified, a little like the engine under a car bonnet: you hardly ever feel the need to look at it, in the manner of a mechanic who only shows interest when it breaks down. Because of the very complexity and plasticity of this “engine”, each symptom, hinting at this unexpected interest, turns up as a discovery (or “re-discovery”): the choral mechanism is indeed complex enough to offer numerous levels of clinical interpretation.

To sum up, the productive character of tradition stems from a body of uncertainties due to the superposition of approximate knowledge and know-how. In fact, each singer copes to the best of his ability, from his personal understanding of principles which are supposed to be shared by all but which, anyway, are subject to multiple interpretations. This prevalent approximation is present in all the social and musical aspects of the performance: it concerns the singers (what each one is capable of doing is not precisely known), the acoustic form derived from their initiatives (what will issue from them cannot be known beforehand) and the general meaning of it all (it is linked to the moment, the situation of each in relation to the other, and so on).

The interest for the song and its beauty proceed from this uncertainty. It attunes itself to the difficulties which need to be overcome so that the choral execution may be put into action, then brought into play. However, under no circumstances can a performance be submitted to any sort of objective judgement: it cannot be appraised without taking into account the conditions of its birth and above all the obstacles which had to be surmounted to make it possible. This is where company singing differs from the conventional performance: and if, in this company of men always ready to criticise, one of the fellows undertakes to judge severely what he heard, he will be told “but you were there too, and if you didn’t like the singing, that’s because of your silence! You criticise the singing when all you had to do was to take your place in it. And since you were mute during the singing, go on being so now that we’ve finished singing”¹².

12 The debate starts on this basis but I cannot develop it here. Roughly, the singer who is attacked for his silence has several lines of defence: 1) he can simply say that, tonight, “he has no voice”, or, somewhat

Polyphonic singing first concerns those who practice it. Admittedly, the listeners are involved in it too, but in a rather limited manner and in proportion to their ability to join the group and take their place in it. For, in theory, there is no mute expert, that is to say an expert who does not sing, and the song does not feed on grammatical principles but on exemplarity only.

One is tempted to believe that this exemplarity makes tradition and that it IS tradition. It is partly true. “Our forebears” — a beautiful phrase indeed! — is the formula most often heard to characterise this supposed tradition which is never defined as such (the word ‘tradition’ itself does not exist, it was invented by “the professors”). So “forebears” are talked about instead, and this abstract term is quickly replaced by names or nicknames: Mi e La ¹³ or Cenzo Desole for example. This or that “forebear” is both central (for generations no one can possibly have ignored his existence) and peripheral. The forebear is the norm which is sometimes used as a pretext by those who evoke it to criticise a new way of singing. He is also the marplot whose memory is used any old how. But in spite of all that, the rule stands: in living memory, no singer has ever made a name for himself by slavishly imitating a forebear, however brilliant he may be, or even less based his renown on some sort of cloning¹⁴. This leads us to make a fundamental difference between cloning, which is the main drive of folklorisation,¹⁵ and filiation (or affiliation), which still possesses a strong creative capacity inside a tradition. The beautiful styles of singing are nurtured in the latter. But there lies a paradox since this tradition, which is supposed to preserve faithfully things of former times, hates plagiarism, loves stylistic shifts and values greatly the boldest innovations in this domain which, at the same time, it declares as immutable. This is a paradox, and even a contradiction for, strangely enough, a singer (who is supposed to be his own community’s bard) is expected to be slightly different, as though each one liked to think of himself collectively while always ready to open up breaches in an identity which some may wish to see perpetuated, but which in fact seems to favour adventitious ways so as to assert itself as such.

hypocritically, 2) pretend that “he hasn’t been invited to sing”; or, derisively, 3) assert that his mediocre art, his modest voice, etc. forbid him to mix with the remarkable champions whose company he is in.

13 Two personalities from Castelsardo, Sardinia. Miellà stands for Antonio Lorenzoni. His nickname could not but attract our attention as it signs Antonio L.’s personality: he was associated to a type of Sardinian singing with guitar accompaniment (see Publication, CD 2006).

14 This is not very different from what happens with classical music, and it would be difficult to conceive of a contemporary music elaborated by cloning Haydn, Mozart or Brahms.

15 Viewed in this light the village of Aggius is interesting: it is considered as a major place for singing thanks to the personality of Salvatore Stangioni, who founded the Coro della Gallura and who died some thirty years ago. His epigones, young and old, have never been able to get past the stage of slavish imitation of the master [aka cloning]. According to local experts, and in my opinion, they are totally disappointing.

Another fact must be taken into account: in singing as well as in poetry, and probably as in numerous other fields requiring some sort of creation, the ideology of gift (and of innateness) always prevails over reality, that is to say over learnt and transmitted culture: there are very few singers who admit to owing anything to others, notably in terms of learning. This leads to a situation which is both customary and completely illogical, in which, on the one hand, each singer wants to attract a following and eventually leave an acoustical image of himself while, on the other hand, no apprentice singer ever admits to having had a master.

Tradition as expressed in singing together obviously does not follow the lanes of revivalism and does not even correspond to its conceptions. This paper argues that this way of singing together cannot be invented and moreover has roots much too deep to allow “re-invention”.

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II. CULTURAL LISTENING AND LOCAL DISCOURSE

Cultural listening and enunciation contexts in Pyrenean multipart singing

ABSTRACT

Cultural listening is an activity which involves the listener/observer as well as others, be they individuals or groups. In those areas where polyphony is practiced, it also involves the listener/singer within a group. In the French Pyrenees, an area where polyphonic singing is practiced in *numerus apertus*, the combinations can in consequence be varied in the extreme, with regard to situations, judgments or wording. This paper will tackle first of all cultural listening as an analysis of a situation and of a performance, an analysis produced via the prism of an implicit range which it is up to the ethnomusicologist to reveal. It therefore presupposes an established acquirement of social and aesthetic standards which are at times shared ideals, leading to a condition where a performance is recognized as being culturally valid or a song being either endogenous or exogenic. Over and beyond such norms, it has to be accepted that there are bound to be shifts in perception. I shall therefore be paying particular attention to cultural listening with respect to the context of opinions on judgment and performance. It will be a question of assessing the importance of variations in the listener's personal disposition: emotional state and prejudices; also of variations in the listener's perception of other people.

Introduction

Cultural listening is a process that involves the listener/observer and others: an individual or a group. In a country of multipart tradition, this also involves the singer-observer in the heart of a group. In the Gascony Pyrenees, land of multipart singing in *numerus apertus* according to the distinction proposed by Bernard Lortat-Jacob, multipart productions are human and musical constructions continually renewed that are created conjuncturally with different contexts and multiple vocal combinations. Multipart singing is therefore an ephemeral construction. Moreover, we can conclude that these "works in progress" do not imply a strong verbalisation. This does exist however, but when it does appear *in vivo*, it is as random as the multipart productions themselves; it stays the same *in vitro*, when I meet the singers individually. The sum of information gathered at the end is not uninteresting. It helps to cross check situations and research work of different kinds, comments, musical analysis and personal experience.

I. Shared standards

To begin with, the notion of cultural listening as an analysis of a situation, or a performance or a musical object, implies acquired standards, shared by all, implicit or explicit. Moreover, multipart practice is a collective act, organized according to social standards, notably the search for a consensus culminating in the act of singing. This process is more or less long if the situation does not clearly impose the nature of the singing, as opposed to the celebration of a patron's day, for example. It involves several parameters:

- That two singers, at the least, tacitly agree to start the singing. This agreement is facilitated because the receptive singer, solicited by the emitter singer — almost always allusively — is in some way obliged to give a positive response;
- That the most legitimate singer of the group — in terms of repertory or vocal mastering — could be persuaded to sing;
- That the presence of at least one singer capable of taking on a complementary part, in particular the high one, must be assured. Therefore, if the receptive singer usually assumes the 'bass', he will address a recognized 'high' singer (and vice versa) or at least will be assured of this presence in proximity¹.

During this process, even if the focus of the singers is not the object of any kind of verbalisation, this focus nevertheless exists, as certain critical situations have led me to observe.

In July of 2001, I observed Simon Crabérou, a friend, a great singer, accepting of others, always ready to chat and sing and greatly appreciated by all, notably by young singers. He was participating or listening to a discussion in the middle of a group. One of his acquaintances, who is regarded as the 'town simpleton', has been insisting on singing for several minutes, starting off one of the songs habitually sung by Simon, but with a poorly controlled voice, in a too high or too low pitch. Under these conditions, the song cannot get far. The singer stares at Simon, who half-smiling, half-embarrassed, is finally compelled to latch on, putting his 'high' voice in here and there. He stops for a few seconds then starts up again before a few other singers, truly a bit under the influence, congregate, to the great relief of Simon who finishes by eclipsing the others vocally and physically.

1 We specify that this is an ideal case, seen with inexperienced singers or ones already structured in 'groups'. Generally, the specialisation is not so marked and two 'bass' can initiate the singing, one of the singers taking charge of the 'high' part. The latter will then leave this responsibility to a companion known as a 'high' (to the measure in which his vocal register truly does not permit him to efficiently produce 'the bass') as soon as he joins the circle of singers.

The situation is clear: singing with the 'simpleton' is a foregone defeat, for both musical and technical reasons. As the initiator of the song is not the master of his voice, no one apart from Simon is prepared to follow and structure the group. Simon, isolated and personally singled out is, in spite of everything, obliged to follow. The act of singing is beyond non-communication, or is at least an act of asymmetric communication: a non-sense.

Once the consensus has been obtained and the act engaged, there is a concern to preserve it by relying on sufficient comportmental equilibrium among the singers. This equilibrium is manifest in the choice of songs, in the selection of sections of multipart singing, notably in the distribution of the 'high' part; and more generally, in the vocal *leadership*.

One night in May 1997 in Lanne-en-Barétous, fifteen or so singers aged between 40–60 years are gathered around several glasses of Jurançon wine. In the middle: Jean-Michel, 27 years old, a young farmer with a voice of a stentor. The *cantus* of the multipart singing is in the bass and Jean-Michel sings the 'high' part. I am very impressed by his young age, his vocal mastery, his style worthy of being noted by preceding generations. His vocal strength would turn an opera singer green with envy (g3-c4); fortissimo even after 6 hours of singing. But soon, the other singers consider that he is standing out, and that he is singing off key. Later, they explain that this singer is customer of this fact. For my part, confident of my musical ear, I hadn't noticed any major problem of singing off key. So what is happening? At that moment, I attributed this to jealousy of older singer in poorer vocal condition and I was almost ashamed to have provoked these public admonitions, since I had brought the five litres of Jurançon wine that were the triggering factor — with others I hoped — for this *cantièra* [singing party]. One of the singers told him: "You have the capacity to learn [the songs] but you must learn to listen. Here, sing the 'bass' [here the *cantus*]. If you are always in the high notes, the others [the elder singers] are going to take you one by one and they are going to wear you out". (*Toi, tu as des facultés pour apprendre [les chansons] mais il faut que tu apprennes à écouter. Là, fais la basse [le cantus]. Si tu fais tout le temps la haute, eux [les vieux], ils vont te prendre tour à tour et ils vont t'épuiser.*) They stop and say: "Deisha la hauta, ça'i tà har la baisba!" (leaves the high, keep the bass) *It's after you have sung the bass that you can learn to sing the 'high'!*" (Lanne-en-Barétous, May 9, 1997)

The following week (May 16, 1997), I met up with one of the singers, around 40 years old, specialized in the *cantus*. I questioned him about what had happened. He confirmed the fact that Jean-Michel should first of all learn the 'bass' [the *cantus*] before singing the 'high'; but he added that he tries too hard to stand out whereas it is better to "blend in" with what the others are singing, that this is the most agreeable, and "sometimes, there [then he lifts his hand vertically] *two or three times you show yourself*". (*de temps en temps, là [...], deux ou trois fois, tu te montres*).

Thus, Jean-Michel Haritchabalet was not singing off key at all but his stentor voice, and his irrepressible desire to sing — certainly a way of existing socially — made him stand out too much in the group as soon as he started in the high range, so he thus destabilized the singing. This young singer, in competition here with one or two more mature singers, well-experienced in the evolution of the 'high' part; was brought back to reason and to a 'normal' voice by his elder colleagues. What is translated here in terms of ear, of listening, was a social listening, a problem of social accuracy — being “socially in tune” — rather than musically.

My investigations in the Basque country, which starts a few kilometres further on, enabled me to better understand this situation. The Basques use the term *basatik* signifying literally *by the wild* to designate deviant vocal conduct, generally in the high part, which would compromise or rupture the multipart balance. The root *basa* designates “the forest”: the natural opposed to the cultural. The word explains the Basque, and beyond this, the Pyrenean representation of polyphony: a cultural construction as opposed to the wild and the natural.

To summarise, from a socio-phonatory (Gillie-Guilbert 2001) and musical point of view, the singers are very attentive to the guarantees which ensure that the act of singing will go to completion and that which is conveyed or represented should be the *strongest* possible according to the expression of a singer; in the construction of consensus, the ensuring of vocal order, or in maintaining this consensus.

Between social and aesthetic expectations, another extraordinary context permits the indication of listening points, points of attention for the singing community.

Since 1997 I have attended, usually as a jury member, a multipart singing competition created by the parents of the Calandreta School of Beost (Valley of Ossau), young parents or otherwise singers in the community and family tradition. This unpretentious competition is an activity at the beginning of the summer to aid the financing of the school. Three hundred to a thousand spectators are attracted and an average of 10 vocal formations are usually formed for the occasion.

The initiators of the competition have established the following rules:

- Groups of 2 to 5 persons can compete. In 1997, there was the idea of doing something different than the 40-year-old stage rule: groups of 15 to 40 persons who had abandoned the multipart singing tradition for the harmony and choral set-up. There was also the problem of revealing individual competence in the heart of the group. The formula was brought back to 8 singers since 2005 because it is not easy to gather enough groups. In fact, the number of the groups has not changed and the participation in the competition is no longer important today. Mobilisation is perhaps less of a problem because of an increase of interest in the competition. The groups go from 3 to 8 persons, the average being about 5. These are groups of

men or women. Mixed groups have never competed: a way to recognise the local representation of the “impossibility” of mixing men and women’s voices, an impossibility belied by all the good followers of tradition. What is reflected in any case, today, are the modes of sociability for the 20–40 year-old people, whose activities are largely gender-differentiated in this valley.

- The songs are produced with 2 or 3 parts, which corresponds to the standard.

The spatialization (the place of the singers within the performance) of the singers is also imposed. Since 1997 they have faced the microphone, and above all the spectators: this is the scenic disposition adopted in the Pyrenees during the 1960s, under the influence of the choral model, the only one known on stage. At this point, the Béarnais were not conscious of their own cultural model. In the case of this competition, after several years during which the singers had any number of positioning problems, of vocal dephasing ...; in 2007, the young generation adopted a new spatial form: the circle. The spectators surround the singers, themselves in a circle around the microphone. This modification, identical to the traditional posture of the same singers, will have finally taken 13 years to impose itself. This is the local answer to the problems encountered; an example taken from another organizer, also a traditional singer, who had used it several months earlier rather than an idea which I had proposed for a long time; and, too, images brought from Corsica or Sardinia since 1985.

The jury also has a scheme for awarding points which follows precise criteria which are interesting for this symposium:

- Language (pronunciation, understanding)
- Voice exactness
- “Chords”/balance of voices (“*polyphonies*”)
- Way of singing : melismas, rhythm, interpretation
- Emotion transmitted (1/2) Words and music
- Creation (+0.5)

This community of singers focuses on different criteria, aesthetic as well as technical, which are sometimes very subjective when you come to “emotion transmitted”. All in all, these choices are rich with meaning and explain the values and normality: both in the order in which the parameters are listed as well as in their terms which associate several words.

First of all, we have, in an isolated fashion: “language”. Then, in a logical follow-up, from the basic to the specialised: “exactness”, “balance of voices”, “way of singing” and finally “emotion transmitted”. And a final parameter gives a bonus of 1/2 point for creativity.

We conclude right away that the criteria for judging spill over from the musical fact, including the textual dimension of the singing. The latter is presented as a linguistic affair: “Language (pronunciation, understanding)”. In 1997, we are in fact in the context of support for a school in the Occitan language, a minority language. But the preoccupation goes further. A large part of the experienced singers — competition jurists or others — are preoccupied by the fact that the song text should be understood: by the auditors, but above all by the singers themselves; this is principally the case with the young for whom the transmission of the language is no longer assured by their families. This interest is a bit of a paradox due to the vocal deformations and the fusion phenomena of several vocal parts, which are particularly obstructive for text comprehension. This is better understood, however, when studying the history of song in Béarn and the presentations forms created over the centuries, particularly the paradigm articulating geopolitical identity, language and song seen as poetry-singing, i.e. a narrative type of singing. (Castéret 2008a: 263).

The evaluation of vocal accuracy (pitch) — ‘singing in tune’ — is never subject to discussion during the competition, things being clearly set out.

Concerning the idea of “chords”, strangely enough the term is written in plural, underlining the ambiguity between the idea of harmony between the singers — their con-sonance — and “chord” which is the notion of the superposition of simultaneous sounds. This parameter of the rules points to the “balance of the voices”, thus summarising in parentheses the whole of the preoccupation of the “polyphonies”. This terminology, which has appeared recently in the singers’ vocabulary, goes back to “balance” and to socio-musical “accord”. In the same way, the example given for the valley of Baretous, the traditional singers who are members of the jury are very attentive to voice divergence, particularly in the high part which might have a tendency to stand-out due to its power and its level, a quarter of a tone too high, for example. Michel Sacaze would say “*aquestas hautas que hautejan tròp*”² (“these ‘highs’ sing too high”, “these ‘highs’ go up too high”) creating a verb from the word “high” as it is easy to do in the Occitan language. He also uses the verb “*ligar*” (to link) to explain that the voice is poorly integrated in the collective.

Stylistically, this valley is very sensitive to ornamentation and to rhythmic behaviour, two dimensions which are very characteristic in the Valley of Ossau, which does not lead to elaborated comments, but rather is testimony to a native feeling in this matter, especially rhythmically. Michel Sacaze, member of the jury, known in the Valley of Ossau as a great connoisseur of the vocal tradition, regularly insists on this point. It should be pointed out that the notions of voice timbre and voice behaviour, which are too specialised, are not elaborated upon. They are, however, considered

2 *Hetejada de Laruntz*, Competition 2007.

central to the “singer’s voice”. Michel Sacaze commented on the qualities of a singer’s voice better suited to a soloist: “*qu’ei bèra clara, n’es liga pas, n’ei pas fornida*”³ [(“the voice is very clear, is not linked and is not full”). The “clear voice” is opposed here to a “full” voice designating in my opinion at the same time force and timbre (tone) — the harmonic richness — permitting its existence in the collective, to enrich it, in short to take his place as a singer.

Above and beyond the keys to emic understanding of multipart singing offered in this competition, the ensemble of the parameters ultimately draws the ideal profile of multipart singing: performance in small groups, of men or women united in a dynamic entity, at the same time individual and collective, placed in a circle, their voices united tending toward fusion (Castéret 2008b: 68), telling a sung text, ornamented and mastered rhythmically.

In spite of all, if the comments of the jury members — or on other occasions — the singers, fill out this list of parameters, I have often been surprised at the results of the competition which revealed a disparity/divergence between the criteria and the final classified order of the groups. Concerning the linguistic parameters, I have often heard elder persons lamenting the loss of the language, but I have never found real faults in the young singers of this community. It would seem, in reality, more of a suspicion, a fear, rather than a proven fact.

Outside of the competition, from the beginning of my investigations I have in any case been confronted with great disparities between what is said and what is done, a gap between official practices and behaviour which is obviously strongly integrated, between the legitimate and illegitimate, the interior and the exterior. I have come, little by little to consider judgement and performance from the point of view of their context of enunciation, a context that includes the personal disposition of the listener: emotional state, prejudice, representation forms and the variation of dispositions of the listener as regards others.

II. Listening fluctuations

A MATTER OF CONTEXT

In Laruns, performance and multipart music style are still completely different during the patron feast day of Assumption on 15 August to those in the competition. Vocal expression is the dominant activity, already on the 14th in the evening in the cafés, on the 15th in different places and so on until late in the night; and then again at the start

3 *Hetejada de Laruntz*, Competition 2007

of the evening of the 16th. On 15 August, after mass and the ball a large part of the village population, at least 300 persons, gathers in the covered market hall for the drinks that are offered by the municipality. The principal activity in this context is singing: continually for a hundred singers, the rest of the population congregating around them sporadically. The men and women here are, of course, standing. The singers are face to face on either side of the table where the drinks are placed. Many circles form, they evolve, merge, close... Necks become damp, everyone is elbow to elbow... In 2001, from the stage situated at the end of the market hall on which I placed myself occasionally because of the fine view of the ensemble, one has the feeling that at certain moments the totality of persons composes a bloc.

In this context, as the singers say themselves, each group and each individual can make himself heard, sometimes at the limit of a cry. One can hear a stratification of melodic lines, very clearly for the high voices. Each one wants to surpass the other, a phenomenon that I described during our first symposium.

Needless to say that we are here in the opposite situation to the points of attention and listening generally valued and described on the occasion of the competition. However, for the villagers, one of the big moments of the event is what happens in the market hall and that causes radically opposed and contradictory comments.

Simon Crabérou or Stéphane Chétrit say they enjoy this moment of reunion of the villagers, a reunion (a singing reunion is meant) for each and everyone. Stéphane would even say that this was a “very pretty moment”. In the same way, Michel Sacaze, absolute defender of the narrative function of the song, of multipart balance, confides to me during the singing of his joy in contemplating this annual reunion of the community including the return of those who are habitually far away. And above all, his joy in this community demonstration for the “outsiders”: neighbours in the valley, tourists or the curious like me. All during these vocal outpourings, or when my interlocutors evoke celebrations to come, all contemplate this singing context positively — with enthusiasm.

However, when they truly think about this, or they are made to compare the 15th and the 16th of August, they immediately contradict themselves, firmly condemning what they qualify as howling, in which of course they have played their part. Their preference would be for the 16th in the evening when at around 7pm a group of fifty or so gathers in front of one of the restaurants in the square for exchanges that are better balanced and in which the voices no longer exhibit the excesses of the day before.

The practise of the high drone or of changing octaves for the high part, which one usually only encounters in this context of community effervescence, are the object of deep reprobation, including for certain singers who practise it, as in the case of this singer’s brother. He would say this with regard to his brother: “that is a thing that you would do to bother the others; my brother, he does it to be a pain for the others” (*ça*,

c'est un truc que tu fais quand tu veux emmerder les autres, moi mon frère, il fait ça quand il veut emmerder les autres. D. V. January 1996).

Listening is strongly contextualised. In fact, if there is incoherence between ideal and practice, the dephasing is produced in time, in the diachronic dimension: between the 'before', the during, and the after. In the synchronic dimension — in the festivities — the singers are always in phase: their actions and their words are coherent. In the same way, in the 'after' festivities, David, twice as young as Michel Sacaze, joins him in the reprobation of this type of vocal behaviour which produces structures opposed to the ideal dominant model. However, David, in this aspect, is one of the principal actors.

Consequently, to what do our singers adhere? During the excitement of the community event, from an individual point of view, they adhere to a vocal projection and the power of voices liberated from collective constraints (apart from the noise and volume level of the other singers). The vocally least well doted concentrate on their vocal survival and the most gifted, on a form of vocal immersion. From the individual and collective point of view, they play at vocal emulation and competition. Finally, from a more social point of view, the singers adhere to the idea of a vast community reunion, to its physical and vocal display, ready to assume for the moment the excesses, and finally in spite of everything, the controls and restraints because of the number of singers. Outside of this context, their considerations are still of the social order, continuing to celebrate this great reunion. However, if they are on a strictly musical and aesthetic level, their positions are more radically opposed. To summarise: for the singers, music and society are two distinct fields, even as they converge and tend to merge.

A QUESTION OF GENERATIONS

Apart from these great occasions of reuniting the whole of the community, vocal performance is expressed at home with the family or with one's peers, today this applies to men as well as women; whereas before 2000, the custom outside of the home was only for men to sing. Vocal expression is still linked to occupational intimacy, very particularly with shepherds; age level and trade at this point permitting a fusion.

In this framework, the choice of repertory is the object of special attention; the singers listening for the poetic style as well as the language of the song. Both of these elements play a strong role in the local representation of vocal expression, to which the development of thermal tourism, which appeared in the 19th century in the Pyrenees, is not a stranger. In this context, there is an abundant production of literature and iconography. The local folklore is one of the privileged elements; notably the song repertory. Thanks to mountain guides and their accounts, the lyrics with literary pretensions produced by the Béarn School of the 18th century, published since 1820,

were known by travelling Englishmen even before their departure from London. Arriving in the Pyrenees, they do not cease to hear them. The way they are seen by outsiders, profoundly orients choice in the local population, repertory becoming, in Béarn, an identity marker. A paradigm is constructed in this epoch, which is particularly strong in the Valley of Ossau. It associates the romantic vision of the shepherd or mountain dweller; literary texts in Occitan in the pastoral taste of the 18th century; the ornamented style of the solo song; and the sense of the text⁴ i.e. the narrative function of the song.

For Henri Thamtham, 45 years old, shepherd in the valley of Barétous, as is the case for many of the others shepherds, the song *De la plus charmanta anesqueta* (The prettiest ewe) by Cyprien Despouirin (1698–1759) has no real meaning except among the “initiated” — friends, colleagues:

“... when one sings [it], it’s in a shepherds celebration, at a sheep shearing, it’s coming down from the mountain or it’s among shepherds, you know you choose a bit the... moment to sing it” (... *quand on [la] chante, c’est dans une fête de berger, c’est dans une tonte de brebis, c’est en descendant de la montagne ou c’est entre bergers, tu sais tu choisis un peu le... le moment de la chanter quoi*). (Henri Thamtham, Lanne-en-Barétous. May 6, 1999)

But this singer has not always behaved this way:

“when we started out, when we were 18–20 years old we sang *De la plus charmanta* at four in the morning leaving a nightclub as we would have sung “Acropolis adieu” [sung by Gloria Lasso] as we would have sung... you know... I don’t know... “Où vas-tu de ce pas Nicolas [Where are you going Nicolas] or anything else... It’s afterwards you know, when you have sung more or maybe when you get a little older or I don’t know how, that’s when you reflect and that’s when you say to yourself “Hey, this song means something

“quand on a commencé, quand on avait 18–20 ans on chantait De la plus charmanta à quatre heures du matin après un bal comme si on aurait chanté “Acropolis adieu” ou comme si on aurait chanté... tu sais... je sais pas moi). “Où vas-tu de ce pas Nicolas” ou n’importe quoi. ... C’est après tu sais, quand tu chantes assez ou quand on avance peut-être dans l’âge ou je ne sais pas comment, c’est là que tu réfléchis et c’est là que tu te dis “Tiens cette chanson elle a un sens ou un truc ...” (Henri Thamtham, Lanne-en-Barétous, May 6, 1999)

The cultural attention of Henri is in part contextual, but it has been at different levels in different periods of his life. There is a contradiction here between the dynamic

4 Multipart singing is absent from such representation forms even if this era also created the stereotype of the mountain dwellers’ choral relayed by the creation of Orpheons.

festivities of the young men and the singing of the mature men. In the first case, vocal expressivity is preferred and the repertory can associate different poetic styles in songs either in the French or Occitan languages. In the second case, the narrative function of the song is the most important thing, in this context it means searching for lyrics from the gallant and pastoral style of the 18th century, in Occitan: lyrics in which the singers savour expressions and images that work for them like a biographical mirror. (Heiniger-Castéret 2000).

BELIEFS AND INDIVIDUAL POSITIONING

If there are indeed rules of collective behaviour shared for the initiating of the multipart singing, in the synchronic as in the diachronic, the listening and the comments that are the issue still stay an individual production, in spite of everything. These can immediately be picked up and commented upon, in the heart of the group; what however remains rare in this territory, the collective argumentation not being the strongest point with the Béarnais who prefers the unspoken over the spoken. On this ground, it is the confrontation of what is said with what is done that give meaning, revealing divergences, that has lead me to question the identity, the motivations and the representations of the commentators.

From my fieldwork, I have kept three profiles of singers:

- 1) The cultural actors, routine singers or not. Their speech and field of action carries over a geographical area that is much larger than their place of origin or residence.
- 2) Distanciated singers, local ideologues or in certain cases, popular intellectuals). With them, performance and representations converge strongly.
- 3) Non-distanciated singers, regulars, for whom performance and representation are distinct.

If we only take into consideration the village of Laruns in the Valley of Ossau, the last two categories of singers interest us. Michel Sacaze, great connoisseur of old solo repertoires, jury member in the above-mentioned competition, is a distanciated singer who often comments on the singing, about the doings and the actions of the other valley dwellers. Even though he is overjoyed to see the people assembled for the singing in the hall in Laruns on that exceptional day of 15 August, the rest of the time he stays marginal and rages against the predominance of multipart singing, which he rejects. His preference is for the solo. He speaks out against the way “the young” sing: with no dramatic gestures, with no musical-textual nuance, and, on the contrary, “yelling” from the beginning to the end, more preoccupied with their vocal projection than the text. If this example, largely brought to light by the paradigm described above, which

also participates in the generational flux of cultural listening, is equally an individual position that I know well from a few singers.

Conversely, Simon Crabérou, a non-distanciated singer, gracious, welcoming, always ready to sing with one or another. He is a great singer who perfectly masters the high part, particularly the drone. He loses his everyday affability when he talks about X, a “distanciated singer”, an excellent connoisseur of the vocal repertory who shares with Michel Sacaze a certain number of similar representation forms. Simon loses his temper about his behaviour: “This guy, if you sing him a song in French, he stops singing! He stops singing! And what does that mean?! You ask yourself questions! You are in an evening get-together, you are having fun, you are not there for... (*Lui, tu lui chantes une chanson en français, il chante plus ! Il chante plus !!! Et qu'est-ce que ça veut dire ça?! Tu te poses des questions ! Alors tu es dans une soirée, tu t'amuses, t'es pas là pour...*”). (Simon Soule-Craberou, Laruns, April 28, 1999)

So one person “has fun”, and not the other? For Simon, as for the majority of singers, in a convivial evening, what counts is the vocal performance, the vocal and human sharing. Convictions related to the outside origins or the great age of such a repertory have no place here for him. For X, on the contrary, the same parameters are valued above the collective vocal dynamic.

THE INTER-RELATION

Above all, inter-relational parameters seem to guide the listening.

Y and X., all the while sharing the same representation, place themselves in opposed local genealogies, which also extend to the voting lists. They will just about never sing together. Y and Z, who exhibit the same behaviour at festivals and contrasting representations, in the sense that they are allies in the city, will sing together on the great occasions. For all their common efforts, they do not exactly resemble singers in harmony. They will share the same vocal moment, all the while sounding off about different preoccupations. Only one thing links them in this framework: their mutual recognition beyond their differences which brings them to show themselves together in these contexts. The social parameter is paramount within this framework.

Conclusion

Generational, individual, inter-relational: cultural listening is above all a social process riddled with musical rules and values which, however, spawn it in the first place. It is an act of communication, not static but dynamic — the attention of the sender

of the message is drawn from one point to another. We are invited to distinguish between two different aspects of the process: the cultural attention that is more implicit and social, and the listening which can be explicit, technical-musical but clearly analysed through the prism of rules and the positioning of the social order. Emic listening, understood as action, sanction, judgment in an instant, usually seems to be partial. It differs in that sense from the ethno-musicologist who, as a semi-observer or analyst and semi-participant, is more distant and apprehends productions from a more holistic point of view. In this respect we have the real difference between ethno-musicologists — even as participants — and singers. Listening which is relative and partial on the part of the singer and absolute listening from the ethno-musicologist? The intention is, at the very least, different.⁵

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5 May special thanks go to Cynthia Rogers for her help to translate this text from French into English.

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Vespers in the Pyrenees: From terminology to reconstructing the aesthetic ideal of the song

ABSTRACT

Recent research carried out in the Pyrenees' Catalan area from July 2006 until August 2007 reveals traditional multipart singing performed in church choirs only by men. These religious songs have Latin lyrics and are performed mostly on the vespers and some days of Holy Week days. These songs are for two or three parts (sometimes exceptionally four) and have a particular logic and certain features that connect them with the religious multipart singing from Corsica.

The emic terminology lead us to some special characteristics related to the performers ("cantadors"), their social status and the choir layout ("dalt del cor"). The terminology shows particular features connected with the part and the singing style, especially volume, timbre, embellishments and tempo. In the same way, it informs us about repertoire characteristics and singing structures ("veu" or "cant", "escapar-se", "marxar per l'alt", "distingir-se").

Focusing on the multipart singing, the performers' point of view is quite different from the academic perspective. They consider that just the main part carries the fundamental role in the structure. The other parts are considered as potential recourses that can be used or not, according to the repertoire, the social context or the expressive intention.

Recent research in the Catalonian Pyrenees¹ has allowed us to gain knowledge of a type of polyphonic religious song, in Latin and performed by men, which was almost unknown before now.

Up to the 1950s and 1960s, in every village in a wide area of the Catalonian Pyrenees, men used to sing in church, and in other celebrations, on the main annual religious feast days. A large part of the songs were monodic, but on certain occasions they became polyphonic, especially at the most highly appreciated moments. This was notably the case on two occasions: the main days of Holy Week, and during the Vespers

¹ The research in question is *Els cants religiosos polifònics masculins del Pallars Sobirà*, completed in various phases between July 2006 and August 2007 by a research group from the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, led by Jaume Ayats. An important part of this research received aid from the Regional Council of the Pallars Sobirà (*Consell Comarcal del Pallars Sobirà*) and from the Town Council of Sort (*Ajuntament de Sort*). This research is presently continuing with work in the neighbouring regions of: Pallars Jussà, Alta Ribagorça, Val d'Aran, Andorra and Alt Urgell.



FIGURE 1: Male-voice singing *up in the choir*. 06. 08. 2007. Photograph: Anna Costal.
Place: Santa Maria de Gerri de la Sal.

on the eve of main feast days (about 12 events throughout the liturgical year). Furthermore, some of the most appreciated songs — especially the *Magnificat* — could be sung at other, non-religious celebrations, such as at the end of a dinner with friends. The period when these songs were most widely performed ended with the liturgical reforms of the Second Vatican Council, although neglect had already started in the two last decades.

Our research has enabled us to gather numerous personal accounts of these songs, and to record a few groups who — very exceptionally — still meet on certain occasions to sing and recall the days of their youth. Although the subject is not dealt with in this paper, it is interesting to note that, despite the religious nature of the songs, some of the singers do not consider themselves particularly devout. Some even declare themselves indifferent to Christian orthodoxy, but this does not in the least diminish their eagerness to sing this repertory.

The aim of the present text is to attempt to approach multipart structure and the aesthetic ideal of these songs by means of the descriptions given by the singers, and the emic terminology used by them. It is worth specifying that, in a second part of our field work, we have used recordings in order to propitiate dialogue with the singers,



FIGURE 2 : Cor: elevated part on a higher floor inside the nave. 12. 11. 2006. Photheadographer : Izar Martínez. Place: Church Sant Pere de Sorpe.

making it easier for them to be more explicit on aesthetic matters which are rarely the subject of oral expression.

The location: male-voice singing up in the choir

The performers of these male-voice songs were called *cantadors*, and were always men, since song in Latin associated with liturgy was totally forbidden for women until well into the 20th century. These men were designated in a particular place: they assembled in the so-called *cor* (choir). In churches in the Pyrenees, this place corresponds to an elevated part on a higher floor inside the nave, located at the opposite end to the altar (often above the entrance door of the church). It is always a wooden structure, akin to a balcony raised inside the nave, with benches or seating around all its walls — seats with arms and a back, as a simplified version of canons' or monks' stalls. In some choirs there is even a hook for the hat or coat of each *cantador*. The seats are often placed on a platform or wooden structure which, probably, acted as a resonance box to amplify the sound. In front, there was a large music stand for the Latin texts,

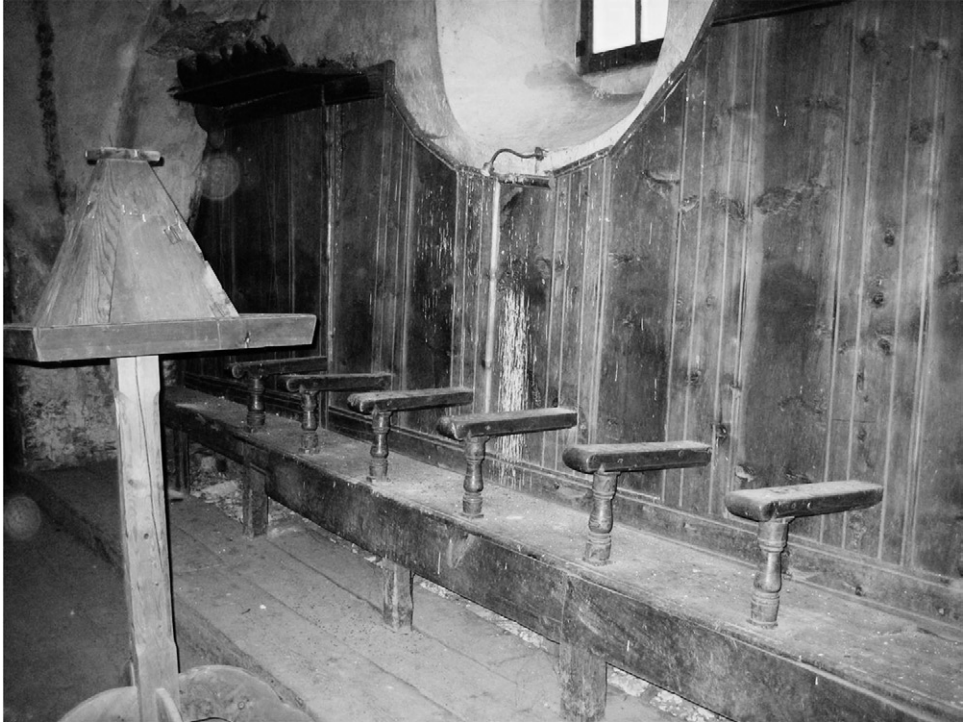


FIGURE 3: “Seating around all its walls”. 30. 09. 2006. Photograph: Iris Gayete. Place: Church Sant Julià d’Unarre.

even though a large number of those who sang were unable to read, obviously did not understand Latin, and showed no interest in understanding the meaning of the words. It seems evident that, in this case, the written word plays a significant symbolic role.

Each *cantador* had his own seat in the choir, which he occupied with the legitimacy conferred by collective recognition of his singing abilities. The men who occupied these seats were generally adult, and heads of households in the village. The other men, who were not *cantadors* or still young, also sat on the same floor, but on less stable benches, towards the sides of the nave, or even on the access stairs themselves. The fact that they were not regarded as singers did not prevent them from singing at certain moments, and some of them could, in time, come to be considered *cantadors*.

Below, on the lower floor, were the women and children. The women seated on rush-bottomed chairs, which were the property of each family, and the children in front on a couple of benches. Only in a few villages were small numbers of men allowed below as well. Women below almost never sang, except in the *goig* genre, sang in the Catalan language and considered outside the domain of the *cantadors*.

In some churches, the stairs for reaching the high choir were outside the main nave, so that men almost never entered the lower part of the church.

The way in which a person was accepted into the group of *cantadors* is still not clear for us, but everything indicates that it had to do: 1) with the social recognition of the heads of households in the village, 2) with the solidarity based on mutual assistance among families, and 3) with friendships established among men.

The structure of multipart singing

The song is always antiphonic, alternating the verses from the Latin choir book between the left and right halves of the group of singers. Each song, as in the case of psalms, could only be intoned (*entonat*) by a certain singer who had the privilege, in various villages, of singing the first verse solo, as if it belonged to him. When singing is multipart, the song is in two or three parts (with up to four parts at certain exceptional moments), and with formal characteristics which are surprising for the remarkable logic of their construction.

In contrast to the primordial importance granted in academic studies to the structure of the different parts, the conception of multipart singing held by the singers themselves is noticeably different: they only attach importance to the main melody, known as the *cant* or *veu* (voice). Each text has its own *cant* or *veu*, and so they speak of the *veu del Magnificat*, or the *cant del Laudate* (“voice of the Magnificat/Laudate”), always referring to the melody. They do not conceive of the other parts as being fixed melodic lines, but rather as a set of resources or possibilities which can be deployed, or not, depending on the repertory, the moment of utterance, and the context of the song. Thus, when the *cantadors* are few in number, only the *veu* (voice) is sung. The multipart option is confined to occasions with a minimum of five in each of the two groups alternating the verses of the song. The singing of a part other than the *veu* is inconceivable in the absence of a solid group to ensure this melody of reference.

In a way, it can be said that singing other parts is a possibility only performed when one of the singers — in what is conceived as a purely individual occurrence — decides to “stand out” or differentiate himself from the others (*escapar-se, marxar per l'alt, distingir-se, presumir, aixecar-se o fer el solo.*). This means he homophonically elaborates a higher part, *l'alt*. Below, the same can happen with *el baix*. Moreover, at culminating points, a singer can perform a part even higher than *l'alt*. In the past, those who sang such parts away from the melody risked criticism from the others afterwards, with comments as to whether it had sounded alright, or been a failure. The women, for their part, would listen from below and identify the voices of each *cantador*, talking

amongst themselves the next day as they worked in the fields, and even making fun of those singers who had wanted to “stand out” (*distingir-se*), but could not sing well enough.

Thus, we are dealing with a type of polyphony termed *numerus apertus* polyphony by Bernard Lortat-Jacob, for the number of parts can vary between two and four. However, it must be noted that the *veu* was always sung by a minimum of two or three singers. Only when this minimum number giving adequate density to the melody was exceeded, could one of the *cantadors* sing the high part (*l'alt*). If numbers were larger, another could sing the low part (*el baix*). Taking the risk of performing these parts implied being considered a good *cantador*.

Hence, this social interaction was both collective and, at the same time, based on the particular image of each *cantador*. Sound construction was both something shared and useful for individual display. The *cantadors* still consider, to this day, that the *cant* or *veu* can be embellished by the high and the low parts, although neither is essential, but rather optional and complementary to what is the real *cant*. The structure therefore offers the possibility of multipart singing, with no form of predetermined polyphony, but with fairly flexible mechanisms for the elaboration of parts. What are these mechanisms?

Roughly speaking, they can be summarised as follows, in melodies corresponding to the major scale range:

- The *alt*, or part above the melody, perform high parallel thirds, with the possibility of an occasional opening into the higher sixth, and the holding of the fifth scale degree in the cadence, to end by reposing on the third (example of the *Magnificat*). At the most emotional moments, a higher part can even be added, which doubles one note of the chord higher up.
- The *baix*, or bass, alternates three possible forms of behaviour with considerable freedom:
 - Parallelism in lower thirds with the main melody. A procedure which causes a surprising succession of parallel thirds and fifths to be drawn, resulting in a dense and brilliant sound, thanks to the timbre of the singers' voices and the resulting harmonics.
 - A bass voice placed at the main points of a modal bass at cadences. This is a formulation not far removed from the polyphonies of Corsica, on the one hand, and Gascon polyphonies, on the other.
 - They could also maintain a bourdon (drone) during relatively long melodic sections, which can be moved during performance, creating what we call a mobile drone.

The high part is described as the *veu prima* (“thin voice”) and the low as *de fonda* or *grossa* (“deep/thick voice”). But it is interesting that, when speaking of the *alt* and the *baix*, some interviewees also alluded, in an unclear fashion, to the terms *fer la contra* or *veu de contra* (“sing the opposing”), and to *veu de tron* (“thunderous voice”).

To summarise, it can be said that this is collective singing, but one in which everyone’s individuality is intended to be stressed. The lines of the high and low parts are relatively flexible and free and, even in the main melody, certain individual options can be detected in the timbre and voice movement. This reveals that the aim is not to lose the perception of individual voices within group unity, but rather to underline individuality within the overall effect. As will be seen in what follows, this double intention of creating the group sound density, while simultaneously conserving individual presence, can be observed in other aspects of this singing.

“Make the church resound like thunder”: reconstructing the singing aesthetic

The structure in different parts cannot be understood away from the resulting sonority, from the aesthetic and emotional effect which the voices intend to create inside the church. And this can be inferred directly from what the *cantadors* state in the interviews.

Firstly, they explain that the *cantador* needs to master a song and know how to express it through the voice, through the scansion of the syllables — variable in each verse — within the melodic scheme. But immediately everyone remarks that a good voice must be powerful, loud, and have a brilliant timbre. One must sing wholeheartedly, and this must produce obvious results in the powerful group of voices.

They continually refer to the notion of making the church resound (*ressonar l’església*), of the return of the voices, and of making the nave thunder or shake (*tronar*, *retronar* or *trontollar la nau*). “They used to sing loudly. Almost shouting! Perhaps they even overdid it! What bellowing!” recalls Dominga Arcalís, village of Sauri (2006). And this aesthetic of strong impressions, of the maximum reverberation, also seems to have been connected with the vibrations of higher harmonics. Indeed, the layout of the chords, with fifths and octaves, sometimes doubled, and with a brilliant timbre, suggests that the higher harmonics would have been felt in a clearly perceptible manner. The church nave helped in this respect, as did the wooden structure of the high choir itself. Ramon Escales of Enviny (2006) explained how the *cantadors* would look for the notes of a chord and “when the bass found it, he squeezed it. Then everyone else hit it”. What this shows is that the bass was decisive for activating harmonics, just as we know that it is physically necessary. Another *cantador* from the Val d’Aran recalls that a *cantador* with a full bass voice was essential to make the church resound like thunder.

In the Oratorio of the Brotherhood of Saint Anthony of Calvi, Corsica (early 16th century), we have been able to see for ourselves how the false ceiling of the oratorio, with an empty space below the real roof, aids in creating the effect of higher harmonics in a very simple manner, even when one person sings alone. And in many of the Corsican chapels (or *casazze*), wooden platforms clearly analogous to those of the Pyrenees can be observed.

At certain points in the recordings, some of these higher harmonics, and the striking effect of this maximum vibration, can be heard. But so far, however, we have been unable to find a defining metaphor for these harmonics, such as is expressed in Gascony by speaking of the *votz des anjos* (voice of the angels), or in Castelsardo by referring to the “voice of the Mother of God who joins in singing with the brothers”, or many others.

It can also be deduced from the informants’ descriptions that they liked small vocal movements or ornamentations, which were known as *cargolets*, *refils* o *redolins* (“trills”). Women also affirm that by performing these vocal displays, men used to “show off” and emphasize their distinctiveness within the group, their own individuality.

So far, we have a multipart singing based on: 1) free lines that permit the *cantadors* take individual risks, always within this shared male activity which presents the sonority of a group, and 2) a distinctive timbre and ornamentations exclusive to each singer. All that allows the singers underline the collective nature of this construction, which is based as much on the group as on the sound image of each member.

In Sardinia, the construction of the collective effect of the voices is based on four parts, each performed by one singer alone, and with a particular and definitive timbre and vocal behaviour. Among the singers of the Catalan Pyrenees, this balance is resituated within a different hierarchy. The principle of a collective effect and of obtaining harmonics is retained. But here the aesthetic of powerful sonority, based on a main melody, is pursued intensely.

These individualities reinforce the collective effect of the *veu* and, at the same time, stand out as this vocal representation of the male part of the village takes shape. We cannot deal with the female side here, which we have placed in an eminently accompanying role so far. But it is worth mentioning that many of the women interviewed were able to sing the melodies: from their lower position, they also joined in with the singers at the most emotional moments — if only in a quiet voice! On the other hand, women sang in a repertory of their own in the month of May, in which they generated multipart singing almost equivalent to that of the men. They also coincided with male multipart singing in non-liturgical repertories, in the Catalan language. Many other *observacions* could be made with regard to gender aspects, but they will be dealt with in a future paper.

Our research, then, has been based on two main domains: 1) the analysis of live performances and 2) the study of the terminology that the *cantadors* used to describe

their own scene. Many details related to aesthetic considerations have been found while working together with *cantadors* and their families and friends. The fieldwork allowed us to approach the memories of the *cantadors* and listeners, and to share comments about the old and new recordings we provided.

We hope that this text contributes towards improving the knowledge of a previously unknown and particular type of logic used to construct multipart singing, as well as towards providing new research strategies.

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The tradition of religious music in the Ligurian area (Northern Italy): the sunset of a culture between a crisis of identity and a reassertion of local pride

ABSTRACT

The musical tradition linked to sacred music has played an important role within both urban and rural society, acting as an element of aggregation but also of demarcation between well defined groups : men/women, believers/non- believers, congregation/clergy, members/non-members of a confraternity.

The repertoire affected two areas: specialist/non-specialist, roughly corresponding to the liturgical repertoire and devotional songs which members of a community are able, or not, to perform.

The last forty years have seen a pretty strong conflict between church leaders and singers: in many cases the sacred repertoire is no longer in use as a result of the reform of the liturgy, even if it is still alive in memory. Due to the weakness of some confraternities, traditional practices are soon neglected; in other cases, the strength of the lay society is on its guard against the power of the clergy.

The depopulation of many countries has also played a decisive role in the disappearance of rites which were once actively performed from the liturgical calendar.

The firm belief that community prayer (as well as song) has a greater chance to reach the divinity is responsible for the leveling down of a repertoire considered the most practicable, but the least musical.

The systematic field record, study and evaluation of religious music in the oral tradition in Italy dates back to quite recent times, especially if compared to those aroused by the interests in “secular” folk songs.¹

So a huge part of the repertory which was an integral part of the life of the peasant communities (but not only) was ignored and a rather cross-eyed vision of social reality in its entirety was produced.

1 Some pioneer records made in various Italian regions date back to the fifties. In those years Mr Leo Levi began his first systematic compilation of traditional liturgical music of Italian Jews. By referring to his work and obtaining a very important stimulus, in 1977 Roberto Leydi gathered some researchers for a first moment of joint work. This was the beginning of more and more widespread research on the territory, of periodicals referring to the repertory, of recordings and spectacular events. Unfortunately, in many cases being documented (rather late) today, this is a *corpus* which doesn't work anymore or which is actually in decline.

For example, only a long time after Giacomo Sala's death, we learned that the first *piffero* player of whom we had documented records, entertainer of many ball feasts in the villages of the Northern Apennines, was also an amazing singer of *Lezioni* during the Holy Week (Agostino 2004).

Beyond mere musical interest, the practice of religious music has played a very important role for affiliation inside societies both urban and peasant. At the same time, however, it has also produced elements of division in schematic forms such as: men vs. women, singers vs. clergy, enrolled vs. those not enrolled in confraternity groups. The repertory of chants has also spread in opposite directions: written vs. orally handed down, specialized vs. non-specialized, in Latin vs. in Italian, monophonic vs. polyphonic. These antinomies, which are sometimes hard to interpret, make the study of the sacred repertory fascinating, and it is these that I wish to deal with in my report.

Singers vs. Clergy

In these last fifty years, considerable conflict has developed between these two entities: in many cases the reformation of liturgy has led to the disappearance in use (but not in memory) of the sacred repertory. The weakness of some confraternities vis-à-vis authority and/or the reduction of numbers and ageing of the singers have encouraged the discontinuation of traditional practices, in particular those of multipart music. In other cases, instead, the strength of lay society has acted as a dam against ecclesiastical power emphasizing the desire to reaffirm an identity without which the community would lose one of the strong signs of its cohesion. The authority of the parish priest, especially if he is musically (usually academically) cultured, has often led to the abandonment of the traditional polyphonies in favour of the learning of mass services composed in a simple but cultured style which the common people learnt with pleasure, thus feeling, so to speak, "elevated": Lorenzo Perosi was the best loved composer for parish choirs in Italy during the forties and the sixties.

However, mediation between the positions of the Church and those of the communities is indeed possible and it has been put into practice in some localities.

About this subject, don Sandro Lagomarsini, the parish priest of Cassego (La Spezia), a mountainous area in the East declared:

"Here we have had to do with the weakening of communities, so some things have remained unaltered and some others not. Of course the clergy may have contributed to the discontinuation of many chants.

"Noi qui abbiamo avuto a che fare con l'indebolimento delle comunità per cui qualcosa è rimasto inalterato e qualcosa no. Naturalmente il clero può aver contribuito a cancellare alcuni canti. Quello che si è perso però è perché non

What was lost, however, is only that which could no longer remain. Something can come back: in fact I have noticed that feelings of belonging are reawakening in adults. When I organize feasts with the catechism children, one of the things we do it is to learn to interpret *Vespri*, to sing *Ave maris stella*, to learn *Litanie*. Now in some of these celebrations the basis of those singing is sufficient to say that there is a choral participation.”

riusciva più a stare in piedi. Qualche cosa può ritornare: io mi sono accorto che ci sono dei sentimenti che si risvegliano negli adulti. Quando coi bambini del catechismo si preparano le feste, una delle cose che facciamo è imparare a recitare i Vespri, imparare a cantare l'Ave maris stella, imparare le Litanie. In alcune di queste celebrazioni ormai la base di quelli che cantano è una base sufficiente per dire che lì c'è una partecipazione corale.” (Lagomarsini 2008)

Latin vs. Italian

The use of Latin in the liturgy failed after the schemata of the Second Vatican Council, even if it does not actually forbid the use of the ancient language. However, the use of common language liturgy has been generalized, consequently marginalizing the repertory tuned on traditional texts.²

In particular, the different systematization of the hours of the Divine Office has created great bewilderment among the singers, especially the ones enrolled in the confraternities. In fact the most important parts of this repertory are the ones related to *Ufficio dei Defunti* (Funeral service), *Ufficio della Beata Vergine* (Blessed Virgin's service, “*dei vivi*”) and the Holy Week. The texts to be tuned or played on these occasions have been substituted by others, most of them in Italian, in fact making the tunes of traditional chants impossible.

However, some confraternities have preserved the usage of singing both the *Ufficio dei vivi* (also named *della Madonna*) and the one *dei morti* with the Latin text established for *Mattutino* and *Lodi* liturgies at fixed dates during the year.

If the individual words of the text were not exactly understood by many singers, the central concept of the chant certainly was: *Stabat Mater* or *Miserere mei Deus* do not need many explanations to be understood in an overall sense.

Here is the sharp remark of a priest:

“Actually the strongest effort was made by people not only simply to pass from Latin

“In effetti la fatica più grande l'ha fatta la gente a passare non semplicemente dal latino

² For Liguria the text of *Liturgia delle ore* has been encoded in the volume *Confraternite in preghiera* (Venzano 2003).

to Italian, but from a ritual conventional language to a communication language — which Italian had not yet become for them. Italian is regarded as a language for employees and documents, while Latin is a language people do not understand but which dates back to respectable past ages. Italian is an imposed language... and it is certain that people have suffered for all this.”

all'italiano, ma da una convenzionale lingua rituale a una lingua di comunicazione che per loro non era l'italiano. L'italiano è sentito come una lingua di impiegati, una lingua di documenti, mentre il latino è una lingua che non si capisce ma viene da un passato degno di rispetto. L'italiano è una lingua imposta ... purtroppo non si è potuto fare diversamente. Ma che la gente ha sofferto di tutto questo è garantito.”
(Lagomarsini 2008)

In some cases, conflicts within confraternities from the same village may occur: that is the case of Badalucco (Imperia) where one of the three local confraternities (called Nome di Maria) decided to sing *Uffici* in Italian following the new liturgy, while the other two were still singing in Latin. Those responsible for the confraternity declared that the number of people present at the changed liturgy had increased. A contrasting experience was made in Pietra Ligure (Savona), where participation dropped drastically because of the custom of singing (or reading) the texts in Italian. So, with the agreement of the most open-minded local clergy, chants in Latin have been sung again for the last three years.³

In other cases it seemed to be the congregation itself which decided either to preserve the use of Latin or to change to Italian. Nowadays, for example, at Casale Staffora, a little village in the province of Pavia, the tradition of Christmas *Novena* has been kept and the services take place (even without the priest) singing traditional tunes from the Latin original text translated into Italian. The other repertory is still sung in Latin with two or three voices.

One of the differences the singers notice when passing from a text in Latin to another in Italian is the increase in the number of syllables, which causes a more complex rhythmicity. The point is particularly evident when the tune does not change. In the two versions of the hymn *Ave Maris stella* (CD 01 and CD 02), one in Latin (Casale Staffora) and one in Italian (Badalucco) we have polyphony in thirds and two groups who sing the distinct strophe in turn. In the first case women group together, in the second one they join one of the two male groups doubling the higher notes.

3 Not only: “*against the current we have published again the text of Officium Defunctorum in Latin.*” (“... contro corrente noi abbiamo di nuovo pubblicato il testo dell’*Officium Defunctorum* in latino”. Marinelli 2008)

Specialized vs. non-specialized

The level of the repertory performed is related to the question of whether the repertory is in Latin or in Italian.

The conviction that the common prayer (and so the chant as well) is stronger because of its markedly ecclesial nature, has lowered the level of a repertory which has been acknowledged as easier to be practised by everybody when it was musically less present. It is usually the repertory in Italian, devotional, consisting of praises and hymns mainly created in the nineteenth century, or of the repertory created after the Second Vatican Council. Its practice allows the participation of all believers, but from our point of view it is not of any great interest, except for its merely anthropological aspect.

Confraternity members vs. common believers

The gap between the brothers and the rest of the congregation in Liguria is indeed quite wide: the repertory of the Ligurian secular confraternities is regarded as the most specialized and exclusive among the ones still used in the North of Italy. Moreover, within the associations there are further divisions between singers (very few of them) and non-singers. The singers defend their specificity, often due to their individual musical qualities. In the province of Genoa, the *Portatori di Cristo (Cristezanti)* are widely represented, while there is an evident lack of singers. At Mele (Genoa), on the occasion of the religious procession for the Assumption (August 15), people still sing *Canto dei Pellegrini*, where the word *pilgrims* refers to the youngsters enrolled in the local confraternity. It is significant that nowadays only the very young children try to sing, helped by their parents, while older children prefer to learn how to carry a small crucified Christ suited to their age. This way they feel that they are more visible to a “public” both local and from outside. At Sassello (Savona) during the Holy Week, several members (children as well) wear cloaks from their confraternities, but only few of them sing. At Zuccarello (Savona), the local confraternity representatives wear charming clothes for Good Friday, but the chants are performed only by a few simple believers.

Monodic vs. Polyphonic

Most of the repertory of the Ligurian and Apennine areas has a monodic nature, particularly that which is linked to the confraternities.

In particular *Lezioni della Settimana Santa*, *Ufficio della Beata Vergine Maria* (“*dei vivi*”) and *Ufficio dei Defunti*, which perhaps represent the most specific and touching moment of the “popular” liturgy creativity, are sung solo and without accompaniment. Only exceptionally are they accompanied by the organ. This is the situation of the most distance between the singers and the audience. Even in a shared exhibition (such as the commemoration of the dead or the remembrance of a dead one beloved by the singer) the chant is sung only by the specialist singers. The various tunes associated with the same text confirm the search for peculiarity, the great tendency towards individualism. *Salmi*, *Antifone* and *Responsori* are often sung by several singers, but still in unison. An exceptional case is that of Ceriana (Imperia) where *Lezioni dei Defunti* are accompanied by the organ, which therefore introduces a polyphonic component, and the last one is even sung in multipart harmony with drone. On the CD 03 the beginning of the ninth *Lezione* sung only by male voices according to the tradition can be heard.

But the multipart singing is usually assigned to some *Salmi* (in particular *Miserere*), *Inni* and to chants such as *Benedictus*, *Magnificat*, *Stabat mater*, *Litanie* and other chants related to local feasts. During such events, the involvement grows. However, it is always restricted to the brothers’ choir in the case of the confraternity repertoires.

Naturally, the sometimes drastic reduction of the number of singers mostly damages the practice of polyphonic chant: the case of Taggia (Imperia), where a rich repertory, still well-documented in the sixties, is impracticable nowadays, is particularly painful.

It is worth listening to a historical recording made by Giorgio Nataletti: it is a *Te Deum* (CD 04). The polyphonic chant was called *biscantare*. The choir consisted of twenty singers divided into three parts. Moreover, a fourth part, called *contralto* locally, although in fact a tenor, performed a solo upper performance.

Men vs. Women

Belonging to one or the other sex has produced, within liturgical chant, the positioning of the two genders on even physically opposite sides. The placing of men on one side and women on the other in churches persists as an unavoidable rule. A further division of the space in the church has become a custom for the singers over the course of time: the men are placed behind the altar and the women along the naves. Thus a kind of chant with alternate interventions has originated: first the men and then the women, the men performing the most engaging part of the chant and the women with a simpler role of answering the male chant. In some other cases the verses of the chants (typically in psalms and hymns) were intoned following the same melody, by

men first and then by women. When men and women sing a multipart chant (usually two, with one or both roles doubled an octave higher), they cannot see each other. For this reason mixed-voice chants are not frequent: the female singers sit on the benches closest to the altar in the church, to get around this problem as far as possible. At Cosola (Alessandria) they were allowed to sit all together on the benches on the left next to the altar, breaking the rule which stated that people from the two main hamlets of the village had to sit on the left and on the right respectively, with the men at the end. The chant became more important than country habits. On CD 05 the hymn *Lucis Creator optime* is performed in these locations. We can listen to an exceptional female voice which performs a so-called *vusada*, a solo part which drowns out that of the other women. Take note of the end, performed by mixed voices in an extraordinary way.

Within the confraternities, male and female ones (the latter smaller than the former) had different repertoires. Nowadays there is a confraternity with both men and women singing together at Porto Maurizio (Imperia), but it is an exception. We also have the two repertoires (male and female) overlapping during the particularly rich and highly-developed religious procession that takes place in Ortovero (Savona). Here the religious procession of the dead Christ occurs on the evening of Good Friday at 9:00 p.m. with ample presence: the procession winds through the streets with the altar boys in front, then young girls with banners, followed by women with small lights. The latter sing praise (*Gesù mio, con dure funi*) with one voice. Behind there are three groups of singers from the confraternity, consisting of about eighty individuals. The chant is a two-part *Miserere*: the groups are about twenty metres away from one another and it is difficult to hear them together. The women's chant dominates that of the men.

Nowadays we may see a synchronous presence of men and women where in the past only the men sang while women were a mere audience, although indispensable to give a meaning to the chant. This sharing should not so much be understood as "politically correct", but rather as a necessity determined by the reduction of the male component⁴: women's help has become necessary for the survival of the chant. For this reason we have a transformation of the vocal context and, sometimes, a diminution of the sound effect and the emotional context. The above-mentioned *Nona lezione* of *Officium defunctorum* of Ceriana and *Miserere* of Sassello are among the most obvious cases. In the latter, women's participation is related to the presence of a choir gathered around a local choir master.

4 Only men sang secular chants in the village of Bogli (Piacenza), while a group of women have sung religious chants with just one man!

In no other repertory is the connection between the two sides so close. For example, the religious tradition of the Ligurian village of Triora (famous for its trials of witches) considers an *Or ch'esangue* to be among the chants of Good Friday and it has a central part which is like a transposition into the folk music of the air “*Dal tuo stellato soglio*” from *Mosé* by Rossini.

Gregorian relics drowned in new harmonic contexts appear and disappear in many chants, transformed in their melodic and, presumably, rhythmic elements. A particularly interesting event is that of *inni* in a rhyming Latin text which refers to the repertory created by Saint Ambrose specifically for the people: well, the strongly accentuated rhythm and the simple incisiveness of the musical phrases seem to relate to just that context (as in *Lucis Creator optime*, CD 05).

The relevant complexity of some chants leads us to presume the “compositional” participation of more or less cultured people who are active inside the country communities: that is, village organists and parish priests.⁵

In Liguria the most resounding (and singular) case is that of the Christmas polyphonic laud *Figlio dell'Eterno Padre*⁶ (CD 06), still being performed at Ceriana on Christmas night: the first part resumes the melody of the “chant” as we find it in a lot of sixteenth-century collections (a formal and thus written text) published in Italy (also in Genoa), while the role of “bass” is replaced by the drone characteristic of the “secular” folk song style of Ceriana.

5 A manuscript expressly marked as “to be sung on the Evening of Good Friday in procession — by Maestro Sciorati” has been found from *Stabat Mater* called “*de Fie*” considered peculiar to the female oratory of the “*Caterinette*”. In the archives of the Confraternity of Saint Catherine of Ceriana there are lots of handwritten pages of *Miserere*, one of them dated 1898, in which Veneziano Pietro Antonio declared that he had transformed psalm 50 “to gentle music”: all three vocal parts are present. There are two series of anonymous complete documents of *Stabat Mater* only for the roles of the first and the second tenor (there is no bass).

6 The laud mentioned here was reported by Renato Morelli at Palù in the Mocheni valley, and also by myself in Ceriana, following studies which were completely independent. In a different way from the version sung in Palù nowadays, it imitates the melody of the “chant” in its higher part as we find in the collection of “*Il terzo libro delle laudi spirituali. Eredi di Antoni Baldo*”, Roma 1570. You can also find the text in a slightly later publication, “*Sommario della dottrina Christiana per la città, et diocesi di Genova*”, by Girolamo Bartoli, Genova 1589. Both documents are reproduced in Morelli 1996: 121–123.

Conclusions and a question

Since much traditional music seems to be gone forever or no longer proposable, the question is: do we have to confine them to the ethno-musical archives or to think of them as part of an independent musical system, leaving aside the anthropological context where they originated, offering them again outside of this context as music to be listened to?⁷

I think the stylistically correct proposal made by a specialized group would be adequate: in fact, originally the most interesting part of the *corpus* about which I have spoken already anticipated a separation between those who sing and those who listen.

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⁷ Two days after my presentation at the symposium "European Voicess II. Cultural Listening and Local Discourse in Multipart Singing Traditions in Europe" (Vienna, 24–26 October, 2008), a compelling confirmation of the correctness of this hypothesis came in the featuring of "Cantors of Vermèil" at a concert held in the framework of the symposium in the Minoritenkirche in Vienna (October 26, 2008). The group is composed of excellent cantors from various parts of the Trentino area, organized by Renato Morelli.

Multipart singing in Poland as a cultural and musical phenomenon

ABSTRACT

This paper presents the history of the documentation of multipart singing in Poland and the state of research on this subject. Multipart singing is a regionally limited phenomenon and can be recorded in the Carpathian Mountains and in the eastern border regions where in some parishes it has remained the common heritage of Poland and Lithuania until today. There are also numerous examples of spontaneous heterophony in Polish-Belorussian and Polish-Ukrainian musical traditions, but singing in parallel thirds prevails, particularly among members of the Orthodox Church. The review of sources and living practice allows us to discuss three historical layers of multipart singing in Poland. The oldest one is singing in heterophony or diaphony in fifths. The second layer is that of the three-part singing in mixed choirs influenced by church practice since the 18th century in north-eastern part of Poland. The third layer builds the singing in parallel thirds in female groups wherever the school- or youth-choirs were introduced in the 19th century. Thus multipart singing also becomes a sign of regional-ethnic specificity as well as of cultural development.

Historical remarks on folk polyphony

Multipart singing is both a cultural and a musical issue. It has an interesting historical perspective, but in the case of the distant past of ethnic traditions, it is hardly possible to carry out research. In general, we can put forward two histories:

- The reception, assimilation and local development in the realm of professional polyphony;
- The relatively independent history of folk music practice.

In Eastern-Central Europe we can discuss the early reception of western patterns of polyphony in the Roman Catholic liturgy. The diaphonia — that is the *organum* with parallel fifths — is evidenced in church manuscripts of the 13th century in southern Poland (Stary Sącz. Feicht 1975: 344–345). We may presume that migrations of Wallachian shepherds along the Carpathian Mountains, which began in the 15th century,

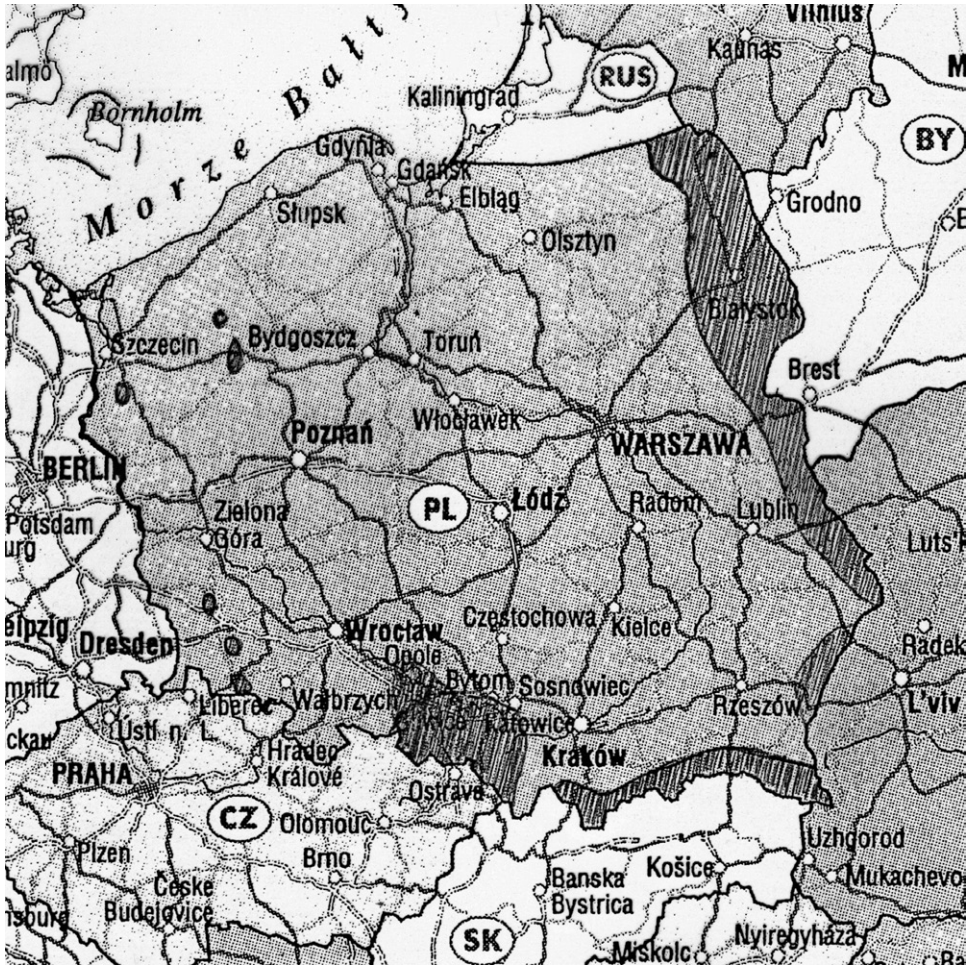
introduced a practice of multipart singing. Such multipart singing could be a kind of synthesis in time and place of those practices, dispersed in space, which resounded in the course of communication between singers on neighboring hills.

Since the 16th century, the bagpipe as a popular instrument is evidenced both in the lowlands and the highlands of Poland, in the country and in the towns. From the 17th century onwards we have sources reporting on dances accompanied by the sounds of the natural trumpet. The harmonic tones and the drone as the skeleton of vocal polyphony would thus be introduced by musical instruments.

Folk practice is a basic catalyst of multipart singing, at least in its heterophonic version; it is oral practice and transmission. The oral — memory transmission excludes an identity of repetitions either of melodic sections within a melody or of whole melodies. The heterophony generated by oral performance has two profiles; one is of time, the other of space. The melodic variants not only resound simultaneously but they can overlap slightly in time. Such overlapping in time may be also understood as something in between simultaneity and spatial dialogue. Time overlapping in music performances is widespread in world cultures and it can also be observed in the co-operation of fiddle and bagpipe in the Carpathian Mountains. The total simultaneity and the total unison are as strange in ethnic music as the straight line is in animated nature.

From the symbolic perspective, we don't know whether "unanimous" singing as recommended by the Bible (Psalms) means unison. In any case, it is worth remembering that the icon of the angels' choir is a living pattern for Orthodox vocal practice which also influence eastern Poland.

With respect to the whole gamut of multipart singing, one can observe fluent borders between monody, heterophony and polyphony. The openness towards the complex nature of sound is a stable factor. Even in a solo performance, such elements as *Flüsterauftakt* and *Jodeln* demonstrate a "symphonic" tendency to perceive and perform aliquots of a given sound. The complexity of the sound and its timbre would influence the perception of intervals. Singing in octave is treated by folk singers as a singular part. Singing in parallel fifths, although sporadic and rather accidental, is also perceived as unison. The perception and the definition of the folk musicians of higher and lower parts refers mainly to the thirds or sixths. This "educational" polyphony is connected with the church, school choirs and other vocal groups sponsored by different organizations. The distribution of such choir styles among peasants took place perhaps not earlier than in the 19th century.



Map. The areas of local multipart singing traditions in Poland (Piotr Dahlig)

Geographical distribution of polyphony in border regions and reasons for monody in ethnic Poland

From a geographical viewpoint, multipart singing in Poland takes the form of a “round cracknel”. Monody dominates in the middle, while multipart singing exists at the margins (see map).

If we try to answer the question of why there is generally a lack of multipart singing in the ethnically Polish folklore of the lowlands, two reasons come to mind: the par-

ticular relation between vocal and instrumental tradition and the kind of performance practice. There are five aspects of these reasons:

1) According to performance tradition, a singer orders a dance by performing a short solo song. This situation has promoted a distinctive type of vocal practice.

2) The significant role of instrumental practice did not allow vocal practice to dominate. "Played weddings" are more popular than "sung weddings"; the latter belong to the old music practice in eastern regions which are rich in ceremonial songs. The bass part which remains important for ethnic multipart singing used to be realized only by musical instruments such as monochords, basses with two and three strings and the bourdon pipe. Multipart instrumental music comes from the contrast and opposition between low and high registers. Since the dance rhythm became more decisive and constructive (perhaps since the 16th century), the particular function of accompaniment has emerged and evolved. The accompaniment both stressed the rhythm and filled the gap between the low and high registers. The instrumental ensemble is generally organized by one man. The group of 2–5 musicians is governed either by a bagpiper, a fiddler or an accordionist. This type of hierarchic co-operation is also reflected economically, e.g. the bass-player earns less than the leading instrumentalist.

3) Vocal melodies are determined in ethnic Poland by fiddle passages which are full of intervals of thirds, and are performed at a swift tempo, frequently in the rubato manner. All this is not convenient for multipart singing. Ethnomusicologists speak of mutually compensating musical factors: Only a comparatively slow tempo would enable a conscious intonation of intervals. Practical fundamentals for polyphony lie in careful listening to the neighboring singers.

4) The next aspect is 'music and gender'. The collective monophonic singing of men can be found only in the south of Poland. In the Carpathian Mountains it attains heterophonic or polyphonic forms. Women can sing together in all regions, but only in the Carpathian Mountains and in eastern Poland they are able to sing in parts in a traditional way. The separation of men and women is evident except in church choirs. Mixed multipart singing occurs in the east and north-eastern border regions under the influence of Orthodox practice. There is a division of soprano and alto parts within women's groups. The intense and extremely high soprano voice (as in Ukrainian Poltawszczina, where E. Linieva [1905] made early recordings of multipart singing at the beginning of the 20th century) is unimaginable for church choirs in Poland.

5) One may assume that the presence of the organ in Catholic churches has also weakened multipart singing in secular situations. It is evident when comparing vocal production in parishes with an organist or without one. In the latter case, believers tend to sing spontaneously in parts. Similarly, the amateur movement initiated in the 1930s and continued in the 1950s and 1960s has insisted on the presence of accordionist who used to simultaneously accompany unison singing and shake an advisability of

multipart performance. The multipart choir as the more ambitious alternative had no chance to prevail, because of the higher level of difficulty and the fact that a cappella singing seemed to the folk performers less attractive than singing with a synchronic instrumental accompaniment.

In sum, what one tries to define as a national style in folk tradition in Poland is monodic. The unisono melody is a value in itself. The performance is more personal than collective. Vocal groups which claim to be traditional and sing in parts (usually in thirds) are not encouraged to do so during festivals or competitions dedicated to Polish regional traditions. However, there are exceptions related to Ukrainian resettlers and repatriates from Bosnia and Bukovina. These groups have an inclination to sing in parts because multipart singing became a mark of their cultural identity.

If we imagine the opposite conditions to the above-mentioned five musical contexts of monody, then we would theoretically have a convenient background for multipart singing.

History of research

Łucjan Kamiński, professor of musicology at the University of Poznań (1922–1939) was the first to comment on multipart singing in the central part of the Carpathian Mountains — Pieniny (Kamiński 1933). Parallel fifths were sung there by 8–30 men slowly marching. They intoned the fifths at each step. The melodies were descendent and had the ambitus of 5–6. The fermatas were held during 4–8 steps as an agreement among singers. This field research and recordings (the wax cylinders did not survive World War II) inspired Kamiński to broad comments on the relationship between diaphonia in Pieniny and *Zwiegesaenge* in Iceland — transcribed and analyzed for the first time by Hornbostel (1930) — and to Byzantine church tradition.

In 1951–52, Jadwiga and Marian Sobieski (Sobieska and Sobieski 1952) carried out field research in Pieniny again and noticed, in comparison to Kamiński's study, a decrease of parallel fifths and an increase of thirds which began to fulfill the fifths (example 1).

47''

Ej sku-si - łaś mnie dzie - wce do mie - siąc - ka w no - cy
ej nie chcia-łem cie ko - chać u - zy - łaś prze - mo - cy.

44''

Ba - ciar ci ja ba - ciar z koń-ca bi - ca zy - je
co we dnie za - ro - bie to w no - cy prze - pi - je.

♩ 132 (37'')

Ej ju - ha - si ju - ha - si gdzie-ście ow - ce pa - śli
ej stra - ci - ła m wia - ne - cek wyś - cie go nie zna - śli.

EXAMPLE 1. Three songs from Pieniny Mountains.
Performed by a group of men in village Tylmanowa, district Nowy Targ.
Recorded in 1951.
(Sobieska and Sobieski 1952: 352)

Włodzimierz Kotoński, who studied the practice of multipart singing in the Podhale region in the 1950s, proved that highlanders used to cross and alternate their voices as if they heard the performance vertically (Kotoński 1954, example 2). A visible aspect of multipart singing in Podhale even today is the standing of singers in a half-circle, which makes it easier to listen to others and control the performance.

The image shows a musical score for five voices, labeled I głos through V głos. The music is written in 2/4 time and features a mix of chords and melodic lines. The first voice part (I głos) is a treble clef staff with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The other four voices (II, III, IV, and V głos) are also in treble clef. The score includes various musical notations such as eighth notes, quarter notes, and chords. There are also some triplets and slurs indicated. Vertical dashed lines connect corresponding notes across the different voice parts, illustrating the vertical hearing.

EXAMPLE 2. Example of vertical hearing among Highlanders.

“*Nuta of Sabala*” sung by five girls from village Kościelisko near Zakopane in Podhale region (Carpathian Mountains).

(Kotoński 1954: 20)

It was not until the 1980s that singing in two-three parts in some parishes of the Polish-Lithuanian border region was documented and analyzed (Brzozowska 2008), both in religious and non-religious repertoire. This phenomenon seems to be rather the Lithuanian style of multipart singing, but the songs are performed in Polish, so it would be an assimilated, “polonized” Lithuanian polyphony (example 3).

♩ = 48-50



Jest zdra-da w świecie jak w pol-nym kwiecie, więc po-rzu-cić czas,
du-szo ko-cha-na grze-chem zma-zana czas się o-cu-cić.

EXAMPLE 3. “*Jest zdrada w świecie*” (Lenten song)

Group of singers led by Józef Murawski in village Szypliszki, district Suwałki, voivodship Podlaskie.

Recorded in 2006 and transcribed by Katarzyna Brzozowska.

(Brzozowska 2008: 184)

We can observe a similar tendency in the Polish-Belorussian border region. The Polish inhabitants of Belorussia assimilate local styles of multipart singing (example 4 [CD 07] — *Barbaro święta*, example 5 [CD 08] — *Zmarły człowiecze*), especially in the religious repertoire. It was not possible to carry out such field research in Belorussia until the 1990s.

$\text{♩} = 70$ 36,2^o - 1. zwr. 34,0^o - 2. zwr.

Zmarły człowie — cze z to — bą się — żę — gna — my,
praj — mij dar smutny, który ci sła — da — my, praj — mij dar smutny, który ci sła — da — my.
Tro — cha na grób twój po — rzu — co — nej gła — ry,
od twych przyja — ciół, są — siadów, ro — dzi — ny, od twych przyja — ciół, są — siadów, ro — dzi — ny.

EXAMPLE 4. "Zmarły człowiecze, z tobą się żegnamy" (Funeral song)

(CD 07) Village Olchówka, district of Grodno, Belorussia.

Performers: Regina Misiejko born in 1934, Franciszek Raczek born in 1933, Alina Wałyniec born in 1949.

Recorded by Piotr Piszczatowski in 1998.

Transcribed by Piotr Dahlig.

J = 120-126 1'33"

Bar-ba-ro świen-ta, perło Je-zu-so-we, sti-
 -sie-żko-(n) do nie-ba grzesni-kom go-to-we,
 wierna przy śmierci pa-tronka smut-ne-mu, ko-ra-ję-cę-mu; e-
 źró-dło-czysto-sci obmyto na wie-ki, nie wy-pu-szczaj mion
 z ław świętej o-pie-ki, Ty mnie przygo-luj na dro-gę wie-czo-sci wy-świę-to-bli-wo-sci. Spaw by...

EXAMPLE 5 "Barbaro święta, perło Jezusowa" (Funeral song)

(CD 08) Village Zaprudiany, district of Grodno, Belorussia.

Performers: Wincenty Gryszań born in 1924, Józef Nowik born in 1935, Edward Palczukiewicz born in 1928, Witold Wilczewski born in 1936.

Recorded by Piotr Piszczatowski in 1998.

Transcribed by Piotr Dahlig.

In the last decade of the 20th century, the singing in two-three parts of resettlers from Bosnia and Romanian Bukovina in Silesia was documented (Dahlig 1995, example 6).

♩ = 58

Sie-dzia-ła dzie-wczy-na na bia-łem ka - mie-niu, sie-dzia-ła dzie-wczy-na na bia-łem ka - mie-niu.

roz - puś - ci - ła wło - sy, roz - puś - ci - ła wło - sy po pra-wem ra - mie - niu.

EXAMPLE 6. “*Siedziąta dziewczyna na białym kamieniu*” (Lyrical song)

Performed by six women led by Michalina Mrozik in village Przejęśław, district Bolesławiec, voivodship of Lower Silesia. The resettlers from Bosnia of Polish origin living in Poland since 1947.

Recorded in 1989 and transcribed by Piotr Dahlig.

(Dahlig 1995: 316)

The transcriptions of songs in local printed collections in ethnic border regions (Polish — Belorussian) are presented as both monodic and in thirds (Kopa 1993, 1994), but usually the singers perform in thirds completed with fifths (example 7 [CD 09] — *Wyletięła dusza*). In Silesia we encounter a similar situation. The second part can be added spontaneously, depending on social contexts.

♩ = 160 197''

Wyle-tię-ła du-sza z-tię-ła, wyle-tię-ła du-sza z-tię-ła,

na no-wej mo-gi-le se-ła.

EXAMPLE 7. “*Wyletięła dusza z ciała*” (Funeral song)

(CD 09) Group of women in village Dobrowoda, district of Hajnówka, voivodship Podlaskie, Poland.

Recorded in 1998 and transcribed by Piotr Dahlig.

Comparative remarks: “deep-rooted” and “educated” polyphony

In comparison to Ukrainian polyphony and to Belorussian or Ukrainian Polessje, where both polyphony, heterophony and a conscious manipulation with the pitch of unison take place, the examples from Poland, except for the Podhale region, seem to have either a later provenance or to have been assimilated from other ethnic groups.

Monody and polyphony can coexist. In Silesia, the singers can sing either in unison or in thirds. Such alternativeness is rather a sign of cultural transformations and choir influences. Among the Old Believers (Orthodox) the mono/polyphonic alternativeness is a sign of religious significance. Namely, the main religious hymns are sung in unison, while the other repertoire is also sung in parts. In Polessje (in Belorussia and in the Ukraine) and Połtawszczina in the Ukraine this alternativeness has a rather functional and historical background. The ritual, calendar repertoire is sung in the older heterophonic way, whereas the lyrical repertory is performed in the newer polyphonic way typical of Russian tradition.

It is worth noting that a polyphonic way of singing is a mark of folk distinction. During discussions with the singers in ethnic border regions, Poles used to say about Ukrainians that among the latter “everything goes in parts” (*wszystko idzie na głosy*). The same opinion referring to Bosnians was expressed by Poles living in the Banja-Luka district between ca. 1900–1947. After their resettlement to Poland (1947), singers of Polish-Bosnian origin continued to sing in two-three parts.

As to the dating of folk texts and melodies, we must use a relative chronology for the polyphonic phenomena. We can say that something is generally older, something newer, but we have no way of making a strict chronology. So we can discern two basic layers of multipart singing in central-eastern Europe. The first is a deep rooted heterophony with polyphonic elements mainly of east Slavonic and southern European heritage and influenced by modal systems. The second is, as I would call it, “educational” polyphony connected with the tonal-harmonic system of western provenance which expanded during the 18th and 19th centuries.

The leading topic of our conference can raise a question about polyphony confronted with social bonds and structure. In central Poland it is enough to ask a solo singer for performing. In the eastern part of our country a singular singer would usually say that we must also invite the neighbors. As eastern Poland is more traditional and conservative in many respects than the central and western parts, one could argue that the process of going from polyphony to monody is also a process of social individualization, modernization and dispersion of instinctive group relationships. The heterophony and polyphony in ethnic Poland and in ethnic border regions is typical of groups of people who are distinguished just by strong territorial and social bonds. Is

folk polyphony a natural consequence of deep cultural rooting and high competence within one's own culture? The deeper the identification with the local culture, the more polyphonic the system is? It would be a parallel phenomenon to that of professional music in Europe where first there was polyphony, and only later came monody which led to intensive and continual stylistic changes.

As ethnomusicologists, we could say that we observe during 19th and 20th centuries a transition from ritual unity to a process of repertoire becoming more lyrical and performance becoming more individual and personal. Thus we would obtain a paradox: where there is a united worldview and social unity, there one can find plurality and "polyphony" of voices; where the social background is more individual, there one finds singularity; the "monody" of expression prevails. In such a case it would be better not to accept music only as a metaphor of society and social structure. Otherwise, the impression of a social collapse would be unavoidable. It is better to appreciate monody or polyphony in the context of the cultural diversity, although one must add that traditional polyphony seems to be very sensitive to cultural change.

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Men's songs in a women's song tradition

Some remarks on men's multipart singing in Setumaa, Southeast Estonia

ABSTRACT

Women's musical activities are often perceived as a special phenomenon that deserves studying from the point of view of its gender specificity. With traditional vocal music the situation is different. The predominance of female vocal practices characterizes many traditional societies of agrarian Europe. This impels us to consider male singing as a specific part of song tradition and directs researchers' attention to gender issues.

The most prominent part of the traditional music of the Setus (Southeast Estonia) is female multipart singing, which covers various genres from calendaric and life-cycle songs up to lyric and lyric-epic songs as well as improvisations. Singing by male choirs is found and recorded much less, but these examples are of great interest and high quality. Men's songs of the Setus differ notably from the women's songs in respect of the music style and manner of singing. The most specific genre may be named *Vel'okõsõq* (the diminutive form of brothers in Setu dialect). These songs are performed while walking in the group around the village and in various festive situations.

This paper will attempt to examine Setu male singing as a form of gendered music making, to connect it with the social structure of traditional society, and to compare Setu male and female multipart singing styles. Some features that appear when the same repertoire is used both by men and women will also be considered.

In the Western art music tradition, women's musical activities are usually perceived as a special phenomenon that deserves studying from the point of view of its gender specificity. With traditional vocal music the situation is often just the opposite. The substantial predominance of women's vocal practices that characterizes many traditional societies of agrarian Europe impels researchers to consider men's songs as a specific part of a song tradition and directs our attention to gender issues.

A significant prevalence of women's singing is also typical of the music culture of the Setu — the ethnic group living in Southeast Estonia.¹ Setu men's songs became an

1 The basic facts about the Setu are as follow: This is a small ethnic group of Estonians living in South-East Estonia and within the adjoining border territories of Russia. The Setu name themselves Seto and their region — Setomaa (in Estonian — Setu and Setumaa). The Setu tongue — a Võru-Setu dialect of Estonian — is now spoken by about 5000 people, and belongs to the Finnic subgroup of the Finno-

object of attention for ethnomusicologists only in the second half of the 20th century, when a living tradition of male singing still existed only in a couple of villages. The present article will attempt to examine Setu men's singing as a form of gendered music making, to connect it with the social life of the traditional Setu village, and to characterize the distinctions and similarities between Setu men's and women's multipart singing styles.

I. Men's Singing in Estonia and Setumaa

Ellen Koskoff, in her overview of gender aspects in European traditional music in the Garland Encyclopedia of World Music, writes that there are “ingrained gender and music ideologies that link men with solo, public, instrumental and modern performance, and women with domestic, singer-dancer or choral performance, and older musical forms” (Koskoff 2000: 200). This assertion, applied to Estonian traditional culture, is true at least in two regards. First, in rural Estonia men sang in general much less than women and were more closely connected to instrumental music. Secondly, in the period of folklore collecting in Estonia (i.e. since the middle of the 19th century) the bearers of the older song tradition — the so-called runic song (or *regilaul*) — were mainly women, whereas men's vocal repertoire consisted mostly of strophic songs of late origin (with an end rhyme instead of the initial rhyme of runic songs).

The Estonian men's song tradition has been investigated very little and different opinions exist as to its historical development. Some researchers tend to the view that the tradition of runic songs' performance by men existed in the past, but that it simply decayed sooner than the female singing tradition. This idea, which persists to this day, dates from the 19th century, when the romantic mode of thinking impelled Estonian scholars to seek the “real” singers (i.e. male singers) and the “real” songs (i.e. heroic epos) — something similar to the Finno-Karelian male epic tradition (Oras 2008b). Unfortunately the only evidence about the existence of epic male singers in Estonia are the childhood reminiscences of Friedrich Reinhold Kreutzwald (1803–1882; the author of the Estonian national literary epos *Kalevipoeg*), according to which at the beginning of the 19th century there was the wandering singer called *Rootsi rüütel* (The Swedish Knight) in *Virumaa* (the North and North-East part of Estonia) (Oras 2008a: 44; Laugaste 1972: 247). Some researchers see traces of the old male epic tra-

Ugric languages. The traditional culture of the Setu differs notably from the culture of other Estonians. Unlike most other Estonians, who are Lutherans, the Setu people are Orthodox. With regard to music, the greatest peculiarity of the Setu culture is the archaic multipart singing style. The musical tradition of the Setu is practically the only one in Estonia that has been preserved in active use until today.

dition in the lyro-epic songs performed by women. At any rate, we should state that among the Estonian folk songs collected during the 19th and 20th centuries there were no such typically male song genres as heroic eposes and historical songs².

Almost all the above observations characterize the music tradition of the Setu as well. The most prominent part of this tradition is archaic female multipart singing, which covers various genres from calendric and life-cycle songs through to lyric and lyric-epic songs. These song genres are very typical for the women's repertoires of many European countries (Koskoff 2000: 193). The more specific song genre in Setumaa is improvisation — it means that a lead singer improvises texts according to the situation. In Setumaa, as everywhere in Estonia, men's singing is found and recorded much less frequently than women's singing, but the examples that we have are of great interest: firstly because among them songs of an older style and genre are found; secondly because specifically male song genres are represented; and thirdly because the sound recordings that exist reflect a music practice which was still a living tradition when they were made.

As for the specifically male song genres mentioned above, it should be underlined that in the Setu case we are not dealing with heroic epic songs or historical songs. Like other Estonians, the Setu have no such song genres. The most important criterion for defining songs as "men's songs" is the point of view of the bearers of the tradition — they distinguish clearly between men's and women's songs. There are also songs (mainly of late origin) which can be performed in mixed groups. The gender specificity of Setu men's songs manifests itself in the contexts of singing, in the song texts and tune types, in the musical style (including the structure of the polyphony) and in the manner of singing. All these aspects will be examined in the present article.

In my opinion the Setu men's song tradition has remained underestimated by collectors and researchers for a long time. In the publications of the 1920s and 1930s one can find only short references to male singing. Herbert Tampere, in his article from 1934, mentions that in Setumaa there are very few specifically men's songs and that Setu men consider the performance of the women's repertoire humiliating for themselves (Tampere 1934: 54). Rudolf Põldmäe, in his research on traditional forms of entertainment in Setumaa (1938), underlines repeatedly the passive role of men in the various singing and dancing situations. According to him, singers and dancers were usually girls and young women, whereas men were just observers (Põldmäe 1938: 4, 6, 8, 9). The Finnish scholar Armas Otto Väisänen, who collected Setu songs during the first quarter of the 20th century, remarks that in Estonia "singing is the women's job", unlike the

2 Ellen Koskoff asserts concerning men's singing in Europe: "Men participate in many of the same forms of music making as women in agrarian life <...>, but the most important men's genre within agrarian and village contexts is the epic, or historical narrative song" (Koskoff 2000: 198).

Finnish song tradition, where men also sang “the long songs” (Väisänen 1924: 36). He gives, however, a little more information about male singing in Setumaa: he writes that Setu “men, both young and old, usually do not want, hesitate to sing. But at wedding party, being drunk, or when they gather by groups to have a good time, the long “boy’s tunes” are heard from afar, beyond the woods” (Väisänen 1924: 40).

According to Paul Hagu (2000), Väisänen had found a male singing tradition in seven or eight Setu villages. There are a few recordings on the wax cylinders made by him in 1912–1913. Unfortunately, after World War II, when Estonian researchers became more interested in Setu men’s singing and sound recording techniques became more readily available, the men’s song tradition still existed only in the small area around the villages of Uusvada, Helbi and Meremäe. Since the end of the 1950s several collectors (such as Udo Kolk, Kristi Salve, Ingrid Rüütel, Vaike Sarv, and others) have recorded men’s songs in this area (in fact, they were recordings of a single choir, because the men from the above-mentioned villages often sang together as “The Meremäe Men’s Choir”). The last recordings of this choir were made in the 1990s and among them there are some multi-channel recordings. A few men’s songs have also been found in some other places in Setumaa, but in general our knowledge of the Setu male singing tradition is based on the songs of the Meremäe parish.

II. The Traditional Contexts of Men’s Singing in Setumaa

The men’s song repertoire as collected in the Meremäe parish is quite rich and represents fully enough the local tradition, but unfortunately the archives provide too little information about the traditional contexts of male singing. I will try, however, to describe the typical situations of Setu male singing on the basis of the available data.

II. 1. “WALKING AT SUNSET”

The most gender-specific situation of Setu male singing was the so-called kul’ätamine, i.e. walking of young unmarried men in a group around the village and between the villages in the evening and at night time. The goal of this old custom was to visit the girls, who used to sleep in the haylofts during the summer. This practice was widespread everywhere among Estonians under the name of “walking at sunset” (ehal käimine), but there is very little data about such a custom in Setumaa. In the Estonian Wikipedia one can even read that the Setus did not have the custom of “walking at sunset” because they were of the Orthodox faith, which would imply the existence of stricter sexual mores. (<http://et.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ehalk%C3%A4imine>, 27. 02. 2009)

Some evidence of the custom of “walking at sunset” among the Setu can be found in the expedition diary of Kristi Salve (1972). The singer Jaan Jallaj recalled that up

to World War II the men from the Obinitsa and Helbi villages sang songs called *kul'ätamise laulud* while walking around the village on Saturday evenings (RKM II 290, p. 596). The name *kul'ätamise laul* shows that the informant was talking about songs of the old style. More detailed evidence can be found on a tape recording from 1982. The collector Ingrid Rüütel asked the old men from the villages of Määsi and Põrste about a song which they had just performed. The men defined the song as *Oi, vellekene* (“O, brother!”) and explained that it was usually sung when young men went to visit girls on Saturday evenings. On the way back they did not sing, because they came back one at a time (RKM, Mgn. I 48). This last observation shows that “walking at sunset” took place in Setumaa like everywhere in Estonia: the boys would set out in a group (often by horse) to visit the girls, and each boy would spend the night with one of the girls in the hayloft on her parents’ farm. The parents of the girls usually raised no objection against this custom, because “walking at sunset” was often followed by matchmaking and marriage.

In summer 2008 we got one more piece of evidence about “walking at sunset” in Setumaa. The women from the village of Obinitsa confirmed that the custom described above really did exist and asserted that while “walking at sunset” the boys played musical instruments and sang the so-called “Estonian songs” (*eesti laulud*) (the term “Estonian songs” means for the Setu songs in the newer style sung in the Estonian language, i.e. not in the Setu dialect). These women could not recall any old Setu men’s songs in this situation.

II. 2. LOCAL CELEBRATIONS AND FAIRS

Another typical situation concerns the local celebrations and fairs (on figure 1 we can see two men from Meremäe village in traditional clothing). In his expedition diary from 1957, Udo Kolk describes the fair in the Kassiorg: “The group of singing middle-aged and young men came from the village of Kolovinna after the singing women. When the women formed a traditional semicircle for singing, the men formed their own circle near the women. The women sang the songs based on the *runo verse* [i.e. the old Setu songs — *Ž.P.*], whereas the men sang something different — the songs were in Estonian that means not in the Setu dialect — *Ž.P.*], but it was too noisy there to understand what exactly they sang” (EKRK I 18, pp. 79–80). Later in the same diary Udo Kolk notes that Setu men interpreted the well-known “Estonian” songs in the Setu multipart style. The description by Udo Kolk provides evidence that in the 1950s Setu women preferred to sing the older Setu songs whereas men sang the newer, so-called “Estonian” songs, and that at the fairs the men and women sang in separate groups. The latter was not, however, the strict norm — there is quite a lot of evidence that men and women could sing together even at weddings (but it is unlikely that they would have sung together for the ritual repertoire).



FIGURE 1: Ivan Alapuu and Jaan Karro, dancers from Meremäe, 1936; Photographer: Rudolf Põldmäe (ERA photo 464); Place: Meremäe.

The latter fact is very interesting, because all famous Setu singer-improvisers were women and among the sound recordings of men's singing there are no such songs. Unfortunately, the above-cited description is rather unique, since the collectors of folksong in Setumaa were mostly women and, naturally, they were not so successful in communicating with male singers; neither would they have been allowed to attend such a men's meeting.

II.3. RITUAL, WORK AND GAME SONGS

Setu men also sang at weddings. In general the ritual wedding repertoire was performed only by women, but there was one specifically men's song, the riding song,

In an article by Leea Virtanen (1994) one can find another interesting description of men's singing in Setumaa: "In 1958 <...> a group of fieldworkers led by Udo Kolk arrived in the village of Obinitisa at the height of a local celebration. The village menfolk invited Kolk to enter a large house nearby. Inside he found some twelve to fifteen men assembled but no women. In front of the men stood a row of liquor bottles, a saucepan, a spoon, butter and drink. In loud, thundering voices the men began to sing in chorus and continued for four hours. Interwoven with obscenities, their singing, much of it improvised, ranged over numerous topics including even politics."³ (Virtanen 1994: 235)

This information by Udo Kolk reveals one more traditional context of Setu men's singing — the closed men's meetings inside a house. According to Kolk the men were very skilled in the traditional Setu genre of song-improvisation.

³ This information apparently originates from an oral source. The diary of Udo Kolk's 1958 expedition is written by other person (a woman) who did not participate in the event described by Leea Virtanen. However, in the diary I found a note which confirms that on July 13th 1958 Udo Kolk and Huno Rätsep met the Setu male singers from Uusvada village.

which was sung by the groom's relatives as they went by horse to the bride's house. Because this ritual had some features of a military operation and was connected with horses, it is natural that the song was performed by men.

Men also sang special riding songs at Shrovetide while riding around the village. The magic goal of such a ritual (called *kul'ätamine*, like the above-mentioned "walking at sunset") was to promote the optimal growth of the flax. The riding songs sung at weddings and at Shrovetide have similar texts (the men praise their horses and themselves), but they use different tunes which also belong to the women's wedding and Shrovetide repertoire.

One more calendric song which could be performed by men is the Easter swinging song "The Invitation to a Swing". The young men built the swing, and they also participated in swinging, so it is no surprise that they could sing swinging songs. Nevertheless, the swinging songs were generally performed by girls, and men use in their swinging song the tune type which is characteristic of the women's repertoire.

Among the Setu men's songs of the older style there are also some work songs: the so-called "field song" (*põllulaul*) or "sowing song" (*külvilaul*), the "hay song" (*hainalaul*), and the harvest song "Come to the End, the Field!" It is clear that these songs are connected with the kinds of agricultural work which were the men's responsibility. The harvest song could be also performed by women (because they also did this work), but the structure of the tune and manner of singing provide evidence that we are dealing with what was initially a men's song. More often the Setu women perform another kind of harvest song, the flax pulling songs (*Lelotaminõ*), which have a different tune and are never performed by men.

One more song which is often sung by men is the game song "Grey Horse" (*Leigotamine*). This song belongs to the men's repertoire because of its connection with horses — the typical men's topic in traditional Setu culture.

II. 4. THE CULT OF PEKO

Finally, the most intriguing situation of Setu male singing is in the rituals connected with the cult of the pagan god of crops Peko. The information we have with regard to such rituals and songs comes only from written sources dating from the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. In the context of the present paper, the cult of Peko is especially interesting because only men carried out the Peko rites, whereas women were not allowed even to see them. The cult of Peko was severely condemned and even punished by the church, and for this reason it was kept very secret. Nevertheless, in 1918 the folksong collector Jaan Sandra managed to write down a fragment of the Peko song's text. He described the situation as follows: "After the meal they rise up, join hands, and start to walk around the Peko (as <...> in a round dance) and to sing. <...> They sing in such a way for about two hours, and ask

the Peko to protect their lives, crops and cattle for the whole year” (Ränk 1934: 189). Jaan Sandra provides a short fragment of the Peko song’s text, but, as the cult of Peko has not existed for a very long time now, we can say nothing about the song tune.

II. 5. SOME CONCLUSIONS ABOUT THE CONTEXTS

Summarizing the above observations, we may claim that singing in single-gender groups predominates in Setu traditional culture, especially in the older repertoire. According to Ellen Koskoff, who identifies “three forms of gendered music making” in European traditional cultures, gender-segregated music making is supposedly the oldest form:

“Music making can be based on gender alone, possibly the oldest arrangement, where women and men are physically separated from each other while making music, essentially creating two separate, self-contained music cultures. Here, men and women perform different genres, but both engage in all musical activities primarily for same-gender audiences”.
(Koskoff 2000: 193)

The extent of gender segregation in Setu song tradition is still a matter of discussion, but it was certainly not as strict as in Koskoff’s description. There were the occasions upon which men and women could sing together, and the audience was not necessarily of the same gender as the performers. The women’s (and especially girls’) songs were often addressed to the men, and women could often be the audience for men’s singing. It seems to me that singing for a same-gender audience is more characteristic of Setu men than women. The closed men’s meetings during the local celebrations and in connection with the Peko rites represent such a situation in its pure form. On the other hand, married Setu women also had their own feast, so-called *paabapraasnik* (“women’s feast”) ⁴, which was accompanied by special songs and where the presence of men was forbidden. In this case, however, the women rather imitated the men’s behavior (drank alcohol, swore and fought), thus confirming the general rule.⁵

Observing the male singing occasions described above one can notice that many of them are connected with motion outside the home (riding on horses, walking around the village, and feasts in the open air). This fact supports to some extent the widespread idea according to which men belong to the so-called public sphere whereas women belong to the domestic sphere. It seems to me, however, that as far as the characterization of the Setu men’s culture is concerned, the fact of motion (walking, riding etc.) is of even greater importance than the connection of men’s activities with

⁴ This feast was celebrated on Thursday of Shrovetide week.

⁵ The women’s emotional anticlimax by means of atypical gender behavior was not probably the only goal of *paabapraasnik*. Initially this ritual was connected with the magic of fertility.



FIGURE 2. *Kül'ätamine* with singing. The singers from Uusvada village: Juhkim Luuga, Ivvan Allapuu, Jakob Kadak, A. Leim, J. Ladvik, 1973. Photographer: Ingrid Rüütel (ERA photo 10515). Place: Uusvada village.

public places. This assumption corresponds to the conclusions by Tatyana Shchepanskaya and Izabella Shangina concerning the mobility of men's cultural space and the stationarity of that of women in traditional Russian culture (Shchepanskaya, Shangina 2005: 13).

The latter comparison with Russian culture is justified not only because Russians are the neighboring people of the Setu, but also because there are some other similarities between the traditional Setu and Russian cultures from the point of view of gender. One of the similarities which deserves attention is the usage and meaning of the Setu word *kül'ätama* and the Russian word *гулять*. These words are almost complete synonyms, having two meanings: (1) "go for a walk", "be out of doors" and (2) "have a good time", "be on the spree". Although in literary Estonian language there is no word with such a combination of meanings, the notion of *kül'ätamine* connects the traditional culture of the Setu with that of the Russians. There are also some parallels between the activities associated with words *kül'ätamine* and *гулянье* — for instance, the custom of walking arm-in-arm in a row (see figure 2). Naturally, *kül'ätamine* and *гулянье* were both accompanied by singing, playing instruments and dancing.

The Setu notion of küľ'ätamine was connected mainly with men — as mentioned above, this word was used for “walking at sunset” and for riding with horses at weddings and Shrovetide. According to Shchepanskaya and Shangina, the Russian notion of гулять also characterized the activities of young men, such as walking in a group around the village (Shchepanskaya, Shangina 2005: 13).⁶ The existence of some similarities between the customs of the Setu and Russian men, the close kinship between the terms küľ'ätama and гулять, the connection of these words with men and motion — this all leads us to suppose that the above-mentioned idea regarding the mobility of men’s cultural space could be also relevant with regard to Setu men’s culture.

III. *The Song Genre Vel'okōsōq (“Brothers”)*

It is interesting to note how Setu men’s songs, despite being sung in different situations and belonging (from the point of view of researchers) to different song genres, have many common features in their texts and tunes. The similarities of the song texts manifest themselves more clearly in the opening lines of the texts. The Setu men’s songs begin very often with an appeal to the fellows to gather and start to sing. As address-words, several forms of the words “brothers” and “boys” are used. According to oral information from the Setu song researcher and performer Andreas Kalkun, the Setu men themselves call such songs Vel'okōsōq (the diminutive form of “brothers” in Setu dialect) and, supposedly, perceive them as belonging to the same song genre, which can be used on different occasions.

The folk term Vel'okōsōq seems to be connected with both the text and the tune of the songs. Some resemblance can be also found in the contexts of singing — as mentioned above, many men’s songs (and especially Vel'okōsōq) were performed in a festive situation while walking or riding around the village (the traditional activity called küľ'ätamine). The similarities of the song texts concern both the content of the texts and verse structure. With regard to the tune, it could even be said that the majority of the Setu men’s songs of the older style share the same tune type. The named components of the song genre Vel'okōsōq will be dealt with below. I shall not analyze the texts of the men’s songs in detail (this would be a topic for a folklorist-philologist

⁶ There are some differences between the customs of the Setu and Russian young men. According to Shchepanskaya and Shangina, the groups of young men in Russian villages had a stable structure and hierarchy and their main goal was fighting with other groups (although they attended the girls’ meetings together as well) (Shchepanskaya, Shangina 2005: 13). We do not have such information about the Setus.

or linguist), but shall just mention some of the more obvious characteristic features which could be useful from the point of view of the present research.

III. I. THE CONTENT OF THE SONG TEXTS

The texts of the Setu men's songs written down while singing (i.e. not under dictation) are relatively short. In the collection by Jakob Hurt, *Setukeste laulud II*, there are some longer texts (Hurt 1905), but they originate from written sources and might be compiled from several text variants. As noted above, the texts of the *Vel'okõsõq* songs begin with an appeal to the men. They use the same appeal formulas, which can be varied in different ways and repeated many times during the song. It is also characteristic that in the songs Setu men use mostly the first-person plural speaking for a group of men, whereas the women prefer the singular. In this respect one can point to the predominance of a collective identity in the men's singing group. From the point of view of an ethnomusicologist the remarks about singing, which can often be found in the song texts, are also interesting. Usually the men invite each other to say the words clearly and to sing so that the whole village would listen to them.

Below one can find a typical example of the *Vel'okõsõq* song's text.⁷ According to classification of folklorists, this song belongs to the lyric genre and has the text type "The song about song" (*Laul laulust*).

Vel'okõsõq: *Laul laulust* (BROTHERS: THE SONG ABOUT SONG)

Hoi pois'okõsõq, ti mehe-jallõ-kõsõq,	Hey boys, hey guys,
naka mi no_ks täämbä vai laulõ-jallõ-mahe,	Let's start singing today,
pisü naka_ks illo mi pidä-jallõ-mahe!	Let's have some fun!
Ei mi lövväq päivä küll par'e-jallõ-mata,	We can't find a better day,
aigu lövvä-i tõista mi adu-jallõ-sampa.	We can't find a better time.
Lööme meheq meele küll mõtõ-jallõ-lõmma,	Let's put our heads together,
oi velekõsõq, ti vinna-jallõ-kõsõq,	Hey brothers, you tall ones,
hoi pois'okõsõq, ti mehe-jallõ-kõsõq,	Hey boys, hey guys.
ei mi meheq kullõq küll külä jallõ laulu,	We don't listen to the village singing,
tähele mi panõ-i küll külä parinada,	We don't notice the village mocking.
sõs mi no_ks laula kui vaja-jallõ-hassa,	We sing when we need to,
aigu tuust mi_ks võta küll toobi jallõ põhjast.	We take time for that from the bottom of a stoup.
Hoi pois'okõsõq, ti mehe-jallõ-kõsõq,	Hey boys, hey guys,
Hoi velekeseq, ti vinna-jallõ-kõsõq!	Hey brothers, you tall ones!

⁷ The text from the booklet to CD *Liinats'ura*⁸ (2004), No 12; English translation by Pärtel Lippus.

III. 2. THE VERSE STRUCTURE

In Setu songs the 8-syllable lines of the runic verse are usually expanded by additional syllables and repetitions. The men expand the runic verse to a greater extent than the women. In the Vel'okōsōq songs the 8-syllable verse can be developed to 13–18-syllable verse. In the example below one can see the normative 8-syllable line and its expanded form from the men's song (the basic text is shown in caps, the additional elements in italic).

The normative 8-syllable line:

VELL'OKŌSŌ^o, NOORŌKŌSŌ!

The expanded line (17 syllables):

Vell'o_ks, VELL'O-ga-kōsō^o *vō-(h)e noorō_ks*, NOORŌ-jallō-kōsō!

The peculiarity of the men's songs also lies in the insertion of extra syllables in the middle of a word (for instance the additional word *jallō* (“again”) within the word *noorōkōsō* (“young ones”) — *noorō-jallō-kōsō*). The large amount of nonsemantic elements and their location in the verse makes the texts of the men's songs difficult to understand, but gives the opportunity to form longer melodic phrases. In the women's songs the additional syllables are mostly located between the words, and women use repetitions of words with greater frequency. As a result, the text of women's songs is clear enough even in the chorus part, and strophes often consist of repetitions of short phrases.

III. 3. The Tune Type

As noted above, Setu men use the same tune type in songs which can be classified as belonging to the different genres: work, calendric, wedding, lyric, and party songs. This tune type, associated with the genre of Vel'okōsōq, is based on a certain rhythmic model and a specific scale and verse structure (although, of course, several different versions of the tune exist). The traditional singers themselves perceive this tune type as belonging only to the men's repertoire and women normally do not use it.

The examples 1 and 2 represent two versions of the tune type Vel'okōsōq. The first song has a lyric text — it is one more variant of the text type “The song about song” (Laul laulust). This song could be sung while “walking at sunset”. The second example is the work song Pöllulaul (“Field song”), which can be more exactly defined as Külvilaul (“Sowing song”). These two songs were performed by the same singers — the first in 1973 and the second in 1977. Although these tune versions are quite different with regard to both the melodic contour of the lead singer's part and the harmonic

rhythm⁸ of the chorus part, it is clear that they originate from the same tune type, because both songs are based on the same model of syllabic rhythm⁹ (see example 3). There are also some other attributes which can be used for identifying the tune type Vel'okõsõq, but since the typology of the Setu song tunes lies outside the scope of the present research we shall not go into this in any detail here.

1. Vel - foks, vel-fo-ga - kõ - sõ võ-he noo-rõks, noo-rõ-jal-lõ-kõ - sõ, või, vel - fo, ve-jel-fo - kõ - sõ või-e! noo-rõ, noo - rõ - koo!

EXAMPLE 1. *Laul laulust* (The Song About Song).¹⁰

(CD 10) Recorded in Uusvada village (1973) by Ingrid Rüütel and Kristi Salve.

Performers: Juhkim Luuga (born in 1894) (lead singer — *iistütlejü*), Jakob Kadak (born in 1896) (the upper part *killõ*) and choir.

Transcription by Žanna Pärtlas.

2. Lää-miks kõ-sõ kül-lõ nu-rõ-mõ mi viil õks kün-deks-kõ - sõ - ma - he, või-e, lää-miks kõ-sõ-rõ nur - mõ või! kün-de-heks-kõ-sõ-rõ-mah!

EXAMPLE 2. *Põllulaul* (Field song).¹¹

(CD 11) Recorded in Uusvada village (1977) by Ingrid Rüütel and Enn Säde.

Performers: Juhkim Luuga (born in 1894) (lead singer, *iistütlejü*), Jakob Kadak (born in 1896) (the upper part *killõ*) and choir.

Transcription by Žanna Pärtlas.

8 The phenomenon of “harmonic rhythm” is created by the alternation of two harmonic complexes in a multipart texture. For more information on the “harmonic rhythm” in Setu multipart songs see Pärtlas 2001, 2006.

9 The syllabic rhythm is the rhythm of the syllables' alternation in singing. The notion of syllabic rhythm is widely used in Russian (and some other) ethnomusicology, where it is the main criterion for the typology of tunes (for a detailed description of the structural-typological method, структурно-типологический метод, in Russian ethnomusicology, see Pashina, ed. 2005: 456–493). The syllabic rhythm can be treated on different levels. To find the deep level rhythmic models some extra syllables should be removed: this explains the slight differences between the texts in the rhythmic scheme (example 3) and transcriptions (examples 1 and 2).

10 CD *Ülge ütte* (2000), No 12; RKM, Mgn. II 2418 (h).

11 CD *Ülge ütte* (2000), No 2; RKM, Mgn. II 3686 (l).

EXAMPLE 3. The model of syllabic rhythm of the chorus' part.



vel-l'o, vel-l'o - kō - sō vōe! noo - rō, noo - rō - koo!
lää - mi kō - sō nur - mō vai! kün - de - kō - sō - mah!

EXAMPLE 4. The melodic scale and cadence.



perfect 5th cadence
perfect 5th P5 P5 M3

Examples 1 and 2 also demonstrate many other structural features of Setu men's songs such as a multipart texture, harmonic intervals, some peculiarities of rhythmic and metric structure, tempo, etc. Since these features characterize not only the tune type Vel'okōsōq but Setu men's singing style in general, they will be described in the next part of the article. Here I will only examine the modal scale, because this attribute is specific to the tune type Vel'okōsōq.

That all songs with this tune type use the scale E-F-G-A-B-C (in semitones — 1-2-2-2-1) (example 4) is not a chance occurrence. Such a scale can be occasionally found also in the women's songs, but for the latter the scale without the second degree F (i.e. E-G-A-B-C) is far more characteristic. The intervallic structure of the men's scale can be explained by the preference for perfect fifths in the harmony (in the women's songs the main harmonic interval is the third). The reason why the fifths (E-B and F-C) have the semitone between them is connected with the structure of the upper part, called the killō. In the Setu songs of the older style, both men's and women's, the killō part is often based on two notes with a semitone between them (the notes B and C in examples 1 and 2). Thus, the advantage of the scale E-F-G-A-B-C is that it permits the building of two perfect fifths by keeping the semitone melodic interval in the killō part. The common feature of the both Setu men's and women's songs is the final harmonic interval — it is the major third in both cases (see the scheme of the cadence in example 4).

IV. Setu Men's Singing Style in Comparison with Women's Singing

The differences between Setu men's and women's songs manifest themselves in many aspects of musical style and the manner of singing. They result supposedly from two factors: (1) from the need for the expression of masculinity in singing and (2) from the

difference in men's and women's attitude towards singing. Amongst other things the latter concerns the relative importance of the textual and musical aspect of song for the singers: it is often noted by researchers that Setu women are more interested in the texts of the songs whereas men put greater value upon singing itself.¹² The expression of masculinity by means of music and the preference for the musical aspect of the songs manifests itself in the following features of the Setu male singing style.

IV.1. The Multipart Texture and Harmonic Intervals

The multipart texture of the men's songs is more complex than that of the women's songs. The Setu women's songs are mostly two-part songs (the main lower heterophonic part is called *torrõ*, the subsidiary upper solo part *killõ*) and the main harmonic interval is the third. Sometimes one of the *torrõ* singers uses lower tune variations than other singers. Ethnomusicologists refer to this part as "the lower *torrõ*" (alumine *torrõ*), but there is no special folk term for such a voice. The Setu men's songs are mostly in three parts (i.e. "the lower *torrõ*" is practically always present) and the main harmonic interval is the perfect fifth. Examples 5 and 6 demonstrate the differences between the multipart texture of men's and women's songs. These examples are well-suited for comparison because men and women here use the same tune type. This tune type belongs primarily to the women's repertoire, and men make it more "masculine" by means of a denser multipart texture.



2. Kal' - lis ka - la - ran - na - kõ - nõ, kal' - lis ka - la - ran - na - kõ - nõ, ran - na - kõ - nõ!

EXAMPLE 5. *Kalavannalaul* (Fishing Coast Song)¹³

(CD 12) Recorded in Mikitamäe village (1998) by Vaike Sarv, Jaan Tamm, and Žanna Pärtlas

Performers: Nati Tarkus (born in 1922) (lead singer, *iistütlejä*), Veera Lunda (born in 1921) (the upper part *killõ*) and choir

Transcription by Žanna Pärtlas

¹² Paul Hagu asserts, for instance, that if the sound of the song did not satisfy the Setu male singers, they even interrupted their singing completely (Hagu 2000).

¹³ CD *Helmine* (Sarv 1999), No 10.

2. Häll-mä nu häll-lü lav-va jo pää-le, häll-mä ja häll-lü, häll-mä jo häll-lü lav-va jo päääl!

EXAMPLE 6. *Hällilaul* (Swing Song)¹⁴

(CD 13) Recorded in Uusvada village (1972) by Ingrid Rüütel

Performers: Gavril Riitsaar (born in 1904) (lead singer, *iistütlejä*), Jakob Kadak (born in 1896) (the upper part *killõ*) and choir

Transcription by Žanna Pärtlas

The score of the multi-channel recording in example 7 gives a more detailed picture of the voice leading within the heterophonic *torrõ* part. This men's party song belongs to the genre of Vel'okõsõq. The tune variant is very close to that of the field song in example 2 (in terms of harmonic rhythm these two songs have the same model). The part of the lead singer (*iistüleja* — “the one who speaks before”) is written on the second line of the score, the upper part *killõ* — on the third line. The *killõ* singer uses only two notes with a semitone between them (B and C). The lead singer together with another singer (see the second and sixth lines) performs the main *torrõ* part, two singers (the fourth and fifth lines) sing the lower *torrõ*, and one (the first line) sings something between the *torrõ* and the lower *tõrrõ*. One can also see the perfect fifths between the lower *torrõ* and *killõ* parts.

It is noteworthy that in the men's choirs the *torrõ* singers generally prefer the lower variants of the tune and the fifths often remain unfilled by the middle voice. In the women's songs the lower *torrõ* occurs only relatively rarely and is usually performed by only one singer. This fact suggests that the sound of the perfect fifth is very important to Setu male singers, who do their utmost to provide these sonorities.

As for the complexity of the multipart texture, some researchers assert that Setu men vary the tune more than the women. Analysis of the multi-channel recordings confirms this opinion to some extent. It should, however, be noted that the harmonic nature of the Setu multipart songs and their syllabic style (the absence of melismas) gives rather modest opportunities for the melodic development of the voices.

¹⁴ CD *Ülge! ütte* (2000), No 17; RKM, Mgn. II 2433 (c).

MM♩ = 70

(lower) torrõ

iistütteleja torrõ

2. Sai - e - kõ - sõ - üt - te... mi löö - ge - kõ - sõ - lau - lu, vai sai - e - kõ - sõ - rõ - kõ - õ - sõ, vöi löö - ge - kõ - sõ - rõ - laul!

killõ

lower torrõ

lower torrõ

torrõ

EXAMPLE 7. *Hoi taas vellekõisi* (Men's Party Song)

(CD 14) Multi-channel recording

Recorded in Uusvada village (1990) by Vaike Sarv and K. Hakala

Performers: Nikolai Rimm (born in 1922) (lead singer, *iistüttelejä*), Nikolai Vahtramägi (born in 1925) (the upper part *killõ*) and choir

Transcription by Žanna Pärtlas

IV. 2. THE “MASCULINE CADENCE”

One more peculiarity of Setu men's songs is the rhythm of the cadences. The runic verse, being based on the trochaic tetrameter, ends with an unstressed syllable, and this is the reason why the tunes of Estonian and Setu songs normally end with a metrically unstressed note. Setu men achieve the accented final note by means of eliminating the last syllable of the verse. For example, the last syllable is absent in the verses of examples 1 and 2 (in the first case the full word would be noorõkõ[sõ], in the second case kündemah[e]). In connection with this feature of Setu men's songs the terms “feminine cadence” and “masculine cadence” come to mind. In music theory these terms are used to describe cadences occurring, respectively, in a metrically weak or strong position. Setu men prefer the “masculine cadence” not only in the songs with their own tune type (Vel'okõsõq), but also when they use the tunes of the women's songs. The latter can be demonstrated by examples 5 and 6, which represent two variants of the same tune: the women's song (example 5) ends with an unstressed syllable and note, while the men reduce the second syllable of the word pään[e] to end the strophe in a metrically strong position.

IV. 3. ACCENTUATION

For Setu men the accentuated manner of singing is characteristic. They try to emphasize not only metrically strong syllables and notes with dynamic accents but also many metrically weak ones. Besides these dynamic accents, Setu men also use other ways for distinguishing every note of the tune. One such way is to avoid melismas by using additional syllables. If we compare examples 5 and 6 once again, we may note that the text of the women's song (example 5) does not include the additional syllables (the 8-syllable runic verse *kallis kalarannakõnõ* is expanded only by means of repetitions) and that this song has some short melismas. In the men's song (example 6), however, there are no melismas and the text includes the extra syllables *nu, jo, and ja*.

Another way to create accents is by taking a breath before the metrically strong notes. In example 6 the places where singers take a breath is shown by the sign *V*. As one can see (and hear), Setu male singers breathe very frequently allowing them to attack the next notes with greater force.

IV. 4. TEMPO

Setu men sing far more slowly and keep stricter rhythm than women, who often sing in a recitative manner. It would be difficult to define an average tempo in the women's or men's songs, because the tempo depends on the song genre and stylistic layer. However, we can use as examples two CDs with women's and men's songs — "Helmine" (Sarv 1999) and "Ülgeq ütte!" (Hagu 2000). On the former disc there are 16 choral songs performed by women. In the chorus parts of these songs the tempo, according to the metronome designations in the music transcriptions, is between 104 and 196 and the average tempo is about 150 (these numbers concern the eighth notes which usually correspond to one syllable of the text in Setu song transcriptions). With regard to the men's songs, there is little point in calculating the average tempo, since these songs are split into two broad groups: on one hand the slow songs (the genre *Vel'okõsõq*), and on the other fast songs (with the tunes of late origin). On the CD "Ülgeq ütte!" there are 10 songs which can be classified as *Vel'okõsõq*. In these songs the metronome for syllables/notes in the chorus part fluctuates between 58 and 126, with an average tempo of about 74, and 5 of the 10 songs have a tempo between 58 and 63.

The example of an extremely slow tempo (the metronome for syllables/notes in the chorus part about 36) can be found on the CD *Liinats'uraq* (2004), No 11 (CD 15; the text with an English translation is given below, in the section V). The traditional singers determine the genre of this song as *Vel'okõisi pikk ääl* ("Brothers: the long tune"). The very slow tempo in this performance is probably connected with the notion of "long tune".

In Setu songs, it is also usual for the chorus to sing more slowly than the lead singer, but in the men's songs the contrast of tempo is particularly pronounced. Some-

times the difference is about twofold, which creates a problem for transcribers, who have to decide whether to show this it by metronome designation (as in examples 1, 2, 5, and 6) or by means of using longer note durations (as in example 7).

IV. 5. LOUDNESS AND TIMBRE

The aesthetic of loud singing is characteristic for the traditional culture of the Setu. Setu women sing in an intensive manner with open chest voices, much more loudly than other Estonian female singers (this difference may, however, partly be caused by the fact that in the era of sound recording the Setu song tradition was far more alive than that in other parts of Estonia). The Setu men sing even more intensively than women, trying to use their vocal powers to the maximum. Such singing demands much energy and great expenditure of breath. The latter is a further reason (together with accentuation) why Setu male singers take more frequent breaths while singing than female singers; this can be heard especially clearly in the multi-channel recordings.

One more distinctive feature of Setu men's singing style is the specific voice timbre. According to a description by Vaike Sarv: "The older Setu men's songs are characterized by an ostentatious and robust way of expression" (Sarv 2001: 367). The *torrõ* singers and the leader make their voices deliberately hoarse and thick (listen, for instance, to sound example CD 13). The *killõ* singer sings with a tense, open voice in a high register and he tends to raise the pitch level¹⁵ (the latter can be heard well in sound example CD 14). For a better description of the Setu manner of singing it should be added that the both Setu men and women have a rather nasal voice timbre while singing.

* * *

As was noted above, the differences between the men's and women's singing style seem to be connected on one hand with the expression of masculinity and on the other with an emphasis on the musical aspect of singing. The expression of masculinity manifests itself in the musical features which demonstrate strength, both physical and spiritual. The powerful sound production, the hard accents (including syncopation) and the strong ("masculine") cadences can be named in this connection. There is also a tendency towards the enlargement of the spatial and temporal dimensions of the songs: the use of wider harmonic and melodic intervals, the expansion of the verse structure and musical phrases and the stretching of the strophes by means of the slower tempo.

The special attention to the musical aspect of singing manifests itself in the relative complexity of the multipart texture, in the more intensive varying of the tune, in the

¹⁵ The rising of the pitch level is also characteristic of Setu women's singing.

preference for longer musical phrases that sacrifice the intelligibility of the text, and in the slow tempo, which provides time to enjoy the harmonic sonorities. In this connection it should also be mentioned that the texts of the men's songs are shorter than those of the women's songs and they usually do not have a developed narrative. There may be two reasons for this: first, it seems that the men pay relatively less attention to the textual aspect of the song; secondly, the very intensive manner of singing, the longer strophes and the slow tempo make the performance of long texts rather difficult. It can be said that the men prefer longer musical strophes whereas the women prefer longer song texts.

V. *"Fusion in singing" v. "Communication in singing"*

The results of the comparative analysis of Setu men's and women's singing invite us to reflect on the possibility of finding some typical connections between gender and musical style. This problem would need extended research which is beyond the scope of the present article. One interesting parallel, however, should be mentioned here, namely the very similar phenomena that are found when comparing male and female ballad singing in Northern Italy (Magrini 1995). This parallel is worthy of note because there is a whole complex of similarities both with regard to concrete features of musical style and in the reasons for these.

As far as the reasons are concerned, Tullia Magrini writes:

"Men and women have generally shown different attitudes towards ballad singing. Women were clearly interested in narratives and tended to preserve long texts of ballads. Men often seem mainly interested in singing per se, and are not much interested in narrative. These two aspects are reflected in the male style of performance" (Magrini 1995).

The analogies also concern some musical features of men's singing: (1) "the two-voices in parallel thirds structure typical of women's ballads is often expanded in male performances by means of a third and sometimes a fourth part", (2) "unlike female ballad singing style, the men's style strives for loudness and vocal emphasis", (3) men "choose a slow tempo", and (4) they "constantly tend to raise the pitch throughout the performance" (Magrini 1995). With slight reservations the description above fits quite well in characterizing the Setu men's song tradition.

One further similarity that seems to be very basic concerns the value given by the singers to the quality of "fusion in singing":

"The tendency toward fusion has been recognized as a fundamental component of normal psychological behaviour, together with the opposed tendency towards individualization.

<...> Music is an ideal means toward fusion, better than any other symbolic activity. <...> The male emphasis on fusion and strength in choral singing sometimes leads choruses to assume the simple action of singing together as their ultimate aim." (Magrini 1995)

Setu men's songs belonging to the genre of Vel'okõsõq contain the idea of "fusion in singing" directly in their texts. Although the texts of the men's songs have quite diverse content, the most characteristic idea can be expressed by the initial words of one of the songs: Ülgeq ütte! ("Let's sing together!").¹⁶ The texts of the Vel'okõsõq songs often discuss the theme of singing — its aims, qualities, requirements and effects. According to the song texts, it seems that for Setu men the greatest value lies in being together, and that being together means for them singing together. In one of the party songs the reasons for singing are explained in the following manner:¹⁷

VEL'OKÕISI PIKK ÄÄL (MY DEAR BROTHERS: THE LONG TUNE). [CD 15]

<i>Naka, naka mi naka vel'õl vaiõ laulõ-, laulõ-jo-mabe,</i>	Let's start singing merrily,
<i>Pesü, pesü mi pesü illo vaiõ pidä-, pidä-jo-mabe.</i>	Let's have some fun.
<i>Kua, kua no, kua süüdü vaiõ kul'a-, kul'a-jo-tõlla,</i>	What's the cause for our singing,
<i>Miä, miä no, miä vika veerä-, veerä-jo-tõlla?</i>	What's the reason of our chanting?
<i>Ommõ, ommõ jo, ommõ paras vaiõ pargi-, pargi-no-kõnõ</i>	There is a fine group of us here,
<i>Säädsä, säädsä no, säädsä laulu vaiõ summa-, summa-jo-kõnõ.</i>	It is the right setting for singing.

With respect to music the quality of "fusion in singing" manifests itself most clearly in the slow tempo, the large volume of sound, and the harmonic character of the multi-part texture: the fusion of the voices in the harmonic sonorities apparently gives great pleasure to the singers.

The question that arises in relation to the statements above is what the aim of Setu women's singing could be. In comparison with the musically very ascetic, monodic Estonian runic songs, Setu women's songs are more music-oriented — their tunes are longer, their musical form is more independent of the text, etc. As for the quality of "fusion in singing", the performance of multipart songs in itself already implies some sense of unity in a singing group. I dare to assume, however, that the Setu female singing group is rather a collective of individuals who enjoy the communication involved

16 As a matter of interest, "Let's sing together!" is also the name of the compact disc which presents the Setu men's singing tradition (CD *Ülgeq ütte!*). I believe that the expert on Setu men's songs, Paul Hagu, did not choose such a name by chance.

17 The text from the booklet to CD *Liinats'ura!* (2004), No 11; English translation by Pärtel Lippus.

in the process of singing (narrating) the song, or who simply concentrate on the poetry or the song's narrative while repeating the verses of the leader and reflecting on their meaning. The element of communication is at its most obvious when the leaders alternate during the performance of a song in an attempt to create the longest possible text. Unfortunately, in the situation of singing for collectors the main goal becomes to perform the song "properly" without breaks or corrections and the spontaneous communication between the singers recedes into the background. At any rate, the text of the song seems to be the main subject of communication (or reflection) in Setu women's singing.

The main difference between men's "fusion in singing" and women's "communication in singing" lies in the predominance of a collective identity in the men's singing group as opposed to an individual identity in the women's group. As mentioned above, in the Vel'okōsōq songs the men use the first-person plural "we", whereas the women prefer the singular. Vaike Sarv (2001) provides a good example demonstrating how collective or individual identity in the song text can be conditioned by the gender of the singers. She notices that in the lyric song *Laul laulust* ("The Song About Song"), which is often performed by women, the men replace the "me" character with a "we" character and sing a very similar text in the name of the men's group as a whole (Sarv 2001: 98). Not only do the Setu men speak in the name of the group, they also address this group. In the song texts the men's group often opposes itself to the "village": "we don't listen to the village singing, we don't notice the village mocking" (see the song text on page 11), "let's make the village listen to us" etc.

Such a strong "we-identity" within the men's group corresponds well with the conclusions drawn by Nadezhda Radina with regard to male discourse in Russian culture (Radina 2007). Radina finds that Russian men attach great value to belonging to the men's group and that competition within such a group is relatively less important. She assumes that "the patriarchal qualities of Russian masculinity are directed towards the outside; inside, the male homosocial group is focused not so much on competition as on mutual aid and cooperation within the group" (Radina 2007).¹⁸ Presumably, the same could also be said about the traditional Setu men's culture. The general emotion of the song texts (especially in the Vel'okōsōq songs) points to a very deep sense of unity and solidarity in the men's singing group.

Finally, it should be emphasized that the conclusions of the present research make no pretence to a more general validity beyond the geographical and temporal borders under consideration here. We are dealing here with the tendencies which characterized a certain type of rural society and which evolved and changed through time. It is

18 In this connection, Nadezhda Radina mentions the poeticising of male friendship, which is very characteristic of Russian culture.

quite possible that the attitudes concerning the priority of song text or music varied to some extent in both men's and women's singing depending on the song genre and the context of performance. It is also possible that among Setu men the music-oriented song genres have been better preserved than the text-oriented genres such as narrative songs and improvisations. Clearly, if this is the case, there must be an explanation. We may speculate that the texts of the men's songs were simply forgotten in connection with the fading of the old song tradition in the 20th century (and even earlier), or that the song texts lost their topicality for male singers. In any case, we may conclude that there is clearly a fundamental difference in the attitude of Setu men and women towards song texts, music and singing as such. The psychological tendency according to which men "sing" songs and women "narrate" them does indeed exist and may be considered one of the manifestations of gendered music making.

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The phenomenon of multipart singing in rural communities of the Dinaric Alps

ABSTRACT

This paper examines the role and power of multipart singing in rural culture of Dinaric Alps in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in Croatia as a means of reflexion of traditional local social conditions and norms of life within specific geographic and economic region.. It looks at how polyphonic vocal performances are incorporated into expression of the native concept of social structure and behavior in idealized cultural form. It also discusses details of particular components of musical style that are regarded by performers and active audience as the most appropriate acoustic and aesthetic experiences in this rural culture. The issue of gender in polyphonic singing is also in focus of the paper's discussion. It will enlighten the differences and dynamics in social statuses and the ways of musical interpretations.

The paper discusses a phenomenon of polyphonic folk music of Bosnia and Hercegovina and Croatia, and the way it functions under particular geographic and socio-economic conditions. This local cultural phenomenon relates to the mountain region of the Dinaric Alps that stretches parallel to the eastern Adriatic coast from the Croatian Peninsula of Istria in the north-west to Montenegro in the south-east. I will attempt to elaborate on the statement that polyphonic music here is not only the sound structure, but much more than that — the vocal relationship to space, the creative sonic expression of the conditions of life, social norms, identity, human relationships and local experience of beauty. This multipart music forms a contrast to Western polyphonic musical practices in many ways.

The discussions and statements reproduced in this paper relate to my research on polyphonic music in the Dinaric region undertaken in the period between the late 1960s and the early 1990s, when I investigated and recognized specific music and cultural phenomena. For this reason I will write primarily in the past tense.

The region of the Dinaric Alps is well known as one of the most economically passive regions of Europe. It has served through history as the natural barrier between the coastal and inner continental part of this western region of the Balkans, marking sharp regional divisions in many aspects: in climate, horticulture, the history of its people, and in general culture. For example, the Mediterranean climate with all its

benefits is typical for the coastal side of the Dinaric Alps, while a sharp continental climate characterizes the inner side of the mountains and makes life much more difficult. The people of the coastal side were orientated towards the Mediterranean, being connected by sea with western civilizations, while the people of the continental side of the Dinaric Alps suffered in poverty and in isolation from the rest of the world. The term Dinaric Alps thus became a synonym for backwardness in every way: economic, social and cultural. When we compare these two regions along the Eastern Adriatic coast, we automatically think about the sharp musical contrasts between the rough polyphonic singing of the inner mountain region of the Dinaric Alps on the one hand and the refined *klapa* singing of the coastal people on the other.

The Dinaric people, who are ethnically South Slavs (the Croats, Serbs and Muslims, currently referred to as Bošnjaci, that is Bosniaks) and assimilated descendents of older Balkan populations, survived under poor living conditions within small rural communities, where pastoral farming was the main economic resource. Besides cattle-breeding, the region provided limited conditions for agriculture. Only the products of livestock farming served in the past for economic exchange, while a modest variety and quantity of agricultural products were used for people's own needs. An underdeveloped economy, a low level of productivity and scarce opportunities for socio-economic exchanges were reflected by unusually limited communication with the external world and even with the people of nearby towns.

This situation in the Dinaric Alps region continued almost until the last decades of the 20th century, as the intensive Yugoslav processes of industrialization, urbanization and modernization did not reach most villages and hamlets within the Dinaric region. While the area was recognized as backward in every way, scholars interested in folklore found it to be an oasis for research into different aspects of traditional culture, including music, especially the phenomenon of *starinsko višeglasno, pjevanje*, that is ancient polyphonic singing.

However, for almost four decades (from the 1930s to the 1970s) the sound phenomena of the vocal polyphonic music of the Dinaric Alps primarily attracted the interest of experts. That means that the scholars primarily carried out structural analyses of traditional multipart musical forms, collected in the field. The specific functions of these forms and their ancient origin were also to some degree the subject of scholarly work. In general, this rural polyphony was recognized as the oldest layer of regional music, or as the frozen cultural relic, and consequently as the most valuable subject for scholarly speculations about the antiquity of the local music.

The intensified interest in collecting and researching polyphonic music among Yugoslav scholars in the 1950s corresponded with increased opportunities for making sound recordings on magnetic tapes. It improved the development of techniques and methods for making "more accurate" music transcriptions and structural analyses of

music forms. However, the scholarly approach to the phenomenon of multipart music in the Dinaric Alps region was based on Western theoretical standpoints, and it did not coincide with the people's theory of their own music. Actually, the people's theory was largely ignored in scholarly interpretations of the phenomenon of local polyphony. For cultural outsiders it was difficult to understand that these isolated rural dwellers, many of them illiterate people, might have their own theory of music. The official approach to the polyphony of the Dinaric Alps thus provided to some degree a limited scholarly interpretation.

In the 1970s the situation partially changed with regard to the ethnomusicological research of folk music in this corner of Europe, with a spread of interest in people's own interpretation of their culture, known in cultural anthropology as an *emic* approach. Alan Merriam's suggestion to study music in culture and as culture (Merriam 1964) also became applicable to the study of the rural music of the Dinaric Alps. These new courses of study of folk music opened up many questions related to the local music phenomena in the region of the Dinarics.

In fact, I was the first local scholar who made a switch from the existing directions of the study of regional traditional music. The official interpretation of traditional polyphonic music did not satisfactorily answer my initial question as to why there are contrasting experiences of multipart singing between performers and devoted listeners of this music on the one hand and urban people on the other hand, including us, the scholars. Actually, the researchers studied this music, but did not enjoy it in the way they adored their urban, essentially Western music. This means that we scholars did not achieve the same experience and understanding of rural music as local people did.

In addition, in the early period of my studies of polyphonic music it was difficult to me to understand how people could precisely identify the song genre or detect the origin of the singers just on the basis of hearing a song from a great distance without seeing the performers. For me, for example, all "travelers" and "shepherds" songs sounded the same, but the insiders in the culture were capable of precisely detecting the nuances in musical style and pointing out the local distinctions and individual characteristics of music performances.

As a graduate student of John Blacking at the Queen's University of Belfast in the mid-1970s, I found myself in the gap between East European scholarship in the field of ethnomusicology and many of Blacking's questions related to the topic of my dissertation — *Ganga, a form of traditional rural singing in Yugoslavia* (Petrović 1977). These questions were not just referring to *ganga*, but also to other forms of practiced music and many other aspects of local culture, such as:

- What makes *ganga*, a common polyphonic form of the region of Dinaric Alps, different in relation to all the other local music styles and genres?

- Are the differences related only to music structures, as the Yugoslav scholars emphasized, or are there also non-musical components that make *ganga* the unique form in its culture?
- What do local people who perform *ganga* or actively listen to it manifest as common emblematic view about that genre and which kinds of information do they provide — exclusively musical information or non-musical too?
- What else in the culture in the Dinaric Alps region corresponds with the territorial distribution of *ganga*?
- How is *ganga* identified by people who perform and listen to it?

The questions initiated many others, and returned me to the field to carry out research once again in order to understand not only how *ganga* functions as a polyphonic sound phenomenon, but primarily how it reflects the space, society and culture; in other words what else it expresses besides the sound of the music.

The new findings extended the spectrum of information and my understandings. It became obvious that the performers of and listeners to local music have created theoretical concepts and adequate terminology that relate to *ganga*'s specific aspects of music structure, as well as other co-existing music forms. I found that local people were very sensitive about the appropriateness of each element of musical style and that they were critical about every slight error made during song delivery. Their musical concepts and terminology were created in relation to space, that is familiar geography, activities, relationships between people, and finally to their own conception of beauty.

I came to understanding that in the region of the Dinaric Alps, polyphonic vocal music and other forms of traditional culture belonged to the people, who were physically and socially very much dependent on each other in every way. It was because this region was always under-populated and, as I mentioned before, geographically isolated. For that reason people were in desperate need of human support in daily life and, moreover, of communication with other people who shared the same conditions of life: the space, economy, social norms, and culture. Yet, even within such an egalitarian, small scale society, there were differences in the status of people, primarily based on rigid gender polarization, that were reflected in a variety of their cultural expressions, and interactions, including singing the songs.

Performing and listening to multipart songs within a traditional rural society came about primarily as a need for expressive communication and sharing of the same conditions of life with other persons who were of the same regional identity, same status, same sex, and preferably of the same generation. Spatial isolation urged people to come together and to share the songs. With their songs they also referred to other people across long distances, across the hill or valley, who could hear them singing *na otvorenom* — in the open air. In polyphonic genres, most elements of musical

style served one very important purpose — to achieve the strongest sound reproduction by all musical and extra-musical means and to be heard as far as possible. Traditionally there were no barriers in the mutual acceptance of music between the ethnic Serbs, Croats and the Muslims of the rural communities in Bosnia and Hercegovina, although singing together was an exception. For example, the Muslims in rural environments cultivated the same song genres as the rural dwellers of the other two nationalities, whereas they did not develop an affinity for the Muslim urban folk songs or *sevdalinkas*, which were performed as intimate, solo songs.

Not all the people in the Dinaric cultural zone were expected to be singers, but it was logical that all the people of this society were familiar with existing multipart songs and that they were capable of making appropriate statements and judgments on music that they were listening to. Many of my good informants who were not singers provided excellent detailed information on music style, aesthetics and the ways their music functioned in place, time and society, especially in connection with blending the voices together.

To be a good singer within a group reflected several qualities: musical talent, sociality, a good physical state and familiarity with existing cultural tradition. When speaking about sociality it did not mean that there was attempt to expose the single person. It was rather interpreted as the capability of the individual to be incorporated into the group and to sound as one with other members of the group while singing different song lines. Sociality showed the capability of the individual to communicate easily with other rural dwellers, that is with singers in the group and listeners. Traditionally, individuality in this society has been subordinated to communality, especially in connection to a women's status.

With regard to society's demand for good physical fitness, there was a common belief that good singers must be healthy, showing their strength during loud singing that revealed a capability to endure the difficult physical conditions of life. That was why the singing of the songs and dancing by young people, especially by the girls, was understood within society as a serious public test of physical endurance and communication skills that were very much needed in the productive period of life. A girl's first public singing within a multipart group of the same sex was a public declaration of physical maturity and readiness to change status, that is to become a woman. The boys also went through similar, but not as rigid testing within a male singing group. In general, there were fewer demands placed on men's singing. Men might have to show their socialization skills in other kinds of communication within the male side of society, especially when drinking alcoholic beverages together. The consumption of alcohol during singing also liberates them to some degree from strict adherence to the aesthetic norms. These norms related primarily to the clear articulation of voice quality, expressed as bell-like sounding, the achievement of perfect unity within multipart

song delivery, retentive presentation of traditional melodic patterns and harmonic patterns, and expressive uttering of ornamental tones, if they were demanded in specific genre.

The youngsters learned about existing cultural traditions, and social and aesthetic norms through a process of close communication with elderly members of the community, primarily of the same sex, and imitation of their singing styles. Thus, the musical patterns and aesthetic expectations were commonly known to all members of the rural community.

In all discussions on the organization of group singing, the people of the Dinaric region were always capable of explaining the function of each individual singing role, but they never gave special importance to any single singer, not even to the vodja (the song leader). In communal performance all the singers were of equal importance for good song delivery, whether they were leading the song, undertaking the lead part from the first leader, supporting, that is singing the second line in parallel, or embellishing the song with ornamental tones. The lead singer had a freedom to improvise melodic patterns to some degree, or to invent a new song text, but he or she could not declare himself/herself as the author of a song. People regarded multipart songs as a collective product. Modesty and the suppression of ego was a common feature here, especially in the female side of society.

These kinds of information within the holistic approach to *ganga* in the culture of the Dinaric Alps brought me to the point of deeper understanding of this music genre and other coexistent music forms.

A new kind of approach even greatly changed my previous transcriptions and analytic statements on *gargas* and other multipart songs, as the people of the Dinaric culture have been able to point out what was important in music for them and how their music has to flow in the “right way”. Their musical concepts contradicted previously transcribed and analyzed song presentations in many ways. While scholars pointed out that the tonal structure was one of the most stable and important elements of musical style, real practice and discussion among local people has shown that they could allow some flexibility about that. For example, one line in the song could be sung in diatonic progression and the second line could have chromatic features. The tone ranges, mostly in descending direction, could be also varied within two or more lines of the same song. However, the songs had very limited tonal ranges, rarely exceeding the tetrachord or pentachord. I found on the basis of people’s statements that one of the reasons for narrow, but still flexible tonal features, was the demand to keep the same, usually middle voice timbre, and the same strong vocal intensity through the entire song. Changes of timbre could decrease the strength of musical emission. Yet within limited tonal range and flows of narrow intervals the singers found their own way for melodic fluctuations and satisfying harmonic fulfillment, created by two

EXAMPLE 1. “Bosiok je
rano cvijeće” (Basil is an
early flower)
(CD 16) Women’s sing-
ing “in three” (pjevanje
“u tri”)

Performers and Place:
women’s group from the
village of Gornja Vručica
near Teslić in Northern
Bosnia.

Date: October 1982.

Recorded by: Ankica
Petrović and Predrag
Lazarević.

Transcribed by: Ankica
Petrović.

Source: Mg tape. Private
sound collection of
Ankica Petrović.

The musical score is presented in six systems, each with a vocal line and a bass line. The tempo is marked as $J=48$. The lyrics are written in Latin and Cyrillic. The lyrics are: "Bo-si-ok je ra-no cvijeće ra-no i ra-no - o - ho-o - ho - o - o - j bo-o - e - si - o - o - a - a - - ak - je - e - je - e - je - e - ra - - - - no cvije - e - - - - ce - no cvije no - o - - e - e - bo-si-o-o-o-o-ok je bo-si-ok je e o bo-si-ok ie".

or three vocal parts. Even within narrow tonal range the singers could achieve a variety of intervallic experiences which lead towards a melodic climax and then back towards expressive resolution.

For example, in the older singing style from Northern Bosnia, known as pjevanje “u tri” — singing “in three” parts, a leader sung two successive thirds after gradual melodic flow, enriched by ornamental tones. These thirds were experienced as unusually large melodic skips, especially in relation to a steady fundamental tone, performed in parallel by another two parts. The sudden skips brought the song to the point of expressive culmination which demanded gradual resolution, towards basic tone (example 1).

In the culture of the Dinaric Alps people were very sensitive about emblematic patterns of melodic flow, which were important for the identification of the song genre and style and also for recognition of the local and individual style features. Usually the initial pattern, which the leading singer delivers, was the most recognizable for song identification, although the singer has creative freedom to improvise it to some degree. In discussions on music patterning, people most commonly used the words that relate to direction of movement close to their pastoral life practice — *goniti uzbrdo*, *nizbrdo i pravo naprijed*, to chase uphill, downhill and straight ahead. Besides these expressions, women also used words that relate to embroidery and patterned knitting like: *šarati* — to draw colorfully, *kititi* — to decorate, and *ukrasiti* — to embellish, or *uljepšati* — to make more beautiful, relating all these terms primarily to the ornamental groups of tones, and to slicing up and down, especially in women's songs.

In this rural tradition the variety of ornamental tones compensated for the limitations of tonal ranges and melodic patterns. Music ornaments were experienced as the great embellishments, and in most cases, the chief characteristic of the particular song genres. In general, great aesthetic value was put upon ornaments.

The men used elaborate ornamental groups in their traditional multipart songs known as *putničke* (traveler's songs), *turčije* (songs in the Turkish manner), *svatovske potresalice* (wedding shaking songs), *nazdravice* (tossing songs), *ojkalice*, or *vojkalica*, (singing the exclamations “*oj*” “*voj*”) etc. Lengthened ornamental groups of tones in the form of tremolo, named as *ojkanje*, *vojkanje*, *potresanje* etc., characterized all these songs. Only one singer might perform the melismatic groups of tones within the song refrain, while other singers kept a lower steady tone (Example 2.). If there was no company of singers, the songs with long melisma could be performed by one singer, like *samačke putničke pjesme* — lonely traveler's songs.

Short ornamental tones in the form of prestrikes performed by one or rarely by two singers, were the most emblematic feature of the multipart *ganga* genre, typical in the whole of Hercegovina and in nearby parts of Bosnia and Dalmatian Zagora (Croatia). Here, people of Dinaric culture regard prestrikes as the chief feature of the *ganga* genre, calling them as *sjecanje* — cutting and *jecanje* — sobbing. Moreover, they emphasized that *sjecanje* and *jecanje* had not only decorative aesthetic value, but, according to the local experience, prestrikes also contributed to stronger dynamic emission of the song, especially when performed in open spaces. Prestrikes were more emphatic in *ganga* expressions of pastoral dwellers who lived at higher mountain altitudes, being more isolated from other people. Their songs had to spread even further away than the songs developed in the lower landscapes (example 3.). Good performance of the vocal part with prestrikes parallel with other one or two non-embellished parts had to create the bell-like sound. Here the sound association does not relate to church bells, but to the ram's bell, a sound of the pastoral environment. It is interesting that pre-

were mutually very dependent on each other. Multipart songs were usually performed within unisex groups of two to five singers. Only the newer genre of *na bas* “on the bass” singing made it possible to have more than five singers in the group.

Local people had no terms for the intervals, but they had a clear concept of how two or three individual music parts have to mutually blend in harmonic progression. Generally, harmonic intervals of major seconds in vertical progression were most characteristic here. They were used within the musical phrases as the flow of parallel seconds, or as the exchanges of the seconds, unison and eventually the thirds. Final resolution at the end of music phrases and songs most commonly came on the major second too. Such intended resolution on the harmonic major second stood in opposition to the dissonant treatment of the same interval in Western classical music theory and it served as a major finding of Yugoslav scholars. They presented this musical phenomenon as a very old remnant of Dinaric music tradition.

People experienced the harmonic major second as a powerful interval which provides great dynamic intensity, spreading farther in space than any other parallel sound and thus enabling people to be heard from a great distance. This requirement ran parallel to other previously mentioned stylistic demands whose final achievement has to be the creation of the greatest sound volume in all possible ways, aiming to relate to the environment and culture in a corresponding way.

Nevertheless, there were local and stylistic differences in the treatment of the harmonic major second and other narrow intervals in this part of the Balkans. For example, the polyphonic form named as *djevojačko pjevanje* — girls’ singing from the Western region of Bosnia — most commonly used intervals of the seconds in parallel progression of two parts, but resolution at the end of phrases and song had to come from the minor third to unison. The same practice of older polyphonic singing spreads further West to the Croatian Lika region, and also to the northern part of the Croatian coast, including the island of Krk, where it spread even to the Old-Slavic Catholic mass chant.

Differences in organization of the flow of individual voices in multipart structures also contributed to the creation of various multipart singing genres. For example, at the northern geographic edges of the Dinaric region the polyphonic music practice of *posavsko pjevanje* (singing near the River Sava) was typical. It mostly contained the major seconds in vertical relationships, but the inner organization of two parts was complicated as the voices crossed each other and musically reflected the interlaced social relationships within small scale rural communities.

The other example of particular song organization appeared in the previously discussed form of *pjevanje “u tri”* — singing “in three” — from the northern part of Bosnia. Scholars provided explanations of this term emphasizing that three singers take part in performances. I found out, on the basis of the singers’ statements, that there

EXAMPLE 3. *Ganga*

(CD 18) Performers and Place: Three singers from the village of Podorašac in Northern Hercegovina.

Date: September 1973.

Recorded by: Ankica Petrović and Predrag Lazarević.

Transcribed by: Ankica Petrović.

Source: Mg tape. Private collection of Ankica Petrović.

The musical score for 'Ganga' is presented in three systems, each with a vocal line and a piano accompaniment line. The first system features a solo part with the tempo marking ♩=72 and the lyrics 'Ja se - ljan - ka, se - ljan - ka mi maj - ka'. The second system shows a group part with a 'rit.' (ritardando) marking and a tempo of ♩=60, with lyrics 'sa se - la ću o o o o o o'. The third system returns to a solo part with ♩=72, with lyrics 'I - ja tra - ži - ću mo - ma - ka'. The fourth system shows a group part with ♩=60, with lyrics 'o o o o o o o o o o o o'. The fifth system is a solo part with ♩=72, with lyrics 'Ja se - ljan - ka, se - ljan - ja ka mi maj - ka sa se - la ću ij'. The sixth system shows a group part with ♩=60, with lyrics 'Ni - sam dra - gi ru - ža na sred po - lja da do - la - ziš o o o o o o o o o o'. The seventh system is a solo part with ♩=72, with lyrics 'I je kad je te - bi vo - lja ni - sam, dra - gi, o o o o o o o o o o'. The eighth system shows a group part with ♩=60, with lyrics 'ru - ža ja na sred po lja da do - la - ziš ij o o o o o o o o o o'.

may be more than three singers in a group, i.e. four or five, but that they perform and recognize three different parts, whence the local name. Besides the leading part there were namely two accompanying parts which perform the steady fundamental tone, but each of them was rhythmically independent, creating in this way the three part song. Steady tones, in other words monotone parts, were not regarded here as a drone, as is common practice in Albania and Bulgaria, but rather as melodies, as important as an elaborated leading part. Within the narrow tonal frame of the song, even the monotone uttering sounded melodically powerful to local people (example 1.).

The newer multipart genre is “na bas” pjevanje, on bass singing, also named bećarac, meaning bachelors’ song. This genre became popular among younger rural singers before, and especially after World War II, spreading from the Croatian Pannonian region to the Dinaric region of Croatia, Bosnia and Hercegovina and Western Serbia. It is still a very potent genre which may well spread further. The most common harmonic intervals are the thirds, but the seconds may also be included, especially in the older versions of “na bas” singing. The most emblematic harmonic interval comes here at the cadences in which the perfect fifth emerges. The harmonic intervals of parallel thirds and perfect fifth ending are obviously influenced by Western and church music, and are a modest reflection of the introduction of functional harmony.

Discussing all these specific sound features of multipart singing in the Dinaric Alps zone, we can conclude that they did not exist per se, just as sound phenomena isolated from other aspects of culture and society. They rather originated as peoples’ sound and acoustic experiences of the specific geographic and economic conditions of life, and as a sound response to the existing social and aesthetic norms. The most of these music characteristics have been enlightened by active actors in Dinaric culture within a process of anthropological approach of music, when the singers and active listeners provided accurate information, based on their own understandings of multipart singing. It was shown that music, society, ambience and economy coexist in interactive relation and that people within culture have developed high degree of awareness on it.

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Cultural listening in multipart traditional singing on the Northern and Central Montenegro coast and its hinterland¹

ABSTRACT

In traditional multipart singing on the Montenegrin coast with its hinterland, it is possible to recognize rural and urban styles. Rural singing is one form of the musical expression of coastal people, brought over from the mountainous areas (continental part of Montenegro). Songs performed in this way are most commonly heard at wedding ceremonies, occasionally at the festivities of the family patron saint, at spinning-bees etc. According to its characteristics, this heterophonic two-part texture is not essentially different from the one found in the continental part of Montenegro: the tone-row is mostly non-tempered, the interval of a second conceived as consonant, the customary solo opening, with other participants joining in at the second part of melo-stanza. Songs in this style are sung loudly, from the throat, for they are traditionally connected to performance in open areas. Urban songs are homophonic two or three-part love songs of the so-called Mediterranean type. Such songs usually make up the greatest part of the repertoire of singing societies called “klape” (singular: klapa). Klapa performances are associated with town plazas, seashore and so-called “djite” — boat trips. Klapa songs are a sung a cappella, in two or three parts, or accompanied by accordion, guitar, mandolin or tamburitza ensembles. It is the reason why their tonal basis is equally tempered, within the usual major-minor tonality, and with the interval of a third prevailing.

In my article I will show how singers listen to their traditional songs within each community (as the musical and cultural identity of rural and urban style), but also how “rural” singers listen to songs of “urban” singers and vice versa.

The vocal tradition of the Northern and Central Montenegro coast and its Hinterland population is manifold, because it has been formed by the intertwining of various influences.

¹ This area includes the localities of Boka Kotorska (see Marjanović Krstić 1998), Grbalj (see Marjanović 2005 and Marjanović 2008), Maini, Pobori, Braiči, Budva Paštrovići and Spič (see Marjanović 2003, Marjanović 2006 and Marjanović 2007). The reasons why the entire administrative area of the Montenegro coast with its hinterland (the musical tradition of Bar and Ulcinj) has not been researched are solely a matter of organization due to great though unsuccessful efforts to establish contact with the storytellers.

In the 14th and 15th centuries, the Slav population migrated from the Dinaric mountain area, mostly from rural, patriarchal and continental regions of Montenegro to the coast (Cvijic 1991: 130, 390, 396). The inhabitation of the researched area was not simultaneous, so there is an obvious difference between the tradition of the people that inhabited the researched area, for example, in the 15th century and the tradition of the people that inhabited the same area several years before.

The diversification of the tradition of those settlers was also caused by their choice of settling location. This is not only related to the difference between living in urban and the rural settlements, but also to the difference between living on the sheer coast and in its hinterland. All the urban settlements in the researched area are on the coast, and the rural settlements are in the hinterland and on the shore of the Adriatic Sea.

The differences between the settlements in the researched area deepened due to historical events. Foreign rulers fought over these areas: in the 15th century for example, it was the Venetians and the Turks. The Venetians had conquered the coastal area, and the Turks had conquered the hinterland of the coast of Montenegro. Afterwards other conquerors came. Among those who occupied and ruled the area, the French, the Russians, and after the 17th century Austria (1797–1806) and Austria-Hungary (1814–1918) stayed longest (Opća enciklopedija JAZU 1977 vol. II: 238, Daničićev zbornik 1925: 451).

The above-mentioned geographical features and historical and social changes affected the recognition of the vocal practice on the Northern and Central Montenegro coast and its Hinterland in the following ways:

1. Singing in THE URBAN STYLE. Urban-style singing in the researched area is a tradition in which the performers gather in so called *klape*.² In short, from the aspect of multipart singing, the urban style of performing is the only one that can be described as multipart singing in the musical practice of the Northern and Central Montenegro coast and its Hinterland. The musical features of the urban style of performance undoubtedly show that such performing is part of the tradition of the population of the coastal-Mediterranean cultural area,³ shaped by the urban lifestyle on the Adriatic Coast regardless of whether the Venetians or the Austro-Hungarian Empire ruled the area in the past. Such performing concerns homophonic, two-part, three-part and four-part performances of songs, which are mostly love songs and rhymed lyrics organized in verses. Their tunes are commonly based on major tonality. They have a

2 The name *klape* (singular — *klapa*) as well as the singing in the urban style are also common in the music tradition of the Dalmatian area (see: CD-ROM Hrvatska tradicijska kultura 2004, Čaleta 2008: 159–176).

3 This cultural area contains the tradition of the population of the urban settlements on the Adriatic Coast.

musical component alien to the songs of the hinterland, namely that they mostly use harmonies related to Western European classical music. These types of songs are sung in low voice, or, as the performers themselves say, in “*como voĥe*” (“sotto voce”, CD 19).

2. RURAL STYLE singing. This type of performance has ritual tradition as its basis; the tradition of a continental-mountainous cultural area from which (as previously mentioned) the population of the rural settlements originated.⁴ The use of melodic models for performing various lyrics is one of the features of the rural style of performance. Those melodic models are of limited range (mostly of several tones), and the sonority between the tones is mostly less than a tempered semi-tone. Rhythmic patterns of those melodic models generally follow the metrics of the lyrics. The songs of the hinterland are most commonly relevant to the occasion on which they are performed, every melodic verse is a meaningful unit, and the use of rhymes is very rare. They are mostly performed by a group of people in the form of unison singing.

Due to the different choices of settlement locations, the rural style of performing can be:

- Observed among the rural population of the people of hinterland whose ancestors have lived in the rural settlements since they inhabited the researched area (Grbalj, for example). Such a lifestyle reflects upon the musical tradition of the population of the hinterland which would not fall under the influences of the lifestyle on the coast. Therefore, it is not surprising that the songs sung in the rural settlements in the hinterland are performed very loudly or as the performers say “*из гласа*” (in full voice), for they are traditionally related to performing in open spaces. The characteristic feature of these songs is the rhythm of the movements. They are sung by groups of performers, but in unison. These songs periodically contain heterophonic singing, most commonly at the cadenzas (CD 20).
- Observed amongst the rural population inhabiting the coastline itself (for example in Paštrovići). Unlike the songs of the rural settlements of the hinterland, in these songs it is possible to clearly recognize both the former continental origin (they are still related to magical-ritual practice) and the influence of the lifestyle on the coast (one of the performers from an urban settlement described the tunes of Paštrovići as “*мелос је помјешан са морем и планином* [the *melos* of both the sea and the mountain]”, Rafailović 2008). These songs, which are sung in unison, are not sung loudly (such as those in Grbalj, for example) and their tunes are more melodious. The lyrics of the songs in Paštrovići also reflect the influences of the lifestyle

4 The continental-mountainous cultural area subsumes the culture of the continental and rural parts of Montenegro, Herzegovina and the Dalmatian hinterland.

on the coast, so other than the usual descriptions of the events which are important for Paštrovići, there is another aspect which is unfamiliar to the rural, patriarchal culture. In these songs, the figure of the woman has risen from her primary role of mother and is presented as a heroine (she even owns a sword), she is self-conscious, aware of her beauty and provocative behaviour, and she even challenges a man to an amorous duel (CD 21).

Many performers, regardless of whether they are from the urban or from the rural settlements, consider the questions concerning their respect for their own songs to be impertinent. The songs are highly regarded by both the performers from the urban and the rural settlements, because they represent a bond with their musical heritage and a sort of confirmation of their origins, which to them represents a form of identity. The performers from the Northern and Central Montenegro coast and its Hinterland are proud of their songs, they love those songs, but they also clearly recognize the songs which are not parts of their tradition (not only do they recognize the songs of their immediate neighbours, urban or rural, but also the songs from the continental area of Montenegro and from the Croatian coast).

By such recognition the people from the researched area express the fact that they consider someone else's type of performing to be alien, inconceivable, and that they simply do not understand it and thus cannot accept it. The reason for this is in two completely different approaches to music; namely, the performers from the urban settlements base their tradition on Western European classical music, and the performers from the rural settlements base their tradition on the music originating from the magical-ritual practice typical for the continental-mountainous cultural area.

The basic points of difference could be downsized to the following differences:

1. THE FEATURES OF THE TUNE of the songs from the urban settlements and the songs from the hinterland as well as their origins (mostly non-tempered tunes of several tones vs. melodious tunes),

2. THE FEATURES OF THE LYRICS of the songs. The songs of the urban settlements are mostly about love and they could be sung on various occasions, and the songs of the rural settlements are closely related to the occasions on which they are performed (they pass on a message which is important for the community).⁵

3. THE INTERPRETATION OF THE CONSONANCE i.e. the interval of third within a triad and the interval of a second which is usually a part of the above-mentioned cadenzas of some songs in the rural settlements of the hinterland.

5 The messages could be various, starting from the simplest description of a custom in a rural settlement to the symbolically designed lyrics which, according to the beliefs, could influence fertility, ingratiate people to their ancestors and so on.

4. **THE STYLE OF PERFORMING:** the technique (quiet singing vs. loud singing, as a form of identifying and cultural positioning, as well as via the terminology used) and the features of group performance (homophonic multipart singing vs. occasionally interrupted unison singing).

The performers themselves have a way of explaining all the differences listed above.

Performers from the urban settlements find that the songs from the rural settlements originate from “the people” (изашле из народа, Bajković 2008) but not from the individuals with a musical education or from individuals in the urban settlements on the coast, and that they are completely different from the songs of the urban settlements. That is one of the reasons why they find these songs alien, for due to their musical features and their style of performing (“сировог су звука”, “raw sound”, they are unusual and too loud, Bajković 2008), these songs are similar to the Montenegrin songs (the songs of the rural continental area of Montenegro.)

Када Грбљани пјевају, они то раде веома сложено, убедљиво, моћно, али њихове пјесме нијесу избрушене као што смо ми навикли. То се потпуно разликује од наше градске традиције, ми смо научени на класку пјесму, поводили смо се за далматинским пјевањем, па је и наша пјесма пјевна, распевана и пуна емоција, а теме сеоских пјесама су социјалне. (Bajković 2008)

When the people from Grbalj sing, they do so as one, very persuasive and powerfully, but their songs are not refined like those that we are used to. It is completely different to our urban tradition. We are accustomed to the music of the klape, we were inspired by the Dalmatian way of singing, so our songs are singable, melodious and full of emotions, but the themes of the rural songs are of a social nature”.

(The singer refers to the lyrics of the appropriate contents for the important events such as the weddings in the hinterland.)

The lyrics of the rural settlements not only have “social” contents, but the urban settlements’ performers are also of the opinion that they last too long (Bajković 2004). This clearly illustrates the different ways in which the aesthetic of the songs is understood: at a very conscious level, the urban settlements’ performers consider their songs to be a part of their artistic being that elevates them, entertains them and gives them pleasure. The rural settlements’ performers unconsciously ascribe to their songs the role of a mediator, not merely amongst themselves (as a form of a particular announcement that something important is in progress), but also between this world and the next, the inexplicable one, on the occasions when those songs would become the means of influence for the welfare of their community (Marjanović Krstić 1998, Marjanović 2005).

The urban settlements' performers noticed more "примарне дисонанце" ("primary dissonance", it refers to the sonority of second at cadenzas, Bajković 2004, Gregović 1996.) in the songs of the rural settlements in the hinterland, to which they are not accustomed; such sonority does not agree with their aesthetic vision about what is musically beautiful. This concerns the duality in the comprehension of consonance which is, in the songs of the urban settlements, attached to the sonority of third whereas in the songs of the rural settlements it is attached to the sonority of second. The performers from the urban settlements have that in mind when they say that their songs could only prevail in the urban settlements (such as Kotor, for example), but not outside them, and that the rural settlements' performers could not, even if they wanted to, accept the interval of third as consonance ("около се пјевало како је ко умио и морао", "one would sing as one could", Gregović 1996).

However, there is no hostility amongst the performers; the urban settlements' performers say: "иако ми нијесмо навикли да их пјевамо, ми смо навикли да слушамо те пјесме" ("although we are not used to singing those songs, we are used to listening to them", Bajković 2008). The reason for such tolerance is their common life in the same area where one of the most important unwritten rules is that regardless of whether the style of performance is urban or rural, one respects the tradition of others just as reverently as one's own tradition ("цијеним их /певаче из града, јер поштују своју традицију", "I value them [the urban settlements' performers], because they respect their tradition", Latković 2000). Finally, as the rural settlements' performers say: "и једно и друго је – музика" ("it's all music", both styles of performing, Bajković 2008).

The view of the Montenegrin population about music of different styles can be observed in the example of the Montenegrin emigrants in Vojvodina. One of the emigrants, Batrić Kovačević (born in 1936, in the village of Gluhi Do, on Crmnica, in the hinterland of the Montenegro coast), emigrated to Vojvodina in 1945 (to the village of Lovćenac). Since he was ten years old, Kovačević occasionally went to Crmnica, and attends dance (opo) and weddings (where traditional singing and dancing take place). He received traditional musical knowledge from his ancestors in that fashion, although he lived in Vojvodina, where he came into contact with different musical traditions: for example, the weddings are celebrated "уз музику" — with "the music", which is the local name for a band using an accordion, electrical guitar or piano, contrabass, drums, etc.. However, at the weddings of the Montenegro immigrants in Vojvodina, after a band finishes its performance, as Kovačević says: "онда је најмилије нашим људима запјевати, нама је то радосније него када музика свира [we like to sing ourselves, we prefer that to the music of the band!]" (Kovačević 1990).

The rural settlements' performers are no less lucid when it comes to the differences between their style of singing and that in the urban settlements:

Као да нам је Котор још даље но што је заиста (а удаљеност у километрима је незнатна. То су ти два свијета, те пјесме нису биле никада присутне у Грбљу, никад Грбљани нису доживљавали класку музику као своју, то је било страна, није могло да продре. Нешто ми до уши та пјесма не може да дође. (Latković 2008)

In its singing, Kotor is further from us than it really is (the distance in kilometers is truly minimal. We are talking about *two worlds*, those songs were never present in Grbalj; never have the people of Grbalj felt the music of klapas to be their own, it was alien, unable to break through. That sort of song cannot reach my ears.

The description of “the two worlds” is directly relative to the different musical features of both groups of songs, as well as to the different features of their lyrics. That is why the performers cannot see a single bond to connect their “two worlds”. The songs of the urban settlements differ in their musical features, according to the performers from the rural settlements, from the songs of Grbalj due to their “изговор” (“pronunciation”); they have their own “нагласке” (“accents”, both words are relative to the tune), “ту ништа није слично овом нашем пјевању и по смислу” (“they are very different in sense, as well”, relative to the lyrics, Latković 2008).

The songs of the urban settlements differ from the rural settlements’ songs in style as well, so the performers in some rural areas call them the “морским” (“sea songs”); they are not sung loudly, but “пјевуше” (“in a low voice”, Drašković 2008).

The performers can be very specific when it comes to the differences in the number of them in the urban and in the rural settlements: “у граду увјек пјева мање пјевача него код нас” (in the urban settlements the number of performers is always lower, Drašković 2008).

The rural settlements are also very much aware of the multipart singing practiced in the urban settlements, and they find that: “није лако пјевају у те класе, јер не пјевају сви пјевачи истим гласом (једногласно, као ми, у Грбљу, већ један пјева високо, други ниско...” (“it cannot be easy to sing in those klapas, because not all the singers sing in the same voice (unison) as we in Grbalj do: one sings in a high voice part, another in a low voice part...”). Some of the younger people in the rural settlements like multipart singing, and they find that: “за уво лијепо чућу класу, управо им се дивим што не пјевају једним гласом” (“it is nice to hear the klapa”, and what is more “we admire them because they do not do unison singing”, Drašković 2008).

The rural settlements’ performers can make a distinction between the rural style of singing in the hinterland (the people in Grbalj) and the rural style of singing on the coast of the Adriatic Sea (in the area of Paštrovići, for example). The differences can be seen in the melodic models: the people in Grbalj (rightfully) find that:

у нагласку (мелодији, најбитнија разлика, јер пјесме Паштровића имају један продужени нагласак у односу на наш, у Грбљу како кренеш да пјеваш прву реченицу, тако завршиш задњу (мисли се на силабичност, исто се пјева од почетка до краја, а Паштровићи задњи рефрен (мисли се на каденциони део песме) одједном продуже (тј, певају мелизматично), они оно задње убрзају, споје све! (Latković 2000)

the most important difference is in the *accent* (the tune), because the songs of Paštrovići have one prolonged *accent* compared to ours in Grbalj; we start singing the first sentence in the same way that we sing all throughout the song to the last sentence (the singers refers to syllabic singing), and in Paštrovići the last refrain (the singers refers to the cadenza section of the song) is suddenly prolonged (i.e. they sing that section in a melismatic way), they sing the last section fast and put it all together!

There is an identical opinion in Paštrovići about the songs in Grbalj: “слично је, а разлика је у мелосу” (“it is similar, but the difference is in melos”, the tune, Latković 2000). The people in Paštrovići share the opinion on the differences in the lyrics, and they find that the lyrics of their songs are “лиричнији” (“more poetic”) than the ones in Grbalj’s songs (Rafailović 2008). They also speak about the differences in the style of performing, and they find that performances in Grbalj are “грубље” (“rougher”) than in Paštrovići, they are more similar to the songs of the neighbouring continental area. Despite the differences mentioned, the people in the rural settlements find the rural tunes to be much closer to them than the tunes of the urban settlements, and it is not uncommon for them to say, for example: “ми у Грбљу прихваћамо паштровски мелос” (“we in Grbalj accept the melos of Paštrovići”, Latković 2008).

The younger generations in both rural and urban settlements are not particularly interested in their vocal heritage, which has become a matter of interest to those who were born in the 1940s and 1950s.⁶ These people do not see themselves as merely the representatives of their cultural heritage, but as its keepers as well. Despite the indifference of the younger performers, the people in the researched area are very active and are making great efforts to pass their tradition on to the younger generations.

Hence, in spite of their doubtless respect for their musical heritage, the older generation do not strictly and literally repeat what was learnt, but also express the need for novelties. The performers of both urban and rural styles leave their own personal mark, however modest it may be, but it is still very important to each style because it is another brick in the wall.

⁶ The reasons for that situation are many: the social order after 1945, the catastrophic earthquake in April 1979, the development of tourism during the second half of the 20th century, etc. All of that created the need to move from rural settlements to urban ones.

An example of the previously mentioned process in the urban settlements is hiring composers and producers and passing on from a cappella performance (which was common in the 20th century) to orchestras. Examples of this are the urban settlements' songs which the performers of Kotor call "праве" ("the real songs"), "старе" ("the old songs"), or "прчањске" ("the songs of Prčanj", Gregović 1996).⁷ These are unison songs,⁸ but in the second half of the 20th century they were musically arranged and signed up by various music producers. All of this happened because unison singing has, according to the words of one of urban performer in Kotor, made them "поприлично мртве" ("quite dead", i.e. musically boring, Gregović 1996). Hence the musically gifted and educated locals, as they themselves explained "дали мало живота" ("gave them a little bit of life"), which means that they have produced them "a la dalmatinski" (in a "Dalmatian way") and performed them in a three-part and four-part manner (Gregović 2006).

In the second half of the 20th century, the performers gathered not only in their own communities (to protect their tradition and involve young people), but also performed for audiences outside of their community. In this way, a new social and cultural aspect in their tradition was created: the stage.

On the stage, tradition takes on new forms, new streams, and new tendencies: the old and almost forgotten forms are restored and new ones have been created which include cooperation with professional musicians.⁹ As mentioned above, it is clear that the performers of the area have been individually defined by the style of the original musical tendencies there and that there are two irreconcilable musical points of view. The crossover to "the other side" has, however, been made, but only from the rural to the urban settlements, and it has caused various reactions of the performers in the research area. Here are two examples of that:

- The first example is the musical arrangement of one of the songs from Paštrovići (CD 21). This musical arrangement is based, as usual, upon Western European music (made for the female klapa "Harmonija" from Budva, CD 21). The audience

7 Prčanj is a smaller but still urban settlement and it has been so since the 15th century. It was populated by families of Italian origin which have, in spite of the tradition of the Slav population that inhabited the area later on (Nakićenović 1999: 223 and 224), left a strong Mediterranean mark on the musical tradition of Prčanj. There is written evidence (see Vasiljević 1965 and Marjanović Krstić 1998) as well as verbal evidence from the singers of Kotor, according to whom the songs from neighbouring Prčanj are the oldest part of their repertoire.

8 This is the practice recorded in the researched area in the middle of the 20th century (see Vasiljević 1965: example on p. 285, p. 299 etc).

9 The performers in Grbalj, for example, have been performing publicly since 2001, thus publicizing their wedding festivities, especially those which are less practiced.

in Paštrovići found this musical arrangement disagreeable only because, as they say, everything was “искривљено” (“distorted”, Mitrović 2008, Rafailović 2008). By that, they were not criticising the new musical means applied in the musical arrangement (multipart singing instead of the traditional unison singing, for example), to which they are indifferent. They do however criticize the lyrics, which in this musical arrangement have been abbreviated due to the stage rules (the monotony of the repetition of the melody related to the prolonged lyrics) which made it poetically worthless and meaningless to the audience of Paštrovići. Even the female performers of the *klapa* are aware that these types of musical arrangements make a greater impact upon the audiences outside Budva and Paštrovići and they say that “свом на свому је увјек тешко” (“it is hard to perform to our own audiences”, Bogović 2008).

- The second example (CD 22) is a musical arrangement of the songs of Grbalj which has been entrusted to the lecturer in music Aleksandra Jović Miletić and which has not been based on the principles of Western European music but particularly on the traditional tonal bases. Although the concept is a touch more modern, the original order of the song and its “sound” have not been altered. Therefore the reactions of the audience in Grbalj to songs which have been treated in this way are mostly positive and express the awareness of these Grbalj’s singers of many aspects of their music in general.

One of the selected songs is traditionally performed in unison by women (DVD 04), but in the musical arrangement of Aleksandra Jović Miletić this song is performed in a multi-part manner and in one of its segments men also sing (the lyrics are traditionally phrased in the form of dialogue which justifies the musical arrangement, DVD 05).

This has been noticed by the performers from the hinterland themselves:

“Свиђа ми се што сте пјесму подијелили на дјевојке и мушкарце, и не смета ми што не иду истим гласом [I like the fact that you have divided the song between the men and women, and I do not mind that they do not sing in the same voice”, i.e. they are not sung in the traditional unison manner].” (Ivetić 2007)

The performers describe the musical arrangements of their own songs as “мало модернизоване” (“slightly modernized”), but they do not mind that, because they are “за ухо” (“pleasant to listen to”, i.e. they agree with their sense of beauty in music), and what is more, they are “фантастично испале” (“fantastic”). They also find that in the future these musical arrangements may “да живе, а ово наше (мисли на грбаљаску певачку праксу) ће се заборавити” (“live on, and our songs [the singer refers to the current vocal practice in Grbalj] shall be forgotten”). The rural settlements’ performers see the possibility to interest young people in their own tradition by means of such musical arrangements because, as they say, “основа је наша и сачувана је (мисли се

на мелодију, ријечи пјесме су сачуване, као и боја изражавања (мисли се на стил извођења, (“the basis is ours and it has been preserved [the singer refers to the tune], the lyrics are preserved as well as the tone of expression” [the singer refers to the style of performing]). All of that is the reason why these songs, regardless of the musical interventions alien to their tradition, “сваки препознати” (“will be recognized by all”, Krstičević 2007)!

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III. LOCAL TERMINOLOGY

Technical terms in Sardinian multipart singing by chording

ABSTRACT

In Sardinia, there is a complex technical vocabulary connected to multipart singing. A significant portion of it is shared by the island's polyphonic traditions. Special complexity is shown by the vocabulary of multipart singing by chording, which is made up of terms to mean:

1. Denominations of the singing groups corresponding to the denominations of the songs' type (the preposition "a" is often added in order to specify the musical action: i.e. *tenore* = name of the singing group; *a tenore* = name of the song's type);
2. Denominations of the single vocal parts;
3. Denominations of choir sections that have definite functions in some performance contexts;
4. Denominations of the genre of songs;
5. Terms that identify special songs referring to performance contexts (mainly within the ritual scenarios);
6. Denominations of individual songs (mainly in religious contexts);
7. Denominations of significant sections of the songs;
8. Denominations of musical passages or other components;
9. Denominations of aesthetic attributes of the songs;
10. Idiomatic phrases referring to the singing groups or the song.

We have listed the terms concerning the above mentioned first five points in the tables included in the addendum of this volume. These tables also show the local lexical variations.

In our paper we will deal with the terms referring to the points 7 to 9, analyzing in depth their connection with the making of music and its transmission. Even if each village has its own musical definitions, there is a general correspondence in the concepts individuated by the different words. In our opinion, it confirms that at the basis of the different domains of Sardinian multipart singing by chording there is an analogous musical thinking, pivoted on the sound of the complete chord.

By means of some significant examples we intend to demonstrate that the technical terms constitute a sort of inner musical representation of the performing practices. Such a representation provides an indispensable guide for any analytical study, since Sardinian multipart singing by chording is not a collection of musical objects but music-making within a collective village's life.

In Sardinia, the multipart singing by chording is a widespread and very representative musical practice. It springs from coordinated musical acts by three, four or five male voices singing pitches whose reciprocal intervals produce complete chords (in cases with the doubling of the key notes). These chords are not the goal of the performance but they ensure a basic sonority for very complex music making and provide considerable space for creativity.

For three years we have been developing a very large study on this theme. Our purpose is to interpret this multipart singing within the life of villages, analyzing it as a performative pattern which includes a high degree of iconicity, representing relationships among the singers (and the listeners within participatory performance — see further) and collectively shared meanings and values within a community.

Here we have no time to deal with the technical and symbolical features of Sardinian multipart singing by chording: we refer to the current specialized literature (mainly Macchiarella 2008; 2009; Lortat-Jacob 1998; 2008).

I. Basic bipolarizations

In Sardinia there are about seventy villages where men from all ages perform multipart singing by chording. Each village has a style of its own that is called *traggiu* or *moda* (see below). Synthetically, every performance is started by a soloist (more or less wide) melodic segment: it gives the tune and the tonal shifting of the song. At a prearranged point of this soloist melody, the other vocal parts join the performance, producing the first chord that has a basic relevance. According to the different local practices, the performance develops on the basis of two different musical patterns:

a) On the one hand, there is a polyphonic scheme constituted by a soloist singing the text accompanied by three (seldom four) vocal parts arranged in syllabic formulas. In this case, the soloist's melody continues with its rhythm while the other parts reply to the first chord in a rhythmic structure of their own, so that a peculiar polyrhythm characterizes the performance (Lutzu 2008);

b) On the other hand, there are polyphonic schemes due to movements of all the parts (four as a rule; sometimes five, seldom three). These movements start after the first chord: they are homorhythmic, in a “free” rhythm structure (i.e. they have no meter, as their temporal values are not derived from a basic unit). The performance is subdivided into sections that are delimited by a long rest, corresponding to the singers' breathing: normally each section starts and ends with the same chord, but different chords could occur within it. All the parts sing the text (Lortat-Jacob 1998; Macchiarella 2009).

These two musical patterns are not dichotomous: they are two poles of a continuum of different local performance structures (called *traggios*; sing. *traggiu*) from one extreme to the other. More than one pattern could exist within a single village, and many singers are able to perform both the patterns.

Concerning the performative contexts, two different performance scenarios may also be singled out:

a) On the one hand, multipart singing by chording is a way of music making in a village's life, a pattern for its musical creativity (in John Blacking's sense), to produce musical performances that represent relationships and shared meanings within a community. Both in daily and festive contexts it is widely performed in the *tzillari* (i.e. bars or wine shops), at the evening gatherings, in the familiar or friendly meetings during patron feasts, and so on. In such a scenario, it is practiced by a large number of trained men, whether young, adult or old, from all social classes: shepherds, farmers, cattle breeders, employees, professionals, etc. In each village there are hundreds of men able to sing at least one of the four vocal parts: when circumstances are favourable it is sufficient that the initial soloist segment is sung for a quartet to soon be formed. These kind of performances include a high level of iconicity within what Bernard Lortat-Jacob calls "la force de l'oralité musicale" (cf. www.lortajablog.free.fr). Actually, in the life of a village, multipart singing by chording is really a lively form of musical expression. It is not a simple legacy of the past or something which has survived it; it is a contemporary form of communication.

b) On the other hand, multipart singing by chording is an element in the Sardinian media-sphere and concert arena. It is a 'new phase' that has become a musical object performed by semi-professional singers for the entertainment of the largest undifferentiated audiences. This 'phase' started in the last three to four decades as a result of concerts on stage; it has received a strong impulse from the international "world music" vogue — particularly after 1994 when Peter Gabriel "discovered" the *Tenores di Bitti* (and the subsequent CD — see *Tenores di Bitti* 1996). Dozens of new permanent quartets were born in various villages proposing standardized versions of the local repertoires. These groups are quite similar to pop groups; nothing is left to improvisation: they even take care of the smallest details in their concerts: the length of single pieces (no more than 3–4 minutes), the costumes, the song's introduction, the proxemics on stage and so on. They record and sell CDs, cassettes or DVDs. Many of them have a web site (also with blogs or fanzines) and belong to the list of national music contractors. Some quartets have collaborated with international stars of pop music, jazz or with academic musicians (e.g. Ornett Coleman, Lester Bowie and Paolo Fresu, or the Darmstadt Internationale Ferienkurse für Neue Musik, the Cappella Musicale di San Petronio) and so on. They are invited to appear on very popular national TV shows followed by an audience of millions.

The two scenarios are not reciprocally impervious. Like code switching, many singers have an almost dual musical attitude, i.e. they are able to make music in the village's scenario with other semi-professional singers and, with a change in the situation, they transform themselves into professional singers on the stage.

Other semi-professional singers don't feel at ease in the first scenario, despising the village's performing contexts.

II. A very complex lexicon

Multipart singing by chording is a very specialized musical practice. The singers are highly trained musicians within a specific music domain that is different from "the elite arts".

They make music in two ways: a) they produce multipart coordinated vocal sounds, and b) they talk about what they do, elaborating ideas about musical structures, aesthetics, contexts of performance, history of their repertoires and so on. They are really involved discussions, often with metaphorical use of the words, with frequent allegories and figures, idiolect phrases, etc. There is nothing of the "objectification" of the musical grammar we are accustomed to.

It is easy to understand how difficult it is to analyse such a discussion. A very profound knowledge of every local music scenario is indispensable — that also means local linguistic habits, musical individualities etc. In fact, every village (or even musical group) has its musical discourses, even its lexicon.

However, within these discourses, some words are closely connected to technical aspects of performance and the transmission of sound production.

For the aims of the meeting we concentrated on these terms that form a very complex lexicon.

III. Ten Typologies of Technical Terms

When you ask to a singer about the meaning of a technical term he uses, he normally explains it by singing. That is normal in an oral musical practice. Only a few singers are accustomed with the grammar of "art music" and are able to give lexical definitions.

Our lexicon is therefore mainly a result of our great experience as researchers (and practicing — in Sebastiano's case).

Although there are relevant variants in some villages' uses, the technical terms are essentially shared by all the local music practices. In our opinion this is a very important point that suggests the basic unity of the "music thought" of Sardinian multipart singing by chording — despite the great variety of local repertoires.

There are both special terms with only "musical meanings" and words that are common in the Sardinian language that acquire a special meaning in musical practice.

A lot of terms are verbs (or suggest an action): it's another important point, as it confirms that multipart singing by chording is considered as "doing something" (making music) instead of a corpus of musical objects.

On the whole, our lexicon is made up of hundreds of terms which we classify into ten typologies:

1) Denominations of the singing groups corresponding to the denominations of the type of song. The preposition "a" is often added in order to specify the musical action: i.e. Tenore = name of the singing group; a Tenore = name of the type of song;

2) Denominations of the single vocal parts (bassu, boghe, contra and so on);

3) Denominations of choir sections that have definite functions in some performance contexts. In particular, it is the restricted three part group made by the lowest, the second and the fourth vocal parts (from the bottom up): this group has a special function in accompanying the improvised poetry contests and — more generally — it plays the accompanying role in the first polyphonic scheme we mentioned above ("a solo" song accompanied by three vocal parts arranged in syllabic formulas). Often this denomination coincides with that of the entire quartet, but conceptually the two musical unities are clearly distinct;

4) Denominations of song types. They are not "music genre" in the "art music" sense. As a rule, the types identify musical functions of multipart singing: for instance cantu a ballu (dance song) means "a performance to accompany the dance" but it doesn't define a particular category of music features that can be distinguished from other categories. Cantu a boghe notte (literally 'nightly song') means "singing for the pleasure of spending time together", to sing in order to emphasize the content of the texts (in the past it meant also "to sing a serenade"); cantu a sa seria (literally "serious song") signifies singing in a slow tempo in order to facilitate the "word by word" understanding of the texts. And so on.

The differences among such typologies are not so precise in a taxonomical sense. Each village has customs of its own with special nuances in the meaning of every term.

5) Terms that identify special songs within special performance contexts. They are mainly within the ritual scenarios: i.e. Chidasantinu (Holy Week songs), Gosos de giòvia e chenàbura santa (Good Friday songs), Gosos de Nostra Sennora (songs sung during the feasts dedicated to Our Lady), Gosos de sos Santos (songs dedicated to the life of the saints), Su ninnieddu and A su nascher de Jesus (Christmas songs), etc.

6) Denominations of individual songs, mainly in religious contexts. For instance: Miserere, Kyrie, Te Deum. In secular practice there are only a few special songs that have a conventional denomination: for instance in Santu Lussurgiu there is S'acchettuzzedda (the word has no semantic meaning), in Bosa there is su Vocione (literally the "big voice"), etc.

7) Denominations of significant sections of the performance. First of all, the beginning of the performance that has a special relevance. It is generally called *s'isterrida* — we'll come back to this point.

8) Denominations of musical passages or elements. They are expressions identifying special musical segments (mostly melodic ones) that have different functions, like the personalization of a vocal part, of a group's style etc. — we'll come back to this point.

9) Denominations of aesthetic attributes of the songs. Sardinian multipart singers and listeners often discuss the aesthetics of their performances: there are very complex discussions with special terms that vary significantly according to local uses — see also later.

10) Idiomatic phrases linking to the groups or the song. This a very large corpus of phrases where figures of speech are very frequent, including references to local histories, memories of groups or singers of the past etc.

IV. Representation of performing practices

We have listed the terms concerning the above-mentioned #1–6 points in the tables included in the Annex of this volume. They show the local lexical variations, village by village. The terms represent what are called the “traditional customs” (*su connutu*), i.e. the most common definitions that are shared by the majority of local singers (and listeners): but as in any oral lore (oral acquaintance) there are continuous transformation processes. For instance, in Bortigali the eldest singers told us that in the past the polyphonic scheme, a solo song accompanied by three vocal parts arranged in syllabic formulas, was called *Cantu A Cuncordu*. Nowadays the young singers use the term *A Tenore* song because in the Sardinian (and national) mass-media this is the most common definition for such a musical pattern. For the same reasons, the performances tending towards the other musical pole (homorhythmic parts in a “free rhythm” structure) were called *chidasantinu* while today they are called (simply) *A Cuncordu* song.

The terms of previous #7–10 points are very complex to deal with. It is impossible to synthesize their main interesting elements. We only wish to point out some basic features.

First of all, we note that there is no term which simply means “chord” (*accordo*), i.e. for the pivot sound of the musical pattern. There are terms to indicate if something is wrong in the tuning. Singing chords is the “normal music behavior” (the “normal music-making”) so it is not conceptualized: but if the performance departs from this “normality” the singers have the terms to talk about it.

Analogously, there is no term for “note”, but a distinction between a “good note” (*nota bona*) and a “bad note” (*nota farza*), that means a distinction between sounds which allow the performance to go on and sounds that stop it. But there is no concept of “note” — as the basic unit of music — such as we are accustomed to in our musical grammar.

The definitions of significant sections of the performance are really interesting when it comes to understanding the representation of music-making by the singers.

For instance, in the typology of Boghe Note song they identify two distinctive sections: *isterrida* and *zirata* (there are also some local lexical variants). As a rule, *s’isterrida* is the beginning of the performance. It is made by *sa pesada*, i.e. the soloist opening song by the boghe, and by the following entrance of the *tenore*, i.e. the three part restricted choir we mentioned before which sings the chord using nonsense syllables. Firstly, the boghe and *tenore* do not overlap. The rhythm is very slow, and the singers can check their tuning (in the very fine distinctions). The text is clearly scanned by the boghe. The *isterrida* does not have a prearranged length of time: till the singers are not conscious they are really ready for the development of their singing they keep on with this alternating singing. The verb *isterrere* literally means “to stretch”, “to extend” or “to explain” (metaphorically it means to prepare “the field” for the song).

The *isterrida* may be repeated many times during each performance. Normally the boghe decides when it is opportune to stop the singing normal articulation (that means the overlapping between boghe and *tenore*) in order to propose a new *isterrida* section. Sometimes the other singers could suggest this repetition through non-verbal signs. Such a repetition could have two purposes: on one hand, the boghe likes to clearly introduce some special lines of the text; on the other hand the boghe (or other singers) observes that there are problems in tuning notes and they slow down their singing to correct them. So the *isterrida* is more than a slow introduction: it’s a tool to control the singing, to underline some texts lines, to create the right mixture among the parts (and the voices) and more.

In point 8 of our list (denominations of musical passages or elements), *puntu* is a very basic concept. It indicates the pitch of a fundamental note of the basic chord. As in oral tradition, *su puntu* is not a fixed note: the singers usually do not use the diapason. Each time the boghe chooses (sets) the *puntu*. The term is often used in discussions among the singers and the listeners. There is often intense controversial and constant quarrelling about it. Beyond the sound aspects, *su puntu* also represents also the fulcrum of the inner dynamics and relationships among the singers, implying complex mechanisms of mutual challenge.

Among the many terms of our nine-point list (denominations of aesthetical attributes of the songs) we focus briefly on the adjective *tenorosa*. As a rule, it is used to qualify a single vocal part (above all *sa boghe* or *sa contra*). The meaning of the ad-

jective might be obscure from outside musical practice because it does not have the semantic precision of our musical lexicon. On the whole *tenorosa* means that one voice is mixing well with (tying in with) the other ones, both from a rhythmic-melodic and timbral point of view. The adjective characterizes a special vocal quality, i.e. the capability of one voice to give to the other one the opportunity so sing as well as they can. A typical phrase is: “*Tenet una boghe tenorosa chi ti nche bogat su bassu dae corpus* [He has a “*tenorosa*” voice that is able to draw out the *bassu* from its body].” Naturally, there is no “scientific” meaning of such a quality: the attribution of the adjective *tenorosa* to a voice depends on the local cultural listening processes.

Two short examples of idiomatic phrases (# 10) are specific to the *Santu Lussurgiu* customs. If the *boghe* start with a very high pitch, they call it *su puntu 'e Cristu* (i.e. the point where Jesus Christ is), paradoxically overemphasizing the sense of height. If a performance doesn't work well the listeners might say *No annant manco a tira* (a *funne*) (literally it doesn't work even if you drag it — by a rope). It is a metaphor to say that if the performance circumstance are not favourable, it's useless to begin the song: it will produce nasty singing and nothing will be able to help it.

Conclusion

Music and musicians are recognized as having a special role in creating a space in social life. It is a very special space where notes are more than simple sounds. The related words also create more than simple phrases: their meaning is beyond the semantic (their ordinary meanings).

The focus on the formal feature is probably not so important for an oral culture singer: it has no practical relevance for him, so it is not very interesting. A multipart singer thinks of music as if it were essentially about “making something” together with other people. The “doing” (action) is heuristically more important than an analytical examinations of sound sequences. The imitation of a behavior is more useful than its later description: as we know, it is the basis of the oral transmission (even if nowadays the secondary oralities mechanisms are more and more decisive). For instance, when an old singer invites a young one by saying “*Faghe un'istèrrida!* [Sing an *istèrrida!*]” he will specifically sing the melody (“sing this one”), but he could not explain what he meant in words.

In such a context, the technical terms are quite similar to a gesture (near to a performative utterance in a linguistic sense): they are part of “a making”. In that sense they constitute a sort of inner musical representation of the performing practices (and of course they provide an indispensable trace for any musicological study in our sense).

In fact, the analysis of technical lexicons must be a part of a more complex study of music making within a cultural listening process.

As we have said, our contribution is still a work in progress which essentially concerns multipart singing as “music making” in village scenarios — that is very different from the multipart singing within the Sardinian and World Music media-sphere and concert arena which is a production of pre-set musical objects.

Until now we have confirmed that the different local practices of multipart singing by chording spring from a basic, similar musical thinking which centres on the sound of the complete chord. That is what we would like to interpret in the further development of our research.

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The role of folk terminology in the research of multipart singing in Austria

ABSTRACT

Since multipart singing is a defining moment for regional singing styles all over Austria, multipart singing was already a crucial topic right at the beginning of systematic folk music research in Austria. As early as in the questionnaire conceived by Joseph Pommer 1906 for the enterprise “Das Volkslied in Österreich” (Folk song in Austria), notation of polyvocality was requested and it was explained for the collector that two kinds of multipart singing exist: “Sekundieren” (= to sing a second voice) which means that the second part lies beneath the main part, and “Überschlagen” (= to bang the voice ahead) which means that the second part lies over the main part. These denominations do not come from common music theory but represent the folk terminology. Folk terminology in this context was observed by several scholars even before the notion of authentic polyvocality became standard in the scholarly publication of traditional music. As the understanding of multipart singing as a process of improvisation and communication increased, scholars also became conscious of the importance of folk terminology as a means of arrangement between the members of a singing group. This paper points out how scholarly discourse developed and how it influenced the practical experience of singers in the field of folk songs.

Most traditional folk song in Austria is multipart singing. The ability of people who have received no formal musical training to suddenly sing a harmonically and melodically fitting second voice to a given melody was already noticed by musically educated travel writers of the late 18th and 19th centuries, particularly from England. The English musical scholar Charles Burney travelled to Vienna in 1772 and noted that — unlike in England — two-part and multipart singing were common. He considered the ubiquitous church music to be the reason for this. Around 100 years later the Austro-Irish author Baillie Grohman (1851–1921) described some such scenes in his book *Tyrol and the Tyrolese* (1876) and observed “To be able to join in with a second or third voice in a song which they have not heard before is a very common accomplishment.” (Grohman 1876: 49)

Where this ability comes from, and whether it is really connected to church music or choirs, has remained unanswered. One thing is certain — it has nothing to do with reading notes or learning voice leading by heart, but is rather a form of musical communication which consists of listening and reacting.

Apart from the notes of the travel writers, we have had records of folk songs from the territory of modern Austria since 1807 which, however, initially gave no indication of polyphony. The majority of the songs from the 19th century which were written down are one-part, or were provided with a piano accompaniment for use in bourgeois drawing rooms, or were rearranged for male choirs. The recording of traditional multipart singing only became standard practice with the major collection scheme *Folk Songs in Austria*, which was initiated in 1904 (cf. Deutsch-Hois 2004). At the same time, the first sound recordings of multipart songs were made. The first sound recordings of three-part songs performed by three men were made by Sigmund Exner in St. Gilgen in 1903 (cf. Lechleitner 2004).

With the beginning of systematic research into folk music, collectors realised that folk singing has an unwritten handed-down polyphony which has its own rules and differs from multipart art music. On the basis of numerous recordings, the different types of this multipart singing were subsequently scientifically analysed and named. The expressions used to describe this phenomenon vary, but usually attempt to emphasise the difference compared to the way pieces are structured in art music (cf. Gartner 1959). Walter Kolneder, who wrote the first comprehensive work on multipart singing in the folk music of the Austrian Alps in 1949 as part of his dissertation, calls it “genuine popular” (“volksecht”) multipart singing (Kolneder 1981). Walter Deutsch and Franz Eibner and their students added expressions such as “folksy” (“volkstümlich”), “appropriate to the people” (“volksgemäß”), “popular-musical” (“volksmusikalisch”), “traditional” (“traditionell”), “authentic” (“authentisch”) or “spontaneous” (“spontan”) (cf. Eibner 1972, 1980; Deutsch 1970; Fritz 1988). In the course of research, it has become increasingly clear that multipart singing in a group as it is normally practised in folk music is a communication process which in the distribution of its roles and the way the participants act spontaneously according to certain rules, is much more similar to a conversation than the performance of a work (cf. Walcher 1990). I would therefore like to add the expression ‘discursive’ multipart singing (discursive in the sense of a conversation going back and forth), which seems to me to express this aspect particularly well. And thus the folk terminology related to multipart singing clearly comes into focus.

In DISCURSIVE MULTIPART SINGING the tones sung represent the largest and most important part of this communication, but there is also verbal communication.

The observation of such phenomena already goes back more than 100 years. Traditional names for the roles in multipart singing were first recorded in 1891 by Thomas Koschat for five-part songs in Carinthia (Koschat 1891: 174). In 1903, Josef Pommer, the founder of systematic folk music research in Austria, remarked in an article on the “Art-like aspects of folk music” (“das Kunstmäßige in der Volksmusik”), and that people had “invented a whole stock of musical expressions for their own use”

(das Volk hat “einen ganzen Vorrat von musikalischen Kunstausdrücken für seinen Hausgebrauch erfunden”, Pommer 1903: 47), and mentions a large number of them related to multipart singing. According to him, singers generally speak of ‘seconding’ (sekundieren) when the accompanying part is sung below the principal part, and of ‘turning over’ (“überschlagen”) when the accompanying voice is sung above the principal voice (Pommer 1903: 42). When a melody voice is octaved in bass register, the singers criticise this as a “cobbler’s bass” (“Schusterbass”, Pommer 1903: 22). According to Pommer, the singers also name their yodels according to the type of voice leading and the number of voices. Pommer explains the expression *dreispanig* for a three-part yodel as coming from *gspan* or *gspanin* (team[mate]) for the fellow singer. Pommer explains “When a singer is called upon to entertain the others with a song, one can sometimes hear the refusal “I can’t sing, my mate isn’t here today”. (“I kann nit singen, es is mein Gspan heut nit da”; Pommer 1903: 22).

An important landmark in the documentation of discursive multipart singing was the so-called ‘Schneeberg Booklet’ (“Schneebergheft”) published by Kronfuß and Pöschl in 1930, which very accurately describes the multipart singing found in this region and also deals with the expressions used by the informants (cf. Kronfuß-Pöschl 1930).

As far as one can gather from all this research, the singers communicate in their terminology about the distribution of roles, about the repertoire, about voice leading and pitch and the quality of their harmony. Particularly in connection with multipart singing, this communication appears to be very important, especially when the parts are performed each by one singer. This demands a high degree of cooperation and communication from every individual, and their competent integration into a harmony, which is thus also learned via verbal pointers. This is presumably why multipart styles with one singer per part have brought forth especially rich terminology.

The distribution of roles

As early as in the research around 1900 we come across the expressions *sekundieren* ‘seconding’ (accompanying below the principal voice) and *überschlagen* ‘turning over’ (accompanying above the principal voice) among singers.

Überschlagen (TURNING OVER): First of all, this term refers to something related to the structure of the piece: the accompanying part is sung above the principal part. According to Pommer, the expression *Überschlag* was common at his time among singers for describing the *Überstimme* (over-part), both in two-part songs and in yodeling, as well as in four- and five-part songs in Carinthia. Singers had probably always kept in mind the ‘turning over’ of the voice in a physiological sense, in other words

the change of register. In research, the expression ‘turning over’ is at any rate mostly viewed as a combination of the structure of a phrase or piece and voice technique. Folk music research therefore differentiates today between ‘two-part turnover singing’ (“Überschlagszweistimmigkeit”) and ‘two-part singing adding thirds’ (“austerzende Zweistimmigkeit”). In both types the accompanying part is above the principal part; they are therefore identical with regard to the technique of harmony. But one speaks of ‘two-part turnover singing’ in relation to triad melodies, in which due to the greater range there is a change of register, whereas ‘two-part singing adding thirds’ has linking melodies and small ranges and contains no change of register. The expression ‘turnover’ (“Überschlag”) has therefore been taken up as a scientific term because of its particular clarity.

Znagst hân i ma d'Schneid amâl damisch valetzt, hân in gânzem Tâg gmaht u. wa
dânet und gwetst. Âft hân i mi wiederum ânderscher draht, hân in
gânzem Tâg gwetst und wa gmaht.

EXAMPLE I.

(CD 23) *Znagst hân i ma d'Schneid amâl damisch valetzt* (The other day I did harm to my cutting edge).

Farm labourer song from Ramsau am Dachstein, Styria.

[Two-part turnover singing]

PERFORMERS: GRETI STEINER, HELI GEBAUER.

Place: Ramsau am Dachstein, Styria, Austria.

Date: January 4, 1982.

Recorded by: Gerlinde Haid

Source: Haid, Gerlinde and Hans Haid 1999: 22, nr. 9.

Österreichische Volksliedarchiv, T 109/B.

Transcription by Gerlinde Haid.



1. Es war ein-mal ei-ne Jü - din, ei-ne Num-derschö-ne Frau. Sie
hat-te ei - ne Toch - ter, zum To - de war sie be - reit.

EXAMPLE 2.

(CD 24) Es war einmal eine Jüdin (There was a pretty Jewish girl)

[Two-part singing adding thirds]

Performers: Katharina Glöckl, Elisabeth Rubanovich, Rosalia Weber.

Place: Deutschkreuz, Burgenland, Austria.

Date: 1973.

Source: Gmasz, Haid, Pietsch 1993a: 26–27, nr. 8.

Sekundieren (SECONDING): There are a number of indications that this Latin word came to be used by singers through bourgeois music practice and church music. It can be found as early as Grimm’s Dictionary of 1854 with the meaning of accompaniment in singing. There it is written: “Now outdated, only used as *secondären* in Luxembourg.” („Jetzt veraltet, nur noch luxemburgisch als *secondären*.“) Tyrolean church singers have also used the word ‘seconding’ until today. Otherwise the word has disappeared from use by singers. Ethnomusicology still uses it, but only in relation to instrumental music.

Ansänger. This expression also has more than one meaning. For Pommer, it means on the one hand the singer of the principal part and on the other hand the singer who starts a song or a yodel, whereas the other singers only join in later (cf. Deutsch-Hois 2004 No. 23: 44–45 and No. 48: 64). This expression is still used as the name of a role in the Schneeberg area. Here, both criteria coincide: the singer who begins usually also sings the principle part.

Zweiterer, *Dritterer*, *Vierterer* Yodelling often contains a richer type of multipart singing in which the voices/parts join in one after the other. This is also verbalised. A yodel is begun by a ‘foresinger’ (“*Vorsänger*”) or ‘starting singer’ (“*Ansänger*”). The second singer, who joins in with the turnover, is called the *Zweiterer* in the Salzkammergut area, and it is possible that a third singer joins in on top (*Dritterer*), and even a fourth or *Vierterer* (cf. Gielge 1928).

Vorsänger (FORESINGER). The expression *Vorsänger* or *Vorsängerstimme* means the same as *Ansänger*; in Carithian five-part singing, however, it simultaneously means

Ruhig.

Überschlagstimme
mf *p*
 (Text wie Vorsänger.)

Quint
mf *p*
 (Text wie Vorsänger.)

Vorsängerstimme
f *mf*
 Kält, kält und kält kält geht der Bunn = sel = der

Tiefe Quint
mf *p*
 (Text wie Vorsänger.)

Baß
mf *p*
 (Text wie Vorsänger.)

mf *p*
 Wind und kält und kält, kält is mei Bua, wänn er kimmt.

mf *p*

EXAMPLE 3. *Kalt, kalt* (Cold, cold)
 Source: Koschat 1891: 174.

that this singer stands out acoustically through his or her greater volume (cf. Koschat 1891).

Quint. This role description can be found in Carinthian quartet and quintet pieces. There, the roles for two-part singing are basically referred to as *Vorsänger* and *Überschlag*; to these, a ‘bass’ is added as well as a ‘high quint’ (“hohe Quint”) and a ‘low quint’ (“tiefe Quint”) as continuo voices.

According to Pommer, the Latin name ‘quint’ has nothing to do with the interval ‘quint’, but is rather the part which extends a quartet into a quintet. The ‘high quint’ is in tenor register and is, according to Koschat, “an awkward harmonious voice and requires a singer with a sensitive, highly practised ear.” (“eine heikle harmonische Stimme und erfordert einen Sänger mit feinfühligem, ganz besonders geübtem Gehör”) The ‘low quint’, writes the same author, occurs because every reasonably talented Carinthian vocalist “also wants to join in” (“auch mitsingen”), which is why this type of voice was invented “whose domain is a comfortably located dominant and its surroundings” (“deren Domäne eine bequem liegende Dominante und ihre Nachbarschaft ist”, Eibner 1972: 53). In the meantime, evidence suggests that this multipart piece only appeared in the second half of the 19th century, under the influence of the male voice choirs which had formed quartets and quintets since the beginning of the 1860s (Liebleitner 1916: 13–15). In this new development, the choir singers were however able to make themselves independent of the notational image, so that they were able to develop a discursive polyphony — as their terminology clearly reveals.

The role names used by church singers in Tyrol would be at least as interesting, though I will not go into them because it is an other subject.

The number of voices/parts

Indications of the number of voices/parts are made primarily by yodellers, who differentiate between *zwoara* (two) and *dreier* (three). Pommer refers to popularly used titles such as the *Further Dreier* (Pommer 1893: 141) or the *Mondseer Dreier* (Pommer 1893, 147). The *Dreispanige* or ‘three-part yodel’ was already explained above.

Voice leading

The yodelling expressions which refer to polyphonic voice leading are particularly instructive. A yodel with part crossing ‘goes to meet’ (“geht entgegen”). Pommer (Pommer 1903: 41) quotes a mountain guide from Ramsau am Dachstein who around 1900 vividly described this voice leading as “The two of them stab each other”

(“Die boaden stechen si’ einander ab”). Common popular expressions for multipart polyphonic yodels are *Durcheinand* (muddled) or *Füreinand* (going past each other) (Pommer 1903: 41). *Nacheinand* is a type of yodel canon (Pommer 1903: 42). The following example is a *Durcheinand*.

The musical score consists of two systems, each with three staves. The key signature is two flats (B-flat and E-flat), and the time signature is 3/4. The lyrics are written below the notes.

System 1:

- Staff 1: *dra je ja ho i di ri, dra je ja ho i di ri ja dra je ja ho i di ri.*
- Staff 2: *ri di hoi hoe ho, ri di hoi hoe ho di ri di hoi hoe ho.*
- Staff 3: *Dra he ho hui di ri ei, dra he ho hui di ri, dra he ho hui di ri ei, dra he ho hui di ri.*

System 2:

- Staff 1: *Dra je ja ho i di ri ja dra je ja ho i di ri, dra je ja ho i di ri jae ho.*
- Staff 2: *Ri di hoi hoe ho di ri di hoi hoe ho, ri di hoi hoe ho i ri.*
- Staff 3: *Dra he ho hui di ri ei, dra he ho hui di ri, dra he ho hui di ri ei ho.*

EXAMPLE 4.

(CD 25) *Rinegger*.

Yodel from Ramsau am Dachstein, Styria, Austria.

Performers: Greti Steiner, Herti Plut, Heli Gebauer.

Place: Ramsau am Dachstein, Styria, Austria.

Date: January 4, 1982.

Recorded by: Gerlinde Haid

Source: Haid, Gerlinde and Hans Haid 1999: 21, nr. 8.

Österreichische Volksliedarchiv, T 110/B.

Transcription by Gerlinde Haid.

Singers such as the one of the example 3, recorded in 1982, have an enormous yodelling repertoire, but now only use a small section of popular terminology by referring to *ansingen*, *drübersingen* and *druntersingen* (starting to sing, singing over and singing under). One gets the impression that the rich terminology described above must have arisen at a time when there was a lot happening in yodelling, where there was a great deal of exchange and many new versions, and when it was worth discussing it all.

Register and harmony

Multipart singing has remained very much alive in the Lower Austrian Schneeberg area until today. In this style a third voice joins in two-part harmonies and complements the third triad chord. The musicological expression which was invented to describe this is 'close three-part singing' ("enge Dreistimmigkeit") and refers to the close position of the chords (cf. Fritz *Mehrstimmigkeit*, 10). This type of multipart singing has been documented in the Schneeberg area since around 1900. This tradition must have reached its peak at the time when Kronfuß and Pöschl's collection was published in 1930. From the notes we discover the normal expressions for 'register' at that time: *grob* (rough) means low, and *fein* means high. The authors additionally inform us about some phrases with which the singers give their verdict on the sound (Kronfuß-Pöschl 1930: 8):

A bissl gspännt wår er (it was a bit tense). This means that the yodel was started too high. Fång ån hibsich ban Bodn (start right down on the ground) urges the starting singer to begin low enough. A bissl an Pröller håt er kriagg (it took a bit of a knock). This means that the harmony was not quite pure. Wiar wånn ma an Bålsåm trinkat (as if one was drinking balsam) means that the harmony was pure.

This is not really terminology, it is more of a metaphorical language. The singers lovingly talk about how 'he', the yodel (or Dudler, as it is known in the Schneeberg area) turned out, and not how 'it', the singing, was.

Until now, the names of the different roles in the Schneeberg area have been *Ansänger*, *Draufsänger* or *Drübersänger* and *Baß* (Pietsch 1990: 93). It is important to note that the so-called 'bass' in this tradition is not a functional bass but a third part which is normally below the others and usually ends on the interval of a fifth.

Já und dás Vo- ga(r)l vom Zwe- tschkn- bam já dás
 hát mi auf- g'weckt, já wei(1)sunst hátt is va- schlä- fen bei mein
 Dian- dle ihrn Bett, já wei(1)sunst hátt is va-
 schlä- fen bei mein Dian- dle ihrn Bett.

EXAMPLE 5.

(CD 26) *Ja und das Vogerl vom Zwetschknbam*

(YES AND THE BIRD FROM THE PLUM TREE)

PERFORMERS: FRIEDL PFEFFER, WALTER SACCHETT, KURT LESER.

Place: Aubade from Puchberg am Schneeberg, Lower Austria.

Date: 1976.

Source: Gmasz, Haid, Pietsch 1993b: 40–42, nr. 15.

Due to the aforementioned academic publication of 1930 this three-part type of movement spread throughout the Bavarian and Austrian Alps, where it is the dominant singing style today (cf. Deutsch 1991). In 1932 a Bavarian singers' group took up some songs from Schneeberg and sang them at a competition in St. Johann im Pongau. The verdict of the experts at that time was "We heard Austrian songs from the Bavarians, but not diligently learnt from a score or voices, but as a most attractive and lively renewal of multipart singing..." ("Von den Bayern hörte man...österreichische Lieder, aber nicht vereinsgemäß gar fein eingelernt aus Partitur oder Stimmen,

sondern in reizvollster lebendiger Erneuerung des mehrstimmigen Zusammensingens..." Rotter 1932: 114). Whether new terminology was developed at that time in Bavaria in the course of this transfer process has unfortunately remained unknown. It can certainly be said, however, that the traditional terminology is currently not being used by the hundreds of groups who perform closed three-part singing at folk music concerts, but only in the Schneeberg area, where singing is still a form of communication in local pubs.

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The yodel in the German-speaking areas of the European Alps with a special focus on the behaviour of the parts in Austrian yodelling

Yodelling is a characteristic singing technique in traditional music in the German-speaking areas of the European Alps. It is characterised by the quick alteration between the chest and head-voice (falsetto) bonded to the use of specific vowels, which are also used as a part of syllables without semantic meaning. This singing technique is practiced not only in yodelling repertoires but also in song genres and so called *Juchzer* (calls). In addition, the technique can be heard in several vocal traditions in Europe and other continents, as we know from other researchers (see Baumann 1996).

The term “yodel” and first musical transcriptions

The modern high German term “yodel” (from the verb “jodeln”, and the substantives “Jodler”, “Jodel”) was mentioned for the first time in the literature in the year 1796 in Vienna in relation to travelling Tyrolean minstrels. “They yodel and sing and keep out of mischief” (“*Sie jodeln und singen und thun sich brav um.*” Senn 1962: 158). This phrase can be heard in the comic opera “Der Tyroler Wastl” (The Tyrolean Wastl), with libretto by Emanuel Schikaneder and music by Jakob Haibel. There is another document from the same year from the province of Salzburg: “The dairymaid hops and jumps when she gets the Alpine bell out for the first time; joyfully rings it around the ears of her dear companion; and whoops and yodels her Alpine chords to him.” (“*Die Sendinn hüpfet, und springt, wenn sie das erste Mal die Alpenglocke hervorlangt; schällt damit freudig um die Ohren ihrer lieben Begleiter; und jauchzet und jodelt denselben ihre Alpenaccorde zu.*” Hübner 1796: 287).

The new term “yodel” replaced the older middle high German term “Yo-ing” (“jolen”) which seems to correspond to a change in yodelling practice. The older word “jolen” means literally “to exult”, “to shout with joy” (“jubeln”, “aus Freude laut singen”, Senn 1962: 151) and later also had the meaning of “jarring singing, making much noise” (“mißtönend singen, lärmern”, Senn 1962: 151).

The newer scholarly technical term “yodel” belongs to the field of instrumental music. It is a fusing of the words “jo-len” and “du-deln” or “lu-deln”. Interestingly

enough, *dudeln* and *ludeln* have been terms for instrumental music practice since the 17th century (Senn 1962: 156, 161–163), and stem from the syllable “dud”, “düten”, blow into a “Düte”, into a horn. Yodelling seems to imitate this instrumental playing by the use of vowels for high and low tuning combined with consonants to declaim the rhythm (jo-dl-di, see example 4; ü-dl-ü, see example 5a). In addition, yodelled melodies seem to imitate instrumental tunes and follow their symmetric construction (8 or 16 bars; see chapter “The structure”). Early musical transcriptions of yodels focused on the relationship to instrumental tunes (see examples 1 and 2) and on arrangement concepts dealing with instruments such as the hurdy-gurdy (example 2).

Even though we do not know anything about the sound of yodelling before the first recordings in the year 1900, it is remarkable that early musical transcriptions of yodels go back to around 1800, even though the term “yodel” had not yet been introduced in folk terminology.



EXAMPLE 1. *Lulezer*. “*Das Lulezen der Schwaigerinnen*”.

Place: Neuberg, Styria, Austria.

Date: 1803.

Source: Suppan 2000: 1224¹.

In musical yodelling transcriptions until 1890 there are no syllables notated, as it can be seen in the first two examples. We can find them for the first time in Josef Pommer’s publication “*Jodler und Juchezer*” (Pommer, Wien 1890).

The first musical document of a multipart yodel in the German speaking Alps originated in the region of Appenzell/Innerrhoden in Eastern Switzerland in the late 18th century.

1 I wish to thank Gerlinde Haid and Simon Wascher for the reference on this transcription.



EXAMPLE 2. *Appenzeller Ruguser*

Transcription Dr. Nepomuk Hautli, before 1798.

Source: Switzerland, Archiv Zentrum für Appenzellische Volksmusik, 9108 Gonten, unsigned.

This transcription shows one melodic part accompanied by a drone² with the tempo designation “*langsam*” (slowly) and the comment “*immer der gleiche Bass, wie die Leyer zum gerade machen nach unserem Ausdruck*” (always the same bass, in the hurdy-gurdy way, as we would say).

Appenzell (see figure 1) is a small region (“Kanton”) in eastern Switzerland (with about 60,000 inhabitants nowadays), which is divided into the Catholic Innerrhoden and the Lutheran Außerrhoden; both with a pronounced yodelling tradition in relation to terminology and performance. In Innerrhoden, the yodel is still called the ‘Ruggusser’, as in the historical source of 1796, although the spelling has changed (see example 2).

Ruggusser today means “yodel”, though the spelling as well as the definition vary: Ruggusser, *Ruggusser*, *Ruggusserli*, *Ruggusseli*. The origin of the term “Ruggusser” has not yet been ascertained; there is one theory that the term belongs to the French

2 Johann Gottfried Ebel published this Ruguser in 1798, only with the melodic part as a solo song (No. 4) (Ebel 1798: Nr. 4). The manuscript which was later found in the posthumous works of Ebel shows a melodic part accompanied by a drone, as seen in example 2. The transcription was made by the doctor and organ player Dr. Johann Nepomuk Hautli (1765–1826) (Tunger 1998: 175, 184).

roucouler, which is translated into German as “gurren” (cooing in English). Mercenaries from Innerrhoden joined the French Army, where their singing was described as *roucouler* (cooing like pigeons) (Manser 1979: 156). This French term wasn’t imported into Appenzell/Außerrhoden, which had fewer soldiers in foreign countries; there, the yodel is still called “Zäuerli” (from “zauren”, a term for “jauchzen”, to whoop with joy). Both the Ruggusser and Zäuerli are composed of two melody parts accompanied by a multipart drone called a “Gradhäbe”. In the Ruggusser manner the main (leading) part is above the second one. This is different to the Zäuerli, where the main part (sung in a chest voice by the “Voozaurer”) is below the higher, second one (sung by the “Noezaurer”), which goes “obenuse” (above all) (Manser 2010: 114–117).

Johann Gottfried Ebel published the melody part of the “Ruguser” (example 2) in 1798, and wrote: the Ruguser is a song without lyrics for animal calls similar to the so-called “Locker” or “Löckler” (mating call) or “Kühreihen” (cow calls. Ebel 1798, quoted from Tobler 1903: 74). Ebel didn’t make a difference between the genres of yodelling, animal-calls or whoops of joy which are distinguished today. Another historic definition from the year 1837 is given by Titus Tobler: *Ruggüssler* and *Ruggausser* as a shepherd’s song (Hirtenlied) with yodelling sections (quoted from Tobler 1903: 75).

Interestingly enough, yodelling with a particular drone is still known today in this Swiss region. It is called “Gradhäbe”, which means “to hold” and is performed as an improvised multipart drone by several singers (Baumann 1976: 171, 168–191). In the late 18th century, when this “Ruguser” was transcribed by Nepomuk Hautli, the hurdy-gurdy and bagpipe were still used as dance-music instruments in Europe, and a multipart realisation with a drone thus seems to be familiar for everyone. Maybe this could be one of the reasons why Ebel published this “Ruguser” only with the melody part in 1798. The knowledge of drone accompaniment was generally available. Today, this is an archaic feature that has remained in the Alps only in the yodelling of Eastern Switzerland. In Austria, droned yodelling is historical (see example 3 from Styria).

3. **Einer von der Eggin.**
Sehr langsam.

The musical score is written for a single voice and piano accompaniment. It consists of three systems of music. Each system has a vocal line and a piano accompaniment line. The key signature is two sharps (F# and C#), and the time signature is 3/4. The tempo is marked 'Sehr langsam'. The lyrics are: 'Dri ja di je di ri ja di je dri ja di je di ri ja di je ho jo jo jo ho jo jo jo ho jo jo jo dri ja di je di ri ja di e ri ja di ja di ri. ho jo jo jo ho jo jo jo ho jo jo jo jo ho.' The piano accompaniment features a steady eighth-note bass line and a melody in the right hand.

EXAMPLE 3. *Ludler aus der Gegend rund um den Grundlsee. Nr. 3. Einer von der Eggin* [LUDLER FROM THE AREA AROUND GRUNDLSEE. NO. 3. ONE [LUDLER] FROM EGGIN]. Place: Styria, Austria. Source: Mautner 1918: 316.

Even today, a harmony bass is rare and not appreciated by singers and their communities in most areas in Austria, though it is still common in the “Alemannian” part of Austria. This seems on the one hand to follow the linguistic division between the areas of “Bavaria” (Bajuwaric) and “Alemannia” (Alemannic) (see figure 1) and on the other hand it has to do with the category of repertoire: I call this the “Wanderrepertoire”.



FIGURE 1: The two main dialect areas in Austria: Alemannic and Bajuwaric. (Map drawn by Thomas Schön). In Austria, the Bajuwaric area is the dominant one. Only the Western Austrian region of Vorarlberg (*Vbg.* on the map) belongs to the Alemannic dialect area, as do the main parts of Switzerland.

The German term “wandern” means “travelling on foot/walking/hiking”. Historically it was often connected with professions of carriers, traders and army recruits, who used to move from place to place and use music as a method of communication, as a pastime or as a kind of game where they sang spontaneously in meeting places such as the inns where they were accommodated. This seems to have led to rules of behaviour in musical communication in the communities where they were located, independently of a special local practice.

Example 3 from Bavarian Austria belongs to the “Wanderrepertoire”. Typologically, as far as the leading part is concerned, it can be described as follows:

- the basis of the melody is the “Dreiklangsbrechung” (broken chords)
- the musical form, the *Periode* is constructed on a *Vordersatz* and a *Nachsatz* (4+4 or 8+8 bars)
- the melody follows the scheme of the first or the first and second bar
- the melody usually begins without an “Auftakt”
- the melody usually begins on the keynote
- the harmonic construction is usually I-V⁷-V⁷-I
- the melodic line within the metre of the first beat in every bar is as follows:

Begin with the fifth	$\hat{5} - \hat{5} - \hat{5} - \hat{5}$
Begin with the third	$\hat{3} - \hat{4}/\hat{2} - \hat{4}/\hat{2} - \hat{3}$
Begin with the keynote	$\hat{1} - \hat{7} - \hat{7} - \hat{1}$
harmonic construction	$I - V^7 - V^7 - I$

(Martin Eybl quoted from Fink-Mennel 2007: 101)

According to the multipart arrangement in the “Wanderrepertoire” (as in example 3), we often find two melodic parts and a third part as harmonic bass. It is similar to the so called “Kirchentrio” (church trio) found in Baroque music as well as in local musical practices in Austria (Flotzinger 2006).

Therefore the concepts of the yodel in Austria itself lead to different results in terms of performing, composition (arrangement) and terminology. This has to do with changes in local practices as well as interaction with the developments in so-called “Western art music” (Haid 2006: 49–50).

Performing and arrangement

In the Bavarian areas of Austria (see figure 1), singing a yodel is a category of “chamber music”. Every part is sung by one person. The most common type nowadays is yodelling with two or three melodic parts. A bass part is rare. In Alemannian Austria too, every melodic part is sung by one singer. The difference to the Bavarian Area is, firstly, that three melodic parts are seldom and singing without a bass is rare. If there are enough singers, i.e. if there are more singers than melody parts, the singers “prefer” to sing the bass. So in example 4, CD 27, there are 6 singers and 4 melody parts and three singers sing the bass part. This is similar to the performance practice of yodels in the neighbouring Swiss Appenzell (CD 28³), where the melody parts are sung solo and the so-called multipart *Gradhäbe* or the drone by several singers (see Baumann 1976: 191–201). Concerning this Swiss practice, Walter Wiora refers to similar voice settings (drone sung by a choir, the melody sung by a soloist) not only in European regions of the Balkans, the Baltic states and the Caucasus but also in Africa and Borneo (Wiora 1957: 82).

3 I wish to thank Ernst Meier for the permission to use this track.

♩ ≈ 84

1. Übersänger
Ansänger &

jo dl di jo dl di jo dl di jo dl di jo dl di jo dl di

Bass

jo dl di jo dl di ho dl di

2. Übersänger

jo dl di jo dl di ho dl di jo dl di jo dl di rü

1. Übersänger
Ansänger &

jo dl di jo dl di ho dl di jo dl di jo dl di jom

Bass

jo dl di jo dl di ho dl di jo dl di jo dl di jom

2. Übersänger

jo dl di jo dl di ho dl di jo dl di jo dl di rü

1. Übersänger
Ansänger &

jo dl di jo dl di ho dl di jo dl di jo dl di jom

Bass

jo dl di jo dl di ho dl di jo dl di jo dl di jom

EXAMPLE 4. *Drüschtimmar*

(CD 27) Performers: Adolf Hammerer (1910–1996), Johann Georg Helbock (1897–1978), Jodok Lang (1907–1989), Emmerich Schneider (BORN 1921), Hubert Schneider (1912–1983), Sepp Schneider (1909–1986).

Place: Egg, Vorarlberg, Austria.

Date: 1967.

Recorded by: Edwin Waldner.

Source: Fink-Mennel 2007: 40.

The structure of yodels in Austria

As mentioned at the beginning, the yodel does not specifically belong to vocal music. The structure of a large part of the yodel repertoire is related to the main type of traditional dance music in Austria — the *Ländler* (8 bars, see example 3) and the *Walzer* (waltz, 16 bars), documented from the 18th century onwards. The first indications of this issue can be found in the famous Sonnleither collection from 1818 (see Deutsch and Hofer 1969).

I would like to mention only a few examples which support the idea of the relationship between the structure of vocal and instrumental dance music as well as the sound of instrumental practice.

Appenzell (Switzerland): “The tones have almost nothing in common with those which one is usually used to hearing from the human throat, but seem more like those of a wind instrument, particularly because one notices little of the breath, although the Alpine herdsmen sometimes sing for minutes on end with one breath.” (*Die Töne haben fast nichts ähnliches mit denen, welche man sonst aus der menschlichen Kehle zu hören gewohnt ist, sondern scheinen vielmehr Töne eines Blasinstrumentes zu sein, besonders auch, weil man von dem Athem wenig bemerkt, in dem die Sennen bisweilen Minutenlang mit einem Athemzuge singen.* Ebel 1798: 152)

Switzerland: “The inhabitant of the Alps would not be pleased to find that by improving the instrument [alphorn], the f sharp [Naturton] had been transformed into a natural f. That is what I heard from a cow farmer. That indicated to me that when he had yodelled on his alphorn quietly for a while and then wildly for a while and had ended with the tone I meant, he used to found it meeker and more pleasing to conclude with ...” (*Durch Verbesserung des Instrumentes [Alphorn E. F-M] das Fis in ein natürliches F umgewandelt zu finden, möchte gleichwohl dem Äpler nicht sehr willkommen seyn, was ich aus dem Mund eines Kübers hörte, der mir zu verstehen gab: daß wenn er auf seinem Alphorn eine Zeit lang bald leise, bald wilder gejodelt habe, und mit dem Ton, den ich meynte, beschliesse, — doch stets er ihn sanfter und gefälliger finde zum Ausgang ...*) J.R. Wyss 1818 cited after Baumann 1976: 89)

In musical yodel transcriptions at the end of 19th century in Austria, we find comments like: “About 1850. Played with two trumpets. Schladming [Styria]” (*Um 1850. Geblasen auf zwei Flügelhörnern, Schladming.* Pommer 1906, No. 30). Another source from the same researcher mentions: “1897. This yodel is played with the French horn but is also sung.” (1897. “Wird auf Waldhörnern geblasen, aber auch gesungen”, Aussee, Styria Pommer 1906, Nr. 38). In the Bregenzerwald valley (Vorarlberg), singers in the 1950s used pieces from a dance music band for yodelling at the end of a ball (Fink-Mennel 2007: 91).

An additional feature influenced by instrumental music is the singing of non-tempered intervals related to the “Western tempered system”. This can be found in the

Muotatal valley in Central Switzerland. It belongs to the neutral intonation of the third, the augmented fourth of the scale — the so called *Alphorn-fa*, corresponding to the eleventh harmonic of the natural scale used by instruments like the alphorn (see Zemp 1990, booklet, chapter “Musical Features”, no page number). The augmented fourth is significant for yodelling practice in the Swiss Appenzell, too. In Appenzell, yodel tunes with the so called Alphorn-fa have special local designations in historical sources such as “Innerrhöderli” and “Chüehdreckerli” (Tobler ²1899: XIII). (e.g. example 2, the melodic four and seven).

I would like to emphasize in this context that in terms of rhythm, yodelling affects the general musical structure. This feature is not always immediately noticeable upon the first listening in yodel interpretations in irregular metre⁴ and with lot of ornamental figures. I would like to show this through a comparison of two variants of the same melody, interpreted as a yodel and as dance music from Lower Austria (*Niederösterreich*).

The difference between these two variants is that the yodler (example 5a) is sung more slowly (Adagio) and to some extent also more freely in terms of its metre. Individual variants of ornamentation and anticipations in every part are specific to yodel interpretations in this region of Lower Austria.

EXAMPLE 5A⁵. *Apfelbauern dudler* —
Version H. (Apple peasants dudler —
Version H)
(The first eight bars of the second section of the yodel.)
(CD 29) Performers: Peter Kaiser (1917–1999), Juliane Kaiser (1921–2006) und Karl Schönthaler (1928–2002).
Place: Miesenbach, Lower Austria.
Date: 1989.
Recording and transcription: Rudolf Pietsch⁶.
Source: Pietsch 1989: 116–117.

EXAMPLE 5B. *Bugl-Ländler*.
(The first four bars of the second section of the instrumental piece.)
(CD 30) Performers: “Hermann Fritz Trio” according to the performance of the accordion player Mr. Bugl.
Place: Klostertal, Lower Austria.
Date: 25.07.2002.
Recording: Evelyn Fink.
Transcription: Evelyn Fink-Mennel.

4 In the Swiss region of Muotatal, Hermann Fritz found out that yodel performances which seem to have no regular metre are based on dance music, which has itself a very regular rhythmic structure (see Fritz 1999).

5 I wish to thank Rudolf Pietsch for the permission to use this track.

6 I wish to thank Rudolf Pietsch for giving his permission to use this example.

5a

5b

5a

5b

The structure of both examples, 5a and 5b, is a so-called Ländler with its characteristic multipart realisation. The second part “Überschlag” (singing over) goes in parallel movement with the main part. The melodic movement of the second part additionally fulfils the harmonic function dictated by the first part.

In 1975 Walter Deutsch obtained a general view of the different possibilities of realising a yodel in a multipart format (Deutsch 1975: 656–659). The different possibilities of voice leading are, in addition, named by folk singers themselves, as Gerlinde Haid describes in her article in this volume.

Parallel movement with the second part singing above as seen in example 5b is the main concept of multipart realisation in song and instrumental genres in Austrian traditional music. In Austria there are regional traditions in which parallel movement is still the main characteristic, also of yodelling practice. I first introduced the Schneeberg region south-west of Vienna, with a three-part parallel movement as traditional practice: the main part (Hauptstimme) starts singing, the second part “Überschlag” (singing over) follows it above, and the third one singing below with pronounced individual variants of ornamentation. In Vienna, the singers of the so called “Dudler” mainly prefer performance as in instrumental music in two parallel parts.

Beside this parallel movement there are regions which are specialised in complete confusion of the parts, called “Durcheinand” (see the article by Haid in this volume, example 4 “Rinegger”).

Behaviour of the parts in the so called “Wanderrepertoire”

Apart from regional particularities in singing and repertoire, a large part of the yodelling repertoire can be heard in all multipart singing regions of Austria. I mentioned the so called “Wanderrepertoire” earlier on. I would now like to present some general characteristics of its multipart realisations, based on the collection of yodels in the valley Bregenzerwald in Vorarlberg (in the west of Austria, see fig. 1) with musical transcriptions and recordings from the 1920s to the end of the 20th century. This collection has about 24 yodel melodies, 20 of which belong to the so called “Wanderrepertoire”. I would like to explain the main principles of this system by means of the yodel “Triale”. The two musical transcriptions (example 6 and 7) follow the two audio recordings, one with two singers and the other one with three singers:

1.

Überschlag

Ansänger

hol djo di ri hul jo i ri huljo i ri hul jo ri u ri a le di _ ri
 Tri a le di je di ri a le di _ jo tri a le di jo di ri a le di _ jo

Überschlag

Ansänger

ri a le di _ jo hol djo u ri hul jo i ri huljo i ri hu la ri u ri.
 tri a le di _ jo di ri a le di _ jo tri a le di _ jo di ri.

II.

Überschlag

Ansänger

jo la re i ri di hul jo hu la re i ri di _ je ho la re i ri hul djo hola
 Ho la dje i ri di jo la re jo ri hul jo la re o ri hul dje la re jo ri hul jo hola

Überschlag

Ansänger

re di ri di djo la re u ri di _ je hu la re u ri di _ je hol djo.
 re di ri di djo la re jo ri hul djo la re jo ri hul djo hol djo.

EXAMPLE 6. *Triale*

(CD 31) Performers: Jodok Lang (1907–1989) and Sepp Schneider (1909–1986).

Place: Egg, Bregenzerwald, Vorarlberg, Austria.

Date: 30.3.1977.

Recorded by: Helga Thiel and Sepp Gmasz.

Transcription: Evelyn Fink-Mennel.

Source: Phonogrammarchiv of the Austrian Academy of Sciences (PhA B 23610).

$\text{♩} \approx 63$

2. Überblig
 1. Überblig
 Ansänglein

hul je di ri o dri hu ri di ri hul dri hul
 hu ri e ho ri hul djo ri e ho ri hul dje hu ri e ho ri hul djo
 tri e ho ri hul dje hu ri e ho ri hul djo ri e ho ri hul dje hu ri e ho ri hul djo

je di ri o dri hu rü di ri hol dri hul dje di ri hol dri di ri
 ri e ho ri hul dje hu ri e ho ri hul djo ri e ho ri hul dje hu rü
 ri e ho ri hul dje hu ri e ho ri hul djo ri e ho ri hul dje hu rü

EXAMPLE 7. *Wälder* (JODLER)

(The first section of the yodel.)

(CD 32) Performers: Frieda Diem (1909–1994), Maria Fäßler (1907–1990) and Adelina Linder (1903–1968).

Place: Bludenz, Austria: The 9th “*Bäuerliches Volksliedersingen* [Peasants Folk Song Singing].“

Date: May 2, 1937.

Recorded by: RAVAG — Österreichische Radio-Verkehrs-Aktiengesellschaft.

Transcription: Evelyn Fink-Mennel.

Source: The collection of Dr. Georg Kotek at the Archive of the *Österreichisches Volksliedwerk* (Austrian Folk Music Society): RAVAG. Matritze 1879 = Platte 1016a, Slg. Kotek, Nr. 77/1–3.

I mentioned aspects of the behaviour of the leading voice before (starting with the keynote, the melodic line within the metre of the first beat in every bar is $\hat{1}-\hat{7}-\hat{7}-\hat{1}$), and now I would like to focus on some aspects of multipart realisation in this region. The starting melody part (principal part) is based on the same pitches in both yodels (I will

not focus on variations in text, tempo and pitch). The behaviour of the parts depends on how many singers are performing. If there are only two singers for the melodic parts (see example 6), the experienced yodel singer of the second part does not go parallel, which he/she would do in instrumental or song genres; the second part acts as a counterpart. If there are three singers performing melodic parts (see example 7), the second part (called *the first turn over* “1. Überschlag”) goes in parallel movement to the first one (Überschlagsmehrstimmigkeit: turnover singing). Only the third, the highest part, acts as a counterpart (see also example 4).

A third possibility is shown by a recording from the year 1937 (CD 33) from the same region with eight singers. Only two of them are melody singers. One of them sings the principal part, the one which starts the melody. The second soloist, the only one joining in, acts as counterpart, the other six singers prefer to sing the bass part as usual in Alemannian yodel practice.

The image shows a handwritten musical score for a piece titled 'Labbeuger'. It is written in 3/4 time with a key signature of two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The score consists of two systems of music, each with a treble and bass staff. The lyrics are written below the notes. The first system includes a tempo marking of '♩ = 88'. The lyrics for the first system are: 'tri hul djo ui di ri tri hul djo i tri hul djo ui di ri tri hul djo ri' on the top staff, and 'ho i di ri ho i di ri jo i tri hul jui o' on the bottom staff. The second system includes a first ending bracket labeled '1.' and a second ending bracket labeled '2.'. The lyrics for the second system are: 'tri hul djo ui di ri tri hul djo i tri hul djo hui di ri ri.' on the top staff, and 'tri hul jui o du ri ho i di di ho i di ri jo i ri.' on the bottom staff.

Example 8.⁷ *Labbeuger*

(CD 34) Performers: Martin Winkler (principal voice) and Josephine Koblinger

(Walchauer Tochter).

Place: Flachau, Pongau, Salzburg, AUSTRIA.

Date: 11.7. 1986.

Recorded by: Maria Walcher.

SOURCE: Archive of the Austrian Folk Music Society T 335, 13.

Transcription: Evelyn Fink-Mennel.

7 I wish to thank Michaela Brodl, the head of the Archive of the Austrian Folk Music Society, for her support in finding information about audio examples 8 and 9.

In evidence I would like to show that this principle (stability of the main part, behaviour of the additional parts concerning the number of singers) is also applied in another Austrian area e.g. in the Salzburg region of Pongau (example 8 [CD 34] and 9 [CD 35]): as a two part yodeller, the second part acts as counterpart (as heard in this region from different singers when sung as a two part yodel; Archive of the Austrian Folk Music Society T 335, 13 and T 253, 10). As a three part yodel the second part goes in parallel movement over to the principal voice, the third acts more freely (in example 9 the third part sings a verse called a “Gstanzl”).

Example 9. *Labbeuger* with *Gstanzl*

(CD 35) Performers: Martin Winkler (principal voice), Maria Walcher and Josephine Koblinger.

Place: Flachau, Pongau, Salzburg, AUSTRIA.

Date: 11.7.1986.

Recorded by: Maria Walcher.

Source: Archive of the Austrian Folk Music Society T 335, 14.

Transcription: Evelyn Fink-Mennel.

An early transcription of the type of yodel called the “Labheuger” is from the neighbouring Ennstal region in Styria and is called “The Gröbminger Labheuger” (example 10). This version shows parallel multipart realisation (turnover singing) as is usual in instrumental or song genres. Here the influence or take over of instrumental performed music can be supposed because of the above-mentioned closing section, which is a typical instrumental feature.

13. * Der Gröbminger Labheuger.*)
Gröbmung, Schladming.

ri · tul = je ri · bi = ü ri · tul = je i
ri · tul = je i = bi · ri ri · tul = je i
ri · tul = je i = bi · ri ri · tul = je i ri · tul = je
i = bi = ri ri.

*) Labheuger = Raubheuer; Jodler, der beim Raubheuen gerne gesungen wird.

Um 1890. Vorgesungen von der „Tutter-Mutter“
(der Mutter des Birtes Lutter) in Schladming.
Der Jodler ist weit verbreitet. Aus Anfang sieht er
mit kleinen Abweichungen unter der Jahr 37 in A. u. J.
1844 f. hat d. bes. Übersetzung im 2., 6., 11. und 13. Jahre
wird er auch in Pernitz und in Sieghartsdörfen in N. O.
gefangen. In Dr. Bertle's Almanach unter N. 37 auf S. 424
aus dem Witzthal (von 1884 — ich kenne den Jodler
schon aus dem Anfang der 60er Jahre) überliefert mit
derselben Abweichung, daß der Übersetzer im 2., 6., 11.
und 13. Jahre f. hat d. sagt. —

Im Kunstsaal wird noch Hr. Blummayr diesem Jodler
noch der folgende Schluss hinzugefügt:

* ri · ti · be · ri ri · ti · be · ri ri · ti · be · ri
ri · ti · be · ri ri · ti · be · ri ri · ti · be · ri bi.
Erst 1894. Vorgesungen von Franz Franz Lind-
mayr, Jochbauer und Ober in Rottenmann.

Example 10. *Der Gröbminger Labheuger*
Performers: “Tutter-Mutter” (1830) and Franz Lindmayr (1894, in Rottenmann, the closing section)
Place: Gröbmung, Schladming and Rottenmann, both in Lower Austria.
Date: about 1830 AND 1894.
Source: Pommer 1906: no. 13.

General aspects of the behaviour of the parts in the yodel Wanderrepertoire (travelling repertoire)

One feature is similar for all repertoires I have dealt with: the stability of the main part, started by a ‘fore-singer’ or ‘starting singer’ (Ansänger). This part paves the melodic and interpretational way of the yodel. It offers latitude for the others, dictating the melodic tune, register, tempo, phrase and the syllables.

The parts which join in later have the opportunity to vary the yodel. The Überschlagstimme ('turning over' part), the part which moves above the main one, is performed very individually. The second part can have a harmonic function (by following the main one in parallel movement depending on the harmony) when a third joins in (see examples 4 and 7). The second part, if it is the only one joining in, has the creative potential to act freely and in a soloist way within a certain framework (see example 6).

The characteristics of multipart realisation in the so called "Wanderrepertoire":

- 1) The first higher part follows the main one in parallel movement depending on the harmony
- 2) The second part, if it is the highest one:
 - a) Tendency towards virtuoso excessiveness in ornamentation, diminution and tonal range
 - b) Tendency towards higher singular pitches (*Höherlegung einzelner Töne*)
 - c) Often performs counter-movements (*Gegenbewegung*)

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Interaction of voice and instrument in Lithuanian multipart music: insider and outsider viewpoints

ABSTRACT

Lithuanian multipart music is well known first and foremost for the vocal repertoire called by a common name *sutartinės*. Long years of the existence of *sutartinės* have proved that these songs' tradition is similar to 40 different ways of performance recorded at the beginning of the 20th century.

Despite the fact that, according to tradition, women sing and men play this music on instruments, vocal *sutartinės* are undoubtedly associated with pieces of multipart instrumental music. They were performed by *skudučiai* 'multipart whistles', *daudytės* 'long wooden trumpets', *lumzdeliai* 'wooden pipes (flutes)' and played on five stringed *kanklės* 'zither'.

The interaction between voice and instrument in the tradition of Lithuanian multipart music is demonstrated by

- folk terminology;
- the tonal-intonation structure of *sutartinės* (trumpets intonations; the interval of the second — consonance, etc.);
- superficial similarity of the vocal and instrumental sounds of *sutartinės*;
- research into *sutartinės* (ethnic-musical, comparative, ethnic-linguistic, psycho-acoustic and others).

There is a conspicuous relationship between vocal and instrumental performance of *sutartinės* in general or playing on particular musical instruments, such as:

- *skudučiai* (*skudučiuoti* v inf., is derived from the noun *skudutis* 'whistle') — the *sutartinės* "have to be sung in a *skudučiai* sounding voice"; "that isn't the sound of *skudučiai*, people would say when we wouldn't come together".);
- *ragai* 'wooden horns', *daudytės* 'long wooden trumpets', *lumzdeliai* (*lumždinė* — the name of the counterpoint *sutartinė* by two *lumždžiai* 'wooden pipes (flutes)', or by two *daudytės*, or by two singers (*dvejinė* 'twosome')).

Lithuanian polyphonic music is most notable for its vocal pieces, collectively called *sutartinės*. Approximately 40 different performance methods written down in the early 20th century when the tradition was vanishing attest to the longevity of *sutartinės*.

Late 19th century and early 20th century chronicles of *sutartinės* show that polyphonic singing (mostly by women) and instrumental performance (mostly by men)

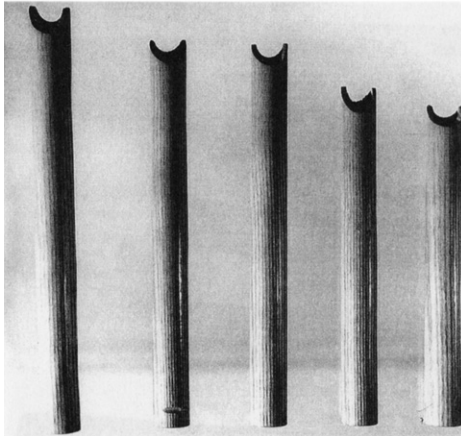


FIGURE 1. Set of *skudučiai* (multipart whistles).
Unknown photographer. Sėla Museum of Biržai
Lands, Personal archives of Stasys Paliulis.

were practiced separately. Nevertheless, vocal *sutartinės* are undoubtedly linked to music making on a variety of instruments. The syncretism of singing, instrumental performance and dancing is particularly evident in the northern area of the *sutartinės*' polyphonic music territory. Here in the towns of Biržai, Papilys, Vabalninkas and surrounding localities the same *sutartinės* were sung (many of them were also danced) or played. A variety of combinations was possible, i.e. two performers on *skudučiai* (multipart whistles; figures 1, 2) using sets of pipes (4 (2 + 2) or 5 (2 + 3); two (or sometimes three) people on *daudytės* (long wooden trumpets; figure 3); 2, sometimes 3 *lumzdėliai* (wooden pipes or flutes; figures 4, 5) as well as solo performances on five-string *kanklės* (a Lithuanian type of zither; figures 6, 7).¹ Polyphonic music that was similar to *sutartinės* was performed by 4–6 (7) people on sets of wooden wind instruments: by 4–7 *ragai* (horns — wooden trumpets) or *skudučiai*. There is an especially close link between the singing of *sutartinės* and the performance of these wind instruments, which I will discuss later.

Vocal and instrumental interaction in the tradition of Lithuanian multipart music is confirmed by folk terminology; the tonal-intonation structure of *sutartinės* (trumpet intonations; the interval of the second perceived as consonance, etc.); external similarities of vocal and instrumental timbres of *sutartinės*; and research into *sutartinės* (ethnic-musical, comparative, ethnic-linguistic, psycho-acoustic and others) (Račiūnaitė-Vyčinienė 2000; 2002(a); 2002(b); 2006; etc.; Šimonytė-Žarskienė 2003; Ambrazevičius 2003; 2005; etc.).

The *sutartinės* (multipart vocal) styles discussed are described in terms of a dialogue between the *emic* and *etic* viewpoints. Namely, the researched phenomenon is interpreted both in the conceptual categories of the “insiders” — creators and the users of a given musical culture, as well as from the stance of an outside observer. In this case,

1 The *Kanklės* musician Jonas Plepas (born in 1866, Dukurniai village, Pandėlys district) has called the playing of the *sutartinės* on the *kanklės* “*giedojimas ant kunklių* [hymn-singing on the *kunkliai* (dialect of *kanklės*)]”, or “*giedoti sutartines ant kunklių* [to sing the *sutartinės* hymns on the *kunkliai*]”. (SIS: 720) His choice of words seems to actually emphasize the vocal origin of this music.



FIGURE 2. *Skudučiai* players from Biržai: Kostas Burbulis, Paulė Reinatienė-Burbulytė, Petras Lapienė. Photo by Balys Buračas 1935.

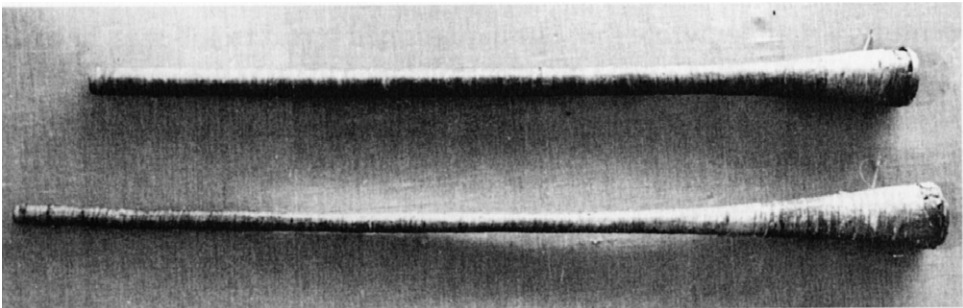


FIGURE 3: *Daudytės* (long wooden trumpets) from the book by Slaviūnas; SIS III: 272–273.

the insiders are not only the folk singers and musicians, but also the author, since my background includes over 25 years of experience as a leader of *sutartinės* performance groups.

The point of departure for this paper is folk terminology, which demonstrates clear connections between the singing and playing of *sutartinės* in general, as well as between singing and playing on specific musical instruments, i.e. *skudučiai*, wooden trumpets, bells and bagpipes.



FIGURE 4. *Lumzdeliai* (wooden pipes) players from Pyragiai village in the Kupiškis rural district. Unknown photographer (Sėla Museum of Biržai Lands).



FIGURE 5. Shepherds from Vidiškiai village, Žemaitkiemis rural district, Ukmergė district. Photo by Balys Buračas 1935.



FIGURE 6. Five-string *kanklės* (a Lithuanian type of zither) from northeastern Aukštaitija.
Photo by Balys Buračas 1934.

FIGURE 7. Petras Lapienė. Playing on the five-string *kanklės* made by himself.
Photo by Balys Buračas 1935.



Syncretism can be seen in the very terms that describe Lithuanian polyphonic music — *sutartinė* (n; sing.), or *sutartinės* (n; pl.) [Synonymous dialect forms include *sutarytinė*, *sutarytė*, *sutartinā*, *sutartinė daina*, *sutartis* (sing.), *sutartys* (pl.) etc.] which can mean: 1) Lithuanian polyphonic song(s); is derived from the verb *sutarti*: to agree, to attune with another person; to agree or reach accord; or the noun, *sutartys*: agreements or contracts. 2) The long wooden trumpets (as noted by one of the most significant Lithuanian writers and folklorists, Simonas Stanevičius (1799–1848)). A commentary on the last song from *Dainos Žemaičių* (Samogitian Songs) in 1829 read:

“Yra tai viena iš dainų, kurios neseniai Žemaičiuose iš mados ir tikslo išėjo. Jų palaikai Lietuvoje dar išliko. Prie tų dainų būdavo trimitai arba ilgios trūbos statinės iš medžio, kurios vėl, kaip ir dainos, sutartinėmis vadinos. Tos trūbos dabar nėra pažįstamos ir nuo senųjų laikų tiktai atmenamos.” (Stanevičius 1829: 179)

“This song is one of the *sutartinės*, which has recently gone out of fashion and has lost its purpose among the Samogitians. Remnants of the song are now more commonly heard in Lithuania [understood to mean Highland Lithuania]. Along with these songs, trumpets or those long, standing horns made of wood would be played. Like the songs, such horns had also been called *sutartinės*. Those horns are no longer known, but merely remembered from the past.”⁵

The verbs *sutarti* (inf. *sutarti* — to attune with another person, to agree or reach accord, to be in harmony) and synonyms *taryti*, *sutaryti* are widely used in the vernacular to describe the performance of both vocal and instrumental *sutartinės*. (Račiūnaitė-Vyčiniene 2005: 2)

“Dainininkės šitaip “pasiskirsčiusios” darbą: I “renka” žodžius, t. y. veda sutartinę, II “sutaria”, t. y. pirmosios tekstą dainuoja ta pačia melodija, tačiau ji nieko savo naujo neįneša, III “atataria”. Šie terminai pačių dainininkių vartojami.” (SLŠ 1234B. Written down by Juozas Kartenis in 1935)

“This is how the singers divide up their work: One “gathers” the words; so to speak, or leads the *sutartinės*. The second one “agrees,” in other words, sings the text of the first using the same melody, but doesn’t bring in anything new of her own; whereas the third “assents.”

“<...> Kai sutarydavo, regis, tai pagražu būdavo. Mano eiliej nebelabai begiedodavo [When they agreed it was very beautiful. In my day, they were not sung much any more].” (LLIM 268. Sung by Kotryna Rasimavičienė-Veščiūtė, b. 1856 m. Suvaizdžiai village, Pandėlys district. Written down by Stasys Paliulis in 1936.)

“Seniau, būdavo, tik siaudžia, siaudžia skudučiai. Eidavo, būdavo, rugius piove, na, tai sutarykim — ir pūsdavo [In the past, you would hear the rumble of the panpipes. They’d be returning from harvesting rye, and someone would suggest, let’s be in agreement, and they’d start puffing].” (LLIM 102. Rendered by Kazimieras Tručinskas, b. 1862. Pagiriai village, Papilys district. Written down by Stasys Paliulis in 1932.)

“Pūsdavo penkioni triūbom-daudytėm. Ilgos būdavo. Tošim apvyniotos. Gražiai įpūsdavo. Daudytėm labai tarydavo [They tootled on five trumpets — daudytės. They were long. Wrapped in birch bark. They blew well. Very much in agreement].” (LLIM 60. Rendered by Anastazija Balaišienė-Šilaikaitė, b. 1852. Abonys village, Šimonys district. Written down by Stasys Paliulis in 1932.)



FIGURE 8. Horn players from Savučiai village, led by Mykolas Paliulis. Unknown photographer (Sėla Museum of Biržai).

The syncretism of polyphonic music is probably best shown by the verb *tūtuoti*, or *tutuoti* (v inf.) and synonyms: *dūduoti*, *triūbuoti*, *trimituoti*, *vamzdžiuoti*, and others. *Tūtuoti* means to toot or tootle, to pipe, to trumpet, to sing *sutartinės*; as well as to shout in a drawling manner, to trumpet (describing swans, geese, cranes); *sutūtuoti* — to have tooted — to come to agreement, to have sung. *Tūtuoklės* could be another name for *skudučiai*. Thus, *tūtavimas* — tooting (noun with the same root as the verb — *tūtuoti*) was both blowing on horns and singing (not excluding dancing as well): Figure 8.

“*Kai užeidavā unt seilās, tai ir tūtuodavām.* <...> [Times when we’d get a hankering, that’s when we’d toot].” (SIS 591. Sung by Marijona Klasčiuvienė, age 101, Bružai village, Baltriškės district, Zarasai county. Written down in 1939.);

“*Lepo leputeli — tuos užtartinius žodžius toje dainio antra pora tedainiuoj; o antros rukavimus tutuoj pirma pora viens vienu pavadujunt; bet kartu vis du tegied.* [‘*Lepo leputeli* — the second pair in the song only sang those add-on words; the crooning tutuoj by the second group was repeated by the first, taking turns, but only two would sing at any one time].” (SIS II 727. From Mykolas Miežinis’ letter to A. Kosaževskis; „*Tautosaka iš Kosaževskio „Lituanikos“*. — TD, T. III, p. 133–134.);

“*Sutartinės gieda arba tūtuoja. Sakydavo: kaip gražiai tūtuoja. Tūtuoja kaip gulgės* [Sutartinės are sung or tooted. They used to say, how beautifully they toot. They toot like swans].” (LLIM 328. Sung by Elžbieta Janavičienė-Tamėnaitė, b. 1841, Suvaizdžiai village, Pandėlys district. Written down by Stasys Paliulis in 1936.);

“<...> *Daugiausiai moterys taip tutuodavo per banketus; daugiausiai tokias ir tutuodavo, retai kada pašauktines (patraukiamas) dainuodavo* [<...> most of those kinds were tooted; only rarely were the pašauktinės (patraukiamos) ‘calling (drawn out) songs’ (pašauktinės, patraukiamos) songs — antonyms of the *sutartinės* ever sung].” (SIS 194. Written down by Adolfas Sabaliauskas in 1919.)

Grote groti means to sing *sutartinės* as if they had been played. [Of note is that the vocal *sutartinės* have a resonance which is closely related to that of different instruments, or the actual resonance of instruments.]. It seems that earlier singers held instrumental performance of *sutartinės* to be a “higher” category of mastery, and a goal for which to strive. Even today, when appraisers listen to singers of *sutartinės* performing loudly and forcefully, they often say in admiration, “They sing strongly — as if tooting on trumpets.” (Actually, when listening to the low-pitched singing of *sutartinės* from afar, there is the semblance of music that is performed on horns. This illusion of instrumental music is something that I have experienced myself.)

“*Seniau sutartinės giedodavo, kaip grote grodavo, linus raudamos* [In older times, the *sutartinės* were sung as if they had been played].” (LLIM 119. Sung by Vasiliauskas, b. 1847. Bakšėnai village, Salamiestis district, Biržai county. Written down by Stasys Paliulis in 1932.);

“*Sakydavo moterys: pagiedosim kokią sutartinę. Kaip grote grodavo jos visos keturias. Bakšėnuos šokdavo grotines* [The women would say, Let’s sing a *sutartinė*. All four of them sang as if they were playing].” (LLIM 5. Sung by Jurgis Borisas, b. 1866. Bakšėnai village, Salamiestis county, Vabalninkas district. Written down by Stasys Paliulis in 1932.)

In the vernacular, there is another expression used to describe the singing of *sutartinės*, especially if they are performed well: *gražu, kaip muzika* “beautiful, as if it were music” (“music” usually refers to a band, orchestra, or individual instruments: fiddle, button accordion, occasionally the musician, i.e. the fiddler).

“<...> *Eidami ratu aplink, sukasi gyvai, rankom pliauškindami ir dainuodami kas tik kokiū balsu gali: storu ar plonu ar kitonišku. Išeina gyva ir graži tartum koki muzika* [As they walk in a circle, they twirl briskly, clapping their hands and singing, using every kind of voice: deep or light or another way. The result is lively and beautiful, as if it were music].” (LTR 2071(166).

“*Dainuodavo mergaitės arba moterys suvėjimuose, o jeigu galėdavo ištraukti vyrą koki vieną ar du, kurie tik kartodavo “sorbinto” storais balsais, tai būdavę gana gražu, lyg koki muzika* [Girls and

women sang at gatherings, and when possible they would draw in a man or two, who only sang [a vocable] *sorbinto* in deep voices, which was rather beautiful, as if it were music].” (LTR 2071(88)).

Lumždinė (adj. n; sing.), *lumždžio* (n; genitive of *lumždis*) is the name of the counterpoint *sutartinė dvejinė* (twosome) by two *lumždžiai* (*lumždžiai*): 1) by two *lumzdeliai* — wooden pipes (flutes), 2) by two *daudytės* (long wooden trumpets), or by two singers. In this case, the sung or played *sutartinė* is called instrumental.

“*Lumždinė* (2 *lumzdeliais*, arba 2 *daudytėmis*, arba *giedama*) [*Lumždinė* (on 2 *lumzdeliai* or 2 *daudytės* or sung)].” (SbG 451. Sung by Ona Smilgienė, b. 1837. Gavėniškis village, Papilys district, Biržai county. Written down by Adolfas Sabaliauskas in 1911.);

“*Viena dainuoja, kita užitaria ir dainuodamos šoka*. <...>. *Prie mel. pažymėta “lumždžio”* [One sings, the other accompanies and dances while she sings. Note next to the melody: on the *lumždis*].” (SIS 1541. Sung by Alzbieta Paliulienė, age 25, Savučiai homestead, Vabalninkas district, Biržai county. Written down by Adolfas Sabaliauskas in 1911.).

The singing of *sutartinės* is often compared to performing on *skudučiai*, multipart whistles popular in the northeastern Aukštaitija region of Lithuania. Here some vocal *sutartinės* are called *builinės*. The name comes from the umbelliferous plant *builis* — wild chervil (*Anthriscus silvestris*) which has hollow stems from which *skudučiai* are made.

“*Dvejūs*. *Reikia, kad sutartinės skudučiuotųsi*. *Čia nėra skudučiovimo — pasako dažnai, kai nesutariam* [Twosome. The *sutartinės* have to be sung in a *skudučiai* manner. “That isn’t the sound of *skudučiai*,” people would say when we wouldn’t come together].” (SIS 1179. Sung by Vikiė Našlėnienė, age 80, Galvokai village, Biržai district. Written down by Stasys Paliulis in 1936.);

“*Labiausiai sutartines giedodavo verpiant*. <...> *Labai gražu būdavo, kaip skudučiais*. *Viena pradeda, tuoj kita pagauna, iš tos trečia, ir taip eina aplinkui, kiek tų giedotojų yra* [Sutartines were mainly sung while spinning. It was very beautiful, as if on the *skudučiai*. One starts, the other grabs hold of it, the third does the same, until it goes around to all the singers].” (LLIM 291. Sung by Karalina Bačiulienė-Augustauskaitė, b. 1862. Pyragiai village, Kupiškis district. Written down by Stasys Paliulis in 1932.).

The close tie between singing and *skudučiai* is also seen in the previously mentioned term *tūtuoti* and the alternate name for *skudučiai*: *tūtuoklės*. *Tutūtis* — the hoopoe bird is the name of a polyphonic composition for the *skudučiai*, and a favourite with people from Biržai. This song is named after a bird, as are others, such as *Untytė* — Duck (in

TUTUTŪTUTUTIS

Salamiestis

$\text{♩} = 96$

Tu-tu-tū - - - tu-tut.

Tū - - tu-tu - - tūt.

Ut, ut, un - tu-ti

Aa pū. A- pu, a-pu, aa - - pū.

Un-ty- - ta, ut, ut,

un - tą - ta - ta, ut, ut.

EXAMPLE I. COMPOSITION FOR THE *skudučiai* "TUTUTŪTUTUTIS"

Place: Salamiestis, Biržai district

Source: LLIM 67.

dialect) or *Intakas* — Village Bird. As in other songs, many of the parts are based on similar onomatopoeic words, and the instruments used to play the songs have been given related names. For example, in the area around Salamiestis the following names are known for sets of *skudučiai*: 1) *tututūtututis* (*tututis*), 2) *tūtutututis*, 3) *kvepas* (*dūchas*, *ūchas*), 4) *untutas*, 5) *untyta*, and the like (LLIM: 413); example 1. This shows the relationship of *skudučiai* performance to the imitation of birdcalls.

The old singers compared the singing of *sutartinės* to birdcalls, saying that the singing was like the whooping of cranes or they toot like swans.

“*Keturinės dainos — senybinės. Aš, Rimšės parapijoj augdama, jau negirdėjau keturinių giedant, tik mes su motina giedodavom, tai žmonės labai klausydavo. Daina — kaip gervių gargėjimas* [I no longer heard the *keturinės* ‘foursomes’ sung while I was growing up in Rimša Parish. Only my mother and I sang them, and when we did, people would really listen. The song was like the WHOOPING OF CRANES].” (SIS I: 734. Sung by Viktorija Bukauskienė, age 78, Kazimieriškė village, Rimšė district, Zarasai county. Written down by Juozas Aidulis and Juozas Jurga in 1936.);

“*Trijinė. Kaip ir gulbės tūtuodavām* [The threesome. We tooted like swans].” (SIS 510. Sung by Marijona Klasčiuvienė, age 101, Bružai village, Baltriškės district, Zarasai county. Written down in 1939.)

Very often the singing of *sutartinės* was described as CLUCKING CHICKENS, and instead of referring to singing, it was said that the women *kudakuoja*, *kudekuoja*, *kudėkakoja*, *kudoja* (synonymous dialect terms; v, third person; inf. *kudakuoti*, *kudekuoti*, etc.) which meant to cluck or cackle like hens. ((Račiūnaitė)-Vyčiniienė 2002(a): 266–267.)

“*Keturinė. Giedama (kudekuojama) šitaip: pirmas balsas sako: „Aš ejau, keliavau“; antras ir trečias: „Ai ciuta, da ciuta (irgi litanijos būdu: vieni skaito, kiti atsakinėja), ketvirtas balsas (pirmas gali nedainuoti): „Viešiuoju keleliu“, ir vėl antras ir trečias — „ai ciuta, da ciuta“, ir t. t. Giesmė rugiapiūtinė (ruginė).*” (SLS 1715. Sung by Anelė Blaževičienė, age 67, Rizgūnai village, Paringys district, Švenčionys county. Written down by Juozas Aidulis and Juozas Jurga in 1936.)

‘Foursome. It is sung (*kudekuojama* — cackled) this way: the first voice says, “I went, I traveled.” The second and third, “*Ai ciuta, do ciuta* (as if reciting a litany: one calls, the others respond), the fourth voice (the first one can remain silent): “On the open road,” and again the second and third says, “*ai ciuta, do ciuta*,” and so on. It is a rye-harvest song.’

The recorder’s note: “The informant heard girls spinning and cackling (*kudėkakoja*) the *sutartinės* songs <...>.” (SIS 1764. Sung by Zabarskas, age 88, Kamajai district., Rokiškis county. Written down by Ona Kairytė in 1939.);

“*Trijos. Kaip ir vištos ir kudoja* [Threesome. Like the cackling of chickens].” (SIS 233. Written down by Stasys Paliulis in 1936 in the environs of Pandėlys.);

“<...> *Ar linus rauna, tai ir kudoja* [When they pull the flax they *kudoja* (cackle)].” (SIS 261. Sung by Elzbieta Savickienė. Written down by Stasys Paliulis in 1937.);

“*Tos trijės, keturiės, kai iš tolo klausais, tai kaip vištos kudoja. Kai sutarydavo, regis, tai pagražu būdavo. Mano eilij nebelabai begiedodavo* [Those threesomes, foursomes, if you listen to them from afar, it sounds like chickens cackling. When they agreed, it was quite beautiful. In my day, they didn’t sing them as much].” (LLIM 268. Sung by Kotryna Rasimavičienė-Veščiūtė, b 1856. Suvaizdžiai village, Pandėlys district. Written down by Stasys Paliulis in 1936.).

It is possible that clucking was associated with the “jumping” of the voice and not filling in the thirds or fourths, giving the impression of chopping [*Kapotinė* (adj. n; sing.) — the convertible term of the *sutartinė*; is derived from the verb *kapoti* — to chop (SIS 89 a; SIS1303, etc.). It might be assumed that this word reflects the quality of singing *sutartinės*.], i.e. accenting every pitch [Fanfare-like inflections are characteristic in *sutartinės* melodies of the northeast territory. Some think that melodies of *sutartinės* sung in the Biržai area have been influenced by the natural progression of pitches performed on *daudytės*²; example 2]. As noted by the Polish ethnomusicologist Bożena Muszkalska, in Mediterranean polyphonic singing the effect of “dirty singing” was reinforced by the application of specific articulation (i.e. assorted types of *glissandos*, tremolos resembling the clucking of a chicken). (Muszkalska 1999) “Clucking” is one of the effects of instrumental music. For example, in Bosnia-Herzegovina the cackling of hens (“*kakatenje*”) is imitated by playing on *Diple* — double wind instruments. (Richtman 1981: 282) Incidentally, the clucking of chickens may have been evoked not only by the “jumping” of the singers’ voices in wide intervals, but also the diaphonic sounding of different texts (meaningful text and refrain). As onlookers listen to the singing of *sutartinės*, it is almost impossible to discern a coherent text. Only disconnected words (vocables) or the confluence of single vowels was heard. Possibly, as the *sutartinės* singing tradition began dying out, this “cacophony” became comical: “*Kai pašidydavo, kad kaip vištos kudoja, tai iš vieno giedodavo.*” (LLIM 334. Sung by E. Janavičienė-Tamėnaitė, born 1841, Suvaizdžiai village, Pandėlys district, Rokiškis county. Written down by Stasys Paliulis in 1936.) ‘When they mocked them for clucking like chickens, then they’d sing as one (i.e. not polyphonically, but in “one voice,” in unison — D. R.-V.)’, explained E. Janavičienė. Stasys Paliulis wrote that a special parody had been created to make fun of the “clucking” by the singers. The women

2 This hypothesis was raised by *sutartinės* authority Stasys Paliulis (born in the Biržai area), and later developed by ethnomusicologists Austė Nakienė, and Daiva Račiūnaitė-Vyčinienė.

would engage in a dialogue, as though they were chickens, and would “cluck” a song: “*čia tavo, čia mano, sudėsim abiejų — bus tik mūsų dvių* [this is yours, this mine, put ’em both together, it will only be ours].”; example 3. Singer E. Bratėnaitė (born in 1852) explained, “this was the way the fellers sang, laughing at the gals, who were singing the *sutartinės*.” (LLIM: 413)

Ry - to, ry-tė - lio, ry-to ra-ti - ė - liu, ry - to ra-ti - ė - liu.

Ry - to, ry - to, ry - to ra-ti-ė-liu, ry - to ra-ti-liu.

EXAMPLE 2. *Sutartinė* with trumpet-like intonations.

Place: Biržai district

Source: SIS 534.

Čia ta - vo, čia ma - no, su-dė - sim a-bie-ju, bus tik mū - sų dvie-ju.

EXAMPLE 3. Parody of the “clucking” by the *sutartinės* singers.

Source: LLIM: 413

Of note is the *sutartinės* singers’ maxim that voices of singers ought to sound (“clang”) “*it varpai,*” “*kaip zvanai*” [*zvanai* pl.; *zvanas* sing. ‘bell’ from the Pol. *dzwon*] — like bells ((Račiūnaitė)-Vyčiniėnė 2002(b): 60–61):

“*Sutariant pašilėj, zvanku it varpai* [An agreement in the woods tolls like bells].” (SIS 262.

From the manuscript of Mykolas Miežinis, ca 1849.);

“*Balsai susidaužia kaip zvanai* [Voices toll like bells].” (KTR 12 (78).);

“<...> *Kai daug atitaria — atrodo lyg skambina varpais. Dainavo mano jaunystėje laukuose, eidamos iš darbo dviem būreliais. Dainavo ir vakarojant verpdamos. Kai aš buvau jauna, tai jau jas mažai kas bedainavo* [When many accompany, it is like the ringing of bells. When I was young, they sang in the fields coming home from work in two groups. They also sang in the evening while spinning. When I was young, few people sang them any more].” (SIS

1803. Sung by Emilija Gančerienė, 73 age, lived in Čiobiškis, Širvintos district, born in Švenčionys district. Written down by Jurgis Dovydaitis.);

It seems that similar expressions (“like bells”) are known in coastal countries of the Mediterranean Sea (in Albania, Bosnia, Greece (Epirus), Serbia and Bulgaria³). They refer to the phenomenon of “friction” that results from the thick texture of multi-voice music, which is broadly referred to as *die Schwebungs-Diaphonie*. It is difficult to say whether the Lithuanian singers’ explanations relate to the characteristics of *Schwebungs-Diaphonie* (intense vocal coarseness, and the “beating” of voices at the interval of the second). [According to Rytis Ambrazevičius, who conducted research on the acoustic qualities of *sutartinės* “<...> the requirement of the maximum roughness is not emphatic in our case. Strictly speaking, an equal sign cannot be put between the “perfect clash” of voices and the maximum roughness. Probably, the maximum roughness is a desirable quality but the zone of the suitable roughness is wide enough. The factor of roughness is possibly diminished by other important factors of articulation.” (Ambrazevičius 2005: 253)] There is reason for uncertainty, since some of the expressions were recorded in a territory where the second was not the singers’ goal or a standard of beauty. In the eastern section of the *sutartinės* territory (around Zarasai, Ignalina and Švenčionys) the second is a rather rare and happenstance interval in unison-heterophonic singing. Therefore, the expression “like bells” may be merely a vivid description, comparable to expressions such as “the voice(s) like trumpet(s),” “voices like the organ,” and so on. All of them may intend to describe strong, loud and attractive singing. At times, the bell is linked to the voice of a person, to the words used in the reply (Lithuanian folk song: “Mano mergelės [My dear maiden’s] / Gražus balselis [Sweet voice], / Kaip Kretingos varpelis [Like the bell of Kretinga (township)].”). On the other hand, the expression “like bells” may refer to the simultaneous (multi-voiced) sound of several different voices (or voice parts). We can infer this from a collective *sutartinė*⁴ title *Vilniaus varpai* — “Vilnius Bells.” Apparently, the associations with the powerful peal of bells was caused by both different words and the pitch of separate voice parts of *sutartinės* [see note of the collective *sutartinė* “*Buvo Vilniuj dūda* [There was a bagpipe in Vilnius]” (JLD II, 990): “*Sutartinė daina. I balsas pradeda, II dainuoja storai, III — storiau, IV — plonai ir dainuoja visi drauge vienas paskui kitą, kaip varpais skambina* [A *sutartinė* (of agreement) song. The first

3 In Portugal, there appeared the expression “out of tune.” (Muszkalska 1999).

4 Unlike the traditional or group *sutartinės*, the *collective sutartinė* is sung collectively by 4 to 20 performers. Each one of them has her own part — a certain formula of words and music. It is repeated frequently without stopping. It is believed that collective *sutartinės* were influenced by homophonic polyphony, which had been taking hold at the time.

part begins, the second one takes a low pitch, the third — a still lower pitch, the fourth takes a high pitch and they perform in concord, following one another and clang like bells].”⁵ Besides, in verbal folklore the bells themselves are frequently imitated on the basis of the multi-textual principle of *sutartinės* (incidentally, the verbalization of the voices, timbre and rhythm of church bells is closely linked to analogous traditions of northern and central Europe): I voice: Lioj, žalía rūta / [Lioj, green rue,] / Lioj, žalía rūta / [Lioj, green rue.] (the Catholic church bell); II voice: Bambyz bambyz, bam bam, / Bambyz bambyz, bam bam. (the Protestant church bell). (Present-day vocal imitation of bells was registered by the author of this paper in Nemunėlio Radviliškis in 1986.)

Ambrasevičius believes that phonetics and timbre have a great deal to do with the association between *sutartinės* and the pealing of bells. “We mean the case when the dissonating partials differ in SPLs enough, and besides some partials are intensive in one voice and other (different) partials are intensive in another voice. It’s OK even if only two pairs of partials play the game. The result could be interpreted as inharmonic spectrum. It seems as though sole sound appears, compounded of inharmonic overtones <...>; with some small ‘accessories.’” (Ambrasevičius 2005: 257) Of course, the previously mentioned comparison of *sutartinės* singing to bells may correspond to the aesthetics of *Schwebungs-Diaphonie* (the “roughness” of sound). In any case, this issue remains open.

Nevertheless, it is possible that the expression under discussion — “like bells” is related to the singers’ aim to “clash, hit, to strike” their voices together (*sumušti, sudaužti, padaužti*).

“<...> *Giedam pjaunant rugius. Susiskirstom in du pulkus. Jei esam keturios, po dvi. <...> Vienos sumishliauja, kitos padaužia* [We sing when we harvest rye. We divide into two groups. If there are four of us, in twos... The first ones think of something and the others STRIKE].” (KTR 12(178). Sung by Paulina Masiulienė, age 73, Kackonys village, Svirkai district, Švenčionys county. Written down by Genovaitė Četkauskaitė in 1958);

“<...> “*Dobilio*” *sumušdavo kartais antrosios* [The second ones would sometimes strike together the refrain “dobilio”].” (SIS 1036);

5 This *sutartinė* variant „*Buvo boba Vilniuj* [The Old Woman Was in Vilnius]” does not imitate bells, but a string “quartet” performance. The first violin plays “*Buvo boba Vilniuj* [The Old Woman Was in Vilnius]”, the second violin responds, “*Gal ji buvo, gal ir ne* [Maybe she was, and maybe she wasn’t]”, the third violin calls, “*Buvo buvo, kaip nebuvo* [She was she was, of course she was]” and the *basėdlė* (a folk string bass — D. R.-V.) shouts in a deep voice, “*Buvo, buvo, buvo* [She was, was, was]!” (LTt 5 8526). In this case, the voices imitate the sound of instruments (harmonious playing).

“*Saugimas — baises gražumas, bet reikalau tam didelio tvarkos, idant sukriai — gražiai sumušti* [*Saugimas* (another dialect) ‘singing of *sutartinės*’ — that’s awfully beautiful, but it demands tremendous order, so that it be tightly wound, and nicely clanged].” (SIS 1195. From the manuscript of Mykolas Miežinis, ca 1849)

The singers’ terms to “hit, to bang” (*sumušti, sudaužti*) etc. are especially appropriate for conveying the conventions of singing in parallel seconds. Having sung *sutartinės* for many years, I have often experienced what it means to “clang” the voices together well (it is a peculiar impact or quiver of the sound, which permeates the entire body). (Račiūnaitė-Vyčiniene 2005: 232–233) An accurate vertical intonation of the minor second (as notated) does not create the desired “striking” effect. In order for the voices to “bang,” you need to augment the interval. When singing *sutartinės*, standard intervals are distorted: some are “stretched” while others are constricted. Acoustic research on archival recordings shows that the intonational range of the second in *sutartinės* is quite large — from approximately a semitone to a minor third. Simultaneously sounding vertical seconds and horizontal thirds in a single voice part are not differentiated. The average second is equal to 1.78 of a tempered semitone. (Ambrzevičius 2003: 127) Ambrzevičius performed a detailed acoustic analysis of the *sutartinė* “Mina, mina, minagaučio lylio” (SIS 428a) and found that there is no apparent attempt to find the maximum zone of roughness, yet mean measures of intonation match the maximum roughness; example 4. Hence, there is intervallic fluctuation between voices, so it would not be appropriate to speak of consistent intonation for the purpose of roughness. On the other hand, glissando approaches to vocal attacks may be considered “the search for maximum roughness.” (Ambrzevičius 2003: 129–130)

The relationship between singing and musical instruments is also seen in later *sutartinės* (termed “newfangled” by Zenonas Slaviūnas, and which I refer to as “collective” to differentiate them from “traditional” *sutartinės* which were sung by small groups of 2–4 people). One folk vernacular term for collective *sutartinės* is *kapelija* (n; sing.) meaning “choir, chapel, band” and which can refer to: 1) The name of the vocal collective *sutartinė*; 2) The name of the vocal-instrumental *collective sutartinė*. There are *sutartinės* that blend singing with woodwind instruments (*skudučiai, lumzdeliai*, and the *birbynės* — reed-pipes). The relationship of the voices in these *sutartinės* is similar to that of the vocal *kapelija*. *Trailinimas* (verbal n; sing.) is derived from the verb *trailinti* “to prattle” — the name of the collective *sutartinė* with a changing text (small talk). The text itself would seem to be one collected piece, usually consisting of a long humorous text or a conglomeration of various texts, and contains many different accompaniment parts. Sometimes, the melody of this “collection” is performed with some sort of instrument, such as the *birbynės* or *lumzdeliai*. The different parts are all based

$\text{♩} = 72$

1. Mi - na mi - na, mi - na - gau - čio ly - lio, mi - na gė - la ly - lio, su - jo - ja su - jo - ja

Mi - na mi - na,

su - jo - ja sve - te - liai, su - jo - ja sve - te - liai.

mi - na - gau - čio ly - lio, mi - na gė - la ly - lio, su - jo - ja su - jo - ja su - jo - ja sve - te - liai,

Mi - na mi - na, mi - na - gau - čio ly - lio,

EXAMPLE 4. *Sutartinė* “Mina mina”.

Performers: Petras Lapienė, Marė Jakubonienė, Ona Striužienė.

Place: Biržai district

Source: ADSIM 9

on the same principles of complementary rhythm, the same as for the group *sutartinės*. Thirds and fifths predominate in the vertical, and the bass *ostinato*.

The bass (lowest) vocal part of some traditional and many collective *sutartinės* merits attention. (SIS 1772, 1767, 1782, and 1815; LTR 587, 25; 1722, and 75; and others.) It is sung without text, using the vowel sound “oo.” In vernacular this is called *ūžimas*, from the verb *ūžti* (inf.) ‘to drone’, ‘to din’, ‘to hum’. (Raciūnaitė-Vyčiniene 2006)

“*Bobos rugius pjaudamos kudakavo: viena boba ar merga dainuoja tik tuos žodžius: „Kas rūtėlą pasėja?“ Kita jai atsako: „Sese rūtų pasėja“.*

“The old women would cluck as they harvested: one woman or gal would only sing the words, “Who planted the rue?”

Trečia sakydavo: „Ku dė ka ka ka!” (2 k.) <...>. Kartais pritaridavo ir ketvirtoji, tik ji be žodžių vis uždavo: Ū-ū-ū-ū-ū... Mums toks dainavimas sukeldavo daug juoka. Tada sakydavom: „Jau mūsų bobos kaip vištėlas pradėja kudakuot!” (LTR 1948 15. Sung by M. Juknys from the Utena district.)

Another would answer, “Sister planted the rue.” A third one would answer, “*Ku dė ka ka ka!*” (2 TIMES) <...>. Sometimes a fourth would join in, but she would “oo” (drone) with no words. That type of singing raised a lot of laughter. Then we would say, “Our old ladies started to cluck like hens!”

“Trečioji dainininkė storai veda melodiją ne žodžiais, bet uždama ū-ū-ū-ū-ū [The third singer chants the melody in a low voice not in words, but droning (“ūždama”) oo-oo-oo.]” (LTR 1722(75). Rendered by Marijona Urbonienė from Dusetos district.)

Some collective *sutartinės* allow us to postulate that the “droning” may be an imitation of *borduns* that are produced on bagpipes.⁶ This is confirmed by a sizable category of *sutartinės*, “*Buvo dūda Vilniuj* [There Was a Bagpipe in Vilnius]”. In most of this category’s *sutartinės* there is a syllabic “patter”, a rhythmic or homorhythmic drone ostinato in the lowest vocal part, based on the repetition of certain words, such as “*buvo buvo, kaip nebuvo* [she was she was, of course she was]”; “*gal ir buvo, gal ir ne* [maybe she was, and maybe she wasn’t]”; “*buvo buvo* [she was, she was]”, etc. In several variants of the *sutartinė* “*Buvo dūda Vilniuj*” the lowest voice elongates the “oo” vowel sound, imitating the buzzing drone of the bagpipe (often called a *dūda*, pronounced “doodah”); example 5.

♩ = 112

EXAMPLE 5. *Sutartinė* “*Buva dūdaj velnias*” (There Was a Devil in the Bagpipe)

⁶ The elongation of the “oo” vowel sound in the lowest voice part of *sutartinės* in some cases (ex., SIS 1767) may be an imitation of grinding on a stone mill. Some of the *sutartinės* lyrics support this.

This paper is not an exhaustive study of the interaction of voice and instruments in Lithuanian polyphonic music. This is a wide subject, requiring detailed research. These are initial observations allowing us to draw certain parallels:

- Sing = blow on instruments;
- Voices = *skudučiai*;
- Sing, blow on instruments — “skudučiuoti” (play on *skudučiai*), “tūtuoti” (to toot);
- “Skudučiuoti” (play on *skudučiai*), sing = to imitate birdcalls;
- To sing in a cackling manner (“kudakuojant,” “kudakuoti”) = to imitate specific instrumental articulation;
- To sing, to play harmoniously — to agree (“*sutarti*”);
- To agree in singing = to agree in playing;
- To sing in good agreement, in harmony = to play as if on an instrument (“grote groti”); beautifully, as if it were music (“gražu, kaip muzika”);
- Voices = bells (“like bells”);
- The “beating” “striking” of voices = the pealing of bells (the rough, harsh sounding of seconds between voices; the aesthetic *die Schwebungs-Diaphonie*).

These interactions reveal that the study of Lithuanian polyphonic music calls for cooperation between vocal and instrumental specialists. The undeniably syncretic nature of *sutartinės* requires this collaboration.

Abbreviations

ADSIM [Lithuanian abbreviation, reference to]:

- Nakienė, Austė and Rūta Žarskienė, eds. 2004. *Aukštaitijos dainos, sutartinės ir instrumentinė muzika. 1935–1941 metų fonografo įrašai* [Songs, sutartinės and instrumental music from Aukštaitija. Phonograph records of 1935–1941.] Vilnius, Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos institutas [The Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore].

JLD [Lithuanian abbreviation, reference to]:

- Juškevičė, Antanas, Transcriber. 1880. *Lietuviškos Dainos* [Lithuanian Songs]. Vol. 1 and 2. Kazanė: Imperatoriškojo universiteto spaustuvė [Imperial University Press].
- Juškevičė, Antanas, Transcriber. 1882. *Lietuviškos Dainos* [Lithuanian Songs]. Vol. 3, Kazanė: Imperatoriškojo universiteto spaustuvė [Imperial University Press].
- Juška A., Transcriber. 1954. *Lietuviškos Dainos* [Lithuanian Songs]. Vol. 1–3. Vilnius: Valstybinė grožinės literatūros leidykla [National Polite Literature Press].

KTR [Lithuanian abbreviation, reference to]:

- *Lietuvių Tautosakos Rankraštynas* [Manuscript Library of Lithuanian Folklore]. Lithuania SSR State Conservatory. (currently — Lithuanian Academy of Music).
- LLD Vk [Lithuanian abbreviation, reference to]:
- Jokimaitienė, Pranė, ed. and Zofija Puteikienė, music ed. 1980. *Šeimos Dainos* [Family Songs]. Vol. I: *Vaikų Dainos* [Children's Songs]. Vilnius: Vaga.
- LLIM [Lithuanian abbreviation, reference to]:
- Paliulis, Stasys, ed. 1959. *Lietuvių Liaudies Instrumentinė Muzika* [Lithuanian Instrumental Folk Music]. Vilnius: Valstybinė grožinės literatūros leidykla [National Polite Literature Press].
- LTR [Lithuanian abbreviation, reference to]:
- Lithuania SSR Science Academy of Lithuanian Language and Literature (presently — Folklore Manuscript Library of the Lithuanian Institute of Literature and Folklore).
- LTt [Lithuanian abbreviation, reference to]:
- Grigas, Kazys, ed. 1968. *Lietuvių tautosaka* [Lithuanian Folklore]. Vol. 5: *Smulkioji tautosaka, žaidimai ir šokiai* [Small Folklore, Games and Dances]. Vilnius: Mintis.
- SbG [Lithuanian abbreviation, reference to]:
- Sabaliauskas, Adolfas, Comp. 1916. *Lietuvių Dainų ir Giesmių Gaidos* [Notes to the Songs and Hymns of Lithuanians]. Helsinki: Suomių literatūros draugijos spaustuvė [Finnish Literary Society Press].
- SIS [Lithuanian abbreviation, reference to]:
- Slaviūnas, Zenonas, ed. 1958–1959. *Sutartinės: Daugiabalsės Lietuvių Liaudies Dainos* [*Sutartinės: Polyphonic Lithuanian Folk Songs*]. Volumes 1–3. Vilnius: Valstybinė grožinės literatūros leidykla [National Polite Literature Press].

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Terminological priorities of Georgian traditional polyphony

ABSTRACT

The variety of forms of Georgian traditional polyphony is determined by few compositional principles of polyphony. Despite this fact, traditional Georgian terminology is more oriented towards the names of individual parts than the principles of the coordination of different parts. Georgian terms for polyphony are mostly concerned with communicative, articulatory and topical factors, although spatial, processual and verbal associations are also important.

Despite long historical interaction with other peoples, traces of non-Georgian influences on Georgian terminology for polyphony are very scarce. One of the reasons for this fact could be the position of Georgian polyphonic culture, surrounded mostly by the carriers of monophonic singing traditions of Transcaucasia and Western Asia. Even such a stable traditional institution as Orthodox liturgical singing was transformed and adjusted to Georgian terminology. Terms from vocal polyphony were also transmitted to the realm of instrumental polyphonic music.

About 120 terms for parts and functions of Georgian traditional polyphony have been recorded by scholars in different parts of Georgia. Some of these terms are closely related, and some of them have different origins. This variety suggests the original character of different musical regions (or “musical dialects” as they are known in Georgian ethnomusicology), and on the other hand, this suggests the original unity of the musical culture and the rich corpus of terms in all three Georgian languages (Kartvelian, Megrelian and Svan).

It is a difficult task to represent Georgian traditional terminology as a more-or-less coherent system. Despite the highly organized forms of polyphony in Georgia, terminology connected to the traditional polyphony does not offer large number of unambiguous terms. According to the literary sources and the information provided by the ethnofores (carriers of the traditions), more than a hundred terms have been recorded. They represent different aspects of the musical structure of Georgian polyphony, quite a few of them are polysemantic (bearing different meanings), and some have principally different semantic explanations. This polysemanticity suggests that recordings were made while traditional music was still in a process of change, and the changes themselves suggest that the natural processes that govern musical life of traditional society are still alive.

Georgian traditional music is primarily known for its clearly pronounced vocal character. It is not very easy to explain the main reason for this cultural trait. One of the possible (although not the principal) reasons could be the strength of Eastern

Orthodox Christianity for the last 16 centuries, which banned the use of instrumental music in liturgical practice.

Whatever might be the reason for the primacy of vocal music in Georgia, we can certainly claim that musical instruments are generally limited to the function of the accompaniment of vocal music. Therefore it should not surprise us that vocal terminology dominates the terminology in instrumental music as well. For example, the popular string instrument *chongouri*, which is a four-string long-neck lute, has three strings which are named after the vocal parts of Georgian vocal polyphony (*datskili* — “the one who starts”, *momdzakbneli* — “the one who follows”, and *bani* — the bass). Only the fourth, the shortest string, has a non-Georgian (Persian) term “*zili*” (Javakhishvili 1938:158).

Apart from the similarity of the terms between vocal and instrumental polyphony, playing of the *chongouri* is often marked by similarity to vocal polyphony. In such cases the strings that are named after the vocal parts imitate the melodic lines of the corresponding vocal parts (this does not happen with *zili* as a player cannot change the pitch of *zili*) (see CD 36).

On the other hand, parallels between the vocal and instrumental terminology are also found in an instrument which does not allow the playing of any melodic lines (because of its construction). This is a Georgian panpipe known as the *larchemi* (means “reed”). Although the names of each of the six pipes that constitute the *larchemi* have names of vocal parts, they can only play one note each. For example, the pipe that bears the name *damtskebi* (“the one who starts”) can only play one pitch. In this case the terminology of vocal music is mechanically transferred to instrumental music without any real resemblance to the melodic or harmonic structure of vocal music.

There is an interesting difference between the terminology of aerophones and chordophones in Georgian traditional music. According to the research of the late Tina Zhvania (Zhvania 2001 : 264), virtually all the names of Georgian traditional aerophones have local, Georgian etymology. These instruments comprise the *gudastviri* and the *chiboni* (both names of the bagpipe), the *larchemi* (name of the panpipe), the *stviri* (flute) and the *buki* (long signalling wooden trumpet). The names of the string instruments, by contrast, mostly reveal non-Georgian etymology like *chonguri* and *fanduri* — both long-neck lutes, or *changi* — the harp. To explain this imbalance I would suggest that Georgian musical culture accepted only those instruments that allow their use for the accompaniment of vocal parts (string instruments). Local instruments must have been replaced by the new foreign instruments. As the latest example of this process I would name the replacement of soft-sounding *fandouri* by the metal-string and much louder Russian *balalaika* in the mountainous regions of North-East Georgia.

As for the string instruments that were used in other cultures as solo virtuoso instruments, they were not accepted in Georgian musical practice because of the domi-

nance of vocal practice. For the same reason, foreign wind instruments did not replace the local instruments as they were not used for accompaniment and were therefore largely uninteresting for Georgian performers.

Joseph Jordania suggested another explanation for the imbalance of Georgian and foreign names for the aerophones and chordophones in Georgian traditional music. According to his suggestion, most of the chordophones were brought to Georgia by the carriers of monophonic singing traditions together with their non-Georgian names (personal communication from August 5, 2008).

* * *

I would now like to mention the close ties between Georgian traditional and liturgical professional music. Famous traditional singers were often the singers of the local church choir. This contributed to the establishment of “professional performers’ families” among traditional singers (Gabisonia 2008: 67). It is quite obvious that both folk singing and church-singing traditions influenced each other. Professional church-musicians used neume notation in the 10th–11th centuries, and the mnemonic system of *chreli* during the 17th–18th centuries, but during the 19th century, after Russia abolished the Georgian Patriarchate and banned Georgian singing in Georgian churches, church singing survived within families and was mostly transferred by the same method as traditional singing — orally. This fact also contributed to the appearance of more characteristic elements of traditional singing in church-singing practice and vice versa.

Despite these factors that contributed to the closeness of Georgian folk and church-singing traditions, the musical languages of these two domains are quite different. I am not talking here about such well known differences as the absence of vigorous contrapuntal style of Western Georgian polyphonic songs or the long-drone based metro-rhythmically free melismatic melodic development of East Georgian table songs. Apart from these easily noticeable differences, there are more subtle differences as well. Generally, most of the terminology for the names of the parts is shared between folk and church-singing traditions, although sometimes with different meanings and order (we will discuss this a bit later). Besides, the terminology for the parts in church singing is not as varied and numerous as in the folk singing tradition. This “modesty” of church-singing terminology must be a result of the more organized character of professional musical practice and also the less contrastive musical language of the different genres of church-singing practice (in comparison to the musical language of the different genres of folk music).

The term *gigini* (literary “humming”) is an interesting example of the transformation of a church-singing genre into a folk genre. According to the Georgian writer

and intellectual of the 19th century, David Machabeli, *gigini* is “a secular entertaining song, organized in three parts in the way religious chants are organized, with three vocal parts: *tkma*, *modzakhili* and *bani*. This song has the same musical development as a church song and is very pleasant to hear” (Machabeli 1864:49–50). The term *gigini* (“humming”) indicates that in the process of transferring the characteristics of church song into a folk song genre, not only the religious content was lost but the text was actually ignored. Most of *gigini*’s today are performed with nonsense syllables (see CD 37).

It is interesting to watch how the terminological priorities changed over time in Georgia. It is clear that the major part of the old terms that were recorded in historical and literary sources (but are absent today), are the names of parts or musical instruments that no longer exist. Some of the Eastern terms that were absorbed into Georgian culture were partially changed. Other terms show the connections with earlier practice. The priority of vocal music is clear both in older as well as in new terms. Parallel (synonymous) terms are quite normal for polyphonic terms in different regions of Georgia. The same is true for the Megrelian and Svan musical dialects, despite the existence of the Megrelian and Svan languages. This similarity shows the inner integrity of Georgian musical terminology.

Some terms suggest interesting perspectives from which to study the process of the development of Georgian polyphony. For example, the term for the leading melodic part *damtskebi* (“the one who starts”) is often substituted by the term *mtkmeli* (“the one who speaks”). This is quite natural, as the process of singing is often referred to as “speaking” (Jordania M. 1973:110). Therefore, *damtskebi* is the leading part in Georgian polyphony, the one who initiates singing (the same idea is expressed by the terms *upirobda* [“the one who leads], *tavkaci* [“head man”], *tavkali* [“head woman”], *gemachkapali* “the one who starts” in Megrelian).

It is crucially important to remember that folk singers often give the name *pirveli kbma* (“the first voice”) not to the highest part, but to the middle part, the part which is called *damtskebi* (“the one who starts”). This part is in the middle of the three-part polyphonic texture but it is widely considered to be the most important, leading melodic part. This part starts and leads most of the songs, hence the name “the first part”.

The term *modzakhili* is very interesting. This term (from the word *modzakhis*) has two contrasting meanings in the Georgian language: (1) “the one who follows the call”, or (2) “the one who calls”. I think this ambiguity is connected to the influence of church-singing traditions. In folk singing tradition the leading melodic part is mostly the middle part, but in church singing the leading melodic part is the top (highest) part. In both traditions the name for the top part is *modzakhili*, but if the top part in folk singing is the part which follows the lead of the middle part, in a church-singing

tradition the top part is the leading part. The double meaning of *modzakhili* represents this ambiguity of the top part in folk and church-singing traditions very well.

We should discuss here the terms of three-part singing mentioned in the work of the medieval Georgian philosopher Ioane Petritsi (11th century) who indicated the similarity between the holy trinity and the three parts of Georgian church singing and mentions the names of three vocal and instrumental parts: *mzakbr*; *zbir*; and *bam* (Petritsi 1937:220). *Mzakbr* has the obvious features of *modzakhili*, and the fact that it is mentioned at the beginning of the list of three parts indicates its leading role. The middle part is referred to by the term *zbir* (in Megrelian this means “second”), which also indicates the secondary role of this part. Therefore, the terminology of Petritsi must be connected to the stratification of singing parts in the Georgian church-singing tradition with the top part leading, not the folk tradition with the middle part leading.

One of the important features of Georgian polyphony is the diversity of compositional principles of polyphony, often within one song. This diversity of polyphonic types has not been studied adequately in Georgian ethnomusicology. Few ideas have been expressed regarding the origins of different types of polyphony. For example, I suggested that the principle of parallel polyphony could be the result of the influence of the church-singing tradition (Gabisonia 2005: 71); while Nino Tsitsishvili has suggested that the melismatic free meter-based drone polyphony of East Georgia could be the result of the ancient migration processes from the Middle East to the Eastern Georgia (Tsitsishvili 1998:137); Malkhaz Erkvanidze has suggested that free contrapuntal polyphony could be connected to the tradition of *gavarjishebuli galoba* (term for the improvised singing in church-singing practice. Erkvanidze 2003: XI).

Musical texture in Georgian polyphony can be HETEROGENIC (when different polyphonic principles are combined within one vertical texture) or COMPILED (when different polyphonic principles change within one phrase, following each other). Most of the types of polyphony are realized in three-part texture where the two top parts are solo performers and the bass is sung by a group of singers. There are two well-known exceptions from this rule: (1) Gurian “trio” songs, which are performed by three individual singers (including the bass part), and (2) the four-part monumental Naduri songs, where the bass part is melodically very active. The use of the term *bani* (“bass”) in both cases indicates that the origin of this part is to accompany, to follow the leading top melodic parts. As both of these exceptions about the active bass part come from Guria, the most polyphonic region of Georgia, it might be interesting for the readers to know that singing the bass part in *trio* songs was considered to be the most prestigious for Gurian singers, so if well-known singers decided to sing a *trio* song at a meeting, it would be suggested that the most revered singer would sing the bass part, and the majority of famous Gurian performers were singers of the bass part (Jordania N. 1985: 40–42).

Types of polyphony in Georgian vocal or instrumental polyphony are very rarely indicated in generic terminology. Of course, there are a few terms that indicate group polyphonic singing, like *tanamekhmeoba* (“to sing in different parts”), *mortuloba* (“to beautify”), *etobai shekovlebisai* (“the unity of different elements”) and *shetskoba* (“co-singing”). These terms are mostly recorded in the literary sources of the Middle Ages, and there are no further indications of more concrete links between these terms and the variety of forms of polyphony in Georgia.

Generally speaking, terminology mostly describes those phenomena that can be perceived as *Gestalt* and can therefore be easily identified. In Georgian singing separate parts fit this criterion better than the principles of polyphony, or the coordination between the parts (Gabisonia 2000: 50).

We should also note that together with the melodically active top parts a variety of terms are used for the bass part, and when it comes to name the type of polyphony, bass part is the most convenient for this. Drone bass, or the ostinato bass, or the free, melodically active bass gives its name to the following polyphonic types: “drone polyphony”, “ostinato polyphony” and “contrapuntal polyphony”.

Joseph Jordania suggested that theoretical understanding and the classification of musical practice is much more typical for cultures with monophonic traditions than for cultures with polyphonic traditions (Jordania 2006: 144–145). He explains this as a logical consequence of the professionalization of musical performance in monophonic cultures, where musical activity is often connected to individual semi- or fully professional performers. On the other hand, in polyphonic cultures musical performance often includes all the present. Georgian musicologists and ethnomusicologists have mostly failed to find native terminology for the theoretical classification of traditional polyphony, apart from the array of the terms for the different parts and their functions of course. As I have mentioned before, the parts are more readily named than the principles or the types of polyphony.

Now I would like to discuss a few traditional terms that might be used in the future as Georgian terms to denote different types of Georgian polyphony:

Mimkoli (literally “the one who follows”) — this term is usually used for the two top parts when they follow each other (mostly in parallel thirds). We could use this term to indicate PARALLEL POLYPHONY in general, although this term (in its current meaning) does not cover the parallel movement of the bass (CD 38).

Kbmis triali, gavarjisbeba (literally “twisting the voice”, “improvising”) — this term could be used to indicate CONTRAPUNTAL POLYPHONY. These terms were used in the church singing tradition. There is no doubt that improvisation was widely used in folk singing practice as well, but the term for improvisation was introduced in the professional singing tradition (see CD 39).

Damjdari bani, *ertiani bani* (literally “sitting bass” and “unified bass”) — these terms are for the bass part (specifically the pedal drone bass), but as the motionless bass is the most important element of drone polyphony the same term could be used as a Georgian name for DRONE POLYPHONY (see CD 40).

The term for the bass part, *bani* (which in Georgian means “the flat roof”) is the same for various types of the bass: the Kakhetian pedal drone bass, the ostinato bass of round dances, or the melodically very active bass for the Gurian contrapuntal songs. Another important term for the drone bass is *shemkmbobari* — (literally “the one who gives supporting voice”). This term is still used in Gurian and Acharan harvest songs, referred to as “Naduri”, and is usually placed not on the bottom of the polyphonic texture, but in the middle of three or four-part texture (see CD 41).

I must mention here that the term *bani*, apart from being the generic term for the different types of the low part (bass), also means “to accompany”, “to tie together”.

Mtskobri (literally: “well organized line”, like “a line of soldiers”). This term could be used to indicate a so-called “chordal unit” or “synchronic polyphony” where all the parts maintain rhythmic synchrony (see CD 42).

This type of polyphony could be connected to the church-singing tradition, where rhythmic synchrony is very important. This is indicated by the term *shetskobilobani xmatani* “well lined-up voices”. In church singing there is another term to indicate rhythmic synchrony — the term *avaji*. This term means simple syllabic singing when each syllable is sung on one pitch. In earlier sources this term was used for the church-singing mode. Possibly this term was used to indicate an older and easier style of singing.

We do not have terms that could be used to indicate OSTINATO POLYPHONY, although ostinato-type polyphony is closely related to antiphonic performance and there are a few Georgian terms for antiphonic performance. One of them is the term *orpiruli* (literally “two alternating sides”) (see CD 43).

I wish to repeat here that these terms are hardly ever used by traditional singers to indicate the polyphonic types of Georgian folk or medieval professional polyphony. These are chiefly the names of separate singing parts, but I suggest they could be used in the future if we want to have Georgian terms for the different types of Georgian polyphony.

I would also like to say that according to the terminology, different types of Georgian polyphony do not show any priorities. The only exception is possibly the most important polyphonic term, *bani* (bass), the term which indicates the very idea of polyphonic singing (or the idea of co-singing, or *shebaneba*) and besides, the term *bani* single-handedly defines drone and ostinato types of polyphony.

The etymology of Georgian terms for polyphony shows various associative links. Let me mention a few such terms:

The examples of COMMUNICATIVE ASSOCIATION: the term *shelaparikeba* (literally “answering back”) is a singing part which grows out from the middle part and joins the bass part (or vice versa). Another term *dagadzakbili* (literary “answering call”) is also used in Guria and indicates the choral response to the virtuoso section sung by the three individual singers (see CD 44).

The examples of SOUND-PRODUCTION ASSOCIATION: *kivan* (literally “shouting, screaming”), *momqivani*, *gamqivani* (these terms are connected to the specific sounds made by the rooster).

Examples of topical association: *damjdari bani* (literally “sitting bass” in Meskheta) indicates the pedal drone bass; *gadabmuli* (literally “tied together”) antiphonic performance in Gurian four-part harvest songs; *krimančuli* (literally “twisted falsetto”, or “twisted jaw”), the term for the yodel (see CD 45).

Examples of SPATIAL ASSOCIATION: *magali bani* (literally “the high bass”), this is the term for the high part which doubles the bass part in octave. This term is close to the term *modzakbili* — the name of the high part; The term *dabali bani* (literary “the low bass”) is the term for the bass part that sounds lower than the usual bass part; the terms *tsvrili* (literary “thin”) and *tsminda kbma* (literary “thin, clean voice”) are the terms for the top parts.

Examples of PROCESSUAL ASSOCIATIONS: the term *damtskebi* (literary “the one who starts”) is the name of the part which starts the song. In folk tradition this is mostly the middle part. Another processual term, *gadabmuli* (literally “tied to each other”), is the term for the antiphonic response.

Examples of VERBAL ASSOCIATION are the terms *mtkmeli* (literally “the one who speaks”) and the term *melekse* (literally “the one who pronounces the poetry”). Both of these terms denote the leading middle part of the three-part folk tradition which usually pronounces the verbal text.

I have prepared a diagram of Georgian traditional terms where I included the one hundred and ten most-used Georgian terms. I grouped these terms according to different criteria:

- (a) The source of the terms;
- (b) Ethnic (linguistic) origin of the term;
- (c) Connection to the singing process;
- (d) Poly-semantic meaning of the terms;
- (e) Grouping according to genres;
- (f) Etymology of the terms;
- (g) Identification of the terms in the sources;
- (h) Types of terms: absolute and relative terms;
- (i) Types of terms: additive and simple terms;

TABLE for the distribution of Georgian musical terms according to various aspects.

THE SOURCE OF THE TERMS	ETHNOPHORES	LEXICOGRAPHER	LITERATURE	Foreign	Imeretian	Rachian	Acharan Gurian	Eastern Mountain	Kartl-Kakhetian and Meskhetian
I 10	66 (21) Georgian	10 (25) Megrelian, Lazian	6 (22) Svan	6	3	5	17	8	3
I 10	54 Name of voices, strings, and holes	6 Methods of performance	5 Terms typical for not only multipart music	Defined					
CONNECTION TO THE SINGING PROCESS									
I 10	45 (8) One meaning	40 (14) Two meanings	8 (13) Three meanings	Defined					
POIX-SEMANTIC MEANING OF THE TERMS									
I 10.	74 Singing terms	21 Instrumental terms	8 Sacred terms	6 Defined					
GROUPING ACCORDING TO THE GENRES									
I 10	61 (24) Communicative and processual associations	6 (17) Topical and spatial associations	5 (24) Articulatory and verbal associations	Without Association	Defined				
ETYMOLOGY OF THE TERMS									
I 10	21 (2) One time fixation	56 (3) Multi time fixation	14 (1) Defined	9	7				
IDENTIFICATION OF THE TERMS IN THE SOURCES									
I 10	36 ABSOLUTE	66 RELATIVE	8						
ABSOLUTE AND RELATIVE TERMS									
I 10	79 Additive	31 Simple	defined						
ADDITIVE AND SIMPLE TERMS									
I 10	29 Isomorphic	79 Parallel	2						
ISOMORPHIC AND PARALLEL TERMS									
I 10	53	57							

(j) Types of terms: isomorphic and parallel terms;

Under each graph the number of the terms that are included in this category are given.

The analyses of this graphic figure suggest that:

1. The major part of the recorded terms is provided by the ethnophores (carriers of the traditions) during the fieldwork. Most of the parallel terms are also by the carriers of the traditions. There are relatively few terms that are only recorded in the historical sources. Terms that are recorded in two (out of three) different sources are relatively numerous.
2. About a third of all known terms are mentioned in the sources only once.
3. Out of the 110 terms of Georgian traditional polyphony only five show non-Georgian origin. These five terms are: *trio* (the ensemble of the three performers), *zili* (the name of the highest string on the chonguri and one of the high parts of the six-part church-singing tradition), *hangi* (literary “the melody”, “motif”), *lodbari* (leader of a choir), and *krini* (high falsetto voice).
4. There are more terms for the separate vocal parts, the holes of the blown instruments, or the names of the strings than terms to indicate the method of performance. Only few terms have partial connections to polyphony, and very few terms are general.
5. The majority of terms have only one straightforward meaning. Only a handful of terms have two meanings, and eight terms have three meanings.
6. Terms from folk polyphonic singing are much more numerous than terms from the fields of church singing or instrumental music. Terms with more than one meaning come from vocal music.
7. There are about twice as many terms with spatial and topical associations than terms which have communicative and processual associations. The smallest number of terms have connections with articulatory and verbal associations.

The terms that have an absolute meaning (the ones that denote one event or phenomenon) are much more numerous than relative terms (the ones that denote more than one event or phenomenon). The same ratio is maintained between compiled and simple terms. There are roughly the same number of terms with either parallel or isomorphic meanings (or terms with multiple or single meanings).

In the conclusion we should say that in the corpus of Georgian terms the most numerous are the terms for single parts that are associated to their role, their articulative, communicative, and topical factors. Such individualization is connected to the functional individuality of each part of the polyphonic texture. At the same time there

are very few terms which could be used to indicate the polyphonic types. In addition, Georgian folk and church singing traditions share most of the terminology, although folk singing has a much greater variety of terms. Another conclusion is that the names and the functions of different parts in different regions of Georgia share the most salient features (particularly the functions of the three main parts).

Generally speaking, the core of Georgian polyphonic terminology could be represented by the three terms *mtkmeli*, *modzakhili* and *bani*, which are connected to the medieval triad of the parts described by Ioanne Petritsi — *mzakbr*, *zbir* and *bam*. This hereditary connection confirms the stability of three-part singing tradition in Georgian traditional music.

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Verbal projections for multipart folk singing from Central Western Bulgaria

“There really is no interculturally accepted definition of music, or appropriate terminology.” (Nettl 2005: 56)

ABSTRACT

The bearers of Bulgarian multipart singing tradition use specific terms and phrases to articulate in language (verbalize) their singing experience and achieve musical understanding among themselves. Researchers of traditional music would usually note that fact, but in spite of that in their analytical interpretations, the examined musical cultures are described, comprehended and analyzed mostly in outlined and established academic musical categories and terms.

This text focuses on the musical experience that is expressed by the bearers of multipart folk singing through different verbal forms.

The reconstruction of the oral musical knowledge of old pre-modern bearers of musical-folklore tradition is a way to outline the crystallized traditional term apparatus of multipart folk singing from Central-Western Bulgaria.

The bearers of multipart singing tradition in Bulgaria use specific concepts, terms and phrases through which they comprehend and articulate (verbalize) their singing experience and through which they achieve musical understanding between one another (Peycheva 1991; Peycheva 2008). A similar phenomenon is also observed in other cultures. In research on Albanian singing Jane Sugarman documented and described orally transmitted emic views and emic concepts still used by traditional singers (insiders). Sugarman focused her attention on the singing terminology of the object of her examination — the singing tradition in polyphony of the Prespa community and underlines that when Prespa speak of their experiences as singers, or when they evaluate the performances of others, they draw upon a practical discourse that includes such terms as well as a shared phraseology concerning various aspects of performance (Sugarman 1997: 71).

There are different points of view in practice (the insider's, the outsider's and the one in between) as well as directions for definition of terms, representing particular

musical realities. To outline the verbal projections of multipart folk singing from Central Western Bulgaria we should try to understand the relation between the observer's outsider approach and the musical consciousness living inside the musical tradition, and comprehend the changes of this relationship during the cognition (research) process. According to Baumann, outsider-etic concepts are sometimes inadequate in terms of emic understanding, because etic concepts emphasize less what is in the head of the individual musician than emic knowledge (Baumann 1993: 55). The researchers of traditional musics usually keep this fact in mind, but in spite of that, in their analytical interpretations they continue to comprehend, describe and analyze musical cultures mostly through the musical meta-categories and concepts which are outlined and stabilized in academia. As a result, we come to situations in which, as noted by Gerald Messner, we as the bearers of Euro-American culture try to reconstruct their systems according to our own criteria and our own, largely verbal, methods (Messner 1993: 81).

The current text is focused on the musical experience expressed by the bearers of multipart folk singing through a variety of verbal forms. According to Timothy Rice, the cognitive categories of music knowledge used by the old (pre-modern) musicians are silent, tacit, non-verbal and exist beyond verbalization (Rice 1994: 66). The experience gained from my field research has taught me that inner tacit music knowledge is revealed by the insider on the spur of the moment and can only be caught by the outsider "on the fly", in the context of the particular situation, to be legitimized as a new product of the cognition (research) process. For two decades now I have had the opportunity to communicate verbally with performers of multipart singing from Bulgaria, who as my consultants, teachers and friends have shared with me their experience, ideas and singing practices. As much as the bearers of archaic vocal polyphony sing and speak from their own cultural position, the compound of singing-speaking is a part of their way of self-expression. Moreover, the verbal projection of multipart folk singing is one of the keys which help us understand how archaic vocal polyphony "works". The reconstruction of oral "folk musicology" (Peycheva 1991; Peycheva 2008), of emic knowledge (Baumann 1993: 55) of the old pre-modern bearers of folk-music tradition allows us to outline the crystallized traditional conceptual apparatus of multipart folk singing from Central Western Bulgaria as an autonomous cultural sphere of indigenous communities.

The purpose of the current work is to outline some accents around the specific verbal projections of multipart singing from Central Western Bulgaria.

*Why is it important to examine the speaking of native speakers
about multipart folk singing*

The bearers of multipart folk singing are reliable speakers, participating in the musical-performance process, who describe their singing from a deeply internal, insider's perspective. The bearers of multipart singing are reliable speakers, because they verbally articulate their personal experience of music making. For them, multipart singing is a collection of biographical memories, specific performance techniques and shared experiences. The act of speaking about multipart singing is a transformative operation, which widens the actual continuum of singing and talking. In a communicative situation which is typical for our profession — a conversation between a bearer of a concrete musical tradition/style (insider) and an ethnomusicologist/anthropologist (outsider) — we have seen ethnomusicologists lead the dialogue in the outlines of traditional academic fields and conceptual entities about music. The academic speaking about music follows a top-down scheme, where terminology comes from the heights and distance of separate research disciplines and belongs to specific professional communities. Perhaps because of the shortage of communication time (between researchers and bearers of the musical tradition) or because of the fear of a loss of concrete professional identity (on the researcher's side), the academic talk of folk music is unshared with the oral, original, “unprofessional” talk of the bearers of music tradition. This inevitably leads to situations in practice where the attempt for comprehension, description and definition of musical knowledge can cause ambiguity or misunderstanding, and the mixing of musical-structural, social-cultural and aesthetical meanings, all resulting in the unpleasant feeling of disorientation in the midst of a seemingly chaotic musical-folklore knowledge of the tradition bearers. According to Jane Sugarman, her more intensive conversations with individual singers led to situations in which “Their comments and observations became increasingly idiosyncratic. Often we found ourselves negotiating a new vocabulary in order to discuss ways of thinking about singing that they had never before verbalized, perhaps, or even explicitly thought about” (Sugarman 1997: 22). Such techniques of establishing a human, methodological and conceptual contact with native musical practices and their bearers, of conscious relationship with the insider categories and historically rooted opinions on different musical realities in Bulgaria, have been successfully applied by Timothy Rice (Rice 1994) and Donna Buchanan (Buchanan 2006). Their strategies show a way of enlivening the dialogue in terms of speaking about the music, of revealing, uncovering and understanding different visions of the music from reliable sources (such as the bearers), and of avoiding the deterministic academically-centered thinking that aims to re-establish its generalizing hypotheses and arguments for different goals and in various circumstances.

The native speaker's concepts can serve as a cognitive entrance to the understanding of multipart singing. The scope and comprehension of the insider concepts/terms of the bearers and the musical realities they represent are influenced by the unique experience of music as an individual feeling. The linguistic acts of the bearers are subjective descriptions of multipart singing, extracted from a real musical experience. The high degree of "emically determined" subjectivity and individuality of emic concepts about multipart singing makes them quite relative. On the one hand, the relativity of the inner/emic concepts of lingually/verbally articulated knowledge of folk multipart singing can be regarded as a defect in the theoretical knowledge. On the other hand, the language of the native singers has a greater credibility and authority because of its "genetic" closeness to that which can be lived and experienced subjectively in practical multipart singing.

Native musical concepts and the specific position of the bearers of multipart folk singing have the advantage of describing the condition of multipart singing tradition in a close relationship to the real experience. They have an "inner vision" and implicit understandings of music. Because of this, native musical concepts are not a manifestation of distanced cognitive practice and therefore lack a consistent reflection. In spite of that they name separate elements of multipart folk singing, outline verbal fields of musical knowledge, work as complex meanings and in this way comprehend the characteristics and nature of multipart singing. With native musical concepts the gap between music making and talking about music is smaller than the gap between theoreticians and practitioners, and the gap between information and the ability to act, which Gerald Messner has examined (Messner 1993: 92). Therefore, the words of the bearers have the power of greater authenticity of firsthand participants in the singing, because native musical concepts fixate the insider's bodily-integrated experience of the music and dilute the boundaries between singing and speaking about the musical process, between spontaneity and self-awareness, between intuition and reason.

An important methodological requirement in the translation of the verbal expressions and orally articulated judgments of the bearers into understandable musical terms is to define in a new way the registered inner/emic meanings of the words, phrases and concepts that have lived through time. These are concepts which clearly, concretely and uniquely express exact characteristics of multipart folk singing, but are at the same time in a state of constant change (because they can't be put into specific frames or unambiguously determined). As a methodological perspective, research on the lingual experience of the bearers of multipart folk singing allows us to distinguish between a number of concrete musical notions; to concretize the musical experience focused in them; to explain their relative meaning. Naturally, the differentiation of native musical categories, concepts, terms, collocations and the vagueness of their meanings gives birth to many relations on a contextual level which have their own inner

logics. It is noteworthy that the contextualization of meanings which the creators and bearers of multipart singing express through their native musical knowledge is different from the strategic academic constructs of the analysts, critics and interpreters of verbalized musical experience.

The verbal projections of multipart folk singing represent a traditional, repeating, inherited experience. The capturing of durability and changes, invariant and variant elements of the musical concepts stored in the bearer's memories is a separate field of research on multipart folk singing. Through the reconstruction of concepts and their relation to the musical process to which they pertain, the oral, tacit knowledge of multipart singing is revealed and becomes more open, visible, clear and understandable. If we, as researchers, can learn something from the "eternal changing" of the oral folk knowledge of multipart singing, we will be able to identify the problems of "cognitive distance" (Baumann 1993: 41–42) which arise from the opposing viewpoints of insiders and outsiders, facts and interpretations, information and opinions. And perhaps we can overcome the conceptual clashes of different meanings which constantly accompany the complex communicative process between outsiders and insiders during field research.

*Differences between the outer and inner speaking and conceptualization
of multipart folk singing*

The emic/etic distinction, first formulated about forty years ago, has played a key role in the growth of the strategic model in the development of anthropology (including ethnomusicology) (Alvarez-Pereyre and Arom 1993: 7). In this aspect, insider/outsider, emic/etic distinction is not simple dichotomy. It became a basic tool of ethno-science at the beginning of the 1970s. In ethnomusicology the verbal contours and meanings of multipart folk singing from Bulgaria are outlined and cleared in both insider/outsider and inner/outer contexts. To reveal the internal logic of multipart singing, outside speaking focuses its interest on description, analysis, interpretation and understanding of polyphonic singing as a native system of concrete musical culture. Inner speaking discovers, tells, identifies and explains the practice of multipart singing from the perspective of "inward listening" (Baumann 1993), by which it adds a new depth, power and validity to the understanding of the native systems of meaning. As Marcia Herndon writes, the question of who can, or who should, speak for a musical style, music culture, performer, or occasion is negotiable territory, because no voice, by itself, is sovereign, absolute and definitive (Herndon 1993: 78).

The comparison of insider and outsider lingual, conceptual and terminological accumulations in the real musical experience and in scientific experimentation with the

signs of this experience, viewing of the differences between them offer some spaces for new perspectives, views and productive comprehensions. The emic/etic distinctions are conditioned by: 1) the different starting positions, viewpoints and motivations of the speakers; 2) the differently lived experience in regard to multipart folk singing; 3) the different goals of the speakers; 4) different forms of expression.

1) The outsider viewpoint is distanced and out of reach. The outsider/ethically determined point of view moves in pre-set academic/professional frames. The phenomenon of multipart folk singing is bound to a particular professional perspective by the etic position, as it would usually form its evaluations from the viewpoint of pre-set professional goals and “etic-analytical” scientific strategies. The naming and including of multipart singing processes and phenomena in scientific monologues, dialogues and debates is reasoned by the possibility for their academic application. The various research experiences and attempts to understand and explain the musical heritage have led to the transformation of the meanings of old, oral, folk, expressive singing-speaking into new, written rationalizing forms and contexts. In this way multipart folk singing can be reflected as a “new” phenomenon, its identity can be changed and it can be transformed into a different empirical content.

Outer, distanced speakers (researchers, journalists, teachers) are trying to penetrate the secrets of multipart folk singing, motivated by professional (theoretical or practical) reasons.

The registered insider/emic verbal projections permit the creation of an outline and understanding of multipart singing in its immanency. The self-comprehension of the singing activity reflects the points of view of the singers-speakers. They are adequate to the energies and expressions of singing, to the inner rhythm of the polyphonic music, and their thinking and speaking are adapted to the music performed. The inside emic viewpoint of the bearers is (although often unreflexively) the most reliable position for research on and evaluation of multipart folk singing.

The inner, non-distanced speakers (singers) are motivated by the necessity to coordinate their singing, to evaluate their own and others’ performances and to be bearers of archaic musical experience in new times and spaces.

2) Outside speakers would grasp in words and concepts that part of the musical-folk singing experience which mostly characterizes outsider structural — morphological and syntactic (stylistic) performance and to an extent the contextual aspects of that singing. The research tradition is to formulate an intellectual apparatus which will use universalized terminology to point out the structure of different voices in multipart singing, what the singers of separate voices are called, or where a specific song is performed.

When speaking of multipart folk singing, “the inside” bearers share their basic experience of immediate participants in the performance process. By using lingual

means of expression, the singers-speakers comprehend the musical pulsations of multipart singing. The specifically local dictionary of the bearers is of a wide spectrum. Among the list of concepts inherited from tradition there are those describing: 1) specific elements and details of multipart folk singing (*tresene* [тресене] = ornamental figure, melismatic way of singing; *otpoiiva* [отпойва] = antiphonic singing; 2) concepts for naming the performers of the different voices (*okachka* [окачка] = singer of the upper melodic voice; *slagachka* [слагачка] = singer of the bourdon voice); 3) concepts for the different forms of vocal/musical behavior (*oka* [ока], *vika* [вика], *izvikuva* [извикува] = sings the melody; *vlahi* [влачи], *pomaga* [помага], *buchi* [бучи] = sings the bourdon).

3) The goal of outer/etic speaking is to acquire knowledge. In order to achieve a conceptual comprehension of the traditional singing experience, the analyzers go through a process of fixating definition and theoretical axiologics. Old multipart folk singing is related to limiting definitions and universal terms coming from academic musicology: “melody”, “rhythm”, “metro-rhythm”, “timbre”, “bourdon”. Although these specific concepts are abstract theoretical indicators for each musical experience, they turn into concrete legitimating terms which are used in specific way with specific meanings about different local musical-folk practices (e.g. multipart folk singing from Georgia, Albania, Serbia, etc.).

My field research experience has shown that the capabilities of these specialized terms used for the stabilized definition, legitimation and explanation of multipart folk singing remain unknown and uncomprehended by the older generations of bearers of multipart singing tradition. The bearers from the younger generations acquiesce in concepts of their singing, given by the others, and with time begin to use the established musical terms and accept their impact. The formal concepts imposed on the minds of the younger bearers (melody, rhythm, false singing, etc.) have received a special meaning and become a part of the terminological dictionary of the singers. When they get into the oral language of the bearers, the concepts originating from written academic theories become localized and expand with new valences.

The goal of inner/emic speaking is to share experience through lingual communication in face-to-face contacts. In this way the musical concepts turn into fluid, instead of absolutely fixated instruments for social connections and for the management of musical communicative styles. Speaking about the singing tradition helps the singers to “know how to sing”.

4) The different forms of expression and ways of speaking (writing) about multipart singing give different semantic weight to the categories and concepts about the polyphonic tradition.

Etic writing/speaking searches for a symbolic analogue to the factual musical reality and attempts to reveal and establish this musical reality in the framework of a concrete academic order. New written conventionalized intellectual lingual constructs are

formed in the field of scientific research on multipart folk singing. These constructs reformulate the real musical experience. The mental analyses and generalizations crystallize into a standardized knowledge which claims universality.

Emic speaking takes place in a natural environment and concentrates on spontaneously observed musical realities. Although the field of oral speaking about multipart singing is semantically multi-layered, the forms of expression are spontaneous and express unique verbal states of multipart singing tradition and practice.

When comparing the emic and etic verbal dimensions of multipart folk signing from Bulgaria we can see that these specific distinguishable lingual abstractions of the musical experience are often in a state of tension. They entangle with one another and linguistically comprehend the dynamics of traditional multipart singing from the level of direct experience to the higher levels of abstraction (compensation for the lack of firsthand singing experience) (Peycheva 2007). There are two basic points in this complex process of scientific speaking and comprehension of archaic musical and music-conceptual heritages: 1) dispersion of the meaning unity and contextual dynamics of the researched musical reality and 2) theoretical, intellectually separating re-adaptation of multipart folk singing and achievement of changing logically constructed concepts and interpretations of this singing. The results of such academically “objective” and “universal” comprehension of the real musical experience are perhaps best described by the following quote by Brunno Nettl: “Ethnomusicologists want to use their own approaches to non-Western music, but these will not work and without doubt result in misunderstandings. (...) What is really significant cannot be learned, as my teacher said, at least not with an essentially comparative approach” (Nettl 2005: 152–153).

Characteristics of oral musical knowledge

Oral musical knowledge is an intuitive knowledge which is a reflection and embodiment of the performing process. It is a profound knowledge, orally transmitted, generally rooted in an existing practice of multipart singing, shared between the bearers of the multipart singing experience. It remains locally conditioned, relatively encapsulated and has been maintained in only a few isolated areas. This situation is changing with modernization and the increase of research interest in multipart folk singing.

Oral knowledge of multipart folk singing provides the authentic categories of the immediate experience of the bearers. Although the categories, concepts and terms of the verbally projected oral musical-folklore meanings are relative and conditional, they can be read and used as a key to the comprehension of musical processes and events. They are both lingual factors forming the consciousness of multipart folk

singing and the means for decoding certain levels of that consciousness. If we gather enough material we can describe the oral knowledge of multipart folk singing as a “system” which outlines the dynamics of the common relations and the stability of the musical experience from the past.

Because of their oral nature, the concepts of multipart folk singing tradition cannot be placed in fixed outlines as they are dynamic and moving. The collective categories of oral knowledge of multipart folk singing are in movement and because of that their experience content is reformulated and changed. For example, “*glas* [глас]” is a category which expresses and reflects in one way or another different musical experiences: human voice; tone color difference of voices; various styles of singing from historical/stadial prospect; groups of melodic patterns typical of certain locality or ethnic group; a tune or a group of tunes of the same genre; structural and performing peculiarities of tunes (Pashina 2008). These movements and transitions of meaning of the category “*glas*” are related to the variety of contexts and crossing of meanings in the various real cultural uses of multipart folk singing.

The music-folk concepts of traditional multipart folk singing, which have existed until the present as ruins and fragments of musical heritage, are indicators of archaic musical experience, transferred through times and ages. They are a unique window through which we can see multipart singing. These notions and expressions assign some characteristics to multipart singing tradition which come from amassed musical experience. When we retrospectively follow the speaking of the bearers of multipart folk singing from Bulgaria we see tracks of experience which has endured for a period of around eighty years, when some specific concepts were registered for the first time. This is a good reason to assume that the terminology which the bearers use has stayed this way for centuries (with perhaps small changes). It is obvious that the oral lingual knowledge of the multipart folk singing is related to an age-old tradition. And although it is not oriented towards chronology, in some of its concepts and phrases we can clearly find temporal criteria (*vehti pesni* [вехти песни] — songs of yore, *starovrem-ski pesni* [старовремски песни] — songs of olden times: “The songs of olden times are different, because they are sung in groups of three [Старовремските песни са различни, оти се пеят по тройки].” (Voleva, P. 1992, Alino village.)

Some terms of the oral knowledge of folk multipart singing contain a number of dispersing segments of meaning of structural and functional character. For example, the notions “*nadluzh* [надлъж]” (at length), “*navlak* [навлак]” (with draw), “*na glas* [на глас]” (with voice) carry multiple meanings which intersect with one another. According to structural criteria these notions are defined as markers of complexly structured, not measured and richly ornamented songs. According to functional criteria the same notions are redefined as markers of the singing repertoire which is performed in some folklore situations — at harvests, at weddings. In practice, it often happens that the

singers speak of structural components of multipart singing with a preference for aesthetic rather than technical terminology. “Their voices should be together. Not separate. All three of them should *glasyat* as one. We say *glasime*. This means to attune our voices well. If we don’t *glasime*, we won’t sing well. [Гласовете да са им заедно. Не да са поотделно. Они сите три си гласат едно. И се казва гласиме се. Това е хубаво. Ако не се гласиме, не пееме хубаво].” (Voleva, I. 1992, Alino village.)

The verbal projection of multipart singing is constructed as an expansion of the natural and impulsive experience of singing. The bearers of the local polyphony style speak of multipart singing as a feeling [усещане]: “If the singers are to *splashat* — they should have the feeling, child. A minute ago, when you sang, I felt you and started singing after you. Did you get it? You *karash* (lead)... And *glasachkite* should feel you and follow. [“Да се сгласат – оно си има усещане, баби. Ти нали запоя. И я те усещам какво караш и по тебе тръгнах. Разбра ли. А ти караш... Е това е, гласачките тебе да усещат”]” (Dudina 1992, Alino village.). It is common that in the words of the singers good multipart folk singing is related to metaphorical images of polyphonic structure: “They say — when singing, they should *glasat* as bells. They *glasat* and people say — they sing like bells. [Казват – ка паят, да се гласат като звонци. Гласат се и казват – паят като звонци].” (Voleva, I. 1992, Alino village.) My own field observations on the unique metaphorical expressions, the thinking patterns and emotional sharedness of “insider” speaking about multipart singing show the same results as the research done by Jane Sugarman (Sugarman 1997: 73). In fact, “emic” subjectivity and its individual spectrum verbally project into practical terms, which have difficulty in manifesting themselves, and into well hidden layers of the insider understanding of multipart singing.

Conclusion: layers of lingual space related to multipart folk singing from Bulgaria

More than eighty years ago, in his article “Hypothesis for the Bulgarian origin of diaphony”, written in 1925, Vassil Stoin discovered and wrote down some emic terms which singers from Bansko (South-Western Bulgaria) used to give him verbal information on the local multipart singing: “*na tresene*” (diaphony songs), “*na gurmene*” (diaphony songs), “*vodi*” (sings the melody), “*odat*” ([they] sing the “second voice”) (Stoin 1956: 90). Vassil Stoin included these emic terms in etic conceptual constructs. He actually used the “insider view” as a conceptual tool for analytical purposes.

With time, the number of addressees and speakers who have learned to use the inner pre-modern musical terminology of multipart singing has increased. Years after Stoin, other researchers of multipart singing from Bulgaria — Elena Stoin, Nikolay Kaufmann, Svetlana Zaharieva, Dimitrina Kaufmann — have used the inside musi-

cal terminology of the bearers in a similar etic way. As a result of the huge amount of field and research work they have carried out as professional ethnomusicologists, they have incorporated local emic folk categories from archaic vocal polyphony into their own etically defined perceptual and conceptual systems, stereotypically based on “university” academic styles. In individual cases ethnomusicologists have learned to express themselves with the language of pre-modern bearers and use their concepts as indicators of the structural composition of multipart singing. However, as Max Peter Baumann says, with this practice “their own categories of thought patterns are superimposed over the “other” reality. The “etic” way of listening and seeing that comes from outside uses its own perceptual and conceptual tools, without questioning them as “emic” constructs” (Baumann 1993: 39).

The lexicon of multipart singing from Bulgaria is a definitional attempt to make a new static and abstract verbal projection of the old “unspoken” knowledge about multipart singing, which is interpreted in an academic spirit, but whose genesis is separated by centuries-old oral musical-folk knowledge. With its new structure, the lexicon extracts the amassed lingual experience, fragments it and integrates it, fixes it and develops it, “rewrites” it and interprets it.

Through the organization of the traditional terminological apparatus in the cumulative alphabetical schemas of the lexicon, this apparatus gains a special historical quality and a meaning of its own. It turns into differentiated and stabilized written concepts of the musical experience, which are in relation to one another, and begin to bear a meaning of their own. The lexicon can be thought of as a written document of the state of a particular lingual experience, registered at a given historical moment. The alphabetic order is comfortable, because it makes it a universal “organizer” which everyone can refer to.

The gathering and organization of inner/emic concepts in a scheme which explains specific musical styles and practices is actually a specialized method of work with sources. This method considers the usage of the most commonly encountered and repeated musical terms in the language of the bearers. By going through the explanations of the concepts, the recorded emic expressions of the bearers are made more precise and it becomes easier to find real musical relations and situations in the lingual forms.

The new written fixation of the old oral verbal projections of traditional vocal polyphony re-contextualizes and changes them. In this process the inherited local verbal musical concepts discover the boundaries and scopes of earlier, oral lingual forms, incorporate and homogenize them into newly established written frameworks and projections of meaning. The newly constructed conceptual family around the vocal polyphonic tradition opens up space for noticing, realizing, researching and practically using some concrete local, subjective and emotional conceptual-speech substrates of

multipart singing. This gives us new perspectives of the multipart singing tradition coming from the past. So we can create a new outline, reordering, mobilizing, layering and expanding the register of usage of the native concepts of multipart singing as given by the native singers-speakers. Similar approaches to definition would help towards a better understanding and the expansion of the cognitive field of ethnomusicologists, who construct the scientific knowledge of the variety of musical realities.

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ADDENDUM

Approaches to a
“Lexicon of Local Terminology on Multipart Singing
in Europe”

Foreword

The contributions included in this part of the volume reflect the situation within a few but very different communities and areas in Europe. Most of them are prepared for the first time. The terms and expressions elucidated have to do with singing styles and repertoires, with generic concepts, with terms and expressions from everyday life — often of different connotations within the vocabulary of multipart music — as well as with other indicators of local communities' worldviews on music making and music perception.

Most of the chapters have introductory notes about the musical practices in question and the way the entries are presented. They led so into the particularities of the approaches.

The use of English as a 'lingua franca' is a major challenge because of the diverse linguistic varieties, all very different to English. The reflection of the potential of such different ways of thinking, acting and talking about music has therefore been an important goal during the investigations and the presentation of the lexicon entries.

The order of the contributions is determined by the alphabetic sequence of the countries' names in English. The succession of the terms within every contribution is done also according to the English/Latin alphabet. For reasons of consistency this rule is followed also for languages written according to other alphabets, such as Cyrillic or Georgian, for example. The original spelling follows right after the Latin one.

The entry structure is kept as far as possible homogenous following that of the bilingual dictionaries.

Approach to a “Lexicon of local terminology on multipart singing among Albanians in the Balkans”

Introductory notes

The research on multipart music practices in Albania began after World War II. Since the beginnings, the interest has primarily focused on multipart singing in the South (see Sokoli 1959, 1960a, 1960b, 1965 and Stockmann 1963, 1964, 1965). This is understandable considering the importance of these musical practices for the cultural distinctiveness of the area. In 2005 they were included in the UNESCO list of “Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity”.

Multipart music practices among Albanian Gegë, who are settled mostly north of the River Shkumbin (Central Albania), east of this area in western Macedonia, as well as in Kosovo, Montenegro and Serbia, have been, however, the subject of little research. One of the reasons seems to be the fact that they comprise a relatively small portion of local musical repertoires among the Gegë. Nevertheless, they are very significant for several communities in the areas mentioned (see a. o. Antoni 1972; Muni-shi 1978, Ahmedaja 2008a).

The differences in the position multipart music practices takes up in different communities and the different intensity of the research makes it clear why the majority of the terms in the present approach come from the local terminologies in the southern areas.

The entries are based both on the literature and personal experiences from co-operations with singers and musicians in Albania and other Balkan countries. Rather than seeking for completeness, the goal has been to give a general view of the most frequently used terms and idioms, including accompanying instruments and their role in the musical practices in question. In some entries, like *këngë polifonike* (polyphonic songs) for example, the differences between local terms and those introduced by researchers and the media, normally since the second half of the 20th century, are also emphasized.

Spelling Albanian nouns

In Albanian the noun has several forms which depend on gender, number and case, definite and indefinite. In commentaries written in English it is prudent to choose one main form to avoid any confusion.

The basic form of the noun in Albanian is the indefinite (Agalliu 2002: 121), also used in dictionaries and maps. This form will also be used in the following entries. Consequently, terms from the region such as *Labëri* and not *Labëria* or those of the town *Gjirokastër* and not *Gjirokastra* will be mentioned. The same form will be used for the names of instruments like the *llautë* (a plucked lute) and not *llauta*, or designations of vocal parts like *marrës* (the first soloist in the multipart songs in the South) and not *marrësi*.

When terms used by Albanians in neighbouring countries are discussed, the place's names will be shown in the country's official language and in the Albanian version if they differ from each other, like for example “*Radolišta/Ladorishtë*” (a village near Lake Ohrid in Macedonia).

Lexicon entries

A

AVAZ – (introduced into Albanian from Turkish) music, melody, tune; drone.

This term is used to characterise any type of local music. In connection with multipart singing the term AVAZ HIMARIOT is worth mentioning.

- Idioms

- a) *Avazi i turkut* – (lit.) “Turk’s avaz”, in the connotation *backward*. The time of the Ottoman era in Albania (from the 15th century until 1912) is, in everyday life, often still referred to as a *backward world* that should be left behind.
- b) *Avazi i vjetër* – (lit.) “The old avaz”. This phrase is often used when people do not want to hear the same story, argument, etc. again and again.
- c) *mbajnë avaz* – (lit.) *they hold avaz*, but *they hold the drone* (in multipart songs in Southern Albania).

AVAZ HIMARIOT — Himarian [singing] manner, from the region of Himarë in South-west Albania. In the Himarë dialect it is called *avaz himariotçe* (Pali 2004: 47). This term refers to four-part songs of which the third part was introduced by Neço Muko in the 1930s according to the opinion of the inhabitants (see Kruta 1987: 64–65 and HEDHËS).

B

BRIMË – lament. Dialectal term among Albanians in the region of Malësi in Montenegro. A synonym for GJAMË.

- Idioms

baj brimë – do *brimë* [lament].

BRIMTAR – performer of BRIMË.

BURRËRISHTE – of men [songs, dances].

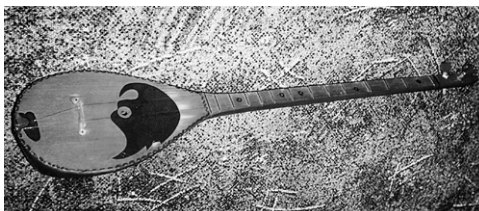
The term is based on the root *burrë* — man. It is used in southern Albania to epitomize singing and dancing men as well as the “music and dance of men”, which are supposed to be forceful, robust and affected. The opposite terms are GRARISHTE (of women) and DJALËRISHTE (of young men).

C

ÇIFTELI – a two-string instrument.

FIGURE 1: ÇIFTELI.

(Photograph by A. Ahmedaja)



The name of the instrument comes from the Turkish *çifte telli* = *two strings, pair of strings*. It has also been known as the TAMËRR in Northern Albania (Traeger 1903) and TOMËR in Central Albania (see Bogdani 2003: 164–165).

The ÇIFTELI is principally used in all the areas where Gegë Albanians live, though at different levels of use. Its main function is the accompaniment of songs. Singers accompany themselves in solo performances or in twos and threes. They are often the song-makers as well. There are also instrumental performances, mostly as improvisations.

The ÇIFTELI is used often with the SHARKI when accompanying multipart songs. Singers say these instruments are young in their traditions (Elezi 2010). “Young” in this case means two to three hundred years old. Although no specific studies have been done, it is generally assumed that both instruments and their names come from the Ottoman time in Albania (from the 15th century until 1912).

As far as tuning is concerned, it corresponds to the diatonic system. The neck of the ÇIFTELI is divided into 11–13 parts. The frets are movable in some instruments. The folk musicians sing the first, the fourth, the seventh and the eighth fret. In relation to the blank string these form the intervals of the second, the fifth, the octave, and the ninth (Sokoli 1975: 53).

The strings of the ÇIFTELI are tuned in different ways. The most widespread is that in a fourth. In other cases, tunings in unison, second, and fifth are also used. The latter is relatively new and not greatly appreciated among folk musicians (see also Sokoli 1975: 53). Tunings in the third, sixth and seventh are also mentioned in the literature (Sokoli and Miso 1991: 146).

During performances the lower string is played as a drone. The melody with different kinds of ornaments is played on the upper (thinner) one, both in the instrumental and in the vocal sections of the song. Another particularity which still occurs today in a number of performances is described as follows: “Çifteli players like to enliven the rhythm of their tunes by striking the sound-board of the instrument with the side of the little finger.” (Lloyd 1966)

D

DAJRE – single headed frame drum (see also DEF).

FIGURE 2 : Albanian women playing on DAJRE (DEF) during a wedding in Tëtovo/Tetovë, Macedonia. (Photograph by A. Ahmedaja. July 2004)



The DAJRE (DEF) has traditionally been almost the only instrument also played by women to accompany different repertoires, including multipart women songs among the Gegë. One can often hear more than one woman performing the instrument, as in Figure 2.

The DAJRE (DEF) is also part of the SAZE ensemble, where it helps the LLAUTË in the role of the drone (see also Atanassov 1984). In this case it is normally played by a man.

DAJREXHI — a player of the DAJRE.

DEF – another designation for the DAJRE.

DEFATORE – women players of the DEF (DAJRE), mostly among Albanian Gegë. They are, as a rule, not part of instrumental ensembles composed of several different instruments. Instead, they accompany women’s songs, also multipart ones. In a number of cases they are Romany.

DHJOLI — another designation for the violin (VIOLINË), a member of the SAZE ensemble.

DJALËRISHTË — of young men [songs, dances]

The term is based on the root *djalë* — young man. It is still used in southern Albania, although not as frequently as until the end of 1980s, epitomizing the “music and dance of young men”. They are performed as a rule in a faster tempo and give the impression of showing more vivacity in comparison to PLEQËRISHTË (of older men) songs and dances, which are performed mainly in an unhurried tempo, leaving more space for improvisation and enjoying the sound fusion of the vocal parts.

Nevertheless, there are many cases in which men of different generations perform in the same groups, integrating in this way the particularities mentioned in the same performances.

DJEMURISHTË — a dialectal form for DJALËRISHTË in the region of Labëri. It is based on the plural form of *djalë* (young man), which is *djem* (young men).

DUKAÇË — from the village of Dukat.

The village of Dukat is located in the region of Himarë in Southwest Albania. Two- and three-part men’s songs without a drone group are significant there. The parts are always sung in a solo manner, as the names show: DY VEÇË DUKAÇË — two persons DUKAÇË and TRI VEÇË DUKAÇË — three persons DUKAÇË.

A general characteristic of these DUKAÇË songs is the transposition upwards. The singers say “we begin the song low otherwise we cannot take it upwards [*ne e marëm këngën ulët se ndryshe se çojmë dotë përçjetë*]” (Kruta 1989: 143). The transposition usually begins at the end of a musical phrase, which at the same time serves as preparation for the next one.

DY VEÇË DUKAÇË — two persons DUKAÇË.

Two-part men’s song from the village of Dukat in the Himarë region in South West Albania (see also DUKAÇË).

E

E — the vowel on which the drone of multipart songs is sung, mostly in the regions of Toskëri and Myzeqe in southern Albania, as well among Albanian Toskë in southern Macedonia (see also ISO).

- Idioms

bëjnë e (Kruta 1991: 44) — (lit.) “they do e”, but “they sing the drone”. This expression is used mostly in the regions of Toskëri and Myzeqe in southern Albania, where the drone of multipart songs is sung frequently on the vowel E.

Ë

ë — the vowel on which Çamë, an Albanian population living today partly in southern Albania and partly in North-Western Greece (see Stockmann, Doris 1963; Stockmann, Erich 1965: 15–17; Zojzi 1962:57), sing the drone. To emphasize the difference to the Toskë and Myzeqarë multipart songs they use phrases like: “*Ju që ia mbani do bëni ‘ë’ e jo ‘e’ si kolonjarët.*” (Sokoli 1959: 118), which means: “*You that hold it will sing ‘ë’ and not ‘e’ like the Kolonjarë.*” The Kolonjarë are inhabitants of Kolonjë in south-eastern Albania, part of Toskëri. Attempts at this kind of differentiation can be observed until today.

F

FYELL (pl. *fyej*) — the generic term for different kinds of flutes used in various local practices.

Depending on the locality, other designations are used as well. As far as multipart music is concerned, the tradition of playing on several *fyej* in Gramsh (southern Albania) is very well-known.

When it comes to the accompaniment of multipart songs with *fyej*, those used among the Gegë in Macedonia should be particularly mentioned. The designations for the flutes used there is KAVALL.

G

GAJDE — bagpipe.

It is used mostly alone or with drums, but also as an accompanying instrument for multipart songs in South East Albania (see Sokoli 1975: 43–46; Petrović and Atanassov 1984). This instrument has become almost obsolete today.

GAJDEXHI — GAJDE player.

GËRNETË — another designation for the clarinet (KLARINETË), part of the SAZE ensemble.

GJAMATAR — GJAMË performer. A man ‘specialized’ in performing on the GJAMË (see GJAMË, BRIMË, BRIMTAR).

GJAMË (in the standard language *gjëmë*, from the verb *gjëmoj* — to thunder) -

1. epitomizes in its vernacular uses the greatest loss and the deepest grief that someone can experience.
2. a lament performed only by men in the regions of Malësi and Dukagjin in North Albania and among Malësi Albanians in Montenegro. With it, they mourn only men, in particular those that have been important to the community.

The origin of GJAMË is connected with the death of Skanderbeg (Gjergj Kastrioti Skënderbeu) in 1468. For more than 25 years, he led the Albanians against the Ottomans by uniting Albanian principalities. Today, this period is still one of the most famous in the collective memory of the Albanians. Particularly during the time of *Rilindja* (Rebirth) in the 19th century, Skanderbeg served as the national symbol for all Albanians, no matter what their religious affiliation was: Christian Catholics, Christian Orthodox or Moslems. His name and the deeds attributed to him are still present in folk traditions within Albania and the diaspora (particularly in Southern Italy and Sicily).

The assumption of the connection between Skanderbeg’s death and male laments is based on Marinus Barletius’ (known in the Albanian historiography as Marin Barleti) biography “*Historia de vita et gestis Scanderbegi, Epirotarum principis*” published in Rome between 1508 and 1510 (Prifti in Barletius 1982³: 8–9).

Barletius remarks that Lekë Dukagjini (one of Skanderbeg’s closest collaborators) had pulled out his hair and his beard in deepest sorrow after the death of his leader (Barletius 1982³:656).

GJAMË, as we know them from the performances in the second half of the 20th century and from singers’ accounts, are accompanied by gestures, but they are different from those Barletius has mentioned.

We also heard about men pulling their hair and their beards during the GJAMË performance by Rrok Zef Dasha Lulgjuraj in May 2006 in a village near Tuzi (near Podgorica) in Montenegro. Rrok was an over sixty year old singer and had considerable experience in the traditions of the region, but he did not know about Barletius’ work. Though Rrok had never seen these gestures, he had heard his grandfather talk of them (Lulgjuraj 2006).

The different relationship of Albanian Catholics and Moslems in Montenegro to GJAMË is quite significant. “Moslem men rarely perform GJAMË, but the Catholics do so regularly... [*Burrat myslimanë rrallëherë bëjnë gjëma për të vdekurin, ndërsa ata katoликë rregullisht,...*]” (Ahmeti 1986:15). During several periods of fieldworks since 2006 I have noticed this difference quite clearly. In the village of Dinoša/Dinoshë, where a *Medrese* (Islamic school) has been built, people used to say that their religion prohibited Moslem men from lamenting.

The older known form of GJAMË is that performed by a male group without lyrics. The performers create a “sound carpet” by shouting words and meaningless syllables without synchronizing them. This characteristic is missing in the solo performances of GJAMË. Instead, the performer improvises a text about the lives and deeds of the dead by adapting model verses of laments.

The inhabitants characterize the difference between the two forms of GJAMË as follows: “People — men used to perform *gjamë* in a different way; they only used

to exclaim and now they call out to the dead differently [*Përpara kanë gjimue njerëzit — burrat ndryshe, sepse ata veç kanë bërtitë e tash i thrrasin ndryshe të dekunit*].” (Ahmeti 1986: 77)

- Idioms

Të bëj gjëmën, të bëj! (lit.) “I will do the GJAMË to you!”, but “I’ll give you hell!”

GRARISHTË — of women [songs, dances].

The term is based on the root *grua* [pl. *gra*] — woman. It is used in southern Albania to epitomize the “music and dance of women” that are supposed to be graceful, fragile and unpretentious.

Through this term a differentiation is made to both BURRËRISHTË (of men) and VAJZËRISHTË (of girls) songs and dances. The division between GRARISHTË and VAJZËRISHTË is nevertheless not so clear today, since women of different ages sing and dance frequently in the same groups.

GRIKË — see KËNGË ME GRIKË.

H

(IA) HEDH —

1. he/she throws it (from the verb *hedh* — to throw). It is mostly used to describe the role of the third part in four-part songs in Labëri. (See also HEDHËS.)
2. he/she jumps it (from the verb *hedh* — to jump).

In this connotation the term describes the action of the first soloist in multipart songs in Southern Albania and among Albanians in Southwest Macedonia. Phrases like “*E hedh bukur vallen*” (literally “He/she jumps the dance wonderfully”) means “*He/she dances wonderfully*” the same as “*E heq* (see (IA) HEQ) *bukur vallen*” (lit. “He/she pulls the dance wonderfully”) and is used for esteemed dancers of any repertoire. The same phrases are occasionally used for esteemed singers of any repertoire, replacing the word “dance” (*valle*) with the word “song” (*këngë*): “*Ia hedh bukur këngës*” “or „*E heq bukur këngën*” meaning “He/she sings wonderfully”.

HEDHËS — the thrower (from the verb *hedh* — to throw).

This is the soloist of the third part in four-part songs in Labëri (see (IA) HEDH 1).

Two main forms have been known in the 20th century. In the first form, the third part helps the first one to take breaks. Singers in the town of Gjirokastrë, where this kind of third part has a strong tradition, have formulated its task as follows: “The throwing ..., helps the one who “takes it” [(IA) MERR] to breathe. It helps the MARRËS so that his voice is not damaged. If someone has the strength and his voice is not damaged,

he does not need any throwing [*Të bedburit, ..., ndihmon atë që “ja merr” për të marrë frymë. Ai ndihmon “marrësin” që të mos i prishet zëri. Në qoftë se një ka takat dhe nuk i prishet zëri, nuk do të bedbur*].” (Kruta 1987: 59)

In the second form the third part moves between the key note and the minor third above it. It also might become active when the other parts hold long tones. A characteristic “bleat” and/or the *trill* might also occasionally be performed.

The above-mentioned forms of the third part can be heard within the same locality. However, there are localities or repertoires where each of them are predominant: the first form mostly in the repertoire of KĒNGË PLEQËRISHTË of the town of Gjirokastrë, the second one particularly in the songs of the area called Bregu i Detit (The Coast), mostly Himarë. According to historical sources and in the view of the singers, Himarë is the “birthplace” of this kind of third part. (Kruta 1987: 64–65)

(IA) HEQ — he/she pulls it (from the verb *beq/tërbeq*, in the connotation “pull”). The term describes the role the first part plays in the multipart songs in southern Albania. Its task is to begin and lead the song. The same action is attributed to the first dancer of a group, who also leads and “pulls” the other dancers (see also (IA) HEDH). This is also the case in multipart dance songs of men and women in Southern Albania and among Albanians in Southwest Macedonia. (See also MARRËS, (IA) MERR, HEDHËS.)

I
ISO — drone.

The term comes from the Greek Byzantine musical terminology “ισον”. (Stockmann, Doris and Erich 1964: 94) and was widespread during the second half of the 20th century in southern Albania. Albanians in the area of Ohrid and Prespa lakes in Macedonia still call these songs KĒNGË ME TË MBAJTUR (songs with a hold). The term MBAJ (hold) is also present in the terminology of singers and musicians of multipart songs in southern Albania (see MBAJ, MBAJTËS). In the areas south of Fier (part of Toskëri) the term ISO has been used in the transformed forms *ysa* and *ysa* (Kruta 1991: 45).

The drone is sung in multipart songs in southern Albania by at least three singers (see Kruta 1991: 44; Stockmann, Doris and Erich 1964: 94) and is presented in the following ways:

1. As a rhythmic one, especially in Labëri. In this case, the drone group sings lyrics on the key note following the rhythmic structure of the first part, who leads the song. But often the lyrics sung by the drone singers can hardly be understood because they do not articulate the syllables clearly. Instead, they change the color of the lyrics' vowels by making them variants of a single one, mainly of *o*, *ë*, or *e* in a very nasal sound.

2. A continuous one, a vowel sung throughout the verse in all southern regions. In this case, drone singers help each other by giving themselves the opportunity to breathe one after another without interrupting the drone or weakening its sound until the end of the verse. Otherwise the drone could not be a helpful foundation for the soloists.
 3. In a few other cases, both options are combined within the same verse.
- Idioms
 - Mbani iso!* — Hold ISO! A phrase used by soloists towards drone singers.

ISO-POLIFONI — iso-polyphony.

This term has come into use in Albania in the last decade. The explanation for its use is as follows: “As a matter of fact ... when we discover internal structure indicators in folk multipart music, such as the concept of ‘iso-polyphony’ instead of ‘folk polyphony’ or ‘multipart polyphonic songs’, we have of course opened a new issue for discussion and analysis. [*Në fakt, ... kur në shumëzërëshin popullor zbulojmë tregues strukturorë të brendshëm identifikues, siç është koncepti i “iso-polifonisë” në vend të “polifonisë popullore”, apo të “këngës shumëzërëshe polifonike”, sigurisht që kemi hapur një temë të re për diskutim dhe analizim të saj.*]” (Tole 1999: 15)

The importance of the drone is pointed out in the very first studies of this music. “*Polifonia jonë popullore*” (Our folk polyphony) by Ramadan Sokoli can be mentioned here. Sokoli specifies that south of the River Shkumbin in Central Albania, phonetic features of southern language dialects as well as “iso together with other polyphonic features can be heard [*ndihet dhe iso-ja së bashku me veçoritë e tjera polifonike*].” (Sokoli 1959: 117) “*Die vokale Bordun-Mehrstimmigkeit in Südalbanien*” (Vocal drone multipart music in Southern Albania) is the title of another study by Doris and Erich Stockmann published in 1964.

In these and many other publications afterwards, the drone’s importance in this music has been a frequently discussed issue. Besides, there is a striking likeness between the terms “Bordun-Mehrstimmigkeit” and “ISO-POLIFONI”, although the ways of building compound nouns in German and in Albanian are different. The first place in a German compound noun belongs to the *Bestimmungswort* (the first part of a word which defines the second part) and the second one to the *Grundwort* (root, etymon). This applies to the term under discussion. In an Albanian compound noun the root comes first. That is why the construction ISO-POLIFONI as such (the root in the second place) sounds artificial.

It is significant that the term is written in different forms. For example, on the book cover of a publication from 2007, the term is given in one word “*Folklori muzikor. Isopolifonia & monodia.*” (Musical Folklore. Isopolyphony & Monody.), while on the

title page inside it is in two words “*Folklori muzikor. Iso polifonia dhe monodia.*” (Musical Folklore. Iso polyphony and monody.), while in the contents as *iso-polifoni* (see Tole 2007). The latter form is also used for the UNESCO list mentioned in the introductory notes.

Concerning the question of drone designations, Albanian Toskë in Southwest Macedonia are an important point of reference. They had practically no contact with Albania between the end of World War II and the beginning of the 1990s. Singers from the villages of Frangovo/Frëngovë and Radolišta/Ladorishtë near Lake Ohrid explained in summer 2004 that they knew the term *KËNGË ME ISO* (songs with iso) from Albania. They even knew the term *ISO-POLIFONI* from their participation in the recent folklore festivals in Albania. However, they still refer to their songs as *KËNGË ME TË MBAJTUR* (songs with a hold). Other inhabitants did not even know the term *ISO*. When asking about distinguished singers of *KËNGË ME ISO* in the village Kališta/Kalishtë during the same fieldwork, people did not understand the question. Only after asking about *KËNGË ME TË MBAJTUR* did they know what the question was about. The situation was the same in the Albanian villages near Lake Prespa in Macedonia.

K

KABA — (lit.) inelegant, heavy (something).

In connection with multipart music it has several meanings.

1. (sing. and pl.) Instrumental improvisations, played by solo instruments (mostly clarinet) accompanied by the *SAZE* ensemble.
2. It sometimes characterises sometimes the role of the second soloist in multipart songs in Southern Albania, as in the following comparison from the region Labëri: “*KABA ... is the meadow, the sheep graze there ... [Kabaja ... është merája, aty kullosin berrat ...]*” (Kruta 1991: 40)
- 3 The drone in multipart songs in southern Albania.

• Idioms

MBAJNË KABA — they hold *KABA* [the drone].

(See also *ISO*, *MBAJ*.)

KANGË PALË-PALË — (lit.) “folded songs”, but “songs from one group to the other”. Widely known women’s performances among Gegë Albanians in Macedonia during weddings, when small groups alternate in singing the verses of the same song.

People and singers particularly enjoy this alternation. Their opinion is that songs performed in this manner “sound wonderful” (*vijn’ shum’ bukur*), “the song becomes spirited, it gets lively” (*merr shpirtin kanga, gjallërohet*); “if men would sing these *KANGË PALË-PALË* it would be superb, because the voice color changes from one

group to the other [*edhe te burrat po të ketë të këndoben k'to kang' palë-palë do ishte shumë mirë, se ndryshon ngjyra e zërit prej grupit në grup*]” (Sejdiu 2004).

KAVALL (pl. *kavaj*) — mostly wooden rim-blow flute (Sokoli 1975: 33–38; Atanassov, Morris, Petrović 1984).

In the opinion of Albanian Gegë singers of multipart songs in Macedonia “the first and the second part behave like the ZURLE or *kavaj*” (*zani i par' e i dyt' shkojn' si zurlet ose kavajt*).

Playing the KAVALL as a solo instrument is widespread, although performances in twos are known as well.

KËMBORË — bell.

In the terminology of multipart songs in Labëri, southwestern Albania, it is a term for the second part (see KTHYES I, (IA) KTHEN, (IA) PRET, (IA) THYEN). This connotation is obviously deduced from the repetition of the “formulas” of the second part in multipart songs of Labëri (see KTHYES I), which create a very distinctive sound.

- Idioms

“KTHYES is the bell [KËMBORË] of the herd, he makes it lovely and stimulates it [*Kthyesi është këmbora e tufës, ai e zbukuron dhe e gjallëron kopenë*].” (Kruta 1986: 13)

“... when the bell [KËMBORË] does not work well, the parts argue with each other [*kur s'punon mirë këmbora, haben zërat*].” (Kruta 1980: 55)

KËNGË LASHTËRISHTE — songs of ancient times.

This term is known in the town of Gjirokastër and refers to a particular repertoire of multipart men songs, in which the third part helps the first one to take breaks. The repertoire has almost disappeared from everyday practice, although it remains strong in the consciousness of the people (see also KËNGË PLEQËRISHTE).

KËNGË ME GRIKË — songs with the throat.

These songs are known especially in the quarters of Dunavat and Manalat of the town of Gjirokastër in southern Albania (Kruta 1989: 134). The specific sound has to do with the change of register, similar to the above-mentioned formulas 5 and 6 at KTHYES. Nevertheless, for women in Gjirokastër this kind of performance is something particular, therefore they designate it specifically. There are even synonyms of this term: KËNGË ME ULËRIM, KËNGË ME ZË (see Kruta 1989: 133–134).

KËNGË ME ISO — songs with an ISO (drone).

This term is used mostly in the media in Albania for multipart songs in the South. The synonym **KËNGË POLIFONIKE** is more frequently used.

KËNGË ME TË MBAJTUR — songs with a hold.

This expression is used in Southern Albania and among the Albanians living near Lakes Ohrid and Prespa in Macedonia as designation for multipart songs. (See also **ISO-POLIFONI**.)

KËNGË ME ULËRIM — (lit.) songs with a howl (see **KËNGË ME GRIKË**, **KËNGË ME ZË**).

KËNGË ME ZË — (lit.) songs with voice (see **KËNGË ME GRIKË**, **KËNGË ME ULËRIM**).

KËNGË PLEQËRISHTË — songs “of the older men” (see Sugarman 1997: 358, footnote 15).

This expression is used for a male song repertory in which the third part helps the first one take breaks. It has almost disappeared, especially in the town of Gjirokastrë, where it obtained its most significant profile. Another term for these songs in the same town is **KËNGË LASHTËRISHTË**.

KËNGË POLIFONIKE — polyphonic songs.

It refers to the multipart songs of the South, and has done so since the second half of the 20th century in both Albanian ethno-musicological literature and the mass media. Therefore it is not astonishing when singers use it every now and then when talking to people outside their communities. But when talking to each other, singers name the songs by the first verse, by the place the song originates in or by the singer to whom it is attributed.

KLARINETË — clarinet, a member of the **SAZE** ensemble.

It traditionally plays the role of the first part within a **SAZE** ensemble. In recordings before World War II (Häupl/Vernon 1998 and Tabouris) it exchanges the role from the first to the second part with the violin from one to the other instrumental section of the songs.

Today the clarinet clearly plays the leading role in many instrumental ensembles. Its “absolute power” can be seen as the peak of a development during which the clarinet has had to “assert” itself “against” the violin. The predominance of the clarinet in Southern Albania is influenced in addition by developments in the central and northern areas of the country, where the clarinet as an instrument and the clarinetist as player also enjoy high reputations. From 1990 onwards, contacts with Albanian and non-Albanian groups in neighbouring countries, where the clarinet is a predominant

instrument, have been a further factor aiding the supremacy of the clarinet in instrumental ensembles in Southern Albania.

ΚΤΗΥΕΣ — 1. The one who gives it back.

This is the most common term for the second part in multipart songs in southern Albania and among Albanians in Southwest Macedonia. It derives from the verb *kthej* (to give back). The second soloist “gives back” the song or the melody taken by the first soloist (see (IA) MERR, (IA) HEDH, (IA) HEQ, (IA) ZË).

The trademark of ΚΤΗΥΕΣ is a short melodic “formula” repeated throughout the song, mostly in a range under the drone tone (the key note). This range belongs only to the second part, a fact that increases its significance. Some “formulas” lie both underneath and above the drone as shown below (example 1).

The image displays six musical staves, numbered 1 through 6, each containing a melodic formula. Staves 1, 2, 3, and 4 show rhythmic patterns primarily consisting of eighth and sixteenth notes, often with beamed pairs. Staves 5 and 6 show patterns with dotted rhythms and rests, illustrating register changes as described in the text.

EXAMPLE 1. Melodic “formulas” of the second part in Labë songs, called *kthyes* (the one who gives it back) (see also Shituni 1989: 100–101)

The case of the minor seventh *a1-g2* (numbers 5 and 6) is very specific. It is performed by changing registers from chest to head voice. The second part has this shape especially in a number of men’s and women’s songs in the town of Gjirokastër. It can be heard in other areas as well, but far more rarely than other “formulas”.

2. The designation of the first part in multipart songs among Gegë Albanians in Macedonia. “While women sing accompanied by the DEF, men sing without any instrumental accompaniment. To sing in that manner, both men and women form small vocal groups of 3-4 persons. The first part is sung by only one singer, called “ΚΤΗΥΕΣ”, and the second part by the others who are called “ΜΒΑΪΤΕΣ” (“those who hold it”) [Ndërsa gratë këndojnë me përcjellje def, burrat këndojnë pa kurrfarë përcjelljeje instrumentale. Për të kënduar në këtë mënyrë, si burrat ashtu dhe gratë formojnë grupe të vogla këngëtarësh, 3-4 vetash. Zanin e parë e këndon vetëm njëri që quhet “kthyesi”, kurse zërin e dytë të tjerët që quhen “mbajtës”].” (Antoni 1972: 8)

In this case the verb *kthej* (the root of the term ΚΤΗΥΕΣ) obtains the meaning “to convert”, “to change”, “to transfer”. This is what this first part does by leading the song.

L

LASHTËRISHTE — see KËNGË LASHTËRISHTE.

LLAUTË — a short lute, member of the SAZE ensemble, which accompanies multipart songs in southern Albania.

FIGURE 3: Llautë player. Korçë, Southern Albania, 2004.
(Photograph by Robert Corazza. Used with permission.)



Llautë is a chromatic string instrument (Sokoli 1975: 60). Its four double strings are tuned as shown below (example 2).



EXAMPLE 2. LLAUTË tuning.
(Sokoli/Miso 1991: 196)

The role of the lahutë within the SAZE ensemble is mostly that of the drone. In some cases, mostly in instrumental interludes, the llautë player might undertake the role the leader of the ensemble for short periods of time.

On rare occasions, improvisations called KABA are also performed on the LLAUTË, accompanied by a SAZE ensemble.

M

MARRËS — the soloist of the first part in multipart songs in southern Albania and among Albanians in Southwest Macedonia. His or her task is to begin and lead the song. (See also (IA) HEDH, (IA) HEQ.)

(IA) MARRIN SHTRUAR — they take their time.

This expression is used when people take the time to talk to each other. The same is done by people when seriously discussing an issue. In a further connotation this expression is used everywhere among Albanians for vocal, instrumental or dance performances regardless of the specific style, when singers and musicians take their time while making music, enjoying it to the end.

MBAJ — hold (see MBAJTËS, KËNGË ME TË MBAJTUR).

- Idioms

Mbajani mirë! — Hold it [the drone] well! (see ISO)

MBAJTËS —

1. (sg.) the singer of the second part in multipart songs in southern Albania, mostly in Toskëri and Myzeqe and among Toskë in Macedonia. It comes from the verb MBAJ — to hold.
2. (pl.) the drone singers in multipart songs in southern Albania. (See also ISO, KËNGË ME TË MBAJTUR.)
3. (pl.) “those who hold it”. The term is used among Albanian Gegë in Macedonia (see Antoni 1972 : 8) to describe the role of the second part which supports the first one by ‘holding’ the basis.

(IA) MBAN — he/she holds it.

1. This is what the singer of the second part does when supporting the first part.
2. Drone singers in southern Albania and south-western Macedonia do the same by holding the drone.

- Idioms

Kush do ma mbajë mua? (Who will hold it for me?)

This is a question asked by a singer when he or she wants to sing a song at a family gathering or other ceremonies, but does not have the usual partner for the second part and is looking for someone else. The other persons present are supposed to sing, or rather, *to hold* the drone for the two soloists. (See also MBAJ, MBAJTËS.)

(IA) MBUSH — it fills it (Stockmann, Doris 1965: 174).

This is one of the terms used to describe the role of the drone singers in multipart songs in southern Albania. (See ISO.)

MBUSHËS –

1. Those who fill it, drone singers, from the verb *mbush* — “to fill”. They fill the sound of the key note to support the soloists.
2. The one who fills it, from the verb *mbush* — “to fill”.

In this connotation the term is used to name the third part in four-part songs in Labëri, Southwest Albania. The term describes a distinctive feature of one of the main forms of the third part in Labëri today: the formation of a second drone a minor third above the key note.

This form of the third part is widespread in all of Labëri, particularly in the new layers of songs. The manner of performance is sometimes the same as that of the syllabic drone group, sometimes a kind of *portamento* or rather a “bleat” and sometimes a *trill*. In the latter case, a guttural sound is very significant. The singer pushes the tones, forming them deep in the throat and sometime producing a glottal stop (see also (IA) HEDH, HEDHËS).

(IA) MERR — he/she takes it up (the song), from the verb *marr* — to take.

This term describes the role the first part plays in the multipart songs in southern Albania: to begin and lead the song. (See MARRËS, (IA) HEDH, (IS) HEQ, (IA) ZË.)

MUHABET — (lit.) talk. In connection with multipart singing: to sing.

One of singers’ phrases first documented in 1966 in the village of *Sulovë* in *Gramsh* (*Toskëri*) goes: “*Ajde, bëjmë një çikë muhabet*” (Kruta 1991b: 45). Translated literally it means “Let us talk a little bit”, but in this use it means “Let us sing a little bit”. Sugarman reports on similar experiences among the Albanian Toskë near Lake Prespa in Macedonia in the 1980s (1988, 1997). The same can also be said about the Albanian Toskë in the Ohrid area.

N

(IA) NIS — he/she begins it (the song).

This is one of the expressions which describe the role of the first part in multipart songs in southern Albania. (See (IA) MERR, (IA) HEDH, (IA) HEQ, (IA) ZË.)

P

PËRCJELL — to accompany.

This term is used among Gegë Albanians in Macedonia for describing the task of the second part of two-part male songs. The singer or the singers of this part have *to accompany* the first soloist. The term means in this case the support the second part gives to the first one in performing a variable drone rather than the usual accompaniment by instruments or harmonic voices.

PËRCJELLËSE INSTRUMENTALE — instrumental accompaniment.

This term is used for the instrumental accompaniment of any kind of local vocal or dance music. Interestingly enough, when it comes to “art music” the term *shoqërim instrumental* (instrumental accompaniment) is used instead.

PLEQËRISHTE — see KËNGË PLEQËRISHTE.

PRES — see (IA) PRET.

(IA) PRET — he/she cuts it.

This expression describes a very significant task of the beginning of the second part in multipart songs in southern Albania. When it enters, it “cuts” the phrase of the first part and at the same time gives a signal to the whole group to enter. (See also (IA) THYEN.)

PRITËS — the one who cuts it (the melody, the song, begun by the first soloist), the second part in multipart songs of southern Albania.

Q

QEMANE — one of the designations for the violin (see VIOLINË).

The term is a variant of the Turkish term *keman* for the “European violin” (Conway-Morris 1991). On the other hand it reminds one of the *kemençe*, a short-necked fiddle still played in Turkey under the names of *kemençe* or *karadeniz kemençesi* (‘Black Sea fiddle’), *fasıl kemençesi* (‘classical kemençe’) or *kemençe rumi* (‘Greek kemençe’) (Conway-Morris 1991). This instrument used to be called *kemançe rrumi* in Albania (Sokoli 1975: 67) and was replaced by the violin.

R

RËNKOJ — (lit.) to complain.

A synonym for the term “lament”, which is known in Albanian mostly as *vaj* (see RËNKOJNË, (ME TË) RËNKUAR).

RËNKOJNË — (lit.) they complain.

A term used by Toskë Albanian to describe the activity of the drone singers in multipart songs. Its use among the Toskë Albanian in Macedonia has also been described by Sugarman (1997: 70).

(ME TË) RËNKUAR — with complaint.

A term used by Toskë Albanian in Macedonia to name their multipart songs (Antoni 1964: 9). It comes from the verb *rënkoi* (to complain). This expression is almost obsolete today among Toskë, both in Macedonia and Albania.

S

SAZE —

1. String instrument (Figure 4a).

It has ten strings, tuned in three groups (Figure 4b): the first five strings in unison, followed by two middle ones, a fifth below and the other three a major second below the first strings (Sokoli; Miso 1991:192).

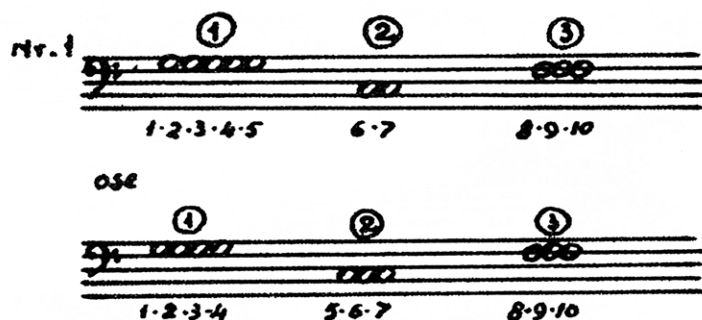


FIGURE 4A AND 4B : the SAZE and its tuning.
(Sokoli; Miso 1991:192)

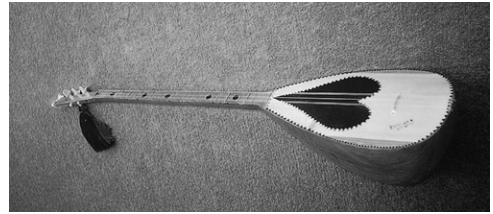
It has been a symbol for accompanying songs of the “ahengu shkodran”, a particular urban repertoire from the town Shkodër in North Albania, not connected to multipart music. The SAZE is no longer in use today.



2 Instrumental ensemble which accompanies multipart songs in southern Albania and among Albanians in Macedonia. The basic instruments of this ensemble are the VIOLINĒ, clarinet, LLAUTË and DAJRE or DEF. Since the 1950s the accordion has also often been part of the ensemble.

SHARKI — a string instrument of the long neck lute family. Its central geographic area of distribution is “*Gjakovë and its surroundings*” (Miso 1980: 63) in Kosovo. It is also used in Northeast Albania and among Gegë Albanians in Northwest Macedonia.

FIGURE 5: Sharki.
(Photograph by A. Ahmedaja)



EXAMPLE 3. Tunings of the SHARKI
(Sokoli/Miso 1991:170)

The figure displays ten different tuning configurations for the Sharki instrument, each represented by a five-line staff with a treble clef and a 7/8 time signature. Circled numbers 1, 2, and 3 indicate the positions of the first, second, and third strings. Below the staff, numbers indicate fret positions for each string.

- Diagram 1:** String 1 at fret 1, String 2 at fret 2, String 3 at fret 3.
- Diagram 2:** String 1 at fret 1-2, String 2 at fret 3, String 3 at fret 4.
- Diagram 3:** String 1 at fret 1-2, String 2 at fret 3, String 3 at fret 4-5.
- Diagram 4:** String 1 at fret 1-2, String 2 at fret 3-4-5, String 3 at fret 4-5.
- Diagram 5:** String 1 at fret 1-2, String 2 at fret 3-4-5, String 3 at fret 4-5.
- Diagram 6:** String 1 at fret 1-2, String 2 at fret 3-4, String 3 at fret 5-6.
- Diagram 7:** String 1 at fret 1-2-3, String 2 at fret 4, String 3 at fret 5-6-7.
- Diagram 8:** String 1 at fret 1-2-3, String 2 at fret 4-5-6-7, String 3 at fret 8-9-10.
- Diagram 9:** String 1 at fret 1-2-3-4, String 2 at fret 5-6-7-8, String 3 at fret 9-10-11-12.

The name comes from Turkish. Even today, some Albanian folk musicians buy their instruments in Istanbul and adapt them. Albanian folk musicians from Skopje and Tetovo in Macedonia say the bridge in particular has to be changed. They prefer a bigger one, because “our songs need a stronger sound than those of the Turks”.

The SHARKI is constructed similarly to the ÇIFTELI, but it is bigger. Its sound is therefore deeper and ‘warmer’. The SHARKI has different numbers of strings (3 to 7, 9 or 12 strings) depending on the number of strings for one and the same pitch, and is tuned in different ways. The most common type is the one with three or three pairs of strings (Sokoli 1975: 56). The most common tunings are given in the example 3:

SHTRUAR — see (IA) MARRIN SHTRUAR.

SURLE — see ZURLE.

T

TAMËRR — another name for the string instrument ÇIFTELI in northern Albania. Paul Traeger uses only this term in his travel notes of an expedition to northern Albania in 1903 (see Traeger 1903). Today it is no longer in use.

(IA) THEM- (lit) tell. In the local terminology in southern Albania and among Albanian Toskë in Macedonia it means ‘to begin a song’.

- Idioms

“*Aj t’ia themi një!*” (lit.) “Let us say one”, but in this case it stands for “Let us sing one (a song)”. In 1957, Erich Stockmann first reported hearing this phrase while researching in the area of Skrapar Mountain (Stockmann, Doris and Erich 1964: 93).

THYEJ — (lit.) break. See (IA) THYEN.

(IA) THYEN — (lit.) he/she breaks it.

This expression describes a very significant task of the beginning of the second part in the multipart songs of southern Albania. When it enters, it “breaks” the phrase of the first part and at the same time gives a signal to the whole group to enter. (See also (IA) PRET.)

TOMËR — another designation for the string instrument ÇIFTELI.

This designation was used in *Vërri* and *Shëngjin* of the *Shëngjergj* area in Central Albania (see Bogdani 2003: 164–165), but is no longer in use today.

TRI VEÇE DUKAÇE — three persons dukaçe, three-part dukaçe.

Three-part male songs from the village of Dukat in the Himarë region in Southwest Albania. (See also DUKAÇE.)

U

ULËRIM — (lit.) to howl. See KËNGË ME ULËRIM.

V

VAJZËRISHTE — girls' songs (based on the root *vajzë* — girl). (See also GRARISHTE).

VIOLINË — violin, member of the SAZE ensemble.

It usually plays the role of the second part within the SAZE ensemble. In spite of the dominance of the clarinet today in the ensemble, the violin, and with it the second part within the instrumental ensemble, has lost very much of its importance (mostly in the Korçë area, Southeast Albania). Nevertheless it has not totally disappeared. The violin as a second part is still a strong component of the instrumental ensemble in local musical practices of Përmet, Fier and Lushnje (south Albania).

Z

ZA — voice.

This is a dialectal form in northern Albania and among Albanians in Kosovo, Macedonia and Montenegro of the term ZË (voice), used in the official Albanian.

- Idioms

NUK I FLE ZANI — his/their voice does not sleep.

This phrase is used when the support of the second part does not suit the first soloist in the multipart songs of Gegë Albanians in Macedonia and Kosovo. This means that the performers of the second part do not give the first one the necessary tranquility to perform the music as he wants.

ZË — voice (see KËNGË ME ZË).

- Idioms

BËJNË ZË — (lit.) they make voice, but 'they sing the drone'. See also ISO.

(IA) ZË — he/she catches it (the song), from the verb ZË — catch.

This is one of the expressions which describe the role of the first part in multipart songs in southern Albania. (See also (IA) MERR, (IA) HEDH, (IA) HEQ.)

ZJEJNË — (lit.) they boil, but ‘they sing the drone’. See also ISO.

ZURLE — dialectal variant of *surle* — shawm, related to the Arab *zūrṅā* (see Sokoli 1975: 48-49).

Dance music played by two *zurle* and one or two big drums (*lodër*) is still a must at weddings in many areas where Albanian Gegë live.

FIGURE 6: TWO ZURLE and a LODËR player at the ‘bride’s car’ (*makina e nuses*) in Tetovo, Macedonia, 2004. (Photograph by A. Ahmedaja)



The singers compared the interplay of the vocal parts in multipart songs among Albanian Gegë in Macedonia with that of the two ZURLE. (See also KAVALL.)

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Lexicon of local terminology on multipart singing in Bulgaria: Shoppe region (Middle-West Bulgaria)

Foreword

The realization of this dictionary project for lexicography of specific musical terms aims to present the crystallized traditional term system of multipart folk singing from Bulgaria, but has no pretence to provide any reflection on the presented language of the rural singers.

The concepts of the research on and presentation of poly-semantic traditional terms related to the pre-modern multipart folk singing is based on the understanding that the bearers of the multipart song tradition from Bulgaria use specific terms and phrases to verbalize their singing experience. The expressing of the musical experience through different verbal forms is the purpose of this lexicon of the musical terms of traditional multipart singing from Bulgaria. The theoretical basis for the preparation of this work was first formulated in Bulgaria in 1991 (Peycheva 1991), but a clarification of the methodological problems was reached after many conversations and discussions with Ardian Ahmedaja in the period August 2006–July 2007.

- The terms presented in the lexicon come from the large multipart region of Middle-West Bulgaria, called Shoppe region by Bulgarian explorers.
The basic source for the musical terms were interviews with singers from villages in Kyustendil region (the sub-regions Piyanets, Kyustendilsko Kraishte), Dupnitsa region (the sub-regions Razmetanitsa, Gorno Pole, Dolno Pole) and Samokov region (Palakariyata sub-region).
- The talks with the singers were recorded in the period 1983–1993. In this period, on various reasons and with different purposes I have made field researches related to the multipart singing from Middle-West Bulgaria.
- The terms and lingual expressions were extracted from three types of conversations: (1) talks on the multipart singing with many questions from me; (2) talks between the singers (during the singing or after that); (3) talks between me and the singers when I sing with them and they comment on our singing together.
- After the explanations of some terms follow names of performers — this is for the cases when during the deciphering of the recorded material, the speaker could be

recognized. In the rest of the explanations there are no names, because the extracts come from group conversations of some singers commenting on their singing, style and performance. Sometimes these group discussions would be caused by a question from me and sometimes the singers would start them on their own, needing to talk about some things about their singing.

- Some of the excerpts include my questions, which have directed the conversation to a particular direction to clarify a specific term. These questions are put in brackets.
- Each of the presented terms has been related with certain words, but not all of these words are musical terms. Some of these words are used in the lexicon explanations without translation (only transliterated) and their meaning is clarified in the appendix table. The musical terms (in contrast to the words, which are directly connected with them) propose for richness of meanings. For instance the term *tresene* would unite some different things in one: (1) a specific structure of the ornamental figure *tresene*; (2) performers' contexts (*tresene* is used when singing at harvest, weddings, working-bees); (3) specific aesthetical horizons (*tresene* is an archaic element of musical expressiveness used to give beauty of the performance); (4) articulation of individual performances in the collective musical processes (*tresene* is a typical identification of the individual uniqueness of the singers, which sing together, according to the norms of the local multipart singing style). All of these make up the word *tresene*, which unites the many meanings and turns in to a common musical term that could be interpreted in different ways.
- Separate components/details of the multipart folk singing are expressed by different synonymous terms in the different settlements. For instance, the performer of the upper melodic voice is called with different names: *okachka/okariya, karachka, izvikuvachka*... the singers of the lower bourdon voice are called: *vlachachki/vlacharii, pomagachki, slagachki*... Different are also used for denoting special types of multipart song from the region, which are richly ornamented, difficult to sing and performed mostly during harvest (and sometimes on other occasions — like weddings): *na glas, nadluzh, navlak*. There are also different terms for the specific local ornamental style: *trese/tresenye, reztrisha/raztrishanye, trosil/trosenye, raztrosi/raztrosenye, kreka/krekanye*. There are different terms for singing itself: *pee, poe, poyanye, pri-poe, pripoyanye, izoknuem zyaе, oka, okanye, karam karanye, vika, izvika, izvikuvanye, pomaga, pomaganye, slaga, slaganye, izgovara, vlachat*. Different expressions are also used for the antiphony singing: *otpeva, ednazh tiya — ednazh tiya, nastaveni pesni* (joined songs)...

On the other hand, there are terms which would include a range of meanings. The term “*glas*” for instance: (1) human voice; (2) melody; (3) type of songs.

- According to the local musical terminology the term *pesen* (song) means only the text, the lyrics, rather than the combination of text and melody. Therefore they say that the singer who knows the songs *kazhuva*, *kazue*, *izgovara* (speak) and the singer who doesn't know songs only *poe* (sing), *zyae* (cry out).
- The multipart singing from Middle-West Bulgaria is defined as female singing. Yet some of the singers tell that in separate cases there were men who used to sing the multipart female songs from the region.
- It is interesting that if the different terms for the singers of the upper melodic and lower bourdon voice are compared, one can outline some terminological sub-regions in the big Shoppe region. In the villages around Samokov (Palakariyata sub-region) the terms are respectively *karachka* and *pomagachka*; in some villages around Dupnitsa (Gorno pole, Razmetanitsa) they are *okachka* and *vlachachka*; in other villages again around Dupnitsa (Dolno pole), and around Kyustendil (Pijanets) they are *izvikuvachka* and *slagachka*.
- The terms are organized alphabetically, and among their meanings only those are chosen, which were part of the lingual experiences of the interviewed rural singers. The terms in the lexicon are indicators, which help the singers to understand and explain to themselves the multipart song tradition from Bulgaria. Moreover, these terms are used for specific presentation of different meanings and nuances of the multipart singing reality, which is enveloped in a huge amount of lingual expressions.
- On language level there is a sensitive difference between the original excerpts from conversations (where the local performers articulate their empirical musical experience) and their translations in English. The translation of the terms, explanations and phrases cannot present entirely the meaning, which the interviewed performers wanted to convey. This is because my interlocutors spoke in their local dialect, which is twice interpreted to become an English text — first to the official Bulgarian language and second to English. As a result some layers of meaning were inevitably lost.
- There are appendices to the text: data about the informators and list of publications on the topic.

When terms are used in the excerpts from interviews, it is natural that some of them are used with definite articles. In Bulgarian definite articles are added as suffixes. As the terms are usually marked with italics, the definite article suffix would be in non-italic, to clarify that the term is not the whole word but the indefinite part only.

D

DA SE POGAŽDAT [да се погаждат] — to understand one another, to be well synchronized while singing, to have a match in their voices, to sing harmoniously (see *da se sglāšat, da se složat, da se sodat, da si uydisvat, da ti se udara glasо*).

Da se pogaždaš. You know what it is. As you sing more, with time the voices *sodat* and *pogaždat* with each other. We all got married here, and now if we try to sing together, *da se pogaždame*, we won't be able to. (Why? — L.P.) Because there are thirty or forty years since we sung together and our voices have changed. It was different then — we would be together the whole day and we would sing. And our voices *se pogaždat*. We would meet also after dinner and sing again. We had no cares, we sang and ran about. (P.V. Alino village)

That which *ne se pogažda* is not beautiful. *Da ne se pogažda* that would mean that one who follows would go ahead of *karāčkata* and the song will be confused. Those who know *da se pogaždat*, they have sung together for some time and it becomes very beautiful. But there are those who cannot *da se pogaždat*. For instance, a *pomagačka* who goes ahead of *karāčkata* and confuses her and the song is spoiled. If *pomagačkata* doesn't go ahead of *pomagačkata* it sounds beautiful." (P.R. Alino village)

DA SE SGLAŠAT [да се сглашат] — to sing harmoniously and in synchrony (see *da se pogaždat, da se složat, da se sodat, da si uydisvat, da ti se udara glasо*).

Da se sglāšat — that is to sing beautifully together. *Da se sglāšat* — it needs some feeling. When you sang to me just now, I could feel how you sing and I went after you. Do

Da se pogaždaš. Епа ти си знаеши. Като пееш постоянно вече после гласовете ти се содат и си се погаждат. Ние тие сме се сите оженили у селото, ама са да се ставиме, колко можехме да пееме и да се пogaждеме, сега ич не можеме. (Защо? — Л.П.). Ма зацо се е минало трийсе-четиресе годин вечем не сме се ставили да пееме и гласовете ни са се променъили. А тогай — днеска сме цал ден заедно и цал ден си поеме. И се погаждат гласовете. Довечера — съцо. Преспиме — ютре на. Немаш грижи, немаш. Само си пееш и си тръчиши. (П.В., с. Алино)

Кое се не пogaжда — не е убаво. Да не се пogaжда — оно е това що влачи, изпревари карачката и стане нищо, обрѣка се. А кое си знае да се пogaжда, тия що са си открай запеяли така и хубаво си пеят — ного убаво става. А тия некои не могат да се пogaждат. Например некая помагачка превара онаа карачката що кара напред — превари я и она сбръка се, не стане нищо. А коя помагачка не превара карачката — убаво си стае. (П.Р., с. Алино)

Да се сглашат — това е да поят убаво заедно. *Да се сглашат* — оно си има усецане, баби. Ти нали запоя. И я те усецам какво караш и по тебе тръгнах. Разбра ли. А

you see? You sang ahead and I followed. Those who sing the second voice should feel *karackata* and *da se sglašat* with her. (R.D. Alino village)

ти караи... Е това е, гласачките трябва да усещат и да се сгласят с карачката. (Р.Д., с. Алино)

ДА СЕ СЛОЖАТ [да се сложат] — to sing harmoniously and in synchrony (see *da se pogaždat*, *da se sglašat*, *da se sodat*, *da si uydısvat*, *da ti se udara glaso*).

The voices should *da se složat* so that the singing is beautiful. Just like the other day when we sang here with Neda. We sang together but Neda couldn't *izvikuva* like Vaska. Neda *izvikuva* somewhat hastily, but Vaska *izvikuvaše* very well and we were used to her. We even went with her to some festivals. It's just that all cannot *da si udarat glaso*. We were three and were very used to each other and our voices matched — we sang beautifully. (Q: What does *glaso da se udari* mean?) It should *da se složi*. *Glaso da se udari* means that it should just match together. There are some who have a higher voice, and others who have lower voices and they cannot *da se složat*. (Q: How do you understand that your *glas se udara* with someone else's?) It's easy. When you sing, if your voice gets separated from the others it's obvious that you can't sing together and your voices cannot *da se složat*." (L.D. Stradalovo village)

Гласовете трябва да се сложат та да е убаво пояньето. Те като онайден, Нада тука що запоя, на глас що пояхме. Ние те така пеехме, ама не може Нада да извикува като Васка що пееше. Нада некакво набръже извикува, ама Васка ного убаво ни извикуваше и ние така си се беме три сложили. И по това идехме, по фестивали. Баи сичките не могат да си ударат гласо, да пеят. Ние, ли ти викам, ние си беме три, тройка – пееме си ного убаво. (Какво означаваш да ти се удара гласо? – Л.П.). Епа трябва да се сложи така. Да се опита да се сложи. Гласо да се удари, да мож да легне. А они на едни им гласо високо иде, на другите ниско иде – не може да се сложат. (По какво разбираш, че ти се удара гласо с някого? – Л.П.). Ного се убаво разбира. Като запееи, гласо ти се дели от другите. Не мож да сте заедно, не мож да се сложат гласовете. (Л.Д., с. Страдалово)

When we gather in a group of three to sing, if the song comes beautifully we continue to sing, if not we have a laugh and we separate. You can feel it if you don't sing well. It is beautiful the voices *da se složat*. If this don't happen they would say — you *ne se slagate*, *ne se slagate*. So the song cannot go on. There is no ton. There is no coordination. (E.B.K. Lelintsi village)

Като запоеме, ако е убаво песната, пееме, ако не – посмееме се, па се разтураме. Па оно се усеща като пееи и не е убаво. Убаво е да се сложат гласовете. И викат – а, не се слагате, не се слагате. Не може така еднакво да връви песната. Нема тон. Не се сгласувате. (Е.Б.К., с. Лелинци)

ДА СЕ СОДАТ [да се содат] — to sing harmoniously and in synchrony (see *da se pogaždat*, *da se sglašat*, *da se složat*, *da si uydısvat*, *da ti se udara glaso*).

It is important the voices *da se sodat*. When their voices *se sodat*, they sound the same and the song is beautiful. There is no way to distinguish between *izvikuvačka* and *slagačka*. All are in one *glas*. This is why I cannot sing with these here — it is difficult because our voices *ne se sodat*.” (M.K. Stradalovo village)

It is not good when your voice is distinguishable. It cannot *da se sodi*. It either goes a bit higher or a bit lower or a bit ahead or a bit aback. (Stradalovo village)

DA SI UYDISVAT [да си уйдисват] — to sing harmoniously and in synchrony (see *da se pogaždat, da se sglāšat, da se složat, da si sodat, da ti se udara glas*o).

When singing together it is good *da si uydishvat*. This is to be in synchrony. *Uydisvat si* — they are together, they *se sglasat* (see *sglāšat* — L.P.). (I.V. Alino village)

DA TI SE UDARA GLASO [да ти се удара гласо] — to sing harmoniously and in synchrony (see *da se pogaždat, da se sglāšat, da se složat, da si sodat, da si uydishvat*).

When you start to sing together it is good *da ti se udara glas*o. *Slagačkite* should not speak like me, because we will get confused. Only the middle one should speak the words and if I sing as *slagačka* I will not speak, too. It would not be good, because your voice cannot *da se sodi*. Only the middle one should speak and then *ti se udara glas*o. Only at the *horo* (dance — L.P.) songs the three of us may speak. But at the songs *na glas*, only the middle one should speak and the others follow her. So that *da se udarat glasovete*. (N.H. Stradalovo village)

Важно е да се содат гласовете. Они кога им се содат гласовето да им са еднакви – те тогај е убава песната. Да не се различава нито слагачка, нито извикувачка, нито нищо. Се у един глас да са така. Ја зашто ти викам – те тука с тия не мога, трудно ми е за пояње. Не ни се содат гласовето. (М.К., с. Страдалово)

Не е убаво кога гласо ти се дели. Не може да се соди. Врџти или натака малко или натака назад неја. (с. Страдалово)

При пояњето заедно е убаво да си уйдисват. Точно тоа е да се гласат. Уйдисват си – заедно, те да се гласат. Печат си сложено. Като гласенето. (И.В., с. Алино)

Кога запееете заедно е убаво да ти се удара гласо. Тия не треба слагачките тоа да го така изговарат како мен. Оти че убрџкаме. Само треба среднијо да изговара. Ја ако ојда зад нив и ја нема да изговарам. Не е полезно да го праши, не може. Оти не мож гласо да ти се соди. Он само среднијо треба да го праи, за да мож да ти се удара гласо. Они сички така ако закараме че стане обрџкано. На хороводните песни сите три мож да изговарат. А на тия на глас само един че изговара – среднијо, а тия че влечат само по него така. За да се ударат гласовете. (Н.Х., с. Страдалово)

E

EDNAŽ TIYA, EDNAŽ TIYA [еднаж тия, еднаж тия] — a manner of antiphony singing in two groups of singers.

At the *boro* we *poebme*. I speak the song and two next to me follow and we *okame*, *poeme*. And there are other three — so it's six in all. *Ednaž tiya*, *ednaž tiya*. (Once this group sings, then the other group — L.P.). Have you seen this done? They did it once, but now this is lost. (S.S. Pelatikovo village)

На орото поеме. Я кажувам песната и други две до мене и окаме, поеме. И други три – шест. Еднаж тия, еднаж тия. Това видели ли сте да прават? Оти напред така праеха, ама сега това се изгуби. (С.С., с. Пелатиково)

G

GĀRLO [гърло] — the throat as a vocal instrument.

She has never sung much so she has never developed her *gārlo*. And she cannot *pee*. (P.R. Alino village)

Она не си е пеляла открай, не си е разработила гърлото. И не може да пее. (П.Р., с. Алино)

Our mother was a singer. Even people from other villages knew her. She didn't lose her *glas* to her death. Her *gārlo* was just wonderful. Not everybody can have a good *glas*, a good *gārlo*." (Y.T. Kadrovitsa village)

Нашта мамя беше песнопойца. От цели села натам и сега я слават хората. Она до последно, додека не умре, она гласо не си изгуби. Това беше чудно нейното гърло. Секо не мож да има глас, не мож да има гърло. (Й.Т., с. Кадровица)

They wondered at her — Venka Bikova, wife of Stanko Bulyov. They wondered how two *glasa* came out of her *gārlo*. It was so sweet to listen to how she *trесе*. She was a relative of ours, of Dudini. (R.D., Alino village)

Ама оно му се чудеях – Венка Биковата, на Станко Бульов невестата. Чудехя се какво низ едно гърло два гласа излази това дете. Оно сладост че ти дръжи да ти тресе това дете. Оно е те тука от нас, от Дудини. (Р.Д., с. Алино)

My *gārlo* has changed. It is not as it was in my youth. It is a bit hoarse now. I have not sung for years." (L.D., Stradalovo village)

Гърло сам сменила. Не е като що е било. Не е като на млади години кога сам била. Са ми нещо дрезгави гърлото. Ама не сам пояла от отдавна. (Л.Д., с. Страдалово)

GLAS [глас] — 1) the making of a sound.

This is *glaso*. When one *poe*, the evocation of the sound — this is *glaso* — the creation of ton. I have sung a lot and I had a very good *glas* and a very good *gärlo*. It was powerful and rich. Now I cannot do that. I have aged. (Y.T. Kadrovitsa village)

Те това е гласо. Те това като се пое, що се издава звук – те това е гласо – що се издава тон. Звук се издава. Е, аз колко сам пояла. Каков глас имах, какво гърло имах. Силно. Гласовито. А сега не мож да е така. Години. (Й.Т., с. Кадровица)

- Idioms

When I sing with you I run out of air — L.P.) It is because you don't know how to keep it, how to keep the silent and the high. It is not that you can't — you just don't know how. (Q: What is this silent and high?) Well, when I sing I would press down *glaso* and then raise it up. (Q: How do you press down *glaso*?) I make *glaso* deeper and when I speak out, I make it higher. (Y.T. Kadrovitsa village)

Като пеем заедно с тебе нещо не ни стига въздуха – Л.П.). Не е да не ви стига, вие не знаете как да го задръжате. Как да задръжате тихото и високото. А не да не мож да ви стигне. Човек кога не знае едно нещо, он не може да го стигне. (А какво е това тихо и високо? – Л.П.). Епа те като изговарам и като навалям гласо и после па издигам. (Като го навалиши гласо какво го правиши? – Л.П.). Тогай гласо го карам на ниско, па като изговора, го кажа на по-високо. (Й.Т., с. Кадровица)

GLAS [ГЛАС] — 2) human voice, characteristics.

When I listen to the singers I easily hear those who sing wrong. I hear when one sings well, when a bit scratchily or when their *glas* is smooth. If one doesn't sing often her *glas* is not smooth. A smooth *glas* is without scratching. (Y.T. Kadrovitsa village)

Епа я като слушам, ного се разбира кои сбръкват. Кои убаво поят, кои гръкават, кои мазно гласо им връви. Оти кога не пое често човек, он гласо не мож да му е мазен. Мазен глас – да нема да гръкави. Да пресича. (Й.Т., с. Кадровица)

When we were young our *glasove* rang like bells. We were young and beautiful maidens. It seems to me now that today's maidens cannot sing so strongly. I am now old, but you can see what strong *glas* I have. I have reaped at harvest, I have hoed, I have bred horses — my children know nothing of this. And I still have a strong *glas*. (Q: What makes you say that one's *glas* is good?) It should be strong. Like we *peeme* here. This was a strong *glas* once, and the people would say that we *peeme* beautifully." (E.L. Pelatikovo village)

Като беме млади като звънчета ни дрънкаше гласовете. Беме млади, убави, пременьени моми. Сега ни се вижда момите не мож да са като нас силни. Я сам стара вече, обаче виж каков глас па имам. Жнала сам, конье сам карала – ми това мойте деца не го знаят. И още имам глас. (Кое смятате за хубав глас? – Л.П.). По-силно. Те това що пееме ние. Това беше глас некога, викат леле тия моми как убаво пеят. (Е.Л., с. Пелатиково)

They had strong, rotund *glasove*. When they started to sing, it was so as strong as an ox would bellow! Three women — as if their *glasove* were coming out of the ground. (R.B.N. Dyakovo village)

Гласове силни имаха, плътни. Малк, като извадия едни гласица – като волове. Три жени – като ревня като волове. Като от земята излизаха тия гласове. (Р.Б.Н., с. Дяково)

- Idioms

Q: Why do you hold your chin with your hand while you are singing?) Because I don't want my *glas* to scatter. (Ya.A. Tishanovo village)

Защо като пееш си държиш ръката подпряна на брадата? – Л.П.). Да не се разноси настрани гласо. (Я.А., с. Тишаново)

GLAS [ГЛАС] — 3) melody.

The melody is *glaso* which you would sing out. This is what melody means — for instance, there are some songs, of which you say — see what a good melody this one is singing. That is about melody.” (P.R. Alino village)

Е мелодията това гласо какво че си го, че продумаши. Що че да го кажеш каква е мелодията. Нали на някои песни – гле каква хубава мелодия е тоя запеял. Каква убавя песен рече. И те така, така е, не знам какво друго да ти кажем. (П.Р., с. Алино).

Glas is the way the song sounds. One song sounds *na dälgo*, another one sound *nakäso* — it depends on the song. We cannot sing all songs *na dälgo*, and we cannot sing all songs *nakäso*.” (P.V. Alino village)

Глас е какво води песента. Едно на дълго води, друга по на късо – коя песен запееме така. Коя е песента те води, оти сека песен не мож да я пееш на дълго. Сека песен на касо не може. (П.В., с. Алино). (П.В., с. Алино)

So it is the working-bee songs have their own *glas*, the wedding songs have another, the songs on the way a third, and those on the field a fourth. *Glasovete* are different. When you *peeš* — this is *glaso*. The way that you *peeš*. When you *peeš* on the field is different from when you *peeš* on the road. These were *glasovete*. This is how we were taught. (P.V. Alino village)

Ели ти казуем – седемкярските башка глас, сватбарските – башка, по пато – башка, на нъвата – башка. Така е. Гласовете се различни идат. Е като пееш, това е гласо. Какво пееш. Да поеш на нъвата – различно, по пато – различно. Така си ни бея гласовете. Така си беме научени. (П.В., с. Алино)

- Idioms

(1)

Each calendar feast had its own *glas*. I mean the big feasts. We didn't sing and dance on the small ones. Each holiday had its own *glas*. Easter has its own *glas*, Peter's day had a different *glas*. On George's day we only sang. On Easter *glaso* finished with an Eastern *boro*. There is also a harvest *glas*. It is a bit different. When you reap and carry the sheaves it is *glaso* that keeps you working. And there was another *glas* for *boro*. (V.Ch. Slatino village)

Секи празник си има глас. И то големите празници. Ние на маненките не поеме и не играеме оро. Секи ден си има глас. Велиден – друг глас поеме, на Петковден – друг глас поеме. Гергьовден само се изповя. Като дое Велиден – друг глас. И гласо си приключавя сос великденското оро. Има и жетварски глас. Он по-друго се пее. Ти като жниеш и като издигнеш ръколжата, значи това от гласо ти даде повод на жетва дека пееш. А по оро то си е друго. (В.Ч., с. Слатино)

(2)

Glaso at the field is different from *glaso* at *boroto*. And *glaso* at working-bees is different from the others. (Z.B. Cherven Breg village)

На нъива е друг гласо. Друг е гласо на оро то. Друго е на седенкята. (З.Б., с. Червен брег)

(3)

Both at harvest and at *boro* we sang the same *pesen* — only *glaso* was different. We sang 'Hey, you beautiful Radulinka' at the Eastern *boro*, holding each other at the waist and at the field during harvest. When we sang it at the *boro* it was somewhat sharper, and at the field it was with the harvest *glas*. (V.Ch. Slatino village)

И на жетва, и на оро се се една песен кара – само друг ѝ е гласо. "Бре Радулинко юбава" и на Великденско оро се пее като за пояс и на жетва се пее. Като я закараме на оро то – по-отсечено се кара. Ана на жетва е с жетварски глас. (В.Ч., с. Слатино)

GLASENYE [ГЛАСЕЊЕ] — singing the bourdon voice.

Glasyeto is just singing e-e-e-e-e. One would only quietly speak with the mouth. What *izvikuvačkata izgovara*, some *izgovarat* with her during *glasyeto*. I didn't. (Z.B. Kadrovitsa village)

Гласењето е само се вика e-e-e-e-e. Само се тихо така изговара на устата. Какво извикувачката изговара, некои изговарат сос извикувачката при гласењето. А я не изговарах. (Й.Т., с. Кадровица)

I

I-I-I! [*I-u-u!*] — different in duration specific ornamental figures, which are sang at an undefined height above the basic tone (usually at a seventh above the tonic) and

give specific outlines of the melodic motives and phrases in certain songs (see *provikvane*)

(Q: Were there songs where you *provikvabte* at the end?) Yes there were — we cried *I-i-i!*
(Q: What do you call this?) We don't call it anything. When we sing they just cry this out. For example there is a song 'The maiden Tsveta leads the *horos*/dancing next to young Stoyan' and then at the end we cry out *I-i-i!* This makes the song sound more interesting and more beautiful. I don't know any word to call this. I have just learnt to cry it out when I was little and so I do. (P.R. Alino village)

(Q: Why do you sing *I-i-i!* at the end of the verse?) *Glaso* goes like this. We have always sung it like this and so it goes. The other songs we don't sing like this, only this one. It's just that *glasos* goes like this when we sing. I have kept it this way since I learned this song and I sing it so." (N.H. Stradalovo village)

When you cry out *I-i-i!* and you rest for a split of a second to take in more air and you can go on more easily. This is why I tell you to cry out *I-i-i!* — for the air. When they cry out *I-i-i!* at the end it is best. (T.B. Samoranovo village)

ИСОВИЯ ТОН [исовия тон] — the bourdone voice.

She has to do this *tresene*. The sound goes up and stays like hazing air in the heat. That's when we sing at harvest, we *treseme* then. During *treseneto* everybody *tresе* in her own way. One comes out of *isoviya ton* in her manner, another — in a different manner. Everybody starts to *tresе* differently out of *isoviya ton*. *Okačkata* shouldn't sing the same

(Имаше ли песни при които в края се провиквате? – L.P.). Епа имаше – И-и-и! Така. (Как му казвате на това? – L.P.). Нищо. Като си пее и така си викат. Например една песен: "Мома Цвета оро води/до Стояна левенина". А после: И-и-и! Речеш накрая И-и-и! Така си речеме накрая и по излази интересно, по-хубаво. Не знам какво му се вика на това. Не мога да ти кажем това – на това що се вика. Ея. Така си е научено от малко и така си вика. (П.Р., с. Алино)

(Защо в края на речката правите това И-и-и! – L.P.). Така некакво си иде гласо. Те така сме пеяли, така я пея. Виж, другите що ги карам, не ги така пея, ама тая така сме я пеяли, така ти я пея. Това си е така некакво гласо, така песната като я караме. Така сам си го запазила от време и така си го покарувам. Така се извикува. (Н.Х., с. Страдалово)

Като каже И-и-и! и малко почиваш и зимаш въздух и по-лесно че изкараш. Затова ти викам И-и-и! като речеш и да си земеш малко въздух. Като речат И-и-и! накрай и е най-убаво. (Т.Б., с. Самораново)

Тя тебе да го прави това тресене. Става горе звука. Мараня се получава. Оти е на жетва. Кога се пое на жетвата, там се тресе. При тресенето секи си тресе по-различно. Един излази по един начин от исовия тон, друг – по друг начин. Секи излази различно над исовия тон, тръгва да тресе различно. Окачката тебе да не

as *vlačăckite*, she should separate from them to be able to *zatrese*. This is very beautiful when they succeed to do it. (Ts.K. Kraynitsi village)

*кара равно с влăчăкитe, трeбe да се от-
дeлѝ от нѝх тa да мoжe да зaтрeсe. Тoвa
e нoгo крaсивo, aкo сe нe усмѝтaт. (Ц.К.,
с. Крайници)*

IZVIKUVAČKA [ИЗВИКУВАЧКА] — singer of the upper melodic voice. The term is related to the verb *vika* (*izvikuva*), which means ‘to call out/to cry out’ and is indicative of one of the functions of the melodic voice — to sound freely, with a sensible penetrating force and to be heard from a long distance (see *karačka*, *okačka*)

Izvikuvačkata has to create her voice in a different way. She *izgovara* the words. She creates both — she *izgovara* the words and she leads the melody with her voice. Simultaneously. *Izvikuvačkata izgovara* the song, *slagačkite slagat*. (Y.T. Kadrovitsa village)

*Извѝкувăчкaтa пo-другoячe глaсo трeбe дa
съчѝнѝвa. Oнa изгoвaрa думѝтe. Eм изгo-
вaрa думѝтe, eм глaс дaвa. Eднoврeмeннo.
Извѝкувăчкaтa гo изгoвaрa, слaгăчкѝтe
слaгaт. (Й.Т., с. Кaдрoвѝцa)*

In order to *izvikuva*, the singer has to speak. The one who *izvikuva*, she manages it. She leads the songs as she wishes. She should care not to make a mistake. When she *izvikuva*, she has to *izriča*; the singer in the middle. The other two *vlečat* after her. It is easier for them. For *izvikuvačkata*, who leads them, it is much harder. She has to care for the voice. (N.H. Stradalovo village)

*Дa сe извѝкувa – трeбe дa гoвoрѝш.
Тaя трeбe дa ръкoвoдѝ щo извѝкувa.
Извѝкувăчкaтa искa дa вoдѝ пeсeнтa
тaкa. Дa нe я сбръкa. Кaтo извѝкувa трeбe
oнa дa изрѝчa – стрeднaтa щo e. A тѝя
двeтe сѝ влeчaт пo нeя. Нa нѝх e пo-лeснo.
A извѝкувăчкaтa щo гo ръкoвoдѝ – сe e
пo-труднo. Трeбe дa пaзѝ глaсo. (Н.Х., с.
Стрaдaлoвo).*

Izvikuvačkata izgovara. She *kara* first, she *kara* the song in advance and the others go after her, *slagačkite shožadat*. *Izvikuvačkata kara* in a thinner voice, *slagačkata kara* in a thicker voice and *vleče* after *izvikuvačkata* — so she can see and make sure that the singing *sodi*. *Izvikuvačkata izvickne*, and they *vlačat* after her. *Izvikuvačkata izgovara* the words. She *izvikuva*. (L.D. Stradalovo village)

*Извѝкувăчкaтa изгoвaрa. Oнa пo кaрa, oнa
кaрa пo-нaпрeд пeснaтa и oнѝя вeчe пo нeя
слaгăчкѝтe сe сxoждaя. Извѝкувăчкaтa
пo-тънък глaс кaрa, a слaгăчкaтa пo нa дe-
бeлo кaрa и влeчe пo нeя – дa вѝдѝ кaквo чe
мoж дa сe сoдѝ пeснaтa. Извѝкувăчкaтa
извѝкнe, a oнѝя пa пo нeя влaчaт.
Извѝкувăчкaтa сѝ гѝ изгoвaрa думѝтe.
Oнa сѝ извѝкувa. (Л.Д., с. Стрaдaлoвo)*

Izvikuvačkata initiates the singing. She *vika* first, and the others *slagat*. She *izriča* and the others *vikat* 'E-E-E'. They sing the same thing. Otherwise the song is not good. (E.B.K. Lelintsi village)

*Извѝкувăчкaтa пoдкaрyвa пeснaтa дa сe
пee. Oнa чe вѝкнe нaѝ-нaпрeш и слeд нeя
oнѝ ѝ слaгaт. Oнa изрѝчa, a oнѝя сѝ вѝкaт
e-e-e. Eднo и същo, кaтo сѝ уѝдѝсaт. Инaчe
нe e yбaвa пeсeнтa. (E.Б.К., с. Лeлѝнѝцѝ)*

They call her *izvikuvačka*, and somewhere they call her *nadizačka*. You will *slagate*, I will *nadizam*. The other two sing the same way, the one in the middle sings in a different way. The one in the middle *izvikue*, *izdigayu*. The other two *slagayu*. (J. I. Dragoichintsi village)

Izvikuvačkata, she has to *okne* at first. We can't just all *okneme*. *Izvikuvačkata* leads, she *kara* the song. She has a better voice, her voice is lighter. *Izvikuvačkata* is always only one. If there are two of them, their voices will be in conflict. (G.A., Slatino village)

Извикувачката ю викат некаде надизачка. Вие че слагате, я че надизам. Двете еднакво пою, средата другояче пое. Средата извикуе, издигаю. А двете слагаю. (Ю.Й., с. Драгойчинци).

Извикувачката она треба да окне напред. Не може сичките групно да окнеме. Извикувачката води, она кара песента. Она е по-гласовита, по-лек ѝ е гласо. Извикувачката е винаги една. Ако са две – че се борат гласовето. (Г.А., с. Слатино).

• Idioms

(1)

Izvikuvačkata takes a more central place, she is more important. She leads the song, she leads the melody. *Slagačkite vlačat after her*. (F.Ts. Stradalovo village)

Извикувачката заема по-централно место, по-важна е. Тя води песната, тя води мелодията. Слагачките влачат по нея. (Ф.Ц., с. Страдалово)

(2)

Izvikuvačkata would lead the songs. But neither can *izvikuvačkata*, nor can *slagačkite* without *ivikuvačka*. They can sing when they are all only, they should *sglasat*. (L.D. Stradalovo village)

Извикувачката по води песните. Ама нито може извикувачката сама, нито можат слагачките без извикувачка. Они са единствено, треба сите три да се сгласат. (Л.Д., с. Страдалово).

(3)

Izvikuvačkata is more important. What she says, so *slagačkite* follow. They follow after her, otherwise they cannot. They expect from her. When you are *slagačka* you cannot *izgovaraš* like *izvikuvačkata*. (E.K. Pelatikovo village)

Извикувачката е по-важна. Тя какво каже така и слагачките по нея връват. По нея връват, иначе не мож да връват те. Те очакват от нея. Щом си слагачка – не мож да изговараш като извикувачката. (Е.К., с. Пелатиково).

(4)

Most import is *izvikuvačkata*. Because as she *kara* the song, so *slagačkite* go after her.

Най-важно е извикувачката. Защо она какво кара песната, слагачките са по нея.

If *izvikuvačkata* is good, then *slagačkite* can also be good. If *izvikuvačkata* is not good — *slagačkite* cannot be good. They are after her. (M.K. Stradalovo village)

Ако важи извикувачката, ке важат и сла- гачките. Ако не важи извикувачката – не важат и слагачките. Они са на по нея. (М.К., с. Страдалово)

(5)

Izvikuvačkata cannot sing alone. Neither can *slagačkata* sing without *izvikuvačkata*, nor *izvikuvačkata* can sing without *slagačkite*. When we *poeme* in group — it is much better. She sings a higher tone and we sing a lower tone. (G.A. Slatino village)

Она сама не мож да пое извикувачката. Ни слагачката може без извикувачката, ни извикувачката може без слагачките. Като поеме групно – по е хубаво. Она кара по-високо, ние – по-ниско. (Г.А., с. Слатино)

(6)

Izvikuvačkata govori and *slagačkite* only *slagat*, they don't *izgovarat*. So it sounds better. *Da se slogi* the song. Otherwise if we speak the syllables it would be something like speaking. So *slagačkite* won't *izgovarat* the words as clearly as *izvikuvačkata*. And this is better — so they keep a *bass*. Only *izvikuvačkata* should be heard. (E.K. Pelatikovo village)

Извикувачката говори, а слагачките само слагат и не изговарат. Така по иде певко. Да се сложи песента. Иначе като говориме сичките, става нещо като говор. Затова слагачките ги изговарат думите, ама не така ясно като извикувачката. И е по-хубаво така – държи бас. Само извикувачката треба да се чуе. (Е.К., с. Пелатиково).

(7)

Izvikuvačkata, the one who *izvikuva*, should be very accurate when she *izgovara* the song. Whereas *slagačkite* may not be so accurate. There should be three singers and the middle one should *izgovara* while she *pee*. Three would stay and the middle one would start to *pee* and the other two would accompany her. And another three at some distance. With them singing, a big *boro* may form. But there should be three here, and three there. (N.H. Stradalovo village)

Извикувачката, баш що го извикува, треба точно да изговара така. А слагачките по-малко изговарат. Три така треба да пеят и таа стредната точно треба да изговара така като пее. Три че застанат и че запее стредната и две така че пригласяват отстраните със нея заедно. И три на по-натам. Низ них може да се налови хоро големо. Но три треба там да пеят и други три по там да пеят. (Н.Х., с. Страдалово)

IZVIVKI [ИЗВИВКИ] — CHANGES IN THE DIRECTION OF THE MELODIC LINE.

Glaso, the melody has *izvivki* and I cannot make them well alone. It sort of becomes nasal. We keep *glas* well when we gather. We *peeme* in groups, together. It is like a choir and it sounds beautiful. Perfect. (R.D. Alino village)

You can make *izvivkite*. That is good. If you can make *izvivkite* you can learn to *poesh*. And your *glas* is good. (Q: What is *izvivki*?) *Izvivkite* is the way it comes out of you. You don't drown the song; you don't slow it; you speak it out in time — you make *izvivkite*. It's just like with a poem — you have to say it expressively. This is with the songs as well — when you sing the melody you make *izvivkite* well. **And that's something!** (R.D. Alino village)

You make *izvivkite*. You *izvivaš* better and you are young. See, she can make *izvivkite* better than us. (T.B. Samoranovo village)

Гласо ли, мелодията? Она има извивки, я не можем да ги докарам. Така малко на носо го удара. Гласо го придръжаш и оно убаво звучи като се сбереме. Така си пе-еме. Групно, сецаш ли се. Така ние си се нафащаме и си пееме. Като некой хор, сецаш ли се. И така убаво излази. Идеално. (Р.Д., с. Алино)

Извивките мож да си зимаши. Извивките щом като зимаши че се научиши да поеш. Те и детето задрънка, а пейте заедно. И гласо ти е добър. (Какво е извивки? – Л.П.) Извивките – това е изличаш. Нема така да давиш песента. Нема да бавиши. Ни така набрързо да го казваши. А ти си зимаши извивките. И като казуваш едно стихотворение – изразително се казува. Сецаш ли се. А така. Изразително. Това е нещо и песента, бабе. Като си даваши така мелодията си зимаши, извивките си спазуваши. Това е нещо. (Р.Д., с. Алино)

Извивките си прави. Ти по-убаво извиваши и си млада. Она мож по извивките от нас да праи. (Т.Б., с. Самораново)

К

КАРА [кара] — to sing the melody voice. The term comes from the verb *kara*, which means 'to drive/to lead' and clearly expresses the function of the upper melodic voice in leading the song.

I *karam*. Although I also follow. Another one *kara* before me, from the group of the other three who *royat*, and I go after her. (P.S. Alino village)

Я карам. Ама по човек така. Една друга кара пред мене, от другите три що поят, и я по нея. (П.С., с. Алино)

КАРАЧКА (КАРАЧИСА) [карачка (*карачица*)] — singer of the upper melodic voice, which *kara* (leads) the melody (see *izvikuvacka*, *okačka*).

Karačkata starts first and *pomagačkite* go after her. *Pomagačkite* sing whatever she sings. *Karačkata* sings at a higher tone. She *skurshi* it, and we sing after her. She *kurši* it — *karačkata*. The one who is *karacičsa*, she knows the songs. (I.V. Alino village)

Karačkata kara, her voice leads in the front. *Karačkata* sings a little louder, and the others *vlačat* after her. And that's good. If *karačkata* has not learned since a little girl, she cannot, she doesn't know how to *kara* with her voice, how to *raztriša*. This is what is always looked at with her. (P.R. Alino village)

Karačkata. Without her they cannot *pomagat* and the singing will not be synchronous enough. It just cannot. It was made this way. Thus should it be. Without *karacka*, no matter how many *pomagački* have gather, they cannot sing. They just cannot. (P.V. Alino village)

Karačkata is separated. If anyone tries to *prevara* (leave behind — L.P.) her — she will get tired. If there are two *karacki* who karat, if there is nobody to *pomaga*, they cannot sing. *Karačkata* will get irritated. If the other one *prevara* her, that would smother her. I think so. Because *karačkata* always starts to sing first. And when you are *pomagačka*, you should be careful not to *prevaraš* her. Your voice and your words may not be in perfect tune. You just need to get it a little and then you just follow her. You should follow the voice of *karačkata*. Your voice should follow after hers. Because, if you *prevaraš* her, she smothers and cannot sing. That's how I feel it. (G.Sh. Alino village)

Карачката прѐва почне и помагачките след нея. Какво пее тя, така и помагачките пеят. Карачката по-висок тон земе. Скърши го, скърши го и ние по нея се пееме. Она си го кърши – те таа карачката. Като е карачица она знае песни. (И.В., с. Алино)

Карачката си кара напред ѝ по иде гласо. Карачката по-силно вика малко, а ония по нея влечат. И арно така. Карачката ако не се е учила от малка, не може, не знае да си кара гласо, не знае да си разтриша. Па това най гледај. (П.Р., с. Алино)

Карачката. Ема без нея не можат да помагат и да стане единно така да се спогаждат. Не може. Така е сочинето. Така. Без карачка не можат помагачки да се струпат и да пеят. Не може. (П.В., с. Алино)

Карачката значи отделно. Ако я некој превара – тя се уморява. Ако има две карачки да карат, ако нема кој да им помага, не можат да пеят. Дразни се. Просто карачката ако другата я превара, нея я задушава. Така го я сметам спремо мене. Оти карачката прѐво трѐгне. И ти требе да пазиш да не я превариш като си помагачка. Гласо просто и думите може и да не сгаждаш. Само малко че сгодиш и повече да врѐви след нейнијо глас. Да следиш гласо на карачката. Да следи твойо глас след нейнија. Оти ако я превариш и тя се задушава и не може да пее. Така го я чувствам. (Г.Ш., с. Алино)

- Idioms

All three of them are important. For their voices to *shoždat*, neither *karackata* can do it without *pomagačkite*, nor *pomagačkite* can do without *karackata*. Well, *karackata* may be really good, but if there are no *pomagački*, it's nothing. Nothing. It just can't be. All of them are important. All of them matter. Neither can do without the others. Only those can sing who *sglašaa*. (R.D., Alino village)

Сите три са важни. За да им се схождаа гласовете – ни карачката може без помагачките, ни помагачките без карачката. Карачката може да е ного добра. Но като нема помагачки – нищо. Нищо. И това не може да стае. Та сите са важни. Сите три важат. Ни таа може без таа. Кои се сглашаа. (Р.Д., с. Алино)

KARANE (KARANYE) [каране (каранье)] — term used in some phrases regarding the composition of the song form. It means that the song verse or part of it is repeated once, twice or thrice — *na edno karane* (*karane* once), *na dve karane* (*karane* twice), *na tri karane* (*karane* thrice).

The songs are with different *karanye*. There are songs with *karanye* once, or twice and even thrice. The once which are with *karanye* thrice are the heaviest. For example, there is one in two voices — “More Yano” — low voice and high voice. (Q: What does it mean, *karanye* once, *karanye* twice and *karanye* thrice?) Well, like the song we've just sung, when we begin to *karame* we don't stop to repeat *rečkata* — we sing it all at once. That is *karanye* once. The other one, “*Paun mi poe u saray*” is with *karanye* twice — there we stop and then start again. We repeat *rečkata*. And *karanye* thrice is entirely different — like “More Yano”. We repeat *rečkata* thrice. The *boro* songs are mostly sung with *karanye* once. (Ya. A. Tishanovo village)

Песните са на различно каранье. Има песни на едно каранье, на две, па и на три. Тия кои са на три пати каранье са най-тежки. Виж, една се кара на на два гласа – “Море Яно” – на ниско и на високо. (Какво означава на едно каранье, какво означава на две каранье и какво означава на три каранье? – Л.Р.) Епа те като сега нали, като закараме един път и не се спираме да повториме речката – у един път я изкараме. Това е на едно каранье. А на две каранье е другата – “Паун ми пое у сарай” – спираме и па закараме. Повториме речката. А на три каранье е на сосем друго – те като “Море Яно” що пояме. Три пати повториме речката. Тия на оро се повече на еднаж карая. (Я.А., с. Тишаново)

This song is sung once. With *karanye* once. If you don't stop to repeat – that is *karanye* once. (Y.T. Kadrovitsa village)

Те на еднаж се изкара. На едно каранье. Щом не спира да се повтара – това е на еднаж. (Й.Т., с. Кадровица)

KREKNE [крекне] — a thriller-like ornament, used by the singer of the upper melodic voice.

Who has a good voice to *krekne*, so she *poe* beautifully. Who has a good *grālo*, when she *poe* the song is beautiful. (Q: What is *krekne*?). Well, in order to *poe* beautifully the singer should *kreka* the song. Who *poe* strongly, beautifully, who has *grālo* to *krekne*. I could *poya* once, I had *grālo*, but now I don't have and I can't — after a short time of singing my voice is getting a bit hoarse. (L.R. Pelatikovo village)

She *kreka* very much. This is when *izvikvačkata* warbles the song and *skrušnuva* (sing melodiously — L.P.) many times. So we call it — she *kreka* a lot. It is good when she *kreka*. At some places they sing monotonously for a long time and that is not beautiful. As for *kekane* — it depends on what *grālo* the singer has. If she has a good *grālo* — she *kreka*, otherwise she cannot. Those songs with *kekane* at harvest, we will sing them while resting. (Ya. A. Tishanovo village)

Кой има убаво гръло да я крекне, да я пое така хубаво. Убаво гръло има и да пое — убаво е песната. (Какво е това крекне? — Л.П.). Епа така като пое убаво — това да крека песната. Кое силно пое, убаво, да има гръло, да крекне. Пояла сам, дете, имала сам гръло, ама сега не ми достига те я не мога така — гле колко ме бръже задере. (Л.Р., с. Пелатиково)

Она ного крека. Да крекне — това е като извиквачката извица песната на ного пати я скършува. И така викаме — ного крека. Убаво е кога ного крека. Некаде продължително го карая и не е ного убаво така. А кекане — зависи кой какво гръло има. Ако има — ке крека, ако нема — не мож да крека. Тия песни с кекане на жетва, през времето на почивка ке се изпоеме. Като изкараа постата. (Я.А., с. Тишаново)

M

MURAFET [мурафет] — a masterly singing.

Everything needs *murafet*. Not only *kekanyeto*. *Izgovaraneto* also needs it. There should be *murafet* in everything. In everything, you've got to learn and study it, to understand what you can do. What you cannot do — you should not do. (Y.T. Kadrovitsa village)

Сичко иска мурафет. Не само кеканьето. И изговараньето. За сичко мурафет тебе. За сичко нещо тебе ного да го проучваш и да мож да сфанеш което мож да изпълнуваш. Което не можеш — трябва да го откажеш. (Й.Т., Кадровица)

N

NADLĀŽ [надлъж] — at great length. A term to denote a construction of the form and the rhythmical structure of the song.

When singing *nadlāž*, the singer *raztriša*. At working-bees we don't sing *nadlāž*. There are other songs for these occasions. (I.V. Alino village)

Надлъж като се пое, тогава се разтриша. По седенки не се поеше надлъж, по седенки са си други песни. (И.В., с. Алино)

Nadláž is this — a couple of times. I cannot sing it, but for example, I'll sing to you: 'Rano sluntse, rano ne ogreya, I-I-I!' This is like singing *nadláž*. (P.R. Alino village)

We would say: let's sing *nadláž*. *Karačkata raztriša nadálgo* (at length — L.P.), and the others *pomagat nadálgo*. And that is it. Even the words are pronounced *nadálgo*. Very much *nadálgo*. This is why it is called *nadláž*. While we are working, we *peeme* alone, when we get together, *peeme nadláž*. We call it *nadláž*. *Nadláž* is heavy. You cannot sing alone. There should be three. (Q: How do you sing the songs *nadláž* — standing or sitting?) Mostly standing. Standing because it is heavy. *Nadláž* is heavy and we are mostly standing. (P.V. Alino village)

We gather in groups of three, or four. And then *karačkata* stands in front and we would begin. (Q: Would there be another group?) Well, if there is, it would be better, if there isn't only the three would sing *nadláž*. A singer cannot sing *nadláž* on her own. And so it is, she (*karačkata*) *trese, trese*. Only at the field one can *nadláž*. We gather and we *poeme*. When we were young, of course. *Poeme*. And if there would be others at the field, we would gather to *poeme nadláž*. Both groups would sing the same. *Otpevaya* (a manner of antiphony singing in two groups of singers — L.P.). (R.D., Alino village)

When they are at harvest, they would arrange it between themselves — let's *poeme* something *nadláž*. And they go: *Rano sluntse rano ne ogreya / sitna rosa rano ne opada*. (P.R. Alino village)

At working-bees we didn't sing *nadláž*. We sang *nakáso*. (P.R. Alino village)

Надлъж е те това – неколко пати. Чекай, не мога да пеем я. Сега, те като например цо ти пея : Рано слънце, рано не огрея, И-и-и ! Те така пеят надлъж. (П.Р., с. Алино)

Речеме : че пееме надлъж. Надълго да разтриша карачката и ония помагат надълго. И така. Думите даже и надълго се карат. Ного надълго. И затова се вика надлъж. Като там работиме пееме по сама, а като застанеме, пееме надълго. Оти това надлъж го викаме. Надлъж ѝе тежко. Надлъж не може по сама да се кара. Без три не може. (Песните надлъж прави ли ги пеете или седнали ? – L.P.) Повече прави. Прави, оти е тежко. Надлъж ѝе тежко и повече сме прави. (П.В., с. Алино)

По три се сбереме, по четри може. И таа карачката цо е, застава пред тия и айде, почнат. (А има ли до тех още една група ? – L.P.) Е още една да има още по-арно, ама ако нема трите си поя надлъж. Сама не мож да пое надлъж. И затова ти викам – таа тресе, тресе. Саде на нива се пое надлъж. Струпаме се и си поеме. Като млади, де. Поеме. И други ако има некои на нивата и айде да изпоеме некоя надлъж. И тия, и тия, еднакво караме. Отпевая. (Р.Д., с. Алино).

Кога реча на жетва като отидат, жетварки като се стават – айде че изпоеме надлъж. Надлъж. И почнат "Рано слънце, рано не огрея / ситна роса рано не опадат. (П.Р., с. Алино)

По седенки не пеехме надлъж. По накъсо е. (П.Р., с. Алино)

NADPEVYAME [НАДПЕВЯМЕ] — singing of short humoristic and lyrical song, used to publicly gossip the names of a maid and guy who are supposed to have a relation or liking for each other. (see also *prepoyuška, pripoyuška*).

At the working bees there would be a boy sitting next to each girl. And we would *nadpevame* some couples to make them feel good. If they like each other we would *nadpeeme* and they would feel good. Or while we are dancing at the *boro*, we could *nadpevyame* them there. (Q: Is it possible that you *nadpoeš* a couple which don't like each other?) Of course. We would sometimes *nadpevame* a girl and a boy who don't like each other and they get angry. We made fun of that. We would decide to make a trick on them and we would *nadpeeme* them. And they would scowl, but so what. (N.H. Stradalovo village)

На седенките до сека мома и момче. Па ги надпеваме некои да им напраиме кеф. Те са гаджета да кажеме. Ние ги надпеаме и те им става кеф, нали. Некоаш на ороото играеме там, па ги надпеваме. (Може ли да надпоеш некои дете не са гаджета? – Л.П.). Може и такива, зацо. Па ние ги надпеваме – коя за кого па не иска ги надпеваме. Та да ги е яд. Да напраиме смешки. Айде че надпееме некая коя кого не иска. Та цо като. Некои се сръдат. А ние нарочно я надпееме за тоя цо не иска. (Н.Х., с. Страдалово)

NA GLAS [НА ГЛАС] — difficult to perform, richly ornamented songs, which are sung at harvest and at working-bees (see *na izpovyanye, navlak, u glas*).

Na glas is — as we *tresobme* a day ago. When they *oknat* — our harvest is very interesting. There are harvesters at every field. These are at their field those are at theirs — *glasove* from here, *glasove* from there, from everywhere. Everything resounds! That was singing *na glas*. (Z.B. Cherven Breg village)

На глас е – цо тресохме онайден. Оно като окнат – ного е интересна нашта жетва. На сека нъива значи жетварье. Тия си ошли на нъивата, ония си ошли на нъивата – отат гласове, отат гласове – отсекъде. Гънти! Така се поеше на глас. (З.Б., с. Червен брег)

At harvest and at working-bees we sang *na glas*. At other places *na glas* — we would sing quite casually. But not on a wedding. Yet those women from Dupnitsa region, they sang *na glas* at weddings. We here have never sung *na glas* at weddings. (N.H. Stradalovo village)

По жетва и по седенки пеехме на глас. На друго место на глас – некаде случайно ако запеаме. Ама на сватба не се пее на глас. А тия станкевските [от Дупнишко – Л.П.] жени тамо пояха на глас у сватбата. Ние тука на сватба не сме пояли на глас. (Н.Х., с. Страдалово)

NA IZPOVYANYE [НА ИЗПОВЯНЬЕ] — DIFFICULT TO PERFORM, RICHLY ORNAMENTED SONGS, WHICH ARE SUNG AT HARVEST AND AT WORKING-BEES (SEE *na glas, navlak, u glas*).

Well, at the field you would sing like that — *na izpovyanye*. And at working-bees also. There would be three — one *izvikvačka izvikva* and the other two *slagat*. (Ts.B. Dzherman village)

This one is *na izpovyanye*. The other one that we sang to you is at harvest. The harvest songs are — singing and reaping at the same time. But when we stop — we sing *na izpovyanye*. When we finish the work we sing the songs *na izpovyanye*. (B.Ch. Slatino village)

Епа на нивата се пое така – на изповянье. И на седенка имаше на изпевянье. По три – една извиквачка извиква и две слагат. (Ц.Б., с. Джерман).

Таа е на изповянье. А другата що ти по-яме е на жетва. Жетварските – ем пееме, ем жниеме. А като сопреме – на изповя-нье. На крейнување на работа пееме тия на изповянье. (В.Ч., с. Слатино)

NAKASO (NAKĀSO) [НАКЪСО, (НАКАСО)] — at short. A term to denote a construction of the form and the rhythmical structure of some songs. Used in both multipart and one-part singing.

It is not *nadlǎž*, it is *nakāso* and it is shorter. (Q: What is the difference?) Well, is something else, *nadlǎž*. The way the singer *pee* is different. And it is different to sing *nakāso*. At *boro*, the singers *peyat nakāso*. (P.R. Alino village)

Nakāso is when *glasо* doesn't go *nadǎlgo*. You pronounce the words faster. More *nakāso*, you syllabify the words faster. This is *nakāso*. (Q: Where did you sing the songs *nakāso*?) We *peebme nakāso* when we left the fields. And also at the field — while working you may sing *nakāso*. Singing *nakāso* is possible for a group and for one singer. One may *pee nakāso*, and the other may *otpeva*. And also while walking they may sing in threes, not *nadǎlgo*, but *nakāso*. The songs at *boro* are *nakāso*, they are not *nadǎlgo*. The songs *nakāso* — there could be one sitting, or two (one *pee*, the other *otpeva*). And also at the field, when you reap. But, not while hoeing — it is too heavy. Yet when you are reaping, with the sickle, it is easier and you may *poesh*. (P.V. Alino village)

Не е надлъж, накъсо е па, ама малко покъсечко е. (Каква е разликата? – L.P.). Е надлъж е друга. Другояче се пее. Накъсо се па другояче пее. На хоро се пее накъсо. (П.Р., с. Алино)

Накъсо е – не натака гласо да ти върви надълго. По изговараш по-набързо думите. По накъсо, по-бързо ги сричаш думите. Това е накъсо. (Песните накъсо къде ги пеехте? – L.P.). Пеехме ги като си тръг-неме от нивата. А и на нивата – като си работиш мож да си пееш накасо. Накасо може и групно, може и по сама да се пое. Накасо можеш и една да пее, другата ти отпева. А може и по пато на три да поя, ама само че не е надлъж, а е накасо. Тия на оро песни са накасо, не са надлъж. Тия накасо – може и седнала, може и две – една пее, другата отпева. И на нивата като си жнеш. Ка копаш ѝе тежко, не може и да пееш и да копаш. Ама като жнеш – сос сръпо като си жнехме – по-леко е и си поеш. (П.В., с. Алино)

NASTAVENI PESNI [наставени песни] — two-part songs, which are performed in antiphony manner by two groups of singers with overlapping.

These are *nastaveni pesni*. Up to three groups may reap and sing at harvest. The first sings, the second repeats and the third repeats again. Then the first sings the next syllables and the melody and the other two repeat. What the first group sings, the second and the third groups repeat. This is how *nastaveni pesni* are sung — *na glas*.” (A.S. Kadrovitsa village)

Тия са наставени песни. По три групи на жетва мож да жънат и пеят. Таа пее, втората повтара думите, третата пак повтара думите. И като дое ред до пръввата, тя пак каже дадените срички, дадената мелодия изпее. Ония двете (групи – Л.П.) по нея само повтарат. Повтарат. Пръввата група що пее, повтара я втората, повтара я и третата група. Така пеят наставени песни. На глас. (А.С., с. Кадровица)

NATRISANE [*натрисане*] — a thriller-like ornamental technique performed by the singer of the upper melodic voice (see *raztriša, trese, tresene, zatrosi*).

This is not *natrisane* — this is *izvivki*. *Natrisaneto* is more curly than *izvivkite*. (Т.В. Samoranovo village)

Това не е натрисане, а си е извивки. Натрисането е по-къдраво от извивките. (Т.В., с. Самораново).

NAVLAК [*навлак*] — difficult to perform, richly ornamented songs, which are sung at harvest or at working-bees (see *na izpovyanye, na glas, u glas*).

At the field, during the rest we would sing *navlak*. And we *treseme* a lot. ‘*Dobro vecher mlada chorbadzhiiko*’ — it is *navlak*. And at working-bees when we gather with the bachelors — we would sing *navlak*. (R.H. Ovchartsı village)

На нивата през почивката навлак поеме. И се тресе ного. “Добро вечер млада чорбаджийко” – па е навлак. На седенка кога да сбереме ергенъето – па навлак поеме. (Р.Х., с. Овчарци)

There is a little *navlak* at the end of this song. Now, let’s start with *navlacite*. When we sing *navlak* there is a bit *tresene* at the end. (Т.В. Samoranovo village)

Тая песен има малко навлак накрая. Сега навлаците да почваме. Като поеме навлак накрая се тресе. (Т.В., с. Самораново)

O

ОКАЧКА [*окачка*] — singer of the upper melodic voice. The term comes from the verb *oka*, which means ‘to call out/to cry out’. With her singing *okaikata* does not only outline the melody but also spreads her voice at the greatest distance possible (see *izvikuvacka, karačka*).

The one who *oka* — *okačka*. There are three singers. The one in the middle *oka*, the others *otat*, *otat* — *vlačat*. That is how we call it. (S.K. Krainitsi village)

We have learned the song, we know it. And *okačkata* begins the song, and then we begin too, and we know the song. It doesn't matter if *vlačačkite* don't know the song. But if *okačkata* doesn't know it at some place we would whisper the words. There is always only one *okačka*. (Q. How do you know who of the singers is *okačka*?) It is in her voice. Her voice should not be thin. That is important, so *okačkata* is distinguished by her voice. The one who *oka*, who sings — she is distinguished by her voice. When she starts and she begins to *oka*, so we get to know her. (Z.B. Cherven Breg village)

The ones who *okat*, they have a better voice. They *vikat*. She should *okne* at first, to lead the singing, and you sing after her. Not just vociferate. *Okačkata kara* the song and you go after her. There are two others and this one in the middle — the third. She *oka* and we *vlačime*. That is how it was. (S.I. Krainitsi village)

As *okačkata sreče* — thus is the song. As she *složi dumite*, so the song goes. She chooses. When *vlačačkata* makes a mistake, she can take the voice again from *okačkata*. (T.B. Samoranovo village)

• Idioms

(1)

This *okačka* is more important. When she doesn't *oka* — the song cannot be sung. When she doesn't *oka*, the *boro* cannot be danced. *Okačkata* is the most important. (S.K. Krainitsi village)

Коя ока – окачка. Три са. Таа настред ока, пое, а тия отат, отат – влачат. Така им викат. (С.К., с. Крайници)

Песента сме си научили, знаеме я. И окачката я почва, и ние си почваме и я знаеме песента. Ако я некаде окачката не знае, влачачките не е интересно, а окачката ако я не знае, ние ѝ подшушваме. Винаги е една окачката. (По какво се разбира, че една певица ще е окачка? – Л.П.). Гласо ѝ се разбира, бе гласо. Не тънък да ѝ е гласо. Не тънък. Има едни – ного на дебело и убаво окат. Не тънък да ѝ е гласо, а важно е значи, окачката се познава – по гласо. Що ока, що пое – по гласо се познава. Она като си приде и като заока ние я познаеме. (З.Б., с. Червен брег).

Тия що окат, они по-убав глас имат. Ена викаа. Требе да окне она напреде, да те поведе, та ти по нея да поеш. А не туку гръло да надигаши. Окачката си кара песента и ти по нея. Две други и таа настред – трежата. Она ока, ние влачиме. Те така беше. (С.И., с. Крайници).

Окачката какво сече – така е песента. Както сложи думите, така връви. Она избира. Кога влачачката сбръкува, она мож да земе гласо на окачката. (Т.Б., с. Самораново)

Тая окачката е по-важна. Кога не ока – не мож да се пое песента. Она ако не ока не мож да се играе орото. Окачката е най-важна. (С.К., с. Крайници)

(2)

Okačkata is more important. Because there are many *vlečički* and more rarely *okački*. Not everyone can *oka*. Not everyone can *vika* — there are songs with *tresenye*, songs with this or that, not everyone can do this. (Z.B. Cherven Breg village)

Окачката е по-важна. Защо влачачки има ного, а окачки – по-редко са. Сека една не мож да ока. Сека една не мож да вика – има на тресенье песни, има на такова, не може сека една това да работи. (З.Б., с. Червен брег)

ОТРЕВА [Отпева] — antiphony singing of multipart songs by two groups of singers.

We *poebme* at harvest. One group would *poyat*, the other group would *otpevat*. The first group would sing the whole verse and than the second would *otpeva* the same. The melody was the same and the words were the same. Then the first group would sing on and the second would repeat again. And so it would go. (R.D. Alino village)

На жетва поехме. Едните поят, другите отпеват. Едната група изкара та изпее, после онаа другата на същото отпева. Същата е мелодията. Едните тия думи що изречат и оная по них. Онаа що почва на реди песента и другите повтарат. И така продължава. (Р.Д., с. Алино)

P

ПЕЕ [пее] — to sing.

Somebody cannot *pee*. This is not something you can learn. It is a gift. I see it this way. The one who can she *pee*, who cannot she doesn't. There is something in your nature that can draw you to *peeš* and to listen. (G.Sh. Alino village)

Има някои въобще не може да пее. Това не е ученье. Просто това си е дарба. Я го така разбирам че е дарба... Кой може – пее, кой не може – не. То си има нещо природно да те влече да пееш и да слушаш. (Г.Ш., с. Алино)

Well, not everybody can *pee*. This is not something that every girl and every boy can do. It has been this way earlier. But almost all of us *peebme*. It was very rare that a girl will not be able to *pee*. There were those who had it in their family — her mother couldn't *pee*, her grandmother couldn't too and so the girl couldn't *pee*. We were at least fifteen girls in the neighbourhood. Only two or three couldn't *peyat*. All the others *peebme*. We gathered in three groups of three. So three

Епа секо не мож да пее. Това не може секо момиче и секо момче. Това и по-рано е било. Но ние почти пеехме. Редко момиче да не можеше да пее. Значи некое по поколение не можеше да пее – майка му не пеяла, баба му не могла и момичето не може. Ние бехме най-малко петнайсе момичета у махалата. От тия момичета две-три не пееха. Онова сичко пеехме. Три по три. Значи трички моми тука, три там – шест. Девет от един пат пеят, една

will stay here, three will be there. And all nine will start to *peyat*, one after the other. And we would *peeme*. And we were very happy. This was our entertainment, this was like radio for us. There were no radio apparatuses then. So all the day we would work — reaping the harvest, gathering and stringing tobacco, at working-bees. (E.L. Pelatikovo village)

след друга се редат. И пееме. И на нас ни беше ного весело. На нас беше това увеселение, на нас беше това радието. Тогай радие нямаше. И по цял ден жнемме, тунтун береме, нижемме, на попрелки. (Е.Л., с. Пелатиково)

• Idioms

(1)

At harvest we *peebme* because — well, let's sing to forget the heat, to draw our attention away. To reduce the feeling of heat. And then, when we take a rest, we would sit in some shadow and then let's *poeme na glas*. And that was it. And so the tiredness would just go, well with *pesnite* we somehow rested. (E.L. Pelatikovo village)

На жетвата се пееше защо – айде да не ни е жега викат, да си попееме малко, така си отвлича човек вниманието малко-чка. Да не му е жега. Па после като изкараме постата, седнеме на сенката, и айде сега па на глас да поеме. И те това е. Ама така измората се просто, как да ти кажа – сос песните се отморяхме просто. (Е.Л., с. Пелатиково)

(2)

At working bee we *peeme* outside, for instance, *na glas*. When the working-bee begins. Some girls would cry out. And inside they *peyat* songs for working-bees. They sit, work with the tobacco and *pesnite* go on and on. (A.S. Kadrovitsa village)

И на седенка се пее отвънка примерно на глас. Като почне седенката. Провикнат се дадени момии. А вътре пеят седелькярски песни. Седат, калънат тютюн и песните си продължават. (А.С., с. Кадровица)

(3)

So, when we sit to work at working-bees, we both work and we *peeme*. (Y.T. Kadrovitsa village)

Те на седельки като седнеме да работиме – ем работиме, ем пееме. (Й.Т., Кадровица)

(4)

Because in every village we *peebme* separately... When the three of us would cry out. Whatever melodies we wanted ... And

Оти ние у секо село отделно пеехме. Отделно се пее... Като викнехме трите. Какви гласове искаме... И они дикански по

they *poebya* in like those from Dikanya. And those from Dikanya peyat very beautifully. Nowhere else are there such voices and how they used them. And so well they used them. When they stood beside the field and they *zapeyat*. ‘*Zastanalo sluntse nasred nebo*’ And a singer *pee* and it is so nice to listen the way she *trесе*. And we got used to it — our fields are neighboring. I still remember their names — Borka, Igla. Whether they live, I don’t know. And when they *zapeeba* we went with them. We learnt it and we *poebme* in Dikanya manner. And when they stop singing to go on with their work, Nannie Stana, who was just here would tell them: “*Popoyte* some more. We will work for you. *Popoyte*.” And it was wonderful, this Dikanya singing. It was *dzvonci, drānka. Drānka poyanye*. There is no such singing now. (Q: Isn’t your *poyanye* like theirs?) It’s not. They used their voices in length, like *nadlāž*. And we peeme more lively and ripply. We do it a bit differently. And there was this Kula Buduritsa, may she rest in peace, she *poēše* in like those from the lower villages. We call them ‘the lower villages’ here. The lower villages like Relyovo and beyond. And they would come, and she leads and she *vikneše* ‘*Tri mi dzvezdi nai-rano ogreya*’ And then we *zatreseme*. And that was, we said we *poeme* in the manner of the lower villages. Or we could *poeme* in the manner of those from Polsko (field — L.P.), or from Dikanya. Well, we could *poeme* whatever we could comprehend. You just had to have the gift to comprehend. (Q: And what is *poyanyeto* in Alino like?) Well, it is different. It is closer to that of Popovyane. Those from Popovyane *poyat* a bit differently (from the others), like us. So there was a festival gathering here and we gathered and I was little. And I went there and in the evening I told my mother: “Mom, I learnt a new *pesen* to

ея. Диканките ного убаво пеят бе. Никъде гласовете им така ги нема. И като го изличая. Като застанехя така на нивата и като запеят. “Застанало слънце насред небо”. Ама така като го пее и като го изличая, да ти е мило така да тресе. И ние привикнаме. Кат са ни нивите едни до други. Имената им знам — Борка, Игла. Така ги именяха. Живи ли са, не са ли. Ама като запееха, и ние при них. И ние привикнаме. Поехме дикански. Е тука баба Стана каде седеше — като станат они и жнат и она вика: “Попойте малко, ние че работиме за вас. Попойте”. И това като викнехме дикански. Ама дзвонци, дрънка. Дрънка поянье. Сега нема таквия. (Вашието поянье не е ли като техното? — Л.П.). Не ѝе. Они изличая така. Е, по на дълго, като надлъж. А ние по така го кръшно пееме. По така го онодеме. А имаше една Кула Будурица, Бог да я прости, она поееше на должоселски. Е тука ги викаме Долните села. Долните села като Рельово, натам тия. Дождаа и она напред като викнеше “Три ми дзвезди най-рано огрея”. О-о! И оно като затресеме. Е това се викаше — а да поеме должоселски. А да поеме по полски. А да поеме дикански. Абе ка си сфацаш. Да имаш дарба да сфацаш. (А Алинското поянье какво е? — Л.П.) Оно си е по-друго. Оно с поповянското се схожда така. Ама поповянки малко по-друго поят като нас. И они па така де пеят. Е тука имаше на Банята собор — като се собираме. И я сам маненка. И като одим и довечера викам мамо я научих още една песен. И като запоя поповянки, я сам зад них е така и веднага усещам... Дарба. (Р.Д., с. Алино)

day”. Because when those from Popovyane *zapoyat* I stay behind them and I can feel their song... It’s a gift. (R.D. Alino village)

(5)

I have never liked anyone better than what they *peyat* like in the Kyustendil region. The best *pesni* are those from Kystendil region. From the villages in Piyane region they sing just like us — Tishanovo, Stradalovo, Rakovo — they are all *pesnopoitsi*. The same *pesni*, the same melodies. But the villages from Polsko region — Grashitsite, Konyavo — they are a bit different. They *peyat* otherwise. Their *pesni* are different. (Y.T. Kadrovitsa village)

Ама никой не сам аресала като Кюстендилският край какво пеят. Най-убавите песни са Кюстендилските. Пиянечките села и они като нас пеят – Тишаново, Страдалово, Раково – се са песнопойци. Същите песни, същия глас. Те полските села Грациците, Коняво – те по-другояче. Другояче пеят. Песните им са по-други. (Й.Т., с. Кадровица)

(6)

Well, those who *sghashat*, they *peyat* beautifully. When they sing a song, you feel so good listening to them. Our girls *peeha* very beautifully and they were known for this. (P.R. Alino village)

Еми хубаво пеят, кои се сглашат така, убаво да си изпеят. Като изпеят така да ти мило стане да ги слушаш. Ного убаво пееха наште моми и беха прочуени. (П.Р., с. Алино)

(7)

They don’t *peyat* like this now. They *peyat*, but now they know cultural songs. They cannot like us. And they laugh when they hear us while harvesting. Yes, sometimes we *peete* those at harvest. We gather and reaping together we *peete*. But the younger ones have not seen this and they say — ha, you are howling now, you don’t *peete*. Once we *peebte* often. Now I have never seen a girl who *pee* like us. Well you can see them play, but I have not seen them *peyat*. I have not heard youngsters now who *peyat* like us. And they should *peyat* more now. They are more free. They have a more free life, they should *peyat*.

Не пеят сега така. Они пеят, но културни песни си знаят сега. Таквия като нас не мож да са. И се смеят да ни чуят да пееме на жетва, почнат да ни се смеят младежите. А ние некоаш ги пееме. Като сме зажнали значи отдоле и закараме и пееме. Но сега младежите това не са видували и викая – а, вие виете сега, а не пеете. Некогаш се така пееше. А сега момичета не мога да ти кажем да сам чула да пеят. Виж, некаде мож да ги видиш да играят, а да пеят не сам ги чула. Сегашни младежи не сам чула така да пеят като нас. А требе да пеят сега още повече. Сега са

They don't have to go to harvest. We would go to harvest and then we *peeme*. Now it is easier — we had to go to the hard work and *peebme* to rest, and they don't want to work hard, the youngsters. And it is best if they *peyat*. But they don't want to. Why not now, with this more free life?" (N.H. Stradalovo village)

по-слободни. Са толко што имат слободен живот и да не пеят. Не идат на жетва, затова. Требе да идат на жетва така некакво и да земат да пеят. А са е ного по-слободен живото – да идат да работат и да се веселят, а они не искаят да идат те сега младежите. А е най-убаво да пеят, но не искаат. Как да не пеят сега – при тоя слободен живот? (Н.Х., с. Страдалово)

PESEN [песен] — when the singers use this term (which literally means *a song*) they mean the lyrics.

Well that's it, the words that you speak — *pesen*. This is called *pesen*. We would ask, which *pesen* — this or that. The melody is something separate. *Pesenta* is *pesen*. You speak it when you know it. (P.R. Alino village)

Епа те на това – думите што се казуе – песен. Това му се вика песни. На песен, коя песен пеяхте – те тая, тая. Мелодията си е отделно, она си е отделно. А това песента си е песен. Че си я казуваши, че си я знаеши. (П.Р., с. Алино)

Pesen — when we sing and when we speak the words, we would say “let's sing that *pesen*”, and this is *pesen*. The words we call *pesen*. When we *peeme*, the words that we speak is what we call *pesen*. (P.V. Alino village)

Песен – като запееме и като думите изговараме, викаме : айде, те таа песен че си поеме и те това е песен. Думите го викаме песен. Като пееме, това што го изговаряме го казваме песен. (П.В., с. Алино)

Pesnite, all of them may be sung with any melody. *Pesnite* can be sung with any *glas*. You can modify the sounding of *pesnyata* in any way. (L.D. Stradalovo village)

Песните сичките можат да се карат на секи глас. Песните мож на секи глас да ги вртшиш. Песната може секакво да направяш. (Л.Д., с. Страдалово)

I knew *pesnite* and I told them to others. The one who knows the *pesen*, she tells it. I was not *okačka*. *Vita okaše*, and I *vlačeb*. But I knew many *pesni* and I told them the songs, mostly I told them *pesnite*. (S.K. Kraynitsi, Dupnishko villages)

Я знаех песните и ги казуех. Я им казувам песни. Кой я знае, тоо я казува. Я не сам окала. Е Вита окаше, а язика влачех се на врво. Я ного знаех песни и казуех. Се я им казуех песните. (С.К., с. Крайници, Дупнишко)

This *pesen* ‘*Dobro vecher mlada chorbadjiyko*’ can be sung at *horo* or *na glas*. Only some *pesni* cannot be sung with mincing speaking. But the rest can be sung anywhere — at

Тая песен “Добро вечер млада чорбаджийко” и на оро може и на глас може. Песентите значи само не можат на ситната да се сгаждаа ония песни. А тия

the field, and *na povraštаната* — you can sing all songs. The word has no bounds. It goes wherever you direct it. (Z.B. Cherven Breg village)

песни другите – и на нъива, и на поврацаната – мож да караш сите песни. Думата на слог нема. Накъде я обрънеш – натам връви. (З.Б., с. Червен брег)

• Idioms

(1)

Pesenta? Well, I cannot, well, how to say it. *Pesen* is, err, there were once song books. And in those songbooks there were *pesni*. And if you've heard there was this Parushev — he sang *pesni*. They read from song books and sing. Legends. *Pesen*. And it is called *pesen*. So when they ask you if you know some *pesen*. Now, when we went to sing at the *boro*, there was one who led us in the singing. Dgidgitsa Belitsa was her name. So she would turn pale and blush. She didn't know a single word. And constantly watched me in the mouth — come Radko, tell me, what's next. So I tell her not to think of her lover. It's many times that we've sung this *pesen*. But she just cries out. She *poe* but we *vlačime*. She was not very good, but we, the two *potagački* would sing loud, and the words she speaks wouldn't be heard. When we *vlačime*, she would sing. I told her that she got married so, because otherwise nobody would have looked at her. She just cried out. She wouldn't know a word in a *pesen*. But she had gift. She was *karačka*. And we *potagame*. That was very interesting. *Poъnyeto* was very interesting. I would tell her and poke her — it is like this. And I tell the words. For instance, she would say — what was 'More Stoyane'? And I say "Molila makya Stoyana". And she sings. And I tell her. And it irritated me. I sing and I tell her... And so she could sing. She cries out. I tell her. (R.D. Alino vilage)

Песента ли? Епа не мога сега на вие какво го искате да го кажем. Е песен ѝе, преди имаше, дете, песнопойки (song books). И у тия песнопойки имаше песни. Е така ако си чула, еден имаше Парушев – пеше. Песни. Песнопойки четат, онодат. Предания. Песен. И песен се казва. Ти вика, знаеш ли песен. Сега като се фанеме ние у оро то и една ни караше. Джиджица Белица се викаше. Е и сега се бели и црњи. Оно не знае да прекрњи една дума. И се ми зяе у устата – де, Радко, какво беше. Абе викам у любовнико ли мислиш, ега те бесо фане. Колко пати я пееме тая песен. Оно се зяе. Таково позинало. Пое, ама ние го влачиме. Оти оно не е ного годно, ама ние двете помагачките като гръmime и нему му се гласо не разбира. Ние като го влачиме и оно пое. Викам, ние те отркаме и да се ожениш, уло-о-о. Кой чеше викам, шуго да те види. Оно така зяе. Една дума не знае да каже песен. Пустата му дарба таква. Карачка беше. А ние помагаме. Те това е ного интересно. Пояньето ного интересно беше. Или я че ѝ казувам и че я мушим – те така беше. Споменявам думата. И она като речеме "Море Стояне" – какво беше? Викам "Молвила макя Стояна". Па ю казувам. Ели я се дразним. Пеем и ти го казувам. Пеем и ти го казувам... И така она си зяеше. Зяе. И ю казуваи. (Р.Д., с. Алино)

(2)

This is left in *pesenta* — what is it, I don't know. It has for years, for centuries been sung. It is in *pesenta*. From man to man *pesenta* is sung. Who can interpret it and tell where it comes from — no one can. How can I interpret *pesenta* — many centuries have passed — how can I interpret it. *Pesenta* goes around the people and the people sing it. (L.R. Pelatikovo village)

Това е от песната останало – какво е, що е – одека да го знам. Това от години, от векове се пое. Това си е у песната. От век на човек и се пое песента. А който може да я разтълкува – откъде иде и какво е било – не може никой да го каже. Как че ти я разтълкувам песната – колко са века минали, та да я разтълкувам. Песната си иде по народо да си я пее. (Л.Р., с. Пелатиково)

(3)

At a horo you may dance three or four *pesni* — *pesnite* are long. So when you sing these long *pesni* — so with five-six *pesni* you can go the whole day.” (V.Ch. Slatino village)

На оро с три-четри песни се целий ден изкара – дълги са песните. Они като запоеш тия дълги песни – ле ти викам, с пет-шест песни целий ден изкараме. (В.Ч., с. Слатино)

(4)

Even if we knew many *pesni*, all has passed now. I cannot sing, they will laugh at me now. Even if I knew *pesni*, I don't remember them now. (Yu.Y. Dragoichintsi village)

И да смо знали песни, вече минуло сичко. Не мога да пою, че ми се смею тука. И да знам песни – отнезна. (Ю.Й., с. Драгойчинци)

ПЕСНОПОИЦЕ [песнопоице] — singers.

There are not many *pesnopoice*. I could tell two *pesni* — and they were quite long songs. Mara and Dilyana were great *pesnopoice*. Some know songs. Some, like me don't know songs. They knew songs for any occasion. (R.R. Dragoichintsi village)

Не смо ного песнопоице. Я еле казах две песни – ем гулеми. Мара и Дилиана беа песнопоице гулеми. Кой знае песни – знае. Кой не знае ко мене – не знае. Они ги знаю за свудека. (Р.Р., с. Драгойчинци)

ПЕСНОПОЙКИ [песнопойки] — singers

Pesnopoikite sing and weddings too. And there were those *pesnopoiki*, which are in a particular region and they are called to sing at weddings. When the gifts were given by

Песнопойките пеят и на сватби. И специално имаше си просто песнопойки, които са в дадения район и ги тръсат за сватбата като организират. Когато минава

the bride, those who sing, *pesnopoikite*, two groups or four groups, or more, they will continue to sing around the table and they sing *na glas*. (A.S., Kadrovitsa)

предаването, подаръците когато се поднасят на булката – тия що поят, песнопойките, две ли че са групи, три ли че са групи, може и повече – продължават покрай трапезата и пеят на глас. (A.C., Кадровица)

PEVICA [певича] — singer.

Olga Borisova, she is from Kyustendil region, she also pee. She pee beautifully. We listen to her on the TV. However, she cannot pee like us. She is *pevica*. We are not *pevici*. We are only in our area. And we don't show on the radio or on the TV. No. Our thing is amateur. Self-taught. Nobody has taught us — sing this, play this. No. We learn alone — we *peeme* and we play, one after the other. Today so, tomorrow so — and we get to know one another — those who can sing, we gather and *sglasyavame*. (E.L. Pelatikovo village)

Олга Борисова и тя е от Кюстендилско, също пее. Хубаво пее. Слушаме я по телевизията. Ама она не мож да е като нас да пее. Тя си е певица. А ние не сме певичи. Ние сме само в нашия район. А не да се покажеме като са на радиe, на телевизия. Не. Това нашто е самоучок. Самоуко. Това никой не ни е предавал на нас – еди си това да изпеее или да изиграете. Не. Сами се учиме – пееме и играеме една след друга. Утре така, утре така и сме се вече ставили – кои момичета мож да пееме, айде, елате да се сгласяваме. (E.L., с. Пелатиково)

POE [пое] — a dialect form of *pee*.

- Idioms

(1)

While we reap the harvest we *poeme*. Otherwise we won't survive the day — it's fifteen hours. With the sun beating down on us. Yet we were used to it. You wouldn't find it easy. (Q: How did you manage to both sing and work at the fields?) It was easier this way. When you start reaping and you *poesh* — this *pesen* or that *pesen*. The day just goes on. You don't think about the hard unpleasant stuff — having to do this and that, and then something else tomorrow. That was it. I know a song and I *peem* it. Another woman knows another song and *pee* that song. Each

Като си жнеме и си поеме. Оти деньо се не прекаруе – петнайсе часа е. Се да те пече жегата. Ма ние сме свикнали. Вие не мож да ви пече вашта жега. (Как може хем да работиш, хем да пееш на нивата? – Л.П.). По-леко ти е даже. По-леко ти е. Като си зажнеш и като си запоеш – таа песен, оная. И ти по върви ти деньо. Не мислиш у лошото. Айде това да сработиш, онава. Ютре друго те чека. Те така. Я таа се знам песен, таа си пеем. Друга жена си друга знае песен. Сека си на нивата. Тука жетварки си има – поя си. По на онам си

of us sings her song, reaping her part of the fields. There will be harvesters here — they *pojat*. There will be some there — they *pojat* too. (Q: Didn't your songs interfere with one another?) No. You won't listen to the others. There was no time for listening. You just reap as fast as possible. Because a strong wind may blow down the wheat grains.

While we harvest we *poeme* alone. If we are a group, when we stop for a rest we gather together and *poeme*. We would *izpoeme*, for instance at noon “The sun stayed in the middle of the sky / the sun stayed and watched the spectacle”, or “A maid is praying to the sun / stay, stay more, you clear sun”. This we would *poeme* at noon. In the afternoon there were others — “Doyna went for water in the afternoon / a youth went to hunt in the afternoon”. And also in the evening, when the sun began to set we had some particular songs which we *poebme* on the way home. On the way one cannot *poe nadlaž*. (Q: And what about early in the morning, when you began harvesting?) We *poebme* then too. When we go, we would put on some silk the first time and we would *zapoeime*: “Start harvesting *Ruža*, you reap easily and swiftly”. All of this sort. And there were some *pesni*, which we *poeme* at any time at harvest. They were almost only for harvesting. For example this one about Marko and Morovka, who made a contest of reaping. While reaping we would *poeme* more or less about the harvest. (P.V. Alino village)

(2)

When hoeing we *poebme* in groups of three. But we sung short and fast songs. We would stay up and *izpoeme* a *pesen*. Somebody would suggest, let's *izpoeme* some *pesen*. And we do it. One would suggest “Drink boy some

има – поя си. (Не си ли пречехте така с пеемето? – Л.П.) Не. Не чуеш. Ти ги не чуеш тия шо работат. Нема време. Каде че ги слушаш. Само жнеш да връви. Оти ветъро че очука житото.

Докато жнѐме по сама поеме. Ако сме си група по-млади – пожнеме, па се сбереме заедно да поеме. Айде да изпоеме – например ако е обед че поеме “Застанало слънце насред небо / застанало та сеир гледало”. Ели – “Девока се на слънцето молѝ / застой, постой мое ясно слънце”. На обед ги пееме таквия. По икиндия имаше други – “Пойде, Дойне икинди на вода / пойде лудо икинди на лова”. Па и надвечер на заода имаше и тогай песни. Вече като заоди си тръгнем. По пато. И вече поехме тогай по пато таквия песни. По пато като си идехме от нѝвата. По пато надлъж не може да се пое. (А рано сутрин когато зажънахте? – Л.П.). И като зажнеме поеме. Като ойдеш и като сефте че се наки тиш с коприна и запоеме: “Зажни, Ружо, тебе лека рака”. Е те таквия. А има некои песни по секо време се поят на жетвата. Почти се за жетвата беха. Те тия за Марко и Моровка девока дека се наджиняли, ея. Като жнѐш се за таквия работи гледаме да си поеме – за жетвата. (П.В., с. Алино)

На копанѐ по три поехме. Ама по-брѐже. Така си застанеме и си изпоеме – айде да си изпоеме некоя песен. И изкараме. Некоя речат да изпоеме “Пий момче вино, тѝнка Латино вино цървено”. И изпоеме. Друга

wine, hey you thin Latina, red wine” And we *izpoeme* it. Another would suggest “The wind blows, the woods sway, a unmarried youth goes by the woods”. And we would stay up and *poeme*. At hoeing. (P.V. Alino village)

има – по три поехме и така “Ветър вее, гора се лалее, покрай гора млад неженет оди”. Таа си я поеме ка застанеме. На копанье. (П.В., с. Алино)

(3)

When we gather to spin we would *poeme* too. Yarn, wool. Many people had wool then. So we gather at the place — about twenty to thirty women. And women only — men didn’t spin. There would be some young unmarried man though — they would wind the threads into balls. When a maid has spun some yarn that’s all a man can help with, no more. No man had learnt to spin. And we spun all the night. These spinning gatherings were before Christmas — the longest nights. And we spun all the night. And we would *poeme* and *poeme*. And they gave us something to eat — some boiled maize. And if they had — some pears and some apples. And in the morning when the sun rose, we would *izpoeme* a song to mark the end of the gathering and we would go back home. And we would be dizzy the whole day after. Yet nobody could stop me from going to those spinning gatherings. (S.S. Pelatikovo village)

На попредулки се собираме и поеме. Прежда, вуна. Имаа човеците вуна. Па ойдеме тамо – по дваесе, по триесе жени се собереме. И жени само – маже не пре-дат. Има ергенье – ойдат, па они мотаа клубци. Като напреде момата преждата и он помогне това, а друго не може. Маж не е учил да преде. А ние предеме, предеме – по цела ноц. Те беа попредулкиите пред Божич. Пред Божич – най-големите ноци. Целата ноц предеме. И поеме, поеме. И тураа ни ядеье – варат ни царевици. Ако имат круши, ябуки ни давая. Сабале като вече савнува, изпоеме за разтуранье и си ойдеме. И цел ден оремеме. Стие ни се оти не сме спали цела ноц. Ама да ме запира човек да ода на попредулки – не може. (С.С., с. Пелатиково)

(4)

The *boro* wouldn’t go without us. There could be no *boro* without *royanye*. The people have gathered to dance, but nobody would *roe*, and all would be scowling. And when they see us, from the upper part of the village, coming, they would know that the *boro* is going to start soon. And all are joyful. So we *zapoeme* and the dancing starts. Both young and old join the *boro* and form a circle. And we would have chosen a list

Оро не можеше без нас. Без поянье оро не стае... Оро се сбрало. А нема кой да пое. И сичко се муси. Оро се сбрало, оро нема да се пое. И они като ни вида, че идеме ние горнокрайки, викаа – а, оро то че почне. И секи се радва. Значи почна се песните и почне вече оро то да се играе. Нафацаа се така кое е весело. И стари се фана, и млади. Е така заврџат. И ние сме подбрали песентите. Прџво като

of songs beforehand. First we *zapoe*te a bit modestly, a bit proudly and then after a while we would *poete* as if playing instruments — more vividly, *na ripanye*, and the dance goes with more jumping. It's jolly. (Q: So the *boro* songs *na ripanye* are different?) Well, although it is more dynamic, we still hold each other at the waist. But when we *zapoe*te *na ripanye* our voices warble more. In these songs you would pronounce the syllables faster. And the songs which we would *izpoete* before that are calmer, because if we *zapoe*te vividly and strongly in the beginning, we would spoil our voices. You see, we have to warm up our voices, so at first we *poete* more calmly. And then we can sing *na ripanye* with more power. There were some songs that we *poeb*te, which I loved much — when we calmed it down and *poeb*te more modestly. You would raise your head and *poes* proudly. (Q: Do you remember many of the calmer and more official *pesni*?) Oh, I don't usually think about them. There are lots of them. I can't remember many now. My memory is weak. I don't think about them now. (Q: Are the *boro* songs about Marko calm?) Yes, they are calm. They are not *na ripanye*. (R.D., Alino village)

(5)

We *poete* the *boro* songs more *nakaso*, more differently. There was once which we *poeb*te while holding by the hand, it was different.

*zapoe*ш така малко по-скромно. Гордо искаме да кажем. И после – айде да поеме като свирджиите какво стегна – айде на рипанье. И сичко рипа. Весело. (Значи на рипанье други са песните? – L.P.). По се кръшат така ете... Епа оно па сме се за поясо фанали. И тия на рипанье и почнеме така да ги кръшиме като поеме. “Църнилцице девойчетино, момиче убаво” – по се срича бръже. Сецаш ли се. И пак – “Ой Тоше, Тоше ле джанъм, Тоше Тодорови, Тоше Тодоро, джанъм, зрела черешо”. А тия каде така, искам да ти кажем, по-кратко че изпоеш – една-две песни. Оти така джапано фанеш ли, гласо ти спада. Сецаш ли. Така го развиваш гласо – по-кратко почнеш да поеш. И после вече можеш на рипаньето да действаш. И това е. Едни поехме, я си обичах ного – е така закротиме и поех си “Мака Димитър питаше, Синко Димитър, Димитър, Я си повикай булчето...”. Тия са по така скромни. Е така дигнеш глава и гордо поеш. И “Ненко ле еден на мака”. Тия попованки я ного поеха. “Мар Ненко ле еден на мака”. Они само на пръвата дума “Мар” викаха. Е това се различава от алинки. Ние направо – “Ненко ле”. (Друга коя от по-кратките, от по-официалните знаеш? – L.P.). Они са милиони. Я у них ли мислим. Епа ного са – “Стояне, море Стояне, молила мака Стояна”... И други има. Те сега баш не мога да ги спомним. Акъло не ми беше добре. Не си мислим у песните. (А марковите песни у орото кратки ли са? – L.P.). Кротки са, они не са на рипанье. (Р.Д., с. Алино).

Песните на оро – по *накасо* ги поеме. По-различно. Поеше се например, на раце една поехме различна, различно гласо се поеше.

We called it *krivata*. I don't know what you call it now. We would go to the front and *poeme krivata*. The way you *poesh*, it leads you how to dance. The *boro* that we dance here is very interesting. If you don't know it, you cannot dance. We get hold of one another. We gather, many women, and six of us *royat*. If you don't know the *boro*, nobody can lead you. You've got to learn it before joining it. Otherwise you'll be considered clumsy, dull. (Q: And if you can't *poesh*, would you be considered dull too?) Oh, no. Not everybody can *poe*. There were those who could and those who couldn't. But everybody should be able to dance the *boro*. (P.V. Alino village)

Викахме я кривата. Кривата, сега не знам какво я викате. Ние напред – айде че играеме кривата. И поехме таква песен. Какво поеш и оно те само учи да играеш. Тука нашто оро е ного интересно. Ако не знаеш, не мож да играеш. Нафанеме се, ама ного жени и шест поят. Ако не знаеш оро да играеш, кой че те води. Требе да си се научил, да знаеш оро. Оти цуцава че си. (Цуцава какво значи? – L.P.). Епа улава. (Ами ако не можеш песни да пееш пак ли си цуцава? – L.P.). А, не. За песните секи не можеше да пое. Имаше си кои можеха. Песни не може секо да пое. А оро требе секи да знае. (П.В., с. Алино)

(6)

When we gather at the *boro* we *poeme*. Each Sunday we went to the *boro* and we *poehme*. The women, the maidens, the youths danced with *pesen*. The men danced with music instruments. The instruments play — a *boro* is there; we *poeme* — another *boro* is here. Everything resounds. And everybody is listening to their *boro*. (Z.B. Cherven breg village)

Епа на оро то като излеземе на мегдано и поеме. Сека неделя кога си идехме напред на оро и си поеме. Жените, момите, младежта си играат на песен. А мажъете си на свирки играат. Свирките си свират – оро се играе, ние си поеме – оро се играе. Оно тънти. Секи си слуша неговото оро – тънти. (З.Б., с. Червен брег)

(7)

We would *poeme* at the water fountain and form a *boro*. There was the fountain and when we gathered, we danced and danced in the evenings. In the dark we *poehme* and we danced — the maidens, and the young unmarried men and even some young wives who loved to dance. But mostly it was the maidens who danced with *pesen*. (S.K. Krainitsi village)

На чешма поеме и оро. Туа беше чешма и като се насберат – оро, оро, оро – колко сакаш вечер. Вечер у тевното. Поеме и играеме. Момите, и ергенъте. Па и невестии – коя обича, фане се и она. И момите на песен играят, повече момите. (С.К., с. Крайници)

(8)

We *poebme* in the evening at the water fountain. When it got dark, we gathered — maidens, and young guys — just as you now go to the disco. So we came in groups at the fountain and *poebme*. We would *zapoe*me on our way, and every season had different *pesni*. And we were young — we danced, we jumped, we ran. You go to the disco now and we gathered at the water fountain then. We would dance holding at the waist, and often bare-footed. We couldn't put the shoes on — they would hurt us during the dancing. And we *poebme* and *poebme*. (P.V. Alino village)

Вечер на чешмата поеме. Епа като се стевни – моми, ергенџе – като вие що идете у дискотеката. А ние – на чешмата. Там си поеме. Още от дома си се собереме, ние така сме си дружки, комшиџки. И си още от дома запоеме и за секи сезон си песни имаше. И играеме. Беме си млади – рипаш си, трџчиш си. Вие у дискотеките сега, ние – е тука при чешмата За пояс се фанеме. За пояс, па и боси. Нема що да си обуеш. Оно опинците те убиват. И поеме, поеме. (П.В., с. Алино)

(9)

My mother *poeџe* very beautifully. Everything was wonderful — her *glas*, her *gџrlo*, her *pesni*. She was from Eremiya. When she *pojala* in Eremiya, in the upper part of the village, they could hear it in the other village. (Y.T. Kadrovitsa village)

Мама какво убаво поеше. Ама нейни глас, нейно грџло, нейни песни ! Она е от Еремия мойта маџа. Когато е поџа у Еремия у горни край на селото – у Брашеница, у друго село се е чуло. (Й.Т., с. Кадровица)

POYAJKA [поячка] — singer.

Poyačkata has the feeling for singing. Be she *potagačka* or *karačka*. (R.D. Alino village)

Поячката си е поячка. Она си има усет. И помагачката, и карачката. (Р.Д., с. Алино)

POYANYE [поянџе] — singing

This is a gift. *Poyanyeto* is a gift. It's not something that anyone can do. That's it. (R.D. Alino village)

Това е дете, дарба. Поянџето е дарба. От секо дрџво свирка не стае. Това е. (Р.Д., с. Алино)

- Idioms

Without *poyanye* there is no *boro*. When there are no *pesni* — you can't have a *boro*. When *pesnopoikite* come, they make the *boro*. There has never been a feast without *boro*. (S.K. Krainitsi village)

Без поянџе нема оро. Песни като нема – оро не мож да стане. Ако нема поянџе – не може оро да стане. Щом дойдат песнопойките – айде, направат оро. Не е било празник без оро. (С.К., с. Крайници)

ПОМАГАЌКИ [ПОМАГАЧКИ] — singers of the lower bourdon voice. This term is related to the verb *pomagat* (to help). This states the role of the singers of the lower voice, which are dependant on the melodic voice and help it in its movements (see also *slagački, vlačački*).

Pomagačkite are three, because they have to carry the voice of *karačkata*. (P.S. Alino village)

(Q: Why are there three *pomagački* and one *karačka*?) Because more *glasove*, even three sometimes, open *glaso* of *karačkata* more. They help her. *Glaso* of *karačkata* does not sound well with one *pomagačka*. Only when two or three *pomagat*, does her voice open up. (Q: Why only one *pomagačka* is not enough?) I can't tell you with words. They cannot *peyat* like this. With one *karačka* and one *pomagačka* it does not sound well, it's not good. I feel it like this, but how it is, I don't know." (G.Sh. Alino village)

Karačkata will sing beautifully if *pomagačkite* sing beautifully. This is important. (P.S. Alino village)

We sing after *karačkata* and the singing is beautiful. *Karačkata* has a bit higher voice and leads. *Pomagačkite* *peyat* after her — they don't put something from themselves. They *peyat* as she *pee*. It sounds very beautifully. (P.R. Alino village)

You should align yourself by the one who sings first. She sings and you follow, without going ahead of her. This is why it's called *pomagačka* — because you help. No *karačka* can sing without *pomagački*. Whether this is just heredity I don't know. This is how they taught us and this is how we do it. Without *pomagačkite* to help her, *karačkata* has no voice to sing. It's just as if *pomagačkite*

Помагачките са три, оти треба да у носат гласо на карачката. (П.С., с. Алино)

Защо трябва да са две помагачки, а една карачка? – Л.Р.) Е защо повече гласове, даже и три да са и още повече ѝ отварат гласо. Помагат. На карачката не излази убаво гласо с една помагачка. А то като помагат две или три, повече се отваря гласо на карачката. (А защо с една не излази? – Л.Р.) Е защо не мога да ти го кажем сега с думи. Те не могат да пеят. Значи като е една помагачка и една карачка излази звуко неприлично. Така не е убаво. Я го спрето мене така чувствам, а то какво е, не знам. (Г.Ш., с. Алино)

Она и карачката че пее убаво, ако помагачките поят убаво. Оно важи и това. (П.С., с. Алино)

Ние по карачката викаме и си се пее ного убаво. Карачката малко повече гласо и е висок и си знае. И помагачките по нея поят – нема нищо да прилагат от тех. Какво си се пее, така си пеят. И ного убаво стае. (П.Р., с. Алино)

Таа що напред вика, ти по нея трябва да се ориентираш от нойнио слух. От тая какво изговара, ти по нея – нема да я превараш. И затова се вика помагачка – помага на карачката. Карачка без помагачки не може. Сама не може. Така е останало ли, не знам. Така са ни учили, така сме наследили. Помагачките ако не ѝ помагат, карачката нема глас да вика.

lend her their voices so that she can sing and *raztriša*. (Q: Do *pomagačkite* speak the words together with *karackata*?) Yes, we speak them with her. It depends on the songs. (Q: Are there songs where you don't speak the words?) There are. When we *poeme nadláž*, we don't speak much of the words. (P.V. Alino village)

Not everybody can *pomaga*. Not everybody can be *pomagačka*. This is important. (G.Sh. Alino village)

prepojuška [препоюшка] — a short humoristic and lyrical song, used to publicly gossip the names of a maid and guy who are supposed to have a relation or liking for each other (see also *nadpevume, pripojuška*).

This is *prepojuškata*. You speak only two verses. We *prepojuvabme* at working-bees, when we gathered both maidens and guys. For instance if I am a maiden they would say: “Hey, look at me, Radka,” and then to either Rangel or Stayko “Hey, there, Stayko.” And then they would sing: “Hey Radka, daughter of Karushevi family, and hey Stayko son of Dudini family.” That was *prepojuškata*. When I go to a working-bee, they would *prepojat* whom am I in liking with. Only these words. That is the idea. (Q: Would you do that for a girl and a boy who didn't like each other?) Yes, we *prepojuvabme* them and they would scowl. If she doesn't like him she would miff. We would just play a trick on him. We played tricks on each other. We were sometimes very mangy. But we were young — when you look at us, we are friends and yet everybody is waiting for the time to do a trick on you. And that was it. (R.D. Alino village)

Просто тия помагачките ѝ заемат гласо и она има сила. За да вика и разтриша. (Помагачките отзад изговарате ли думите заедно с карачката? – Л.Р.). Ена изговараме ги. Изговараме ги сос нея. Зависи песентите какви са. (Има ли песни, при които не трябва да изговарате? – Л.Р.). Има. Надлъж. Надлъж като тия поеме они не се ного изговара. (П.В., с. Алино)

Секи пак не може да помага. Не може сека де е помагачка. Значи и това има големо значение. (Г.Ш., с. Алино)

Те това е препоюшката. Две думи се само сричая. “Две момета препазарни, Рангеле, либе ти е у казарми, Радко ле”. Е така оно се излича... И у седеня си препоювахме. На седеня като дойдат ергенъе. Ама не за войник така. Другояче измислиме препоюшката... Сега кат сам я мома, они така речат : Гледай, ме гледай, Радко ле. И после или Рангел, или Стайко. Лели те Стайко ле. И после кажат Радко ле мари Карушева моме, Стайко ле бре, Дудин ле бре. Е те това е препоюшката. Ако сам ели у седеня, ели. И после препоят – я чия сам. Тия само думи. У препоюшката е това. Това е идеята. Повече нема у препоюшката. (Препойвахте ли мома и ерген дето не се харесват? – Л.П.). Препоюваме ги и они рѣжа. Като е по-долна и она като се намуси. Па ние му погодиме нумер. Па ти мислиш, от кае това бе е келешлъко, бре. Сецаш ли се... Пречехме си, мани. Ако ни гледаш таквия шуги. Младостта си е младост. Ели видиш, приятелки, това-онова, ама секи дебне да те

ебне. Те това е най-важно. Права ли сам сега. Така е, така. Препююшката е това. Тия две думи. (Р.Д., с. Алино)

ПРИПОЮШКА [припоюшка] — a short humoristic and lyrical song, used to publicly gossip the names of a maid and guy who are supposed to have a relation or liking for each other. (see also *nadpevuyame*, *prepoyushka*).

We peebme pripoyushka, when a girl had a liking for a boy and we *pripeeme* her. When we *pripeeme* her, if she likes the boy she is glad, but if she doesn't she would scorn us. (I.V. Alino village)

Припоюшка се пее те така некоя мома си искала некой ерген и да я припеят. Като припоеме и момата се радва ако си иска ергенино. Ако си го не иска, вика о-о-о, защо ми препояхте на тоя ергенин. (И.В., с. Алино)

Pripoyushkite were all with the same *glas* (melody type — L.P.). Yet they were different. You cannot *pripeesh* the way you *poeesh* at the fields. For each thing you would *pripeesh* in a different way. (P.V. Alino village)

Припоюшките на един глас (melody type – L.P.). Ама па са си различни. Не мож какво поеш на нивата така и да припоеш. За секо нецо си имаше да припоеш различно. (П.В., с. Алино)

ПРОВИКНУВАА [провикнуваа] — ornamental figure (see also *I-i-i!*).

You can cry out *I-i-i!* with any song. This comes out of the joy and so the singers *proviknuvaa*. They *proviknuvaa* at the end of a verse. And those from Popovyane would even cry out *I-i-i!* in the middle of the phrase. Such is their *glas* (melody, melody type — L.P.) — *proviknuvanayeto* is in the middle. I've heard such songs on the radio too. (R.D. Alino village)

Еми на секои може да викаш И-и-и ! Това си иде веселбата така и они се провикнуваа. Провикнуваа се така накрая. А те попянки они и настредата реча И-и-и ! Таков им е гласо. Провикнуванъето е настредата. И по радиото има таквия. (Р.Д., с. Алино)

ПРОВИКВАТ [провикват] — ornamental figure (see also *I-i-i!*)

If the song is worth it — we *provikneme*. At *boro*, however, we don't cry out *I-i-i!* It's more likely when we sing *na glas* to cry out *I-i-i!* This is something from old times. Only those who sing *provikvat*. And sometimes the others too — *I-bu-bu!* — or something else. (G.A. Slatino village)

Коя песен си заслужи – провикнеме се. На оро не викаме И-и-и ! По е на глас като пееме – и речеме И-и-и ! Това е останало от старина. Провикват се само тия що пеят. Ама може и другите – И-ху-ху ! Секакво се провикват. (Г.А., с. Слатино)

And we *provikneme*. One would cry out I-i-i!
At the end of each verse there is an I-i-i!
(L.D. Stradalovo village)

At the threshing floor, where we threshed
there would be youngsters, men, women and
maidens around the corn pile. And we *pee-*
bme. And some of the young guys *provikvaha*
then, crying out too. (V.M. Pelatikovo vil-
lage)

И се провикнеме. Една рече И-и-и !
Извикни назаде, еднаж речи И-и-и !
Накрая че му викаме И-и-и ! На всеки глас
се вика И-и-и ! (Л.Д., с. Страдалово)

На армано там, ние го викаме гувното –
там къде вършееме. И около куп със ца-
ревиците се навъртат младежи, мъже,
жени, ергени, моми. И се пееше, може ли
да не се пее. А ергенъте се провикват
там, зяят и они. (В.М., с. Пелатиково)

R

RAZTRIŠA [разтриша] — a thriller-like ornamental technique (see also *natrisane*, *trese*, *tresene*).

Karačkata raztriša when she *poe nadláž* —
this is when she *raztriša*. (I.V. Alino village)

When *karačkata raztriša* — she *trese*, *trese*,
trese and then she cries out. Only *karačkata*
did that. The others just kept the same tone.
And she controls her *glas* in this way and it
sounds very beautifully. (Q: Why is this
raztrišane?) So that the song will sound bet-
ter. This is only when singing *nadláž*. (P.R.,
Alino village)

When she *raztriša*, she *trese*. She *trese* her
gărlo. This is what we call *raztrišane*. It is
more *na dälgo*.” (And why do you do that? —
L.P.). Well, this was so from old times. (P.V.
Alino village)

Карачката разтриша надлъж като се пое
– тогава се разтриша. (И.В., с. Алино)

Карачката като разтриша – тресе,
тресе, тресе, на извикне. Се карачката
това. Ония нема. Ония си се едно пеят
така. А она така си управлява гласо и
става ного убаво. (Защо се прави това
разтришане? – L.P.). Епа за убаво. Това се
пее надлъж. (П.Р., с. Алино)

Да разтриша, така да тресе. Грълото
си да тресе, е те така. Това го викаме да
разтресе. По на дълго. (А защо се прави
това? – L.P.). Е така е останало. (П.В.,
с. Алино)

REČKA [речка] — a song verse.

Let's sing now the second *rečka*. This song has
beautiful lyrics. (Ph.Ts. Stradalovo village)

These two will not speak *rečkite*. Because
da mož se udarat glasо. Only the middle one
would speak them. We can sing a *rečka* with

Айде са карай втората речка. И тая е
убава песен на думи. (Ф.Ц., с. Страдалово)

Тия двете нема да казват речките. Защо
да мож се ударат гласо. Само среднийо
че ги изговара. Дай да изкараме една речка

all speaking, so you would see in which way you like it better. (N.H., Stradalovo village)

така като изговараме да чуеш дали ти аресва. (Н.Х., с. Страдалово)

We didn't finish *rečkata* in this song, because so go the steps of the *boro*. This is why you cannot speak it all to the end. (V.Ch. Slatino village)

Не довършиме речката у таа песен оти така са стапките на орото. Затова не мож да се изрече докрай. (В.Ч., с. Слатино)

S

SLAGA [слага] (to lay down) — sings the lower bourdon voice. This term is probably related to the function of the bourdon voice in multipart singing — to lay down (*slaga*) the basis on which the upper voice creates the melody.

This is how one *slaga* — without conflicts. She (*karačkata*) *izgovara* and they only give her tone. They don't cross her. (Y.T. Kadrovitsa village)

Оно така се слага – да се не удвива. Она да си изговара, а они само да ѝ дават тон. А да не я пресичат. (Й.Т., с. Кадровица)

SLAGANYE [слаганье] — singing of the bourdon voice.

Slaganyeto is easier. Any *izvikuvačka* may sing as *slagačka*, but for a *slagačka* it would be more difficult to sing as *izvikuvačka*. Yet when I *slagab*, I had such a strong *gърло* that I *slagab* for two singers. I had a strong ton. And when we went around working-bees with my sister and my friend and we three *poehme*, we drowned *izvikuvačkata*. Only tow of us *slagahme*, yet I *slagab* with a very strong *glas*. (Y.T. Kadrovitsa village)

Слаганьето е по-лесно. От извикувачка може да стане слагачка, но от слагачка извикувачка трудно може да се приспособи така. Ама язе като слагах – за две слагах, таквоо силно гърло имах. Силен тон имах. Па като идехме по седельки сос сестра ми и сос другарката ми – трите като поехме, заглушавахме извикувачката. Две слагаме, ама язе ного гласовито слагах. Гласовито ного слагах. (Й.Т., с. Кадровица)

SLAGAČKI [слагачки] — singers of the lower bourdon voice (see also *potagački*, *vlačački*).

Slagačkite give the voice of the song, yet they only cry e-e-e-e. Just like the drone of a bagpipe. Well there are some who speak the words too, but it's better if they don't. (Q: Why is that better?) Because she may come too late after *izvikuvačkata*, and so she may confuse *glasо*.

Слагачките глас даваме, ама само викаме е-е-е-е-е. Като на гайдите бучалото цо дава тон. А гайдурката изговара. Те това е и песните са това. А некои изговарат, ама си е по-убаво да не изговарат. (Защо е по-хубаво да не изговарят думите? – L.P.). *Защо мож да закъсне за извикувачката. И да сбръка гласо.*

Slagačkite should be a bit aback. They shouldn't be before *izvikuvačkata*. (Y.T. Kadrovitsa village)

Slagačkite cry out *ă-ă-ă* around *izvikuvačkata*. This is what the two who *slagat* should speak. This is easier. (N.H. Stradalovo village)

We, *slagačkite* don't speak *glasо* so much. The one who *izvikuva*, she speaks the words more clearly. And we *slagačkite* almost keep it to *e-e-e* and *o-o-o* with a deeper voice. The ones who *slagat* are two — one sings a bit deeper and the other a bit thinner. But it is generally the same thing — we both sing the same as *izvikuvačkata*, but we only sort of drag the words instead of speaking them clearly. (Ph. Ts., Stradalovo village)

Slagačkite both sing the same. Both their voices should *shodyat* in order for the song to go. *Slagačkite* speak rarely speak the words. They sort of drag them, a bit continuously. (L.D. Stradalovo village)

Slagačkite only sing *e-e-e*. They would speak only slightly at some places, but *izvikuvačkata* speaks all the syllables. (L.R. Pelatikovo village)

Slagačkite only *slagat* and *izvikuvačkata izvikuva*. *Slagačkite* only *slagat* with a deeper voice. If they want they may speak the words, or they may not. Sometimes they just go *e-e-e* to give a background sound. (E.K. Pelatikovo village)

Slagačkite don't speak the words. The one who *slaga* well would just sing *ă-ă-ă*. And the last time the verse is repeated they all speak at once. But if they speak all the time

Слагачките *требе* така да са малко назад. Малко на раменята. *Слагачките* *не* *требе* да са пред *извикувачката*. (Й.Т., Кадровица)

Слагачките *окол* *извикувачката* *викат* *ъ-ъ-ъ*. *Тия* *двете* така *требе* да *кажат*. *Тия* *що* *слагат* *двете*. *Това* *е* *леко*. (Н.Х., с. Страдалово)

Слагачките *по* *така*, *по* *не* *изговарахме*. *Гласо* *не* *изговарахме*. *А* *тая* *дека* *си* *извикува*, *по-ясно* *изговара* *думите*. *А* *ние* *слагачките* *почти* *на* *e-e-e* *и* *некак* *си* *така* *на* *o-o-o*, *на* *по-дебел* *глас*. *Тия* *дето* *слагаме* *сме* *двете* – *едната* *по* *на* *дебело*, *едната* *по* *на* *тънко*. *Еднакво* *пееме*. *Ние* *си* *караме* *същото* *като* *извикувачката*, *но* *само* *във* *влачеца* *форма*. *Не* *така* *по* *да* *го* *изговараме*. (Ф.Ц., с. Страдалово)

Слагачките *едно* *и* *също* *пеят*. *Слагачките* *и* *двете* *требе* да *им* *се* *сходи* *гласо*, *та* *да* *може* *убаво* *песната* *да* *върви*. *Слагачките* *редко* *изговарат* *думите*. *По* *на* *редко*. *По* *на* *влаченъе*. *Те* *така* *по-продължително*. (Л.Д., с. Страдалово)

Слагачките *они* *така* *само* *карат* *e-e-e*. *Леко* *го* *некаде* *преговарат*, *а* *извикувачката* *си* *го* *изговара* *сричките*. *Слагачките* *по-леко* *изговарат*. (Л.Р., с. Пелатиково)

Слагачките *само* *слагат*, *а* *извикувачката* *си* *извикува*. *Слагачките* *само* *на* *дебело* *слагат*. *Ако* *искат*, *мож* *да* *изговарат*, *ако* *не* – *мож* *и* *да* *не* *изговарат*. *Само* *на* *e-e-e* *го* *карат*, *да* *дават* *звук*. (Е.К., с. Пелатиково)

Слагачките *не* *изговарат*. *Кой* *убаво* *слага*, *само* *ке* *вика* *ъ-ъ-ъ*. *И* *най-последно* *изговарат* *сите* – *от* *еднаж* *гласо*. *А* *кой* *изговарат* – *не* *е* *убаво* *песната*. *Оти* *гла*

— the songs is not beautiful. Because their voices are separated. They can only speak all at the last repetition of the verse. The other time they go after *izvikuvačkata*. They don't speak clearly, the way that *izvikuvačkata izvikva*. When *izvikuvačkata izvikuva* a syllable they don't speak it clearly but smother it with their tongues. (M.K. Stradalovo village)

We, *slagačkite slagame*. We just keep the same tone. Well, we do it according to the song, but we don't speak words. There are two *slagački* and one who *izvikuva*. (V.M. Pelatikovo village)

Slagačkite slagat somewhat silently and *izvikuvačkata*, the middle one, *izvikue*. I could not *izvikuvam*. *Slagačkite* speak the words softly so that they are hardly heard and one can hear *izvikuvačkata*. *Slagačkite* use a deeper voice and she sings with a thinner voice so that her speaking can be heard well. (Zh.Y. Treklyano village)

We, *slagačkite* sing a bit gutturally. There is no difference between the different *slagački*. Only they to *uidisat glas* — this is why we change between the groups of singers. There cannot be only one *slagačka*, because the song is dull and uglier. When two *slagački* group they make a better *glas*. For any *izvikuvačka* who freely sings with *slagački* there could be even four who *slagat* when she sings. (G.A. Slatino village)

- Idioms

When I begin to sing *slagačkite* cry out e-e-e and that is when the song sounds good. When I stop, you should stop too. As I sing, you should follow... You made mistakes. You

совето им се делят. Само на последниџо пат – сичките отеднаж като изговарат – те тогај. Инак на по нея, на по извикувачката. Нема да думаш убава дума като извикувачката џо извикува. Само с јазико така ке си – кога она извикува сричката – и ти с јазико така леко ке си изговараш, а не пълно думата да си издумаш. (M.K., с. Страдалово)

Слагачките слагаме. Е така просто дрџиме. Некакџв еднакџв тон. Па според песната се приспособјаваме де, обаче не изговараме думи ние. Две слагачки – по две слагаме, една извикува. (B.M., с. Пелатиково)

Слагачките слагат по така тихо, а извикувачката, среднята извикуе. Ја не умеше да извикувам. Слагачките изговарат леко думите – да не се разбира, да се чуе извикувачката как изговара. Слагачките по на нисџк глас, а она по на високо, та да се отразјава нейното сричане на песента. (Ж.Ѕ., с. Трекляно)

Ние слагачките малко по-грџкаво караме. Нема разлика между слагачките. Требе да си уйдисат гласо – затова се сменяме. Слагачката не мож да е една. Една като е – шуто е, по-грозно. А две като се групираат – по-убав глас. Коя извикувачка може да понася слагачките, на нея и четири слагаме. (Г.А., с. Слатино)

Кога се започне, от слагачките така се рече е-е-е, и тогај се вече оправи песната. Ја џом сопрем и вие че сопнете. Ја какво наваля и вие че навалите. Какво ја сопра

stopped too early and you went too much ahead of me. (Y.T. Kadrovitsa vilalge)

и вие че сопрете ... Сбръкахте. Ти спре, а ти ме изпревари. (Й.Т., с. Кадровица)

STAROVREMSKI PESNI [*старовремски песни*] — songs from old times and of old style

There were some songs at working-bees that were sung by two women. Songs which the old grannies called ‘take it, give it back’ (Q: What were these songs?) They were not *starovremski pesni*. *Starovremskite pesni* were different — with groups of three singers. There were no songs like those that started to appear later. So the grannies said: “You *poete* again in ‘take it, give it back’ style.” That is not *pesen*. (P.V. Alino village)

Имаше на седенка песни да се пеят от две жени. Таквия, що викая бабите – на ти го, дай ми го. (Какви са тия песни? – L.P.). Еми не са старовремски песни искаха да кажат. А, че ни поете таквоа – на ти го, дай ми го. Старовремските песни се отличават, ли ти казуем – се по три се поят. Немаше таквия като после какво излезна да се пеят. Они току речехя – на че поете на ти го, дай ми го. Това не е песен. (П.В., с. Алино)

T

ТОН [*тон*] — a sound with particular pitch; or a sound made by the vocal organs.

Kutev was sitting at the piano and hit a key there and told me: So, sing, here I give you a *ton*. And I told him — oh, no, I sing without a *ton*. I don’t know this stuff. (R.B.N. Dyakovo village)

Седнал Кутев на пианото и ми удри там и вика: айде Началник, те ти тон. А я му рекох – а, не, я без тон пеем. Я това го не познавам. (Р.Б.Н., с. Дяково)

Any *izvikuvacka* may become *slagacka*, yet the opposite would be more difficult. She would have to adjust her *glas*, her *gärlo*, she should make a different ton. (Q: What is ton?) Well, the way *glaso* sounds from the throat, the way it warbles. When I *slagah*, I had a strong *gärlo* and I *slagah* for two *slagacki*. I had a strong *ton*. (Peycheva, 1991: 19)

От извикувачка може да стане слагачка, но от слагачка извикувачка трудно може да се приспособи. Гласо да приспособи така, самото гърло, самийо тон требе другояче да кара. (Какво е тон? – L.P.). Епа гласо що е. Какво се издава гласо от гърлото, требе да извива. Язе като слагах – за две слагах, таквоо силно гърло имах. Силен тон имах.

TRESE [тресе] — a thriller-like ornamental technique (see *natrisane*, *raztriša*, *tresene*, *zatrost*).

And when they cried out — we would leave our hoes and listen to them. When the singer

И като окнат – ние оставехме мотиките да ги слушаме. Като окнеше – тресе, та

gave full power to her voice — she *treseše* for all her worth. The whole fields were echoing. (Z.B. Cherven Breg village)

I couldn't feel it when my *gārlo trese* but they would tell me later. It's natural, your *glas* just does that. It sort of like something is ringing in your *gārlo*. *Gārlo* does that. And so the song is beautiful. I want to do it because it is better. But it is not felt in your *gārlo*. It's just your *glas* that goes this way. At harvest or at any singing they told me that my *gārlo* is ringing. (Q: How do you do it?) Well, it's my *glas*. When I *peya*, with real enjoyment my *gārlo* rings. *Trese*. That's all. (L.D. Stradalovo village)

When I began to *tresa* I couldn't stop. I would continue until I went out of air. I didn't know my strength then — I had a very strong *glas*. Yet when I became older my *glas* was over. (R.B.N. Dyakovo village)

ТРЕСЕНЕ [тресене] — a thriller-like ornamental technique (see *natrisane*, *raztriša*, *trese*, *zatrosi*).

Every singer *trese* differently. I *trсем* in my way, you *treseš* in your way. For example the way that Ruska *trese* is heard nowhere else. (V.T. Dyakovo village)

дими като тресе. Тънти полъето ! А са глуо. (З.Б., с. Червен брег)

Я се не усищам дека ми така грълото тресе, ама те ми кажуват. Ама така си е гласо ти така прави. Че речеш така като дрънка ти нешто у грълото. Това грълото го прави. Така за красотата на песната. Така ти викаш като пееш. Това е да е красива песната. Я си искам така, зашто е по-убаво. Това е като сворче така нешто. Нешто като красотата това прави да ти кажа. Това не се чувства у грълото. Така си ти е гласо, така си пееш. Я като си поех, я го не чувствувам. По жетви, по таково ми викая – какво може да ти дрънка грълото така. (А как го правиш ? – Л.Р.) Некакво така ми е гласо. Като си пея, как ми така кеф да пея и ми грълото дрънка. Тресе. Така си е. (Л.Д., с. Страдалово)

Яз като затресох па не мога да спрем. Тресем додека имам въздух. Тогава не си знаех силата – каков глас имах. А като почнах критическата гласо чеше да ми свръши. (Р.Б.Н., с. Дяково)

Сека си тресе различно. Я си тресем едно, ти си тресееш по твоemu. Ето Русиното тресене никаде го нема. (В.Т., с. Дяково)

U

U GLAS [y ɣlac] — difficult to perform, richly ornamented songs which are sung at harvest or at working-bees (see *na glas*, *na izpovyane*, *navlak*).

I cannot sing alone, I need a partner. To sing the old songs at harvest we gathered in groups of two or three. When we formed a group of three — we *poebme u glas*. At harvest we *poebme u glas*. (R.R. Dragoychinovtsi village)

We *poebme u glas* at the fields, on the paths. When three gathered to sing together it was one *glas* (melody — L.P.). One would be *izvikvačka* and two would *slagat*. (R.N. Gabreshvtsi village)

Сама не могу да пеем, требе да имам другарка. Старински песни, жетварске – по две-три се ставимо. Кога се ставиме по три – у глас поему. На жетва си поему у глас. (P.P., с. Драгойчинци)

У глас пееме по нъивите, на тлаки, по пат. Като се съберат по три, на един глас (melody – L.P.) кару. Една извикачка и две слагат. (P.H., с. Габрешевци)

V

VLAČAČKI [владчачки] — singers of the lower bourdon voice. The term comes from the verb *vlača* (to pull, to drag) and can be interpreted as dragging after the upper melodic voice (see also *pomagački*, *slagački*).

There could be even four or five *vlačački*. Once it was like this: one *okačka* and three *vlačački*. They were three because it sounds more powerful. They all sung the same and they had to be in synchrony. (Z.B. Cherven Breg village)

It's more complex with *vlačačkite*. They don't give much freedom to their voices like *okačkata*. They don't warble much with their voices. Only the middle one does that. She *oka*. And *vlačačkite* did a hard job. They did so that the voices would join in one, that *glasovete* would *sboždat*. (Ts.I. Dyakovo village)

Vlačačkite should stay behind *okačkata* to evade conflict with her *glas*. They would stay a bit away from *okačkata* so as not to get in her way. And they would constantly sing. When there were more *vlačački* it would go very well. She speaks forth and *vlačačkite* give the base. (T.B. Samoranovo village)

Владчачките мож да са и четири-пет. На времето беха така : една окачка – три владчачки. Три са зато по-моцно врџви. И требе да се погажда. Едно и също пеят, нема разлика. (З.Б., с. Червен брег)

Владчачките по-сложно. Они не извиват гласа така като окачката. По-сложно. Нема грълата не си извиват. Средната го извива. По ока. А владчачките по-сложно, за да се получи прилив така. Да се схождат гласовете. Да се преливат гласовете. (Ц.И., с. Дяково)

Владчачките требе да застанат зад окачката и да не ѝ срецат гласо. По че са от окачката далече, да не ѝ пречат. И нема да прекъснут толко. Щом са повече владчачки и ного убаво врџви. Она изговара, а владчачките басират. (Т.Б., с. Самораново)

Z

ŽALNI PESNI [ЖАЛНИ ПЕСНИ] — sad, doleful songs.

There are *žalni pesni* and there are jolly songs. *Žalnite pesni* are to be learned so the people would know what is sadness, grief, what is love. To know everything. I think so, else I don't know. It must be so. Because, when you know of these things you will fear something. And not only fear, but shame too, and everything. This is how everything is organized that you are afraid of something — you shouldn't think that things are just like that. You are afraid in your belief. (P.R. Alino village)

Има жални песни, има и весели песни. Жалните песни са да се научат хората да знаят що е жал, що е скръб, що е обич. Сичко да знаеш. Я така го сметам, па не знам. Така е сигурно. Оти това като си се знае, оно че има страх нещо. Не страх – и срам че има, и страх че има, и сичко. Оно е така наредено да те е от нещо страх – да не мислиш така туку е това. Страх те е от верата. (П.Р., с. Алино)

ZATROSI, ZATROSENYE [ЗАТРОСИ, ЗАТРОСЕНЬЕ] — a thriller-like ornamenting, which is performed by the singer of the upper melodic voice (see *natrisane, raztriša, trese, tresene*).

I don't like the way I speak while singing. Then the song *zatrosi*, my *gărlo* is not good. *Zatrosenyeto* is done to change *glas* of *pesenta*, to make it sound better. It is done differently by the different singers. My sister *izvikuvаше* differently from me and my closest friend entirely differently. This depends on *grloto*, on the vocal chords of the person. *Glas* has chords which give the sound. When I say that the song *zatrosi*, this is what is called *krekanje*. *Zatrosenyeto* is not done with every song. It depends on how the singer can use her *glas*. Those songs which are *na glas* heed more *murafet* (mastery). (Y.T. Kadrovitsa village)

И я не си аресвам изговаранъето. У промената, кога се затроси песната, не мога, грълото ми не е оправно. Затросенъето се прави да се промени гласо на песната, по-убаво да стане. Различно се прави. Има некои по-другояче глас издават, има некои – по-другояче. Моята сестра другояче извикуваше, а другарката ми – она па сосем другояче даваше глас. Яз па сосем друго. Това си зависи от грълото, от струните на човека. Има си, гласо си има струни що издава звук. Що го викам затроси, това е креканъето. Затросенъето не се прави на сека песен. Зависи кой какво мож да издакара гласо. На тия на глас повече тебе мурафет. (Й.Т., с. Кадровица)

ŽENSKI GLAS [ЖЕНСКИ ГЛАС] — female voice.

There were men from Tishanovo who sang *ženski glas*. One would *izvikuva*, the others *slagaya*. They *royat* very beautifully, those

Имаше мъже – женски глас пея от Тишаново. Един извикува, двама слагая. Ама ного убаво поят тишанци. Като момии

from Tishanovo. Like maidens. We like them. And here too, the shopkeeper's father-in-law would sing with his wife and his sister-in-law. He would sit between the two sisters. Then he *izvikuva* and they *slagat* — *zvonci* (bells) they were. They sang a lot. And I also had an uncle, he *poše* very beautifully. He *izvikovaše* and we *slagahme*. (L.D. Stradalovo village)

When I *izvikuvah* my sister and my brother *slagaba*. My brother sang. (Q: And were there any men who *izvikuvat*?) I don't know. My brother *slagaše*. I don't know of other." (B.B. Tishanovo village)

Slave Niklin could sing everywhere. He would sing *ženski glas*. So we used to call for him. I and my *kumica* Loza Katsarska would *vlachime*. And when he *okneše* — *trese* for all his worth. He was a *pesnopoec* in the village. (Z.B., Cherven Breg village)

поея. Ного поея. Аресваме ги. А те тука на магазинерката свекор ѝ – дедо Милян, он с неговата бабичка и с балдъзата. Он седнеше помежду двете сестри. Като седнеше, он им извикува, они слагат – звонци бея. Ного поея. Я имах един вуйчо и он ного убаво поеше. Извикуваше, ние му слагахме. (Л.Д., с. Страдалово)

Яз като извикувах сестра ми и брат ми ми слагаха. Брат ми пееше. (А имаше ли мъже да извикуват? – Л.П.) Не знам. Нане слагаше, а друг не знам. (Б.Б., с. Тишаново)

Славе Никлин можеше да пое насекаде. Женски глас пое. Па ние го викаме. Ние му влачиме сос кумица Лоза Кацарска. А он като окнеше – тресе, та дими като тресе. Те тоо беше у селото песнопоец. (З.Б., с. Червен брег)

ZVONEC [ЗВОНЕЦ] — an idiophonic musical instrument. Used in herding animals and as sound effect at some ritual mask games (*stanchinari, babugeri, kukeri*).

- Idioms

(1)

I didn't feel it when my *glas* did that. They told me that it rings like *zvonec*. And my *gărlo* rings like *zvonec*. Not everybody's *glas* can ring like that. (L.D. Stradalovo village)

Ле ти викам, я не сам чувствала, не сам разбирала гласо дека така ми праи. Ли туку речат като звонец дрънка. И грълото ти като звонец дрънка. Ама не може на секи гласо да е дрънкав. (Л.Д., с. Страдалово)

(2)

It rang like *zvonci* when we *poehme*. A very beautiful *glas*. It rang just like *zvānes*. The hills and the valleys echoed when we sang. When we *poehme* up there on the hill, the valley here repeated after us. And the forest

Като звонци дрънка като пое. Ама ного убав гласо. Дзвѣни. Звѣнецо какво тѣнти – те така тѣнти. И рид, и дол тѣнти като се пое. Те като поехме по ридо – тука доло езичаше. Езича. Изговара ни

also spoke our songs. (Y.T. Kadrovitsa village)

доло. Доло. И гората ни изговараше песните. (Й.Т., с. Кадровица)

(3)

We synchronized our *glasove* so well that we rang like *zvonce*. We fitted our *glasove* with each other indeed perfectly. We would go and harvest the fields near the road. And when people come back from the town of Samokov in the evening they would shout “I-i-i! Look at these maidens, how beautifully they sing.” And this would delight us and we would sing more and more. We rang like *zvonce*. (P.R. Alino village)

Погаждаме си гласовете. Погаждаме се, та като звонци дрънкахме. Погаждаме си гласовете и се нагласиме, ного се погаждахме. Като сме ошли да жнеме на шосето, е каде се иде на Рельово по това шосе. И жнеме, и пееме жетварски. И като пееме от Самоков идат си по шосето, та се прибират вечер. А ние жнеме, поеме, жнеме, поеме. И един като се извикне ”И-и-и! А, бре-е-е! Гледайте момите що убаво пеят!” А ние, кеф ни е и още толко пееме. Като звонци дрънкаме. (П.Р., с. Алино)

(4)

Their voices should sound together, not separately. All of them take the time to synchronize their voices. And that is good, because otherwise they would not *peyat* well. The people say that they synchronize and *peyat* like *zvonce*. (I.V., Alino village)

Гласовете да са им заедно. Не да са поотделно. Они сите три си гласат едно. И се казва гласиме се. Това е хубаво. Ако не се гласиме, не пееме хубаво. Казват – ка пеят, да се гласат като звонци. Гласат се и казват – пеят като звонци. (И.В., Алино)

zvǎnici [звъници] — ritual singers at a wedding feast.

I was quite young when they started to call us to *peete*. I have gone as *zvǎnica* to many places. (Q: What is *zvǎnica*?) The maidens which the bride and bridegroom call to *peyat* at the wedding — they are *zvǎnici*. *Pevicite* are called *zvǎnici*. (Q: Do they always call them *zvǎnici* or only at weddings?) Only at weddings. The bridegroom knows the maidens that can *peyat* and calls them — a group of six or even seven, but no less than six. Now nobody pee at weddings because there is much instrumental music. Once there was

Е яз бех маненка тука кога се пофанама да пееме, да ни викат. Я сам ишла звъница на ного места. (А какво е звъница? – Л.П.). Момите. Момите като ни навикая младоженята и идат да пеят – те това се вика звъница. Певниците ги викат звъници. (Винаги ли им викат звъници или само на сватбата? – Л.П.). Само на сватбата. Ергенино си знае кои моми могат да поят и них си навика. Шест. Седем даже. От шест по-малко не може. Повече може, ама по-малко не може. Са не пеят,

only a bagpipe and *peene*. *Zvānicite poebya*. (P.V., Alino village)

оти барабанъе, музики. Тогай нема – само гайдите и се се пое. Звъниците поят. (П.В., с. Алино)

- Idioms

In the morning the bridegroom would call the maidens to be *zvānici*. And we said that the fir-trees would wreath. That means, they were *poeba* in groups of three and wreathed garlands of box-shrub with red threads. And there was a big loaf of bread at every table and a garland for each loaf. And they would *poyat* “The fir-tree wreathed three colorful garlands”. (Q: And did the sing while the bridegroom was shaved?) Yes they *poyat* then, too. I have seen that. The bride shaves him and the three *zvānici* *poyat*: “The young groom is being shaven” (Q: Are the songs for wreathing and shaving with the same *glas*?) Yes, they are with the same *glas* (melody type — L.P.) and we call them wedding songs. On the way from the groom’s to the maiden’s they would *poyat* “Pretty match-makers are walking on the way.” (Q: Are these songs *nadlāž*?) Almost, yet not so much *nadlāgo*, but somewhat more *nakāso*. The words are spoken *izmično*, but more *nakāso*. All wedding songs are sung with one voice (melody type — L.P.). (P.V. Alino village)

Като дзаран викаха, ергенино вика момите да са звъници. Че вият елите. Елите знаеш какво е – по три поеха. По три жени и вият от чемишир се вие с црввени конци и се тура на самуњето на трапезата. На сека маса има по един самун селски. И поят “Вила ела три шарени венци”. Е така. (А като брџснат младоженеца пеят ли? – Л.П.). Ела и тогай се пое. Я сам видела и това. Седне младожената и го брича и трите звъници поят “Бричи ми се млади младожена”. (Песните на виене на елите и на брџснене на младоженеца на един глас ли са? – Л.П.). Се на един глас (melody type – L.P.) са, ама сватбарски ги викаме. Като идат от момчето до момата, се че поят “По друми върват китени сватове”. (Надлџ ли са? – Л.П.). Почти, ама не така какво е надлџго. Малко по накасо. Измично думите се изговарат, ама по е накасо. Сватбарските на един глас (melody type – L.P.) си се пеят. (П.В., с. Алино)

List of informants

- (A.S.) Atse Nikolov Stoimenov, bagpipe player, born 1932, Kadrovitsa village, Kyustendil region, finished 7th grade at school, manager in the local co-operative farm.
 (B.B.) Bona Borisova Bumbarska, singer (*izvikuvačka*), born 1922, Tishanovo village, Kyustendil region, finished 4th grade at school, farming.
 (E.L.) Evdokiya Vangeva Lazarova, singer (*slagačka*), born 1933, Pelatikovo village, Kyustendil region, finished 7th grade at school, cook at the school.

- (E.K.) Elenka Yordanova Kamenichka, singer (izvikuvačka), born 1928, Pelatikovo village, Kyustendil region, finished 7th grade at school, farming (had worked for 11 years in a shoe factory).
- (E.B.K.) Ermenka Borisova Kolarska, singer (izvikuvačka), born 1912, Lelintsi village, Kyustendil region, illiterate, farming.
- (G.A.) Gena Pavlova Andonova, singer (slagačka), born 1928, Slatino village, Dupnitsa region, finished 4th grade at school, farming.
- (G.Sh.) Genka Ivanova Shumanova, singer (karačka), born 1928, Alino village, Samokov region, finished 7th grade at school, farming.
- (I.V.) Istaliyanka Zareva Voleva, singer, born 1926, Alino village, Samokov region, finished 7th grade at school, farming.
- (L.D.) Lyuba Lazarova Dubovska, singer (slagačka), born 1922, Stradalovo village, Kyustendil region, finished 4th grade at school, farming.
- (L.K.) Loza Hristova Kishkina, singer, born 1927, Golemo Selo village, Dupnitsa region, finished 7th grade at school, farming.
- (L.R.) Latinka Velikova Rakovska, singer (slagačka), born 1917, Pelatikovo village, Kyustendil region, illiterate, farming.
- (M.K.) Merudinka Atanasova Kovachka, singer (slagačka), born 1927, Stradalovo village, Kyustendil region, finished 4th grade at school, farming.
- (M.N.) Maria Angelova Nikolova, singer (slagačka), born 1910, pelatikovo village, Kyustendil region, finished 1st grade at scho, farming
- (N.H.) Nada Angelova Haralampieva, Stradalovo village, Kyustendil region
- (P.R.) Petrunka Georgieva Rogacheva, singer (pomagačka), born 1916, Alino village, Samokov region, finished 7th grade at school, farming
- (P.S.) Penka Doneva Simova, singer (karačka), born 1914, Alino village, Samokov region, finished 6th grade at school, farming
- (P.V.) Penka Vladova Voleva, singer (pomagačka), born 1933, Alino village, Samokov region, finished 7th grade at school, farming
- (Ph.Ts.) Phrona Milanova Tsvetina, singer (slagačka), born 1935, Stradalovo village, Kyustendil region, finished 7th grade at school, works as forester.
- (R.D.) Radka Dudina, Alino village, Samokov region.
- (R.N.) Rayna Nikolova Nacheva, singer, born 1919, Gabreshvetsi village, Kyustendil region, finished 4th grade at school, farming.
- (R.B.N.) Ruska Bozhilova Nachalnichka, singer (okačka), born 1931, Dyakovo village, Dupnitsa region, professional singer.
- (R.R.) Raina Nikolova Rangelova, born 1919, Dragoychintsi village, Kyustendil region, finished 3rd grade at school, farming.
- (R.H.) Radka Krumova Hadzhiska, singer (okačka), born 1927, Ovchartsi village, Dupnitsa region, finished 6th grade at school, farming.

- (S.I.) Sanda Stoimenova Ilinska, singer (vlačacka), born 1906, Krainitsi village, Dupnitsa region, finished 2nd grade at school, farming.
- (S.K.) Sona Ivanova Krekmanova, born 1894, Krainitsi village, Dupnitsa region, illiterate, farming.
- (S.S.) Stana Hristova Solishtarska, singer (izvikuvacka), born 1905, Pelatikovo village, Kyustendil region, illiterate, farming.
- (T.B.) Trendafila Hristova Bidzhova, singer (okačka), born 1928, Samoranovo village, Dupnitsa region, finished 4th grade at school, farming.
- (Ts.B.) Tsveta Georgieva Boyadzhiyska, singer (slagačka), born 1924, Dzherman village, Dupnitsa region, finished 7th grade at school, farming.
- (Ts.I.) Tsveta Zareva Iskrenova, singer (okačka), born 1920, Dyakovo village, Dupnitsa region, finished 4th grade at school, farming.
- (Ts.K.) Tsveta Aleksandrova Karingova, singer (okačka), born 1929, Krainitsi village, Dupnitsa region, finished 7th grade at school, farming.
- (Ts.P.I.) Tsvetanka Petrova Ilcheva, singer, born 1938, Bogoslov village, Kyustendil region, finished 11th grade at school, works as singer.
- (V.M.) Vardarina Borisova Mancheva, singer (slagačka), born 1932, Pelatikovo village, Kyustendil region, finished 7th grade at school, farming.
- (V.B.) Verginiya Borisova Bumbarska, singer (slagačka), born 1930, Vaksevo village, Kyustendil region, finished 7th grade at school, farming.
- (V.T.) Venka Yordanova Teneva, singer (okačka), born 1929, Dyakovo village, Dupnitsa region
- (V.Ch.) Veska Borisova Chuchkova, singer (izvikuvacka), born 1928, Slatino village, Dupnitsa region, finished 7th grade at school, farming.
- (Ya.A.) Yana Nikolova Atanasova, singer, born 1920, Tishanovo village, Kyustendil region, finished 2nd grade at school, farming.
- (Y.T.) Yordanka Spasova Trayanova, singer (slagačka), born 1919, Kadrovitsa village, Kyustendil region, finished 4th grade at school, farming.
- (Yu.Y.) Yula Bozhilova Yordanova, born 1911, Dragoychintsi village, Kyustendil region, farming.
- (Z.B.) Zlata Aleksieva Bacheva, born 1913, Cherven Breg village, Dupnitsa region.
- (Zh.Y.) Zhivka Aleksova Yosifova, singer (slagačka), born 1924, Treklyano village, Kyustendil region, finished 4th grade at school, farming.

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Lexicon of local terminology on multipart singing in Setu, Estonia

The Setu multipart song tradition

Estonian older folk songs, named by researchers *regilaul*, are mainly monodic, sometimes with elements of heterophony. *Regilaul* belongs to the ancient Baltic-Finnish tradition of so-called “runic songs”, which are characteristic to such peoples as the Finns, the Karelians, the Izhorians, and the Vots (the term “runic song”, in Estonian *runolaul*, is often used also for *regilaul*). The runic songs (including *regilaul*) have a number of common features in their structure: they are based on alliterative verse in *Kalevala*-meter (a trochaic tetrameter), lines of the text do not compose strophes, melodies have very few figurative elements (i.e. one syllable of the verse corresponds usually to one note of the melody), and songs are performed responsorially — the chorus repeats the line of the lead singer.

The multipart performance of *regilaul* can be found only among the Setus (in the local dialect — *seto*) — a small ethnic group of Estonians living in South-East Estonia and within the adjoining border areas of Russia (Pechory district of Pskov region). Setu multipart singing is obviously of a very old origin and it is characteristic to all genres of songs (work, calendar, wedding, lyrical, lyrical-epic songs, etc.) except solo genres (funeral laments, herding songs, lullabies, etc.).

The traditional culture of the Setus differs in many respects from the culture of other Estonians. Unlike most other Estonians, who are Lutherans, the Setu people are Orthodox. Notable differences also concern language, rites, clothing, etc., and especially music. The originality of Setu traditional songs manifests itself in several important aspects of musical structure: pitch organization (modes), rhythmic structure, and multipart singing. The traditional Setu chorus is divided into two functionally different parts — the lower main part is sung heterophonically by a group of singers, whereas the upper subsidiary part is sung by a solo voice. The choral texture is to a certain degree realized by singers and is reflected in the folk terminology. The often noted peculiarity of the Setu song style is also the specific manner of singing — Setu women sing with open chest voices, much more loudly and intensively than other Estonian female singers (this difference may, however, partly be caused by the fact that in the sound recording era the Setu song tradition was much more viable than that of the other parts of Estonia).

Since the Setus use the same type of multipart singing in their entire repertoire, there are not many special terms concerning multipart texture of the songs. At the same time the etymology of the words and contexts of their use help to understand the traditional way of thinking in the multipart singing practice. Setu folk terms and their interpretation below originate from conversations with carriers of the tradition, the notes of the collectors (expedition diaries), and ethnomusicological studies. The mode of transcription (and pronunciation) of dialect words varies considerably in the different sources; in this publication only one (a more typical) variant of transcription will be given for each term.

Lexicon entries

Ä

ÄÄL (*n; sing.*) — *lit.* voice.

1. Voice.

2. Tune, melody. The folk term for types of tunes, for example: JÄRVE ÄÄL (“the tune of the lake”) for fishing songs, MÄE ÄÄL (“the tune of the hill”) for shrovetide songs, HÄLLÜ ÄÄL (“the tune of the swing”) for swinging songs etc. Such names point to connections between the tune type and the ritual function of the song.

H

HULK (*n; sing.*) — *lit.* amount, crowd. See KUUR (1 and 2).

I

IISTÜTLEJÄ (*n; sing.*) — *lit.* the one who speaks before: *ütlejä* — the one who speaks, speaker; *iist* — before, ahead.

One of the terms for a lead singer (see also SÖNOLINÕ, IISTVÕTJA, LAULUIMÄ). This term describes the main function of a lead singer in a Setu choir — she (he) must utter the words of the next line to the chorus, which repeats them. The other duty of the leader — to remember the tune — is also important, but not so crucial. The fact that the Setus use the verb “to speak” (*ütlema*) more often than “to sing” (*laulma*) when describing their song performance shows that the Setu song tradition (as Estonian *regilaul* in general) is rather more “text oriented” than “music oriented”.

In accordance with the aforesaid, the requirements for the lead singer concern primarily her (his) ability to remember and to improvise long texts. The quality of the voice is not very important, because IISTÜTLEJÄ usually sings in a recitative manner — with a rather soft voice and faster than the chorus.

The lead singer of the Setu choir should also have managerial skills. The chorus joins the leader on the last syllables of the line or on the refrain. The lead singer shows

the moment of the chorus' entrance by slowing down the tempo and amplifying her (his) voice, or by a short pause, or by a movement of the hand (Tampere 1934: 67). The lead singer is also responsible for keeping the convenient tessitura of the song (see KERGÜTÄMINÕ).

The musical abilities of the lead singer must be sufficient to remember the large corpus of the traditional tunes and to fit the tune to the variable structure of the verse. The creation of new tunes and melodic variations of existing tunes are not the traditional tasks of the Setu IISTÜTLEJÄ. During the chorus line the leader may rest and think through the text of the next line. If the leader sings with the chorus, she (he) joins the main lower part (see TORRÕ). Some researchers assert that in the choir the leader sings the third part, which is lower than TORRÕ (Tampere 1934: 62, Garšnek 1953: 33). According to the multitrack recordings made at the end of the 20th century, the lead singer actually may use the lower tune variations (see example 1), but it is not a general rule.

- PHRASES

IIST ÜTLEMA — *lit.* to speak before: *üttelema* — to speak, to say; *iist* — before, ahead.

IISTVÕTJA (n; sing.) — *lit.* the one who takes before: *võtja* — the one who takes, taker; *iist* — before, ahead.

This is one of the terms for a lead singer (see also IISTÜTLEJÄ, SÕNOLINÕ, LAULUIMÄ). It is significant that the word *iistvõtja* also means “an enterprising man (woman)”, “promoter”. There is no direct evidence that the carriers of tradition see some connection between these two meanings, but it is known that “a Setu girl’s ability to sing was customarily one of the criteria by which her merits were judged” (Virtanen 1994: 247; see also Põldmäe 1938: 4–5). The girls who were clever and self-confident enough to be a leader of the choir were considered potentially good housewives.

“In our family, mother was “*the master of the house*” more than our father. Mother was more quick-witted and a great singer or *sõnaline* as it was called then [see *sõnolinõ*]. She could make a song about everything, span yarns and sang [*Meie peres oli rohkem ema peremees kui isa. Ema oli kärmem ja suur lauluinimene, või nagu siis üteldi sõnaline. Igast asjast tegi ta laulu, ise ketras ja laulis.*].” (Memoirs of Siimeon Aasa (1971; RKM, nr 6, pp. 237/247) — www.seto.ee/peko.htm).

K

KERGÜTÄMÄ (*v inf.*) — *lit.* to facilitate, to relieve. To make *kergütäminõ*.

KERGÜTÄMINÕ (*verbal n; sing.*) — the verbal noun from KERGÜTÄMÄ (*lit.* to facilitate, to relieve).

The term for the specific descending modulation that the lead singer makes when the tessitura of singing becomes too high. The word *KERGÜTÄMINÕ* shows the main task of this device — to facilitate singing. The need of such modulation is caused by the circumstance that during performance the pitch level of singing rises fluently. The leader must check whether the tessitura is still good for the singers (especially for the *KILLÕ*) and make modulations if necessary. The *KILLÕ*, in her (his) turn, must “catch” the new pitch level and enter on the right pitch after *KERGÜTÄMINÕ*. For this reason the contact between the leader and the *KILLÕ* singer is very important and in the choir they usually stand side by side.

At the same time, *KERGÜTÄMINÕ* has become the traditional device of performance that is often used just by tradition, without real necessity (i.e. when pitch level is not too high for singing). Among ethnomusicologists there is the opinion that *KERGÜTÄMINÕ* also has the semantic function of marking beginnings of text sections. The analysis of the sound recordings shows that such a use of *KERGÜTÄMINÕ* occurs quite rarely.

In CD 46, the leader makes *KERGÜTÄMINÕ* in the fourth and seventh melodic strophe: in both cases she modulates about a whole step lower, but the pitch level rises quickly again.

KILLÕ (*n; sing.*) — *lit.* bright, shrill, high.

1. The name of the upper part in Setu multipart singing. *KILLÕ* is a subsidiary part which is sung by a solo voice. This part functions as an embellishment and moves along the two or three upper degrees of the scale.

There are three principles for how the *KILLÕ* part can be structured: (1) syllabic drone on the upper scale degree with resolutions to the tonic at the ends of the phrases (only in archaic tunes based on one-three-semitone mode¹) (see example 1); (2) realization of “harmonic rhythm”² of the tune on two or three upper scale degrees (in both older and newer tunes) (see example 2, CD 47); (3) motion in parallel thirds with main melody occurring periodically during the strophe as an addition to second principle (mostly in newer diatonic tunes).

The general meaning of the word *KILLÕ* (“bright”, “shrill”, “high”) points to a specific timbre peculiar to this part. The timbre contrast between *TORRÕ* and *KILLÕ* is an important feature of the Setu singing style.

The carriers of tradition attach great importance to the *KILLÕ* part and *KILLÕ* singer. The performance of the songs is not possible without *KILLÕ* and the quality of choir’s sound depends mainly on the *KILLÕ* singer. The requirements for the *KILLÕ*, unlike

1 For more information on the Setu one-three-semitone mode see Pärtlas 2000, 2006b.

2 For more information on the “harmonic rhythm” in Setu folk songs see Pärtlas 2001, 2006a.

those for the lead singer (see *IISTÜTLEJÄ*), are of a musical kind. The *KILLÕ* singer must be able to sing with chest voice in a high register and have a very strong ringing voice which can be heard against the background of *TORRÕ* singers (usually 5–6, sometimes even 20 people). The *KILLÕ* singer must also have great endurance, since the Setu songs are often very long.

“Mehidse Anne had very big *KILLÕ*! And she sang her *KILLÕ* with 23 singers. It was very beautiful *KILLÕ*! When we were returning from the concert tour in Tallinn, we sang all the time [The trip from Tallinn to Setumaa takes about 3,5 hours. — *Ž. P.*] and her *KILLÕ* was not yet tired. [*Mehidse Annel oli nii suur killõ! Ja tä laul 23 laulja siäh oma killõ araq. Väega illos killõ oll! Ku tullimi Talinast esinemäst, sis terve tü laulimi ja tä killõ viil arq es väsiig.*]” (Interview with Liidia Lind (2004, Andreas Kalkun) — Kalkun 2004: 27)

The absence of the *KILLÕ* singer is often the reason why Setu singers refuse to perform songs. Of a *KILLÕ* who has a too weak or flat voice, they say *matal killõ* (LOW *KILLÕ*) or *mabe killõ* (MILD *KILLÕ*). The good *KILLÕ* is *kõva* (strong, loud), *suur* (big), *illos* (beautiful). The duty of the *KILLÕ* singer is also to keep the right balance between *TORRÕ* and *KILLÕ*:

“With regard to the *KILLÕ*, the thing is that if there are very many *TORRÕ*s, *KILLÕ* has to take it more loudly. If, however, the *TORRÕ* is poor, the *KILLÕ* has to restrain herself (himself). She (he) must not shout too loudly. [*Killõga om ka sääne lugu, et ku veiga palljo om torrõsit, sis piat õks killõ kõvõbabe võtma, a kui om nõrk torrõ, sis piat jal killõ tagasi hoidma. Saa-ai nii kõvastõ ka' böigata.*]” (Interview with Maria Kala (2003, Õie Sarv) — www.sarv.ee/setokolledz/laulunaase.htm).

2. The term for a singer who sings the *KILLÕ* part.

KUUR [*koor*] (*n*; *sing.*) — *lit.* chorus, choir.

1. One of the terms for the Setu traditional choir (see also *LAULUPARK*, *LEELOKUUR*, *KUUR*, *PARK*).

2. The term for chorus, i.e. for all participants of the choir except the lead singer (see also *KUUR*, *PARK*). This term reflects the opposition — leader *v.* chorus, which is characteristic for the Setu song tradition. This opposition manifests itself musically in the manner of singing: soft and fast half-speech *v.* slow and loud singing (the degree of such a contrast varies in the different performances). If the main value of the leader's part is a poetic text, then in the chorus' part the music-making takes priority.

Typical descriptions of singing in the open air point to the ability of sound to cover great distances:

“They sing in such a way that the lake resonates back [*Lauldas nii, et järv müra vastu*]” (Interview with Anne Vabarna (1959, Aino Strutzkin, Selma Lätt) — RKM, Mgn. II 322 c ja d).

“When we were herding, we sang in such a way that the village thundered [*Ise karja juures laulsime ka nii, et küla müürises*] (Interview with Veera Hirsik (2003, Andreas Kalkun) — Kalkun 2004: 36).

“When three of us, my sisters and I, sang together, the whole valley echoed [*Kui õdedega kolmekesi laulsime, siis terve org kajas*] (Interview with Anna Täht (2005, Külli Koppelmaa) — www.sonumitooja.ee/2005/St50/kehras.htm).

L

LAULUIMÄ [*lauluema*] (*n; sing.*) — *lit.* the mother of songs: *laul* — song; *imä* — mother. The traditional term for highly esteemed lead singers — valued wedding singers, improvisers (see SÖNOLINÕ). In the 20th century, under the influence of romantic nationalist ideology, this term acquired a slightly heroic and mystical character. In the middle of the 20th century the term LAULUIMÄ obtained a new status, it became an official title which could not be used for every good SÖNOLINÕ. It affected traditional singing practice to a certain extent, because the right to sing the leader’s part became more limited (only one lead singer in the choir). (Kalkun 2004: 16)

LAULUPARK (*n; sing.*) — *lit.* singing crowd: *laul* — song; *park* — group, amount, crowd. One of the terms for the Setu traditional choir (= LEELOKUUR; see also PARK, HULK, KUUR).

LEELO (*n; sing.*) — *lit.* song.

The Setu term LEELO is used only for songs of the older style (Estonian *regilaul*; see introduction). The generic term for “a song” is *laul*.

“My first musical emotion was LEELO, because when I was born there was no radio in the house, to say nothing of other technology. Thus, if somebody sang, it was only *leelo* [*Minu esimene muusikaline emotsioon oli leelo, sest ega siis, kui mina sündisin raadiot majas ei olnud, rääkimata muust tehnikast. Nii et kui lauldi, siis lauldi ainult leelos.*]” (Interview with Veera Hirsik (2003, Andreas Kalkun) — Kalkun 2004: 36).

LEELOKUUR (*n; sing.*) — *lit.* singing choir: *leelo* — song; *kuur* — choir, chorus.

One of the terms for the Setu traditional choir (= LAULUPARK; see also PARK, HULK, KUUR). This term is often used before the official name of organized folk song groups (for example, *leelokuur* “*Leiko*”, *leelokuur* “*Helmine*” etc.). The word LEELO underlines the fact that a choir performs the old-style Setu songs (*regilaul*; see introduction).

LEELOTÄMÄ [*leelotama*] (*v inf.*) — *lit.* to sing LEELO.

This term means to sing songs of the old style — *regilaul* (see introduction).

P

PARK (*n; sing.*) — *lit.* group, amount, crowd. See **HULK** (1 and 2).

S

SÕNOLINÕ (*n; sing.*) — from *sõna* — word; approximate translation “word maker”.

One of the terms for a lead singer (see also **ISTÜTLEJÄ**, **ISTVÕTJA**, **LAULUIMÄ**). This term has a shade of meaning that points to the leader’s skills in creating new texts. In the Setu song tradition, the genre of improvisation is very important. Nowadays, improvisation contests are carried out during Setu festivals *Setu Kuningriigi Päev* (“The Day of Setu Kingdom”) and *Leelopäev* (“The Day of Songs”). There are also some other song genres (for example, bride’s lamentations) where a lead singer has to improvise texts according to the situation. Naturally, in such songs the role of the leader is especially significant.

“Mäeste Anne was a very good *sõnategija* (lit. “word maker”), but Kati was not such a good *sõnategija*; Kati was an old songs’ singer, she knew many of those old songs, but Mäeste Anne was a terrific *sõnoline*. She herself made all such words and found [suitable — *Ž. P.*] tunes. [*Mäeste Anne ol' väega hää sõnategija, õga Kati ol'-s nii hää sõnategija, Kati ol' nigu vammu laulõ laulja, ta tiidse noid vammu laulõ rohkõba, a Mäeste Anne ol' maru hää sõnoline. Esi tekk kõik sääntsit sõnnu ja viise võtt.*]” (Interview with Anna Kõivo (2004, Andreas Kalkun) — Kalkun 2004: 18)

T

TORRÕ (*n; sing.*) — *lit.* low (about voice); splendid, gorgeous.

1. The name of the lower part in Setu multipart singing. **TORRÕ** is a main part, which is sung heterophonically by chorus. The **TORRÕ** part repeats, usually with extensions and alternations, the leader’s melody.

The divergences between individual melodic lines within the **TORRÕ** part are not consciously designed by the singers. If they are asked about it they usually explain: “**TORRÕ**s sing on one voice (tune) [*Torrõd laulavad ühe häälega*]”. At the same time the singers recognize that they do not sing in strict unison.

Sometimes one of the **TORRÕ** singers sings lower tune variations than others. Ethnomusicologists refer to this part as “**THE LOWER TORRÕ**” [*alumine torrõ*], but there is no special folk term for such a voice. In the presence of “**THE LOWER TORRÕ**” the texture of Setu songs approaches three-part singing with the main melody in the middle voice (see example 1).

The etymology of the term TORRÕ is not clear. It is possible that the second (more general) meaning of this word — “splendid”, “gorgeous” — points to the pleasant sound of TORRÕ voices, but this connection is, however, questionable. There are also some other associations: *toro* — pipe, *toores* — raw, rough, rude. The dictionary of Võru dialect gives the following example of the use of the word TORRÕ: “he (she) spoke in a low voice as if from the bottom of the tun” [*kynõlõs torrõ helügaq, niguq pütüpõh’ast*] (www.folklore.ee/cgi-bin/v6rosõnastik). This description seems to some extent characterize the vocal manner of TORRÕ singers (especially men).

2. The term for singers who sing the TORRÕ part.

9. Ot - sa jõv - va_ks mi ot - sa õ - da - gus - ta, le - lo, le-lo, le-lo!

Ot - sa jõv - va_ks mi ot - sa õ - da - gus - ta, le - lo, le-lo, le-lo!

Ot - sa jõv - va_ks mi ot - sa õ - da - gus - ta, le - lo, le-lo, le-lo!

EXAMPLE 1. The harvest song (*Lelotaminõ*) performed by a women’s group from Miki-tamäe village (*leelokuur* “Helmire”) in 1995 (multitrack recording); *üstitlejä* Nati Tarkus (1922), *killõ* Veera Lunda (1921); musical transcription by Žanna Pärtlas.

2. Siin om-ma_{ks} na nur - mõ nu - r'a - to - he, le-loo, le-lo, le-loo,
 siin om-ma_{ks} na nur - mõ nu - r'a - to - he, le-loo, le-lo, le-lo!

EXAMPLE 2. The harvest song (*Lelotaminõ*) performed by a women's group from Mikitamäe village (*leelokuur* "Helmine") in 1998; *iistütlejä* Laine Pai (1938), *killõ* Veera Lunda (1921); musical transcription by Žanna Pärtlas.

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Lexicon of multipart singing in France Mainland

General information about multipart singing in France Mainland

Multipart singing appears in mainland France in four southern points located in the state periphery, zones of mountain and Piedmont.

ALPS:

- The most northern is Savoy (2 French departments “Savoie” close to the Italian multipart tradition of valley of Aosta)
- Old Nice County (close to Ligurian (Italy) multipart singing)

PYRENEES:

- A West to East geographical continuum with northern Basque country — Basque language —, Béarn and Bigorre — Occitan language — (2 departments)
- In the high Aude valley (near Carcassonne): 3 villages like Espéraza

In these regions the soloist performance exists but public performances are generally in multipart singing apart from the dances in the Pyrenees.

Here, multipart singing presents singers in *numerus apertus* (Lortat-Jacob 1993) and on the musical level, a melodic-horizontal type behaviour (Macchiarella). Process is multipart and simultaneous, homorhythmic and for a large part, parallel.

However, at the rhythmic level, this collective performance, and above all *numerus apertus* singing, doesn't present classical rhythmic scheme, but asymmetric beats, complex asymmetric rhythmic segments.

This multipart singing is constructed on the *cantus firmus* or *cantus prius factus* by the creation of one high voice and one lower voice. However, performance is not always three parts. The core is always in two parts with the higher and the lower parts whatever the number of singers may be. For example, one can find fifteen singers producing only two parts.

In the Pyrenees, according to the local discussion and the analysis, the difference comes from the combination of several parameters:

- the capacity to create a third voice
- the vocal quality. There are few low voices in this region

However there is no absolute specialization of voices. In fact, certain singers will sing a particular part but can, at any moment, that is even during a performance, and in an unplanned fashion, follow another part.

Another parameter:

- the necessity to have enough good singers to assure the other voices in their tone and firmness.
- A melody line of *cantus* that allows the high and low simultaneous voice accompaniments. In order to obtain three distinct and vertically complementary parts. The bass doubling at an octave lower than the high is not ordinarily used.

In fact the multipart singing is built musically according to strict rules, it uses four models (two polyphonic prototypes: parallelism and drone):

- Model 1: Parallelism in the high part in thirds. An exception with the second degree that often presents third or fourth. Not as a single variation but as a system, in all French (and often European) multipart.
- Model 2: Parallelism in the bass part in thirds except the first two notes of the scale, accompanied respectively in sixth (or octave) and fifth. To be found in Béarn, Bigorre, Basque country and Savoie. The Basque country uses sometimes a strict parallel bass model, too.
- Model 3: A low drone on the first degree of the scale. This appears in Nice County and in the small Gascon village of Came (near Béarn and Basque country border).
- Model 4: A high drone on the fifth degree. This can be found (or is known for the moment) in Béarn.

From the physical point of view, harmonics appears. The singers know vocal fusion and I can say that they aim at it. In Béarn singers speak about *votz deus anjos*: voice of angels.

This tradition presents only 4 multipart models but it is necessary to understand these models or prototypes for they are, according to the definition of the semiologist Jean Molino: The “pure” forms explicit or implicit, from which the sung realisations can be more or less distant. The interest lies in unravelling the way in which multipart models form. In any case we cannot apprehend the model without looking at the conditions of a performance.

Performances in Béarn show a multipart variation and, may be, a sense in this variation.

For example in a table context, the multipart singing starts only with two parts. Here the number of singers is variable; usually three or four. The higher pitched part in a third. This part is varied also using, commonly, fourths and fifths, sometimes sixth, according to the “degrees” of the scale. In another context, the same singers

on the same song, present another multipart process. For example in a “social over-excitement” context, the great voices, seems to prefer high drone to parallelism thirds and melodic variation.

The realisation of multipart models and the structuring of vocal parts seem to follow a sense; the vocal tension parallel to either the number of singers or the consumption of alcohol.

In all the regions, singers use the same basic vocabulary with the same general meaning. However, at a particular level, the same word can sometimes have a different meaning.

For the high part: the high or first part; and for the lower one: the bass. For the cantus, they say song, tune and in Savoie first. For the third voice, drone or parallel, they sometimes say contra-bass (double bass) or contra-alta. In Savoie, the high voice as third part: la piülta (the cheep voice).

In the Basque country the same meaning appears with many very interesting developments. The high part can be called too mehetik. Singers translate this term as the thin voice or the slim voice: “the thin voice which goes upwards”. Also, some singers associate mehetik with forcing the voice and the pride of what wants to be distinguished.

Besides, in Basque language, a too much dominant high-pitched voice, which breaks the balance with the other voices, or the voices that are too strained, close to a cry, diversely appreciated and accepted according to the context are called basatik; literally “by the wild”, or “that comes from the wild”. So, in the Basque country meta-language — but this representation is the same in Béarn — places clearly the polyphonic construction in a dialectic nature/culture.

The similarity between multipart singing forms in France, moreover parallelism similarities (like the bass one), without geographical continuum (between the Alps and the Pyrenees), seem to prove the existence of an old common model. However, multipart oral practice is old in these countries, dating from before the XIXth century. But, this model may come from a writing practice, may be the Renaissance faux-bourdon with its sixth consonance. The Church may have been the common mediator in the past even if free multipart improvisation by the church congregation (farmer/herders) has been generally prohibited — or just tolerated — by the priests for, at least, eighty years (Pyrenees).

However, old popular manuscripts in Béarn (XIXth c.) and Nice County (XVIIIth c. in Valley of Vesubie), theoretical treaties, show similarities or identity with oral tradition. In addition, the two French departments of Savoy are close to the now Italian Valley of Aosta, where the popular word faux-bourdon means multipart singing (E. Lagnier).

Also, the identity of cadences in Corsica and mainland France, gives an idea as for the circulation of multipart singing forms in southern Europe and Mediterranean.

A

AIREA: Euskara. Literally *the air*. In the northern Basque country, an existing poem, sung; used as support for multi-part singing.

APALETIK: Euskara. Literally — *from the bottom*. Bass part of multi-part singing in the northern Basque country. This is accomplished according to two prototypes: parallel lines or the drone. The parallel lines are ‘realised’ according to the model of strict third harmonic, major or minor or upon a model in which the two first chords are respectively accompanied in the sixth and fifth. The drone, *ostinato* on a single note (Collaer Paul 1960: 66), is declined on the final modal or is bipolar: final and fifth heard as today in the *pastorales* (popular operas) of the Soule Valley.

ABORRIR: Occitan-Gascon. *Throw forcefully* — (Palay Simin 1991:6). It can also take the meaning *to engender* (Lespy Vastin and Raymond Paul 1998: 7).

It was used in 1963 by François Trey, musician of the Ossau Valley, in a phonogram of the National Museum of Popular Arts & Traditions (MuCEM [ex-MNATP] phonogram 63.36.125) in order to mobilise the whole of the singers present in the singing.

The derived noun *Aborrida* signifies *impluse, movement*. Moreover, the derivative verb in Gers Gascon signifies *scramble, mix* (Palay Simin 1991:6).

This expression illustrates the Béarnais conception of multi-part singing as an obligation toward vocal homogeneity, of fusion, that of individuals who are acting together, undergoing a mutation in order to create a whole which is different from the constituting parts.

B

BAISHA (LA): Occitan-Gascon. *Bass*. Bass part of multi-part singing in the Gascon Pyrenees. It is created according to two prototypes: parallel lines or the drone. The parallel lines are built on a model of consonance in strictly parallel third in major or minor, but the preferred is the model in which the two first chords are respectively accompanied in the sixth and the fifth. The drone, *ostinato* on a single note (Collaer Paul 1960: 66), is declined on the final modal or is bipolar: final and fifth. This is practised in the lower-Adour and Bigorre.

BASATIK: Euskara. Literally *by the wild*. In northern Basque country, a deviant vocal behaviour, mostly in the high part, that compromises or breaks the multi-part balance.

The root *basa* designates “the forest”: nature as opposed to culture. In its usage, the

word indicates the Basque and the greater Pyrenean perception of multi-part singing: a cultural construct as opposed to the wild, to nature.

BASS: Piedmontese. Literally *the bottom (bass)*. Vicinity of Nice and the La Roya Valley (Maritime Alps), the lowest part of multi-part singing. It is created according to two prototypes: parallel lines or drone. Note that the regions concerned are occitano-phone or ligurophone— term borrowed from neighbouring Piedmont.

BASSO (LO): Ligurian alpine. Literally *the bottom (bass)* In La Roya Valley (Maritime Alps), the lowest part of multi-part singing. It evolves according to two prototypes: parallel lines or the drone. (Cyril Isnart's fieldwork).

C

CANT (LO): Occitan-Gascon. Literally *the song*. In the Gascon Pyrenees, an existing poem sung as support for multi-part singing.

CANTA DE TAULA: Occitan-Gascon. *Table song*. Category in the Gascon-Pyrenean repertory corresponding to lyric song, excellent polyphonic repertory, produced in convivial situations associated with the consumption of food and drink: sitting around a table or standing in a café. This syntagm is used particularly in the Ossau Valley where there are other poetic-musical categories.

CANTÈRA: Occitan-Gascon. *Singing party*. Term in Pyrenean Gascogne designating:

1 — the act of collective singing

2 — an emotional, festive and overflowing quality.

See also *Gaièra*.

Phrase: *Ua tarribla cantèra (a terrific singing party)*; *Ua cantèra a tot petar (an explosive singing party)*. (Also in the idiom *they sang so hard they brought the walls down*)

COBLA (LA): Franco-Provençal. *The group*. In Savoy, designates a group of singers.

Phrase: *Shanta in cobla (to sing in a group)* (Jean-Marc Jacquier's fieldwork)

CONTRA (LA): Occitan-Gascon. Literally "*the counter*". In Pyrenean Gascogne, the part stemming from the cantus that determines the multi-part singing. It literally designates the part situated next to the cantus, that accompanies it and is used in the sense as the second part. The origin of the term comes from the Latin cult terminology (*contratenor*) 'put together' — in the sense defined by Georges Balandier — by the local culture.

See also *Contra-hauta* et *Contra-bassa*.

CONTRA-BASSA (LA): Occitan-Gascon. *Counterbass*. In Pyrenean Gascogne, a term sometimes used by experienced singers to designate the lowest part in multi-part singing, particularly in a configuration of three parts. It literally designates the part closest to the bass. The origin of the term comes from the Latin cult terminology (*contratenor*) ‘put together’ — in the sense defined by Georges Balandier — by the local culture.

See also *Contra (La) et Contra-hauta*.

CONTRA-HAUTA (LA): Occitan-Gascon. *High-counter*. In Pyrenean Gascogne, used sometimes by the singers to designate the highest part in multi-part singing, particularly in a configuration of three parts, or four in case of a doubled high part. It literally designates the part situated near the song line (*cantus*) or the high (*haute*). The origin of the term comes from the Latin cult terminology (*contratenor*) ‘put together’ — in the sense defined by Georges Balandier — by the local culture.

See also *Contra (La) et Contra-bassa*.

F

FAUSBORDON (LO): Occitan-Gascon. *False-drone*. Used in Gascogne during the 19th century as synonymous with improvised multi-part singing in written descriptions by illustrious locals, about popular practise.

G

GAIÈRA: Occitan-Gascon. Deriving from the word *gay* (joy), in Bigorre, the term designates excitement, the festive and emotional qualities produced on the occasion of a singing party (*cantèra*).

See also *Cantèra*.

Phrase: *Ua tarribla gaièra (a terrific singing party)* ; *Ua gaièra a tot petar (an explosive singing party)*.

GORATIK: Euskara. Literally *by the highest*. In the northern Basque country, used to indicate the highest part in multi-part singing. It is created according to a base model, in parallel, composed of thirds, major or minor, the second chord can be accompanied in a fourth on the tonic or the rests. In a configuration of two voices, the term can mean the song line (*cantus*).

H

HAUTA (LA): Occitan-Gascon. Literally *the high*. In the Gascon Pyrenees, the highest part in multi-part singing. It is created according to a base model, in parallel, composed of thirds, major or minor, the second chord can be accompanied in fourth on the tonic or the rests. A variation of this base model uses the fifth and sixths which

ornament the singing. In a configuration of two voices, the term can designate the song line (*cantus*).

Phrase: *Cantar dab la hauta e la baisha* (sing high and low) ; *hè petar la hauta* (go ahead, hit the high) ; *Ua bèra hauta* (a good high voice).

M

MEHETIK: Euskara. Literally — *the thin*. In the northern Basque country, it can designate the high part in multi-part singing. The term can refer to the vocal behaviour of the high part being forced and so to the pride of the singer who wants to be noticed.

Phrase: “*the thin, fine voice that is on high*” (Castéret Jean-Jacques 2002: 188)

“*Bosamebe: the thin voice that goes above*”

“*Allez, eban mehetic: give us the higher third*”

MEJANA (LA)/LOYENNE (LA): Occitan-Gascon/French. *The Middle*. In the Gascon Pyrenees, the pre-existing vocal part that is the support for multi-part singing in three parts.

Cf. also *première, normala, cant, talha*.

N

NORMALA (LA)/NORMALE (LA): Occitan-Gascon/French. *The Normal*. In the Gascon Pyrenees, the pre-existing vocal part that is the support for multi-part singing. The term appears in the multi-part configuration including three parts.

Cf. also *première, miejana, cant, talha*.

P

PIÛLTA (LA): Franco-Provençal. *The highest*. Literally the voice that screams (*the shrill voice*). In Savoy, the high part in multi-part singing in a configuration of three parts. (Jean-Marc Jacquier’s fieldwork).

PLAIN-CHANT (LE): French. *Plainsong*. In Bigorre (High Pyrenees), it is used by some singers to designate the pre-existing sung poem that serves as a support for multi-part singing (Bastien Miqueu’s fieldwork). The influence of the cult lexicon is evident.

PURMÈRA (LA)/PREMIÈRE (LA): Occitan-Gascon/French. *The first*. In the Gascon Pyrenees, used sometimes by elder singers to designate the high voice in multi-part singing.

PRIM: Piedmontese. Literally *the first*. Found in the country around Nice (Maritime Alps), indicating the high voice in multi-part singing.

PRIMO (LO): Ligurian alpine. Literally *the first*. Found in the La Roya Valley (Maritime Alps), high voice in multi-part singing. (Cyril Isnart's fieldwork).

PRIN-MA (LA): Franco-Provençal. Literally *the first*. In Savoy, pre-existing voice part used as a support for multi-part singing. (Jean-Marc Jacquier's fieldwork).

S

SCONDA (LA): Piedmontese. Literally *the second*. Found in the country around Nice (Maritime Alps), pre-existing sung poem used as support for multi-part singing. Note that it concerns a usage borrowed from the Piedmont neighbours by an occitano-phone region.

SECONDO (LE): Ligurian alpine. Literally *the second*. Found in the La Roya Valley (Maritime Alps), pre-existing sung poem used as support in multi-part singing.

T

TALHA (LA)/TAILLE (LA): Occitan-Gascon/French. Term used previously in the village of Benac (Bastien Miqueu's fieldwork), in Bigorre (High-Pyrenees), in church as well as in profane contexts, to designate the pre-existing vocal part, support for multi-part singing, and occupying the middle position in a production of three parts. A term borrowed from the French baroque music lexicon.

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Georgia: traditional vocal polyphony and folk terminology

I. General review of Georgian polyphonic traditions

Georgia (in Georgian “Sakartvelo” — “საქართველო”) is a small mountainous country on the east side of the Black Sea. Georgia shows an array of important signs of unbroken cultural ancestry. Autochthonous residents of the Transcaucasia, Georgians still speak the Georgian language, which survives from the epoch of the pre-Indo-European languages. Being surrounded by the highest mountains of Europe (reaching at several points more than 5,000 meters), the Caucasian mountain gorges represent the ideal “hiding spot” from outer influences for isolated populations. Even today for a big part of the year the only way to reach some of the populated mountain regions of Georgia is by helicopter only.



FIGURE 1. Ethnographic map of Georgia (from Tsitsishvili, 2010: 8. Used with permission)

Georgia is usually divided into fifteen ethnographic regions. Some of them are very big, such as Kartli, Kakheti, Mekheti or Imereti, but some of them are very small — particularly in the northeastern part of Georgia.

Let us first briefly discuss the general characteristics of Georgian polyphony (for more detailed surveys see Jordania, 2000, 2006), and then we'll discuss the main stylistic features of the major regions.

- (1) Unlike few countries in Europe, where the tradition of polyphonic singing is represented only in some of the regions, the whole of Georgia is one big group of closely related polyphonic traditions;
- (2) Two-, three- and four-part singing is spread through different regions of Georgia, with two-part singing mostly in the mountainous Northeastern regions of the East Georgia, and four-part singing in the Southwestern part of Georgia. Three-part singing is the most widespread throughout Georgia;
- (3) There is no tradition of group unison singing in Georgia, so monophonic songs are performed by individual singers; Monophonic singing occurs only when the performer is alone (during work in a field, or alone on a road, or putting a baby to sleep, or lamenting alone). If, for any reason, the person is not alone, then even the traditionally monophonic songs can easily turn into polyphonic ones.
- (4) There are more than hundred terms indicating the names and the functions of different parts of the polyphonic texture. (See the detailed list of the terms and their characteristics in the second part of this article.)
- (5) The individual singers always sing main melodic parts, and the group usually sings the bass. In the tradition of “trio” songs (common in some regions of western Georgia) the bass is also performed by the solo performer. In four-part western Georgian harvest songs there are actually two basses — one is a pedal drone in the middle of the texture, and another is a melodically active low base. Both basses are performed by a group of singers;
- (6) Drone and ostinato are the two most important principles of polyphony in all regions of Georgia;
- (7) Sharp dissonant chords are very characteristic for Georgian traditional polyphony.

EAST GEORGIA consists of two of Georgia's biggest ethnographic regions — Kakheti and Kartli and five (some researchers maintain six) small mountain regions in the Northeastern part of Georgia: Khevsureti, Pshavi, Tusheti, Khevi, Mtiuleti (and according to some classifications — Gudamakari as well. See Garaqanidze, 1991).

The plain regions of eastern Georgia — Kartli and Kakheti — have always been historically central for Georgia. The best-known feature of eastern Georgian traditional singing is the presence of long, “drawn-out” table songs from Kartli and par-

ticularly Kakheti. These songs are performed by the two melodic lines singing against a background of a steady pedal drone on “O”. The leading melodies are always performed by the individual singers, and the drone by all the others.

The leading melodic lines have a wide range (about an octave or wider) and of these two melodies one is usually a bit higher than the other. The lower melody is considered to be the leading part of the song (*mkmeli*, “the one who speaks”, or the “first voice”), who usually starts a song, followed by the higher “second voice” or *modzakbili* (“the one who follows”). The main task of both lead singers is to ornament their melodic lines. The tempo is usually slow, and the songs are mostly performed in free (rubato) time. Today these two parts quite often sing in parallel thirds, although recordings of the first half of the 20th century show that the coordination between these two melodic lines was much more free. Some major sections of eastern Georgian table songs are performed in two parts, as the leading singers sometimes alternate with each other. Here is an example of East Georgian long table song

Ad libitum ♩ ≈ 150

ta-mar k'a-lo, k'vekh-nis tva - lo, a - ru - la - lo,

he he a a - ru - la - a - lo da, he he he - i - da,

a - ru - la lo,

EXAMPLE 1. Opening section of “Tamar Kalo” [Maiden Tamar]. (Garaqanidze, Jordania, 2004:114)

(Important: in all musical examples top parts, written in a treble clef, must be performed an octave lower, as indicated by the clef itself)

Although the bass is a pedal drone in eastern Georgian “long” table songs, it does move, leading to key changes (modulations). These occasional bass moves are extremely important for the overall form of a song. These key changes, or modulations, make up the main tonal body of the table song. The scale in East Georgian table songs is very consistent — virtually always the same diatonic scale, commonly known as Mixolydian.

Long table songs are not the only genres of polyphonic music in East Georgia. There are plenty of other singing genres here as well — from horse-riding to love, healing, working and round dances. Interestingly, none of them are performed in the style of the long table songs. Although the moderate use of ornaments is encountered in most of the eastern Georgian genres (particularly in the solo, opening sections), the rhythm is usually precise, the songs do not employ the complex system of modulations, pedal drone is mostly replaced by the rhythmic drone, or ostinato, and the verbal text is often rendered by all three parts simultaneously. Here is an example of this singing style from East Georgia:

Andante
solo

o ho ho ho, i - a - o, 1.chven-sa cha-mo-di - a - o.
2.var be - ri - ka - tsi - a - o.

am ert ch'i-k'as ki - de dav - lev, o, me - re dav-tvre-bi-a - o, o.
a - xa - lu - xi she-mo-matsv-da o, cho-xats ar mats-vi-a - o, o.

EXAMPLE 2. Gigini [humming] lyrical song (Garaqanidze, Jordania, 2004:5)

Polyphonic singing traditions in the northeastern ethnographic regions of Georgia are not as sophisticated as in Kartli and Kakheti. Two-part singing dominates here. The northeastern dialectal regions are usually united into two groups: the Tusheti, Pshavi and Khevsureti are generally regarded as more archaic regions (especially Khevsureti), and the Khevi and Mtiuleti are considered to be more advanced. The singing traditions of Khevsureti are of particular interest. Their rudimental two-part

drone polyphony is often regarded as the most archaic survival of the ancient Georgian singing tradition (Chkhikvadze, 1961; Araqishvili, 1905, 1916). Alternative view also exists, that in Khevsureti we have a case of a degradation and disappearance of more advanced traditions of polyphonic singing (Jordania, 2006:198–200). Pshavi could be the classical representative of polyphonic singing of this small group of regions from northeastern region of Georgia, with two-part drone singing, antiphon between the two soloists, major second moves of the drone, and the typical cadences on the unison. Tusheti is known as the region of the seasonal shepherd-travelers with interesting ties to the neighboring North Caucasian peoples, and some features of their musical traditions, unusual among other Georgian regions. Khevi and Mtiuleti represent a more advanced region, where two-part singing is well established and there are songs where three-part singing plays an important role.

Meskheti, located in the southern part of central Georgia This is the only region of Georgia where (possibly mostly due to demographic reasons) the tradition of polyphonic singing began disappearing during the 20th century and was finally lost in the 1970s. According to the recordings made from the last survivors of the local polyphonic tradition, the Meskhetic polyphonic style was close to the eastern Georgian (Kartlian and Kakhetian) style, with the drone (both pedal and rhythmic), and with “long” table songs with ornamented melody (Magradze, 1986).

Georgians also live outside of Georgia’s eastern border, in the district of Kakhi of the neighboring Azerbaijan. This region is also known as Saingilo. The Georgian population of Saingilo is partly Christian and partly Moslem. According to the limited information, the tradition of polyphonic singing (in harvest songs) was still alive in Saingilo in the 1920s and 1930s. Some of their contemporary monophonic song melodies combine the elements of the melody and the bass. The group of young local patriotic males was singing new songs in the traditional Georgian style of drone three-part polyphony in the 1990s.

WEST GEORGIA is well known for their traditional contrapuntal polyphony, although the drone and ostinato plays an important role in western Georgian polyphony as well.

Western Georgia consists of six (according to some views — seven) so-called musical dialects. Unlike eastern Georgia, where we have three asymmetrically big plain regions and several much smaller mountainous regions, the differences between the region sizes are not as big in western Georgia.

The musical differences between East and West Georgia are quite obvious:

Rhythmically western Georgian polyphonic songs are always well defined (no free metres, usual in East Georgian table songs and solo work songs);

Melodic lines never use rich melismatic ornamentation, so usual for the eastern Georgia and particularly for the genre of ‘long’ table songs;

Instead of two- and three-part singing in East Georgia, West Georgia represents the world of three- and four-part polyphony;

The drone is present in West Georgia, but it is mostly a rhythmic drone, and besides, in some of the most complex songs the drone is in the middle of the four-part polyphonic texture (instead of being in the lowest part only in eastern Georgia);

Unlike East Georgian drone and ostinato bass, the bass part in some West Georgian regions can be extremely active melodically, and sometimes is performed by a soloist.

The tradition of “trio song” (three-part songs sung by three individual singers) is also unique to some regions of western Georgia;

The yodel is present only in West Georgia;

Triple metres $\frac{3}{4}$ and $\frac{3}{8}$, very popular in eastern Georgia (particularly in certain round dances), are rare in some regions and completely absent in other regions of western Georgia.

The best-known tradition from western Georgia is the highly developed tradition of contrapuntal polyphony in Guria. Here is the example of four-part polyphony of the harvest song *Naduri* with an interesting mixture of contapuntal, drone and ostinato types of polyphony:

Krimanchuli
& Mtkmeli

Shemkhubari's
& Bases

EXAMPLE 3. *Naduri*. Final section of a harvest song.
Traditionally performed during hoeing on maize fields.
Transcription: Joseph Jordania.

In this four-part section we can see: (1) *Krimanchuli* on the top (see the description of traditional terms in a special section of this article) (2) *shemkmbobari* (a specific pedal drone in the middle of the texture) (3) *mtkmeli*, the leading voice, who starts the song and who is the only part that recites the text, and (4) *Bani* the lowest voice, which is melodically very active, and mostly sings a perfect fifth below the pedal drone of *shemkmbobari*. Out of these four parts, two of them (*shemkmbobari* and the bass) are traditionally performed by the groups of singers, and the two other parts (*krimanchuli* and *mtkmeli*) are performed by individual singers.

Mixture of different compositional principles is in fact very common for the Georgian (and particularly western Georgian) tradition of polyphonic singing. Tamaz Gabisonia distinguished several such types of Georgian polyphony, based on a mixture of different compositional principles of polyphony, in a special group of *synthesis* types of polyphony (Gabisonia, 1988:12).

Wide improvisational possibilities of the bass part to create a wide range of melodic and harmonic versions in trio songs attracted the most talented Gurian singers, and for this reason most of the well-known Gurian singers were known as bass performers (N. Jordania, 1985).

Different western Georgian dialects also feature elements that give them a special place in the tapestry of Georgian polyphonic tradition. The Imeretian dialect (the biggest region in western Georgia), for example, is famous for its dynamic riders' songs and for the flourishing tradition of European-style urban polyphonic songs; the Megrelian dialect is known for its combination of sharp dissonances with a very soft manner of singing (Megrelians also speak their own language); the Acharian dialect (the only region with Moslem Georgians in western Georgia) has two very different styles: (1) the so-called Kobuletian region is very close to the Gurian style of complex three- and four-part polyphony (according to some scholars, residents in this part of Acharians are Gurians who were under Turkish rule and changed their religion), and (2) the so-called Shavsheti region with a two-part polyphonic singing tradition (the only region with two-part singing in western Georgia. Garaqanidze, 1991). Svaneti (particularly the so-called "upper Svaneti") holds a special place in Georgian ethnographic literature. This is the most mountainous region of Georgia, completely cut off for a good half of the year from the rest of the world. Svanetians have their own linguistically very archaic Svanetian language, archaic non-rhythmic poetry, and they sometimes still use their impressive 8–12th century family towers. Together with this variety of archaic features, Svanetians have quite outstanding polyphonic traditions (Araqishvili, 1950), featuring exclusively three-part close dissonant-based antiphonal polyphony that grow into round-dances; melodic range of Svanetian songs is very narrow (usually within the fourth); unlike most other Georgian singing traditions, where the mens' and womens' singing is gender-segregated, in Svaneti the men and women often sing and dance together.

Racha, neighbouring Svaneti, is another very interesting region, although archaisms are not as evident and as deep in Racha as in Svaneti. Rachian men and women also often sing together like Svanetians, and melodies of the so-called “mountain Racha” group (geographically and ethnographically closest to the Svanetians) also have a small range. But, unlike Svanetian singing, at least some Rachian songs display obvious influences of the eastern Georgian singing style (pedal drone, mildly ornamented melody and specific modulations). Unlike the Svanetians, who still widely use dialects of their own mostly unwritten Svan language, Rachians use the Georgian language.

Polyphony in religious music

The East Georgian state Iberia was among the first states of the world to officially become Christian (337). Georgian historians and musicologists believe that in the first few centuries the Christian rites were performed in Greek with monophonic singing. At around the 7th or 8th centuries the Georgian language and polyphonic singing tradition must have penetrated the church. According to the written sources polyphonic singing was well established in Georgian liturgy by the 10–11th centuries (Javakhishvili, 1998, Iashvili, 1977). In the 11th century, when the Greek orthodox canonic liturgy was translated into Georgian, special professional help was sought to make them polyphonic (possibly three-part). The Georgian linguist Zurab Chavchavadze made a suggestion that the term “Organ”, used in medieval Georgian literature to describe the expertise of the knowledgeable person who was put in charge of making the “alien Greek sound closer to Georgian”, was denoting not a musical instrument, but “Organum”, the medieval term for the early European type of vocal polyphony (Chavchavadze, 1993:34–36). Interestingly, the term “*Organa*” from the well-known medieval literary source of Giraldus Cambrensis (around 1200) was an enigma for British musicologists as well. Lloyd Hibberd’s interpretation that “*Organa*” was not an “Organ” or “Instruments”, but “polyphony” — “Organum” (Hibberd, 1955) was gladly accepted by most music historians.

In the works of the Georgian philosopher Ioane Petritsi (11–12th centuries) the author makes symbolic parallels between the Christian Trinity and the three parts of the Georgian church singing tradition, and mentions the then-existing names of three parts: “*Mzakbr*”, “*Zbir*”, and “*Bam*” (Iashvili, 1977).

The religious music of Georgia, like traditional music, has been traditionally divided into two — eastern Georgian and western Georgian branches, although today Georgian scholars prefer to speak about different local schools, rather than east-west differences (Shugliashvili, 2000). After the “Golden Age” of the Georgian state and culture (11–12th centuries) hard times brought numerous invasions during the 13th–

18th centuries. Maybe the hardest time for the Georgian church-singing tradition was the first half of the 19th century, when Georgian singing was banned in Georgian churches by Russian authorities and Georgian language was banned at schools. By 1860, with the rising of nationalist movements throughout European countries, a special committee was created in Georgia to look after the Georgian church-singing tradition. According to available information, by the 1860s representatives of one school in eastern Georgia and three schools of western Georgian church singing were still alive and remembered the bulk of the repertoire. More than 5000 church-songs were transcribed in contemporary notation during the second part of the 10th century and the first years of the 20th century. Ban on any kind of religious studies, imposed by Soviet government, halted study of Georgian church-songs for the most of the 20th century. Today this is one of the active spheres of Georgian musicology.

Traditional and professional (religious) polyphony in Georgia have always influenced each other. It was traditional polyphony that influenced the initial monophonic tradition of early Christian church singing and turned it polyphonic (this was the case in many other countries of the Europe). Good church singers were usually good experts in traditional music, and they would sing both in the church and at social events. Church songs were always performed at these social events (usually at the beginning of the *supra*-feast).

Here is the typical example of West Georgian church-song:

Adagio ♩ = 50

ro - mel - ni k'e -
ru - bin - t'a
sa - i - dum

14 lod

19 ve - msga - vse -

24 nit'

EXAMPLE 4.
Zhamta da Tselta. [Epochs and years]
(Garaqanidze, Jordania, 2004:110)

Here is an example of East Gergian church-song:

Maestoso ♩ = 84

z'a - mta da ts'e - lta xel - mts'i - p'e - bi - ta g'mert -

mta - vro - bi - sa she - mo - k'me - do, u - p'a - lo. sa - mgva - mo - vne - bit

di-de-bu-lo, k'e-bu-lo, er-ta sa-ta - khva - i - a - nis-tse-mu-lo.
 a - tsxo - vnen k'mnil - ni shen - ni, a-ts'tsa mo - ts'e-vni-li. da -
 sa - ba - msa mo-su - li - sa - i - a, *rit.* z'a - mi - sa mo - k'tse - vi - sa - sa

EXAMPLE 5.

Romelni Kerubinta. [Cherubs] East Georgian church song.
 (Garaqanidze, Jordania, 2004:107)

Besides archaic traditional polyphony and religious polyphony, there are relatively recent traditions of URBAN MUSIC and urban polyphony as well. The urban singing style in Georgia must have started with the creation of the first cities on the territory of Georgia. Being on the crossroads between Asia and Europe, Tbilisi (capital of Georgia for the last 1600 years) became a cultural capital of Transcaucasia and harbored an array of extremely talented musicians from different backgrounds (mostly of Middle Eastern ethnic origin, and particularly Armenian musicians). As a result of this interaction with Middle Eastern music, eastern melodies with ornamented melodies and augmented seconds appeared in Georgian cities. Part of these traditions remained very close to the Middle Eastern original style and had a somewhat smaller circle of admirers, but part of this music became very popular among a wider range of Georgians. These Middle Eastern songs, originally monophonic melodies, often became polyphonic (three-part) in Georgia. This style, often connected to the sounds of duduk ensembles, was (and still is) distributed in Tbilisi and a few other cities of eastern Georgia.

Besides this style, known under the name of the “Eastern (or “Oriental”) branch of Georgian urban music”, there was another urban singing style in Georgia, influenced by European professional music. This style appeared much later, with the first contacts of Georgia with European music with the guitar-accompanied Russian romance

and performances at the Opera House, which opened in Tbilisi in 1850 and became very popular almost overnight. Georgians from both the eastern and western parts of Georgia became very enthusiastic about this new music and new harmonies. Many of the popular arias of Italian operas were rearranged in three-part urban a cappella style and are still sung (with Georgian lyrics) as a part of the Georgian urban tradition.

Two sub-types of the western branch of urban music became popular very quickly: (1) guitar-accompanied lyrical songs, and (2) a cappella choral songs. Both of these traditions are mostly three-part (sometimes the fourth part can be added as well, see the term “*chartuli*”). The two top parts move mostly in parallel thirds (and sometimes sixths), with the main melody in the middle part, and the bass mostly follows the European TSD harmonic system.

Araqishvili wrote at the beginning of the 20th century that the urban singing tradition was having a negative influence on Georgian traditional polyphony. This influence was mostly felt in the increase of parallel thirds between the two top melodic parts (instead of the traditional more adventurous and often dissonant coordination between the melodic parts).

The general popular perception of Georgian traditional polyphony is that it is exclusively a men’s tradition. Men sing the most complex polyphonic songs. Women sing mostly family-circle songs: lullabies, dirges, and some older ritual songs. Georgian women’s singing is polyphonic as well (mostly two and three-part drone polyphony), although not as complex and technically developed as the men’s tradition (Zumbadze, 2000).

Several generations of Georgian musicologists and ethnomusicologists from the end of the 19th century, as well as non-Georgian scholars (R. Lach, M. Schneider, S. Nadel, E. Emsheimer, S. Ziegler) contributed to the study of Georgian traditional and liturgical polyphony. More than 20 years of scholarly tradition of organizing international conferences and symposia on traditional polyphony, held in Georgia (from 1984 onwards) and the establishment of the International Research Centre of Traditional Polyphony (with the help of UNESCO) in 2002 greatly contributed to the flow of finances, technical equipment and renowned international scholars, experts in traditional polyphony, to Georgia.

II. Terms for Georgian traditional and medieval professional polyphonic singing in alphabetical order

Numerous traditional terms, connected to the tradition of polyphonic singing (names of the parts, their function, ways of performance), had been recorded by Georgian ethnomusicologists from the second half of the 19th century. These terms comprise all

15 Georgian musical dialects (or ethnographic regions) from east and west Georgia. Number of terms are also known from earlier written sources, ranging from the writings of the 11th century brilliant Georgian philosopher Ioane Petritsi to Ioane Bagrationi (18–19th centuries) and David Machabeli (19th century). Some of these terms survived only in written sources and are not in use any more. The exact meaning of some terms is unclear today. Some terms are widely spread throughout Georgia (terms like “Mtkmeli”, “Modzakhili”, “Bani”) but some are only used locally in some regions.

As this article is dedicated to the terms used in Georgia for vocal polyphonic tradition, we need to mention here that most of the terms for the instrumental polyphony (for example, names of the strings, or the names of the pipes of a panpipe) are using terms from (and designed primarily for) the vocal polyphony.

Georgian scholars from different fields contributed to the understanding of traditional terminology. Historian Ivane Javakhishvili, music theorist Shalva Aslanishvili, ethnomusicologists Grigol Chkhikvadze, Mindia Jordania, Kakhi Rosebashvili, Kukuri Chokhanelidze, Edisher Garaqanidze, Natalia Zumbadze, and many others contributed to the study of this important sphere of Georgian traditional musical culture.

Ethnomusicologists Otar Chijavadze and Lia Gabidauri independently compiled special Lexicons of Georgian traditional terminology. Both Lexicons still remain unpublished, so this article is the first publication where the Georgian traditional terminology is discussed. Authors of this article acknowledge the importance of the contribution from these two works.

A

AELEBA [აელება] (non-translatable). The old Georgian term, only known today from the “Glossary of Georgian Language”, compiled by an influential Georgian politician and scholar Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani (18th Century). The term means “nicely concordant (polyphonic) singing of the flock of the birds”. See also terms *chrinva* and *galoba*.

AKIDEBA [აკიდება] (lit. “put a luggage on someone/something”) According to Chijavadze’s Lexicon, this rarely used term denotes starting a song.

AMODZAKHEBA [ამოძახება] (lit. “calling out”) Term from Racha (mountainous region of western Georgia), means to make sound, to start singing.

AQVANA [აყვანა] (lit. “to handle”, “to take control”) Another not so often used term for starting a song.

AVAJI [ავაჯი] (meaning is not clear) Medieval Georgian term for the older and simpler church-singing style where each syllable was tied to one musical sound (more of a musical reciting of the text).

B

BAMI [ბამი] OR BAM [ბამ] (meaning not clear) the oldest known term for the bass, the lowest voice in Georgian church-singing. The term was famously mentioned in works of Ioane Petritsi, Georgian philosopher, follower of Neo-Platonism (11th–12th centuries). See also *bani*.

BAN LIGHRELASH [ბან ლიღრელაშ] (in Svan language “bass of a song”) According to Ivane Nizharadze’s *Lexicon of Svan Language* this term was used (quite controversially) for the leading middle (!) voice in Svanetian three-part songs.

BANI [ბანი] (BASS). The most popular name of the lowest part of Georgian traditional two, three- and four-part polyphony. The word “Bani” in Georgian language means “flat roof”. Another possible understanding of this important term comes from the term “*bma*”, *dabma*”, lit. “to tie”, “to connect”. It is well-known that *bani* is not only a term for the lowest part in Georgia, but is a generic name for accompanying someone’s singing (both by voice/voices or by the instrument). For example, the term “Magali Bani” (“high bass”) was often used for the highest melodic voice, which was also considered as the accompanying voice for the leading (middle) part. Words of a traditional song “Play my panduri [long-neck lute in eastern Georgia], give me a good *bani*” indicates that instrumental accompaniment could also be called *bani*. According to traditional aesthetics, bass adorns singing (“song is adorned by bass, like the garden is adorned by a red apple” — words of a traditional song).

In Georgian *zemravalkhmiani* (lit. “super-polyphonic”, consisting of six parts) church-singing *bani* was not the lowest voice, because two other low parts (*dvrini* and *gvrini*) were placed lower (presumably an octave or a fifth lower from the bass). Apart from the detailed written descriptions of the beginning of the 19th century, no written examples of the medieval Georgian six-part religious singing survived.

Bani is the only part that is traditionally performed by a group of singers, and at large social events (weddings, religious feasts) every member of a community was expected to contribute to the bass part. Bass is the most “democratic” part to join in singing, as it is often either a drone (pedal or with words), or is based on repetitive ostinato formulas. “He can’t even sing a bass” is a traditional saying in Georgia about a person who can not sing in tune.

Despite obviously common character and shared features, *Bani* is quite different in eastern and western Georgian traditional polyphony. The most widely spread forms

of bass, present in every musical dialect of Georgia, are rhythmic drone and ostinato. In the most developed so-called “long table songs” bass is a pedal drone, and it is sung in unison sometimes by few hundred individuals, gathered at the social event. On the other hand, in the most developed contrapuntal polyphonic songs in western Georgia (particularly in Guria and Achara, but also in Imereti and Samegrelo) bass is melodically very active and is often performed by an individual singer. This is particularly clear in so-called “trio songs”, three-part compositions performed by three singers. Because of the creative freedom and wide possibilities of changing harmonic structure of the song, the bass part is often considered in Guria to be the most complex and interesting part to perform. Interestingly, unlike eastern Georgia, where the bass singers did not have much opportunities to be well-known, the big part of widely known and respected Gurian traditional and church-singers were bass singers. At the meeting of distinguished singers in Guria the most revered singer would be offered to sing a bass part.

Singing the bass part in unison by a large group of singers always offers a possibility of the appearance of heterophonic elements. For example, the line between the pedal and rhythmic drone is sometimes blurred as in the same group of the bass singers some might be singing a pedal drone, and others — rhythmic drone. Sometimes the same singer might change from a pedal to rhythmic drone and vice versa during a song. Besides, there are also instances when the different bass singers sing different pitches. For example, if the bass line in a song needs to go from “C” to “D”, some bass singers might go there straight (C — D), while others might go from “C” first to “E” and then come down to “D” (C — E — D). Major and minor (as well as neutral) thirds between the bass singers are the most usual in such cases. Another possibility for the simultaneous appearance of two versions of the bass is when some bass singers start singing a fifth lower from the original bass line. In such cases, for example, instead of the three-part chord C-F-G, very popular chord in Georgian polyphonic songs, you will hear four-part chord F-C-F-G. Singing different versions of the bass part is never haphazard, and thirds and the fifths are almost exclusively the two intervals between two versions of the bass. Division of the bass part is a relatively rare occasion, and is more usual for western Georgian traditional polyphony. There are more than twenty traditional term for the bass part in different regions of Georgia. See: *dabali bani*, *bami*, *dvrini*, *bokbi*, *bukbvi*, *ertiani bani*, *bani ertnairi*, *bani mtkmeli*, *damjdari*, *mebane*, *mebanave*, *pentela*, *shebaneba*, *shemdegi*, *ubanebs*, *zruni*. See also terms *shemkmbobari* and *magali bani*.

BANI ERTNAIRI [ბანი ერთნაირი] (lit. “similar/same bass”) This term is known from Achara and is possibly connected to *shemkmbobari*, the specific pedal drone in the middle of the four-part harvest songs from Guria and Achara (see the pedal drone in a

middle range in four-part harvest song “Naduri” in a musical example in an introductory part of this article).

BANIS MTKMELI [ბანის მთქმელი] (lit. “the one who sings, or “speaks” bass”) This is a widely known term for the bass singer/singers. “*Bani mitkbari*” (lit. “tell me a bass”, or “support me with a bass”) is a popular address to others when a person is going to start a song.

BOKHI [ბოხი] (lit. “thick voice”) This general Georgian term for “thick voice” is sometimes used for the bass. There are also dialectal versions of this term in northeastern mountainous part of Georgia: **BOKHVI** [ბოხვი] in Pshavi, and **BUKHVI** [ბუხვი] in Khevsureti (antonym of *bukhvi* is *mtskepri* — a “thin” voice).

C

CHAKRULO [ჩაკრული] (lit. “embraced”, “tied”, “intertwined”) The title of arguably the best known Georgian long table songs from Kakheti, East Georgia. The exact meaning of the title was hotly debated in Georgian ethnomusicology. Different possible explanations were expressed. One of the explanations connects the term *Chakrulo* with the history of vocal polyphony in East Georgia. According to this suggestion (Jordania, 1984) this term, as a name for the specific group of table songs, came into existence to mark the important stylistic feature of polyphonic singing of a group of East Georgian table songs. East Georgian table songs (as well as some other genres) are always performed by two lead singers against a pedal drone. In some songs lead singers sing alternatively, while in other songs they sing simultaneously (in most table songs both alternating and simultaneous sections are present). It was suggested that the term *Chakrulo* was possibly used for the songs where the lead melodic lines were singing simultaneously, or “tied” together, “embraced”.

CHAMKOLI [ჩამკოლი] (lit. “the one who follows after”) One of the rarely used names of the highest melodic part in three-part singing in Guria. This part follows the leading middle part.

CHAMORTMEULI [ჩამორთმეული] (lit. “taken over”) Term used in Achara for antiphonal alternation of two choirs. Same as *gamortmeuli*.

CHARTULI [ჩართული] (lit. “inserted”, “added”) term for a specific part in contemporary urban tradition of polyphonic singing. This term is mostly used for the added (fourth) part that is inserted between the leading melodic (middle) part and the lowest part (bass) in three-part urban singing. Recorded examples of songs with *chartuli*

come from the 1950s, although the trend could have started earlier. (Due to the archaic character of many facets of Georgian traditional polyphony, the first generation of Georgian ethnomusicologists did not pay much attention to the urban singing traditions). After appearance of *chartuli* Georgian urban singing became four-part, although three-part singing is still more prevalent. Sometimes, particularly if a urban song is accompanied by a guitar, the lowest voice in three-piece singing group actually sings *chartuli*, not the bass part. Unlike bass part, which mostly sings the harmonic basis of the chord progressions in urban songs, *chartuli* does not follow the harmonic basis of the song, but instead sings melodically more free line, often following top parts in parallel movement, and widely uses the fifth of the European-style triadic harmonies (for example, when singing a C major triad, bass would be singing C, while *chartuli* would be singing G instead).

CHRELI [ჭრელი] (lit. “colorful”, “striped”) Medieval term for the church-songs performed in a specific, “beautified” style. Georgian musicologists are still discussing the precise meaning of this term, although most agree, that the term *chreli* was used to differentiate the singing in a “simple mood” from the more developed, beautified, “colorful” (*chreli*) way. Church-songs, performed in this, more developed, improvised style, were called *chreli*. *Chreli* was also widely used as a generic term in Medieval church singing tradition, as the name of melodic formulas that most of the church-songs were based upon. Couple of lists of *chreli* survived from the late Medieval times, most importantly, the list from Fitareti from the 18th century, listing the names of the 24 melodic formulas, is among them. It was widely believed that system of *chreli* replaced the earlier system of neumas (few manuscripts of Medieval Georgian chants with neumatic signs from 11–12th centuries survived). The research of the last decade suggested that neumas and *chreli* were used in the same epoch (at least from the 13th century) and the system of *chreli* survived longer as more practical system (see Andriadze, 2003:458).

CHRINVA [ჭრინვა] (meaning is unclear) According to the Lexicon of Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani, this term denoted “pleasing harmonious singing of the flock of the birds”. See also *aeleba* and *galoba*.

D

DABALI MELEKSE [დაბალი მელექსე] (lit. “the one who is saying the lyrics in a low range”) The name of a middle part, leading melodic part who sings with words. See *mtkmeli*.

DABALI BAMI [დაბალი ბამი] (lit. “low bass”) According to David Machabeli (1860) this is another old term for the low voice (bass). Currently the term is not used by traditional singers. See also *dabali bani*.

DABALI BANI [დაბალი ბანი] (lit. low bass) This term has two different meanings. (1) From the description of Ioane Bagrationi (or Ioane Batonishvili, beginning of the 19th century) we know that *dabali bani* was one of the parts in six-part professional singing in Georgian churches. According to Bagrationi, *dabali bani* was the synonym of *shemdegi* and was placed lower than usual *bani*. (2) The use of this term was recorded outside of religious singing, among traditional singers as well in 19th–20th centuries, in the context of usual three-part singing (in Kakheti, upper Imereti and Achara). As we know, the term *bani* was a general term for accompanying voice (*not* only for the low voice), and we know that there were terms “high bass” and “low bass” from different parts (the top and the bottom parts of three-part singing, both accompanying the leading middle part). So this term among traditional singers must have been referring to the usual bass. See also *bani*, *dabali bani*.

DABMA [დაბმა] (lit. “binding”, “connecting”) Term widely used for performing a round dance (expression “let us bind a round-dance” is still widely used in Georgian villages). See also *shekvra*.

DAMDZAKHNELI [დამძახნელი] (lit. “the one who calls”) Rarely used Imeretian term for the top melodic part.

DAMJDARI [დამჯდარი] (LIT. “SITTING”) MESKHETIAN TERM FOR A PEDAL DRONE. THE TERM WAS MOSTLY USED TOGETHER WITH *bani*, as *damjdari bani* (“sitting bass”). Interestingly, polyphonic singing disappeared in Meskheta during the 1950–1960s.

DAMTSKEBI [დამწყებო] (lit. “the one who starts”) Popular term for the voice/singer who starts a song (it is always a single voice that starts Georgian traditional polyphonic songs. Starting together is a feature of church-songs). The middle part (see *mtkmele*) starts most of Georgian traditional songs, although the top part (see *modzakhbili*) also starts some songs. In western Georgia few songs are also started by the bass. There are numerous terms to indicate the voice (or singer) that starts a song. See: *akideba*, *amodzakhbeba*, *aqvana*, *datskebiti khmai*, *datskili*, *gemachkapali*, *metave*, *motave*, *tsina khma*, *tskeba*. See also *tavkatsi*, *tavkali*.

DATSKEBITI KHMAI [დაწყებოთი ხმაი] (lit. “the voice that starts”) Less known term for the voice that starts the song in Achara, southwestern corner of Georgia.

DATSKILI [დაწყობი] (from “datskeba” — “to start”) the term for the voice that starts a song in Achara. According to the 19th century Georgian poet Akaki Tsereteli (author of the lyrics of the widely known urban song “Suliko”) this term was also known as one of the tunings of Chonguri (west Georgian four-string long-neck lute).

DVRINI [ღვრინი] (Old Georgian word, meaning a low intensity, “trembling” candle fire. This term was widely used for the extremely low voice, *basso profundo*) This term is known from the description of Ioane Batonishvili (Bagrationi), David Machabeli, and David Guramishvili of the six-part professional singing in Georgian churches. This tradition existed in Georgian churches at least until the end of the 18th century. According to the existing sources, *dvrini* was placed lower *bani* and fewer than *bani* (bass) singers were performing it. *Dvrini* is often mentioned as a synonym of *dabali bani* (low bass). When the tradition of six-part church-singing started disappearing in the beginning of the 19th century, *dvrini* (and four-part religious singing tradition) was the longest to survive in the 19th century (possibly until the second half of the 19th century).

DZNOBA [ძნობა] (from “dzna” — “haystack”) One of the best known medieval Georgian terms for a group activity — singing and (particularly) dancing. It is generally accepted that this term was denoting dance (most likely a round dance) accompanied by a group singing. The term has not been recorded during the 20th century fieldworks. See also *mtskobri*. According to the Lexicon of Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani (18th century), who uses the term DZNOBI [ძნობი] THIS TERM DENOTES WELL-AGREED AND HARMONIOUS SINGING. SINGING WITH *dznobit* means “singing in harmony”.

E

EBANI [ებანი] (possibly from “bani” — “bass”, to accompany with a bass) one of the most ancient instruments mentioned in medieval Georgian written sources. Besides being an instrument itself, this term is also mentioned as the generic term for the accompaniment by different type of the instruments (on different occasions — drums, string and blown instruments).

ERTIANI BANI [ერთიანი ბანი] (lit. “common bass”, or “prolonged bass”) This term, used by David Machabeli (1860) most likely was used to denote the long pedal drone.

ERTOBAI SHEKOVLEBISAI [ერთობაი შეკვლევბისაი] (lit. “unity of different elements” in old Georgian) According to Mzia Iashvili (Iashvili, 1977) this old Georgian term, used by Ioane Petritsi (11th century) was denoting the phenomenon of “polyphony” and “harmony”. Interestingly, Petritsi did not use the term “harmony” as this term

at the time did not have the meaning it has today, so Petritsi might have created the term *ertobai shekovlebisai* (Petritsi is known to have created few new widely used terms in contemporary Georgian language). Petritsi also used terms “*rtva*” [lit. knitting] and “*mortuloba*” [lit. beautified] for polyphonic singing, and Sulkhan Saba Orbeliani, creator of the “Lexicon of Georgian Language” (18th century) used term “*shedgmuleba*” [from *shedgma* — inserted, putting under something] with the same meaning.

G

GADABMULI [გადამული] (lit. “connected”, “tied”) This term is used in Achara for the antiphonic performance of collective harvest *Naduri* songs, when the second choir comes in before the first finishes.

GADADZAKHILI [გადაძახილი] (lit. “calling over”) Specific short choral bass phrase (sung in unison) that alternates with *trio* sections (*trio* — three-part intricate contrapuntal polyphony performed by three individual singers). *Gadadzakhili* is performed by other than trio singers and is known only in Guria. *Gadamdzakhneli* [გადამძახნელი] (LIT. “THE ONE WHO DOES *Gadadzakhili*”) was a term for a person who was singing *Gadadzakhili* and who was responsible to connect the couplets.

gadakhveva, gadaktseva [გადახვევა, გადაქცევა] (lit. “turning to other direction”, and “transformation”) Dancing section at the end of few genres of traditional songs. This section has a marked dancing rhythm and was accompanied by clapping and dancing. *Gadakhveva* was often a case at the end of the best-men’s songs: after finishing ritual *makruli* (“best men’s song”), the singers would go into *gadakhveva* section and start dancing. In 20th century weddings dancing was often happening with the invited instrumental ensembles, but when the instrumental ensembles were not available, the earlier form of vocal *gadakhveva* would provide the necessary background for dancing. According to the Lexicon of Otar Chijavadze, *gadakhveva* was obligatory in table songs in Upper Achara.

GADAKIDEBA [გადაკიდება] (lit. “competing”, “picking on”) Friendly competition in Achara during singing antiphonal harvest *Naduri* songs. Each part from the first choir was competing with the same part from the second choir. After the day of hard working in the field and singing the competition would often go on in drinking and toast-telling during the evening communal meal.

GADAKCEULI NADURI [გადაკცეული ნადური] (lit. “transformed *Naduri*”, *Naduri* — harvest song) Four part section of Gurian and Acharian *Naduri* songs. *Naduri* songs always start with three part sections (without the bass, pedal drone *shemkhembari* tak-

ing the function of the bass), and afterwards they are “transformed” into four-part singing (when the bass joins).

GADATSKOBA [გადღაწეობა] (lit. “retuning”, “changing over”) Imeretian term for taking over the initiative of the song by someone else (usually taking over the leading middle part of the song).

GAKIDEBULI SIMGERA [გაკიდებუელი სიმღერა] (lit. “singing in close pursuit”, or “chase-singing”) Term used in Achara for antiphonal alternation of two choirs.

GALOBA [გალობა] (lit. “singing of birds”, same term also means “church-singing”, and “singing for God”) This is the most popular term for religious singing in all regions of Georgia.

GAMKIDE [გამკიდე] (lit. “the one that chases after, follows”) Rachian term for the top part who follows the leading middle part of the three-part singing.

GAMQIVANI [გამყივანი] (from “qivili” — “cock-a- doodle-do”) A specific high part in western Georgian (Gurian and Acharian) traditional polyphonic songs. This voice is sung with a forced falsetto, and by the voice-production *gamqivani* is very close to *krimanchuli* (yodel). The difference between these two parts is the extreme melodic activity in *krimanchuli*, involving wide melodic jumps. According to some traditional singers from the beginning of the 20th century, *gamqivani* was more popular earlier, but was mostly replaced by the end of the 19th century by a more virtuoso *krimanchuli*.

GAMORTMEULI [გამორთმეული] (lit. “taken over”) Term used in Achara for antiphonal alternation of two choirs. See also *chamortmeuli*.

GAMTANI [გამტანი] (lit. “the one who can take through, who can lead”) Imeretian term for the middle, leading vocal part in three-part singing. See also *mtkmeli*.

GEMACHKAPALI [გემაჩკაპალი] AND **GEMACHKAPURI** [გემაჩკაპური] (in Megrelian “the one who starts”) Megrelian terms for the voice which starts the song. Mostly it is a middle part. This term is also used as the name for one of the pipes of the panpipe (from the middle of the range of the panpipe). See also *damtskebi*.

GGTSOGALA [გგწოღალა] (lit. “taking over” in Megrelian) Specific form of antiphonic performance of round dances, when the second choir was singing the second half of the stanza. According to Javakhishvili (1938:85) this form of mixed men/women

round-dance song, together with the term *ggtsoḡala* was recorded in the end of 19th century. The term has not been recorded in the 20th century.

K

КАРІАОБА [კავიობა] (from *kapia* — poetic form, short verse) Form of Poetic competition, usually performed in a form of two-part singing (with a drone). This term is mostly known from northeast Georgian mountain regions, where the poetic competition is widely practiced (particularly in Pshavi and Khevsureti). In Imereti (central district of western Georgia) *kapia* is also used as a term for the leading middle part of the three-part ensemble, who delivers most of the lyrics. Another term for poetic competition *dzmoba* [ძმობა] was also recorded in Imereti in the second half of the 20th century by E. Dadunashvili (from *dzma* — brother).

КНМА [ხმა] (lit. “sound”, “voice”, in traditional meaning — “melody”) This term is widely used meaning “sound” throughout Georgia, but more specifically, it is also used for singing voice. For example, “lamenting with *khma*” in north-east Georgian mountainous region Khevsureti means “lamenting with melody (with singing)”. This term is also used for the style, melody or the mode of singing (for example, “*kma* of table song”).

КНМІS МІТSЕМА [ხმის მიცემა] (lit. “to give a voice”) Possibly the most popular term in contemporary Georgian for giving a supporting voice, to sing in harmony. “Give me a voice” (“*mometsi khma*”) a singer often tells to someone when starting a song, or even during singing, if another person, present at the moment, fails to join the singer with a supporting voice.

КНМІS ШЕТSКОБА [ხმის შეწყობა] (lit. “putting voices together”, “singing in harmony”) Popular and widely used term for harmony singing in Georgia.

КІVАН [კივან], КІVАNІ [კივანი] (from *kivili* — screaming) Although the term *kivili* is widely known in Georgia language, this term, as a name of a part, is only used in Svaneti (and possibly in Guria). It denotes the highest part in three-part singing.

КRІMАНСНULІ [კრიმანჭული] (lit. “twisted falsetto”, or, another possible meaning is “twisted jaw” — “krint-manchuli”) Specific part, highest in range, yodel, which sings using *ostinato* formulas based on wide melodic jumps (mostly using the interval of the fifths, and if three pitches are involved, the intervals are the fifths and plus a third. For example, two-pitched *krimanchuli* formula would be C-F-C-F-C-F etc. (always downwards), or in three-pitch *krimanchuli* the formula would be C-F-C-F-D-C-F-D (see the highest part in musical example of four-part harvest song). Other melodic

formulas also exist, like this popular formula, which starts at the lowest pitch of the three-pitch formula: D--C-F-D-C-F-D. *Krimanchuli* is known only to few regions of western Georgia, particularly in Guria and Achara, but is also known in Imereti and Samegrelo. *Krimanchuli* became a “trademark” of Georgian (particularly Gurian) contrapuntal singing. *Krimanchuli* always sings on nonsense-syllables (like *i-a-i-a*, or *i-ri-a*, *i-ri-a*, or *i-ri-a-ho*, *u-ru-a-ho*). Pitches are tied to certain vowels: “I” and “U” are always used on the highest pitches, and “O” and “A” on the low pitches (“O” is the lowest); Akhobadze made an interesting suggestion that *krimanchuli* obtains the role of the harmonic axis for other singers, particularly in the sections of songs when the bass becomes melodically very active and it is difficult for the other singers to coordinate their singing with the bass (Akhobadze, 1961).

KRINI [კრინი] (lit. “falsetto”) This is a name for the specific high part, performed with falsetto. As a name of a separate part, this term was mostly used in Georgian church-singing tradition, particularly when the number of parts was exceeding three, reaching six parts. According to the written sources from 18th and 19th centuries, *krini* was the highest part in Georgian professional six-part singing. See also *Zemravalkbmanoba* (“Super-polyphony”). A traditional term for the west Georgian yodel “*krimanchuli*” (lit. “twisted falsetto”) is also connected to the term *krini*.

KRINVA [კრინვა] (lit. to sing in falsetto) This relatively rarely used term from Georgian sources is derived from the term *krini* (falsetto)

KTSEVA [ქცევა] (lit. “change”, “shift”) According to Sul Khan-Saba Orbeliani, this term was denoting a change of a mood in a church-song. The same term was also used for the repeated musical phrase (see also *saktsevi*)

L

LOTBARI, LODBARI [ლოტბარი, ლოდბარი] (choir master) According to Sul Khan-Saba Orbeliani, this term denotes “master (expert) church-singer”, or the “complete singer”, or a singer who would know and could teach all the parts of church songs. The term *lotbari* was particularly widely used in Soviet Georgia (1921–1991) and is still used in Georgia for the leaders of the ensembles (these are usually professional leaders with salaries and at least some level of European classical music education). See also the earlier term *sruli mgalobeli*.

M

MAGALI [მაღალი] (lit. “high”) term for the top part in three-part singing in Racha, mountainous region of western Georgia.

MAGALI BANI [მაღალი ბანი] (lit. “high bass”) one of the names for the top part of Georgian three-part singing, performed by an individual singer. *Magali bani* is considered to be the accompanying voice (it is highest in range) for *mtkmeli* (which is the leading, middle part in three-part singing tradition). *Magali bani* is often used as a synonym for another term for the same top part — *modzakhili*. Term *modzakhili* is much more common than *magali bani*. The term *magali bani* was used by Georgian ethnomusicologists as an evidence of the gradual evolution of Georgian traditional polyphony from two-part singing into three-part singing. In Georgian three-part songs the top part is often singing the octave higher from the bass (in Svaneti a fifth higher) and there are rare recordings where the top part sings only an octave higher from the bass. It was suggested that the term *magali bani* came into existence for this transitional stage, when traditional singers started doubling the bass part an octave higher (so there were two basses, low and high). See also *bani*, *Modzakhili*. Alternative idea also exists that three-part singing evolved from the merge of two two-part choirs, previously singing in responsorial way.

MAGALI MELEKSE [მაღალი მელექსე] (lit. “the one who says the lyrics in a high range”) one of the names of the high melodic part that pronounces lyrics.

MAZHOGH [მაჟოღ] OR MAZHOL [მაჟოლ] Svanetian term for the middle part of three-part singing, who starts and leads songs. The range of *Mazhogh* is usually not wide (about fourth or fifth) and it is the most independent part in Svan polyphony. Top part and the bass often follow each other in parallel fifths.

MEBANE [მებანე] (lit. “the one who sings the bass”) Term denoting bass singers. Besides the vocal music, this term was used of one of the pipes of Georgian panpipe (traditional panpipes survived in Guria and Samegrelo only). All the pipes of the panpipe had the parallel terms from Georgian traditional polyphonic singing. This one (*mebane*) was the longest (and accordingly the lowest) pipe, positioned in the middle of the traditional six-piece panpipe. See also *mebanave* [მებანავე] (lit. “the one who sings the bass”) — rarely used term for those who were singing the bass part.

MECHIPASHE [მეჭიფაშე] OR MECHIPASHI [მეჭიფაში] Megrelian term for the highest voice, who follows the leading (middle) part.

MELA-MOLE BIRAFI [მელა-მოლე ბირაფა] (lit. “here-there singing”, or “singing from different places”) specific form of competitive singing among Lazs (ethnically close to Megrelian people living south of Achara, in Turkey). This is a competition between two choirs, separated by a distance (for example, a river). Singers were competing in a

poetic exchange of texts and singing, and the side that would run out of texts first, was considered to be a loser.

MELEKSE [მელექსე] (lit. “the one who says the lyrics/poetry”) This is another term for the leading middle part of Georgian three-part singing tradition. See *mtkmeli*, *dabali melekse*, *magali melekse*.

MEORE [მეორე] (lit. “the second”, in some dialects pronounced *moiré* [მოირე]) this term was a reference to the top part in three-part traditional singing. Unlike the European classical tradition, where the terms “first part” and “second part” refer mostly to the range of the parts, among Georgian traditional singers the terms were referred to the importance of the parts (M. Jordania, 1972). That’s why the top part was referred as “the second voice”.

MERMU [მერმე] This is another, relatively rarely used term for the second (middle range, leading) part in Svanetian three-part singing.

MESHKHUASHE [მეშხუაშე]. According to Otar Chijavadze’s “Musical-Folkloric Encyclopedic Lexicon” this is a Megrelian term for the leading part for the specific dirge “kivilit zari” [lit. “dirge with screaming”]. This dirge was performed when the close female relative would approach the house where her died relative’s body was resting. She would start screaming and her screaming would be joined by other screaming females from her accompanying group (mostly also relatives), to form a three-part texture. “Dirge with screaming” would finish when the party would reach the place where the body was resting, and would be followed by the male three-part ritual lament *zari*.

METAVE [მეთავე] (from “tavi” — “head”) Term from Achara for the singer who starts a song.

MILEKSEBA [მელექსება] (lit. “to tell to someone impromptu verses”) Form of poetic competition in Pshavi and Khevsureti, small mountainous regions of north-eastern Georgia. Two individuals with poetic talent would exchange impromptu lyrics, supported by the bass singers (two-part drone polyphony). This competition was an usual part of traditional feasts, at the table, connected to the secular and religious events. Mostly men were involved in this competition, but if a woman was known to be a good “*melekse*” (poetic improviser) she would be invited by men to join them and to compete with others. See also *shairoba*, *kapiaoba*.

MIMKOLI [მიმყოფი] (lit. “the one who follows”) Rachian term for the top part, who was following the leading middle part.

MODZAKHILI [მოდახილი] (lit. “the one who follows the call”) Most popular Georgian traditional term for one of the leading melodic parts of three-part singing tradition in Georgia. It is the term for the highest part, considered to be the accompanying part for the principal (middle) part (see *tkma*, *mtkmeli*). *Modzakhili* traditionally is always performed by an individual singer. (In contemporary city based ensembles *modzakhili* is often performed by a group of tenors, therefore losing the important improvising freedom, characteristic to top melodic parts.) There was a long-lasting discussion among Georgian scholars in the beginning and the middle of the 20th century about the two leading top melodic parts — *mtkmeli* and *modzakhili*. *Modzakhili* was considered the middle part in three-part singing by some scholars. This confusion was the result of the fact that traditional singers often denote *modzakhili* as the “second voice”. It is currently agreed that the term “second voice” for traditional singers was referring to the secondary importance of this voice (in relation to the principal middle part), and not the range of the voice. According to some expressions of the traditional singers, the term *modzakhili* can be used for not only the top voice, but in fact for all the accompanying voices. For example, here is a Gurian singer’s critical comment about the performance of traditional polyphonic song “*Mtkmeli* was good, but *modzakhili*’s were not good”. As the top part (*modzakhili* itself) is traditionally always performed by an individual singer, plural form “*modzakhili*’s” from this sentence must have been a reference to other singers (basses) as well. In this regards there is a strong connection between the use of the terms *modzakhili* and *bani*. In several sources *modzakhili* is also used as the synonym of the term *Magali bani* (high bass).

In Georgian church singing tradition, however, where the top part is considered to be the of primal importance (as top part represents the original canonic melody, although the middle part is still often is the leading improviser in church songs) the term *modzakhili* is used for the middle part. There are over twenty terms for the top part of three-part singing in Georgia: *chamkoli*, *damdzakbneli*, *gamkide*, *gamqivani*, *kivan*, *kivani*, *krimanchbuli*, *krini*, *magali bani*, *mechipashe*, *meore*, (see also *pirveli*), *mimkoli*, *mokivleba*, *momdzakbneli*, *momkivane*, *momqivani*, *motsintskileba*, *mzakhr*, *shekivleba*, *tsninda kbma*, *tsvrili*, *ukana kbma*, *zili*.

MODZAKHURA [მოდახურა] (possibly from *modzakhili*) rarely used traditional term from Khevsureti, denoting an accompaniment (with an instrument, and possibly voice) for a singer.

MOKIVLEBA [მოკივლებს] (from “kivili”, lit. “screaming”, “shouting”) One of the term for the highest part in Acharian traditional polyphonic songs. This term is close to another term for the top part (which follows the leading middle part) — *modzakbili*.

MOMCHIVANI [მომჩივანი] (from “chivili” — “to speak, to complain”) Term for the lead melodic voice in Gurian and Acharian four-part Naduri songs. This voice is also known more commonly as “*tkma*” or “*mtkmeli*” (see the four-part extract from the Naduri song). This voice often sings a major second below the *shemkmbobari* (specific pedal drone in the middle of the three- and four-part polyphonic textures). This is the only part in Naduri who uses the meaningful text (all other parts are singing using voice-specific nonsense-syllables only) and this must be reason for this term.

MOMDZAKHNELI [მომძახნელი] (lit. “the one who answers”, from “modzakhe” — “answer the call”). Another term for the *modzakbili*, the highest melodic voice that follows the leading middle part in three-part singing. There are dialectal versions of this term: **MOMDZAKHE** [მომძახე] (lit. “answer my call”) is a Rachian term, and **MOMDZAKHEBELI** [მომძახებელი] (lit. “the one who follows the call”) is an Acharian term for the same top voice who follows the leading middle part.

MOMGERALI [მომღერალი] (lit. “singer”) This is a general term for a singer in contemporary Georgian language (used in both classical and traditional styles). This term is also used to denote the performer of the middle, leading melodic part, *tkma* (or singer — *mtkmeli*). According to traditional singers, the middle part is a “singer”, leading a song, and other parts are following, “accompanying” the “singer”.

MOMKIVANE [მომკივანე] (lit. “the one who shouts/screams”) This term is sometimes used in Achara and Guria for the top voice, instead of a more widely used term *gamqivani*, a part with a specific singing technique and timbre.

MOMQIVANI [მომყივანი] (from “qivili” — lit. “rooster’s call”) Acharian term for the top specific part, synonym for *gamqivani*.

MORIGEBITI MELEKSEoba [მორიგებობითი მეღეკესეობა] (lit. “alternating poetic competition”) Poetic competition between two lead singers (who would tell impromptu verses to each other) on a shared drone accompaniment of one group, without alternation of choirs. This form of poetic competition is particularly popular in northeastern mountainous regions of Georgia. See also *shairoba* and *kapiaoba*.

MORTULOBA [მორთულობა] (lit. “decorated”, “beautified”) Old Georgian term for the harmony and polyphony, used by 11th century Georgian philosopher Ioane Petritsi. See also *rtva* and *ertobai shekovlebisai*.

MOSHUEI [მოშუეი] (lit. “very loosely tied string”) the term from the literary sources for the low string on traditional sting instruments. *Moshuei* is used as a synonym of *bosbi*, another obscure term from the Sulkhan Saba Orbeliani Lexicon, compiled during the 18th century.

MOTAVE [მოთავე] (from “tavi” — “head”) Lead singer who starts a song. It was lead singers responsibility to find a right pitch, character and tempo to start the traditional polyphonic song. See also *takvaci* (head-man) and *tavkali* (head-woman).

MOTSINTSKILEBA [მოწინწკილება] Rarely used term for *modzakhili*, the top melodic part, who follows the leading middle part in three-part singing.

MRAVALKMOBA [მრავალხმობა] (lit. “many voices”). See “Mravalkhmianoba”

MRAVALKHMIANOBA [მრავალხმიანობა] (lit. “many voices”) The most popular term for polyphony in contemporary Georgia, widely used in scholarly studies. Slightly different term *Mravalkhmoba* is known from the late medieval times, but possibly the earliest known term for multipart singing in Georgia is *ertobai shekovlebisai*.

MTKMELI [მთქმელი] (lit. “the one who speaks”) The most popular term for the singer of the leading melodic part in Georgian vocal polyphony. In three-part singing this is middle part, in two-part singing — top part, and in four-part singing this is often the third (from the top) part. There are around twenty traditional terms for the middle leading voice: *melekse*, *dabali melekse*, *mazbogh*, *momchivani*, *momgerali*, *mubne*, *zbir*, *pirveli*, *meore*, *tavi mtkmeli*, *tavkatsi*, *tavkali*, *gamtani*, *tkma*, *tsina kbma*, *tsina mtkmeli*, *tskeba*, *upirobda*, *ban lighrelash*.

MTSKEPRI [მწკერი] (lit. “thin”) Term for the high, “thin” voice in Khevsureti, small mountainous northeast region of Georgia.

MTSQOBRI [მწყობრი] (lit. “the group, the line”) Widely known early Georgian term for the ensemble/choir, as well as for round dance, or an orchestra of musical instruments. The earlier term for a musical ensemble was *dznoba*.

MUBNE [მუბნე] Svanetian term for the leading middle part of three-part singing.

MZAKHR [მზახრ] (meaning is unclear. Possibly connected to the term *modzakbili*) One of the earliest known terms for one of the high melodic parts in three-part polyphonic singing from the writings of Ioane Petritsi, 11th century Georgian philosopher. Another term for another high melodic voice from the same source was *zhir*, and the bass part was referred as *bam*.

N

NARTI [ნართი] (lit. “woven”, “knitted”) term for polyphonic singing used by the 11th century Georgian philosopher Ioane Petritsi. According to Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani (18th century), *narti* is a term for the well-tuned strings of the musical instrument.

NESTVMRAVALI [ნესტვმრავალი] (lit. “many pipes”), Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani (who possibly created this term for the new instrument that he saw in Europe) used this term to describe the organ, musical instrument with plenty of pipes. Not in use today.

O

OKO ZHONU [ოკო ჟონუ] Term for the concordant singing of different voices in Lazeti (region mostly on the territory of turkey, next to Achara). Today Lazeti songs are mostly monophonic.

ORBUNI [ორბუნი] (from “ori” — “two”, and “buni” — “groups”) Term for antiphonal performance of a choral song by two alternating choirs. Tradition of “sambuni” (“three groups”) performance with three alternating choirs has been also documented in few regions.

ORGANO [ორგანო, ორღანო] (from “Organ” or “Organum”) This common European term, mentioned several times in Georgian medieval sources has received different explanations from Georgian scholars. According to Javakhishvili (1998:528–29) *organo* was a term for (1) church-singing, and/or (2) string instrument. According to Chavchavadze (1993:34–36) this was a term for the Medieval Georgian tradition of polyphonic singing (from the medieval European term “Organum”). Sulkhan –Saba Orbeliani brought the contemporary meaning to this term (as a musical instrument) after his travel to the western Europe in the 18th century.

ORPARTIAD SINGERA [ორპარტიად სიმღერა] (lit. “singing in two groups”) Term for antiphonal singing recorded in Achara, possibly of a late origin.

ORPIRULI [ორპირული] (LIT. “TWO-SIDED”, “RESPONSIVE”) Out of numerous terms for the antiphonal alternation of two choirs, this is the best known term in different re-

gions of Georgia. See also *gadabmuli*, *gamortmeuli*, *chamortmeuli*, *gakidebuli simgera*, *orpartiad simgera*.

P

PENTELE [პენტელა] (root unknown) According to Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani, this obscure term was used for the singer of the *dvrini*, the very low range bass.

PIRVELI [პირველი] (lit. “the first”) This term is sometimes used for the *tkma* (or *mtkmeli*) the leading part, singing in the middle of three-part harmony. The reason why the traditional singers use the term “the first voice” for the middle part is because they classify the parts according to their importance, not their pitch. Today some of the traditional singers (possibly due to the music schools and the newly found classical education) use this name for the top part.

R

RTVA [რთვა] (lit. “knitting”) One of the terms used by 11th Century Georgian philosopher Ioane Petritsi to denote harmony and polyphony in part-singing. See also *mortuloba* and *ertobai shekovlebisai*.

S

SAKHIOBA [სახიობა] (possibly “theatrical act/singing”) According to Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani, this term denoted a big joined performance of the musical instruments and singing, coupled with the theatrical performance.

SAKTSEVI [საქცევი] (from *ktseva*, “a portion”, “section”) Traditional term for the musical section (phrase, couplet) that could be repeated.

SAMBUNI [სამბუნო] (from “sami” — three, and “buni” — “groups” in old Georgian) Rare (and currently extinct) tradition of performance of choral songs by three alternating choirs. For more information see *sampiruli simgera*.

SAMPIRULI SIMGERA [სამპირული სიმღერა] (lit. “singing in three alternating sections”) Currently extinct tradition of performance of traditional choral songs in three alternating choirs, known in Meskheti, southern Georgia, particularly during the wedding feasts. People would divide in three groups (or sit at three tables) and would compete in singing. Performance in three alternating choir has also been documented in three-stored round dance *zemkrelo* (survived in Kartli until the 20th century), where the participants of each of the three levels (standing on each other’s shoulders) would

sing in succession. Alternation of three choirs was also documented in Tusheti, mountainous region in north-eastern Georgia.

SHAKHDOMA [შახდომბა] (lit. “to jump in”) Rarely used term from the mountainous northeastern Georgia for a supporting voice, who joins to sing in harmony.

SHAIROBA [შაირობა] (lit. “to tell shairi”, from “shairi” — short poetic verse) Very popular tradition of poetic competition when two singers sing alternatively (often on the drone of the villagers). Masters of *shairoba* were individuals who could impromptu come up with humorous verses (both men and women). This tradition is still popular, particularly in mountainous northeastern corner of Georgia. See also *kapiaoba*.

SHEBANEBEBA [შებანებება] (lit. “to accompany with a bass”, “to give a bass”) One of the most widely used terms throughout Georgia for supporting singing with a bass. This term also has a wider meaning, not for the low voice only, and not for vocal music only. It was used for both vocal and the instrumental accompaniment (see, for example, song lyrics of the song from Khevsureti “Play my chonguri, give me a good bass”). The use of this term is recorded in many literary sources from the medieval sources with the same meaning.

SHEDGMULEBA [შედგმულეება] (from “shedgma” — “to put under something”, “to insert”). Term used by Georgian intellectual and political figure from 18th century, Sul Khan-Saba Orbeliani, for harmony and polyphony.

SHEKHMOMA [შეხმობა] (lit. “to give a voice for the accompaniment”) This is another quite widely used term for the co-singing in harmony, or for the accompanying the leading melodic part by other part (or even by an instrument).

SHEKIVLEBA [შეკივლება] (lit. “scream”) One of the rarely used terms for the top melodic part in Achara.

SHEKVRA [შეკვრა] (lit. “tying”) Term used for the performance of round dances (“to tie a round dance”). See also *dabma*.

SHELAPARIKEBA [შელაპარიკება] (lit. “to respond”, “to answer back”) this term from Acharian traditional singing denotes a voice which grows out of another voice (mostly bass, but sometimes from the middle part as well) and joins other neighboring voice.

SHEMDEGI [შემდეგი] (lit. “the next”) The term for the very low bass, synonym for the term *dabali bani* (low bass). This term was only used in the context of six-part singing tradition in Georgian church. See *zemravalkbmianoba*.

SHEMGERNEBA [შემღერნება] (lit. “to sing in support, to answer”) Khevsurian term for a specific tradition of two-part singing: it involves two people singing together, one singing the lead melodic line and the other singing the bass, and then the two singers exchange their functions — the bass singer starts singing the lead melody and the former lead melody starts singing the bass. In Khevsureti this tradition was often connected to the ritual drinking of home-made alcoholic drink (mostly *ludi* — beer). Two people (mostly the guest and the host) would sing to each other, usually kneeling on one lag as a sign of honoring each other, and rising a cup with beer while singing. Singers usually were using the impromptu texts to address each other.

SHEMKHMOBARI [შემხმობარი] (from “shekhmoba” — “to give a voice to accompany”) A specific part, a pedal drone in the middle of the four-part polyphonic texture of Gurian and Acharian harvest “Naduri” songs. Pedal drone *shemkmbobari* usually has two or three pitches. In three-part opening of the song *shemkmbobari* is the only bass of the song, but later the lower part — *bani* (bass) joins in a fifth below the *shemkmbobari*, and the song become four-part. In three-part section *shemkmbobari* is often the middle (in range) part, and the leading melodic voice *Mtkmeli*, who pronounces the text, often sings lower than *shemkmbobari*. In the very end of the song the lowest voice (*bani* — bass) drops out and the song is finished in three parts, as it started. *Shemkmbobari* is traditionally performed by a group of singers, and Naduri songs are traditionally performed as an antiphon of two equal parts of the choir (at least 6 singers in each side: 2 basses (*bani*), 2 *shemkmbobari*’s, and two individual singers for *tkma* and *krimanchuli* [or *gamqivani*]). See the musical example (extract) from the four-part Naduri song in the opening part of this article.

SHEMKHMOBRIT SATKMELI SIMGERA [შემხმობრივ სათქმელი სიმღერა] (lit. “song that must be performed with *shemkmbobari*”) Three-part Naduri (harvest) songs in Guria and Achara, which does not have *bani* (bass) and is performed with *shemkmbobari* as an accompanying part. Most Gurian and Acharian Naduri songs were performed in four parts, with two bass parts: *shemkmbobari* (pedal drone in the middle range), and *bani* (melodically active part in the lowest range). Both *shemkmbobari* and *bass* were traditionally performed by the group of workers.

SHEMKTSEVI [შემტკვევი] (lit. “the one who takes over”) This is a term from Pshavi (northeastern Georgia) for the second soloist who joins and takes over after the first

soloist starts the song. Pshavian songs are usually performed as alternation of two soloists on the drone.

SHEMTSKOBNI [შემწყობნი] (lit. “those who sing in a good harmony”) Often used in medieval Georgia term for the singers, singing in harmony. According to Ioane Bagrationi, David Machabeli and Chakhrukhadze, good singers were much appreciated for their ability to sing well together in harmony.

SRULI MGALOBELI [სრული მგალობელი] (lit. “complete church-singer”) Term for the experts of Georgian church singing who would know all the six parts of the Medieval Georgian six-part church-singing tradition. According to Ioane Batonishvili and David Machabeli, this tradition was disappearing after the end of the 18th century.

T

TANAMEKHMEOBA [თანამეხმეობა] (lit. “co-sounding”, “sounding in agreement”) According to Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani, this rarely used term was possibly denoting singing of a same melody by different people (possibly in unison). Unison singing is not characteristic in Georgia (unless in a polyphonic texture, where the bass is usually performed by a group of singers in unison).

TANAMGALOBELI [თანამგალობელი] (plural *tanamgalobelni* or *tanamgaloblebi*, lit. “co-church-singer/singers”) A term often used for the members of the same church ensemble.

TAVI MTKMELI [თავი მთქმელი] (lit. “head speaker”) Another rarely used term for *mtkmeli* (leading middle part in three-part singing) when it starts a song.

TAVKALI [თავკალი] (lit. “head-woman”) A female counterpart of *tavkatsi*, a female leader of women’s singing groups in Georgian villages. Distinguished female singers on rare occasions could also become leaders of male ensembles as well (Kakhetian singer Maro Tarkhnishvili was possibly the best-known figure among them, brought to the prominence by the social politics of Communist government, who declared equal rights for women and men).

TAVKATSI [თავკაცი] (lit. “head-man”) A male leader of a traditional village singing group, the most acknowledged singer of a community, who would start and lead the performance of traditional songs at different social events. It is mostly a singer of the middle part in three-part singing, although could be the top part (or even bass in western Georgia). *Tavkatsi* did not have any formal privileges, or a payment, and was a

precursor of later formal ensemble leaders and conductors, who appeared first in stage ensembles of Georgian polyphonic songs (from the 1880s), and later (particularly during the Soviet Period) penetrated in semi-formal and formal ensembles from many villages.

TKMA [თქმა] (lit. “to say”, “to speak”) and MTKMELI [მთქმელი] (lit. “the one who speaks”, or “the singer of *tkma* part”) arguably the most universally used Georgian term for the leading melodic part in Georgian traditional polyphony. In two part singing this is the upper part, in three part songs this is the middle part, and in four-part Naduri songs this is the third (from the top) part. There was a general confusion regarding this term, as traditional singers often refer to *tkma* as the “first voice” (*pirveli kbma*), and it was sometimes assumed that *tkma* was the highest part, but later it became clear that traditional singers were denoting *tkma* as the first voice not according to its range, but according to its importance (see M. Jordania, 1972). *Tkma* (*mtkmeli*) usually starts the song, so in most of Georgian songs it is *damtskebi* as well (“the beginner”, “the one who begins”).

TRIO [ტრიო] (three singers) European term often used by western Georgian (particularly Gurian) singers for the traditional songs, performed by three singers only. Due to the technical complexity of these songs, *trio* songs were performed only by very good singers, and were not designed for everyone to join in (like most other Georgian polyphonic songs). Some *trio* songs have a special section (see *Gadadzakhili*) for everyone to join in the song. *Trio* was also used in antiphonal alternation together with another, bigger group of singers (where the bass would be performed by a group of singers). Character of most of the *trio* songs is soft, subdued, without the use of yodel and fast tempo, and the song structure is often unusually asymmetrical. Nugzar Jordania pointed out the existing stylistic resemblance of some *trio* songs with Gurian church-singing tradition and suggested that they were created by church-singers under the influence of church-singing tradition (N. Jordania, 1986). Some *trio* songs are fast and energetic and they do not show the resemblance with the church-singing tradition. There is also a group of songs that are performed alternating by the *trio* and the bigger group of singers (Gurian *Khasanbegura* is arguably the best known example of such songs). These songs are usually very fast and energetic.

TSALPA SIMGERA [ცალფა სიმღერა] (lit. “singing in one side”) Two different meanings are known for this term: (1) singing in one choir, without alternation with choir, and (2) solo (individual) songs with specific richly embellished melismatic melody and free meter from Kartli and Kakheti, central region of eastern Georgia.

TSINA KHMA [წინა ხმა] (lit. “front voice”) Upper Kartli term for the voice who starts the song (mostly a middle part).

TSINA MTKMELI [წინა მთქმელი] (lit. “front speaker”) another, rarely used term for the voice (singer) who starts the song (mostly the middle part).

TSKEBA [წყება] (from “datskeba” — “to start”) This popular Gurian term refers to the singer who starts the song. Traditional Georgian songs always start with one part, and this term refers to the singer who starts the song. In most cases the beginner of the song was the singer of the middle part (leading melodic part), although there are songs both in East and West Georgia which start with the top voice, and there also are few songs (in western Georgian only) that start with the bass. Since the introduction of formal ensemble leaders and professional conductors after the 1920–1930s, this principle is sometimes neglected and all parts start a song together, following the professional style tuning in.

TSMINDA KHMA [წმინდა ხმა] (lit. “thin (clear) voice”) Another rarely used term for the highest part in traditional three-part singing, mentioned in the lexicon of Sulkhani-Saba Orbeliani. Survived in traditional terminology in Racha.

TSVRILI [წვრილი] (lit. “thin”) Specific high part in Gurian polyphonic songs, often sung softly, with “gigini” (humming). In Achara the same term is also used in other version — *tsvili* [წვრილი].

U

UBANEBS [უბანებს] (lit. “gives a bass”, “gives an accompaniment”) The term derived from the widely used term *shebaneba*, denoting both vocal and instrumental accompaniment to the lead singer. The term is known from Medieval literary sources and is used today as well. See also *bani*.

UKANA KHMA [უკანა ხმა] (lit. “back voice”) Another term for the top melodic part, the one that follows the leading middle part of three-part singing. This term was recorded in upper Kartli.

UPIROBDA [უპირობდა] (meaning not clear, possibly “leading”) According to Sulkhani — Saba Orbeliani, this term was possibly denoting the highest voice in Georgian church-singing, which was considered to be a leading voice. Unlike the traditional singing in Georgia, where the leading melodic part was the middle part, the leading (canonic) part in Georgian church-singing tradition was the highest part.

Z

ZARI [ზარი] (lit. “the bell”, also “a great tragedy”). According to Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani, *zari* was a term for the lamenting group of people. There are several forms of polyphonic laments in different regions of Georgia. *Zari* is also a name of the men’s ritual lament in several regions of Western Georgia, mostly based on meaningless interjections expressing sorrow (such as “vai”)

ZEMRAVALXMIANOBA [ზემრავალხმიანობა] (lit. “hyper-polyphony”, or “super-polyphony”) This is a non-traditional term, used by Georgian musicologists from the 1960s (Jordania M., 1967) for the six-part singing tradition that was still around in Georgian churches at the end of 18th century — beginning of the 19th century. According to Ioane Batonishvili (beginning of the 19th century), in the beginning of the 19th century this tradition was dying out, although, as he pointed out “if you could hear and compare them [the older six-part and surviving three-part singing traditions], you would easily hear which of them sounds better”. David Machabeli in his 1860 article “Mores of Georgians” also describes the tradition of six-part singing at the Georgian church. Both authors agree, that there are no more good and knowledgeable singers [“complete singers”] to sing in full six parts, and they also agree that Georgian church-singing tradition at least needs three parts, otherwise “it is not pleasing for hearing” (Batonishvili, 1948:56)

ZHAMOBA [ჯამობა] (from “zhami”, term with few meanings, among them the lethal contagious disease) Besides the traditional meaning of the bad contagious disease, decimating the populations of the villages, according to Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani, this term also denoted “weeping (singing) with voice”.

ZHIR [ჯირ] (possibly from Megrelian term “zhir” — “second”) One of the most ancient terms of one of the top melodic parts (possibly the middle part), used in literary sources by Ioane Petritsi (11th century). Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani (18th century) mentions *zhir* as a middle (second) string on three-string instrument. This term has not been recorded as a term for the polyphonic parts during the fieldworks carried out in the 19–20th centuries.

ZILI [ზილი]. This is a rare non-Georgian (Persian) term, used in Georgian church-singing as a term for the highest part in medieval six-part church-singing tradition. This term also was (and still is) used as the name of the specific very short string on four-string west Georgian Chonguri. This string can not be stopped while playing. Akhobadze (1961) expressed a controversial idea of possible historical connections between the phenomenon of the fourth string on chonguri (*zili*) and vocal part *shem-*

kbmbari — a specific pedal drone of West Georgian four-part working songs “Naduri”.

ZRIALI [ზრიალი] (onomatopoetic term for the unpleasant noise) According to Sul Khan-Saba Orbeliani, this term denoted “terrible (scary) polyphony”.

ZRUNI [ზრუნვა] (from “zrunva” — “taking care of someone”) The bass for the traditional dirge in mountainous region of western Georgia Racha. This is also a name for a form of dirge in Racha.

ZUM-ZUMI [ზუმ-ზუმი] (possibly onomatopoetic) Khevsurian term for the competition/exchange of short impromptu verses, a form of poetic competition, performed in a low, soft voice.

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Lexicon of multipart singing in Liguria and in the area of the Four Provinces (Apennine of the provinces of Genoa, Alessandria, Pavia and Piacenza — Italy)

The Ligurian singers and those of the Four Provinces use few words to define repertoires, voices and styles of singing. Here follow the most common terms belonging to the repertoire and/or the territory of origin.

B

BATTÜA (in Italian: *battuta*) — a dialect word used to indicate the tonic of trallalero sung by the basses.

BASCI AVAERTI — (lit.) open basses. They are the basses from the Apennine area which, differently from the Genoese trallalero, sing also the words of the text. This is quite important as the narrative texts are the biggest part of the inland repertoire.

BASSI OR BASCI — the part of the basses is entrusted to various voices which form a group inside the companionship. There are three types of singing:

a) **BASSI CANTABILI** (see CD 54) — in the more complex trallalero these perform a part without the text which shows, nevertheless, its own melodic structure placed approximately an octave over the line of the *profondi* (see below). Moreover, they can perform a rhythmic part in counterpoint to the *profondi*.

b) **BASSI PROFONDI** (see CD 49) — those who sing the song supporting the long sounds, typically the tonic and the dominant. In this case there is a single group of basses made up of the *profondi*.

c) **BASSI ALTI** (see CD 49) — in the repertoire of the Four Provinces a contradictory word (literally high basses) which means those basses who at the end of the different sections of the song climb up from the dominant to the upper tonic. In opposition the **BASSI PROFONDI**, improperly called *contrabbassi* (a term which generally causes confusion with the part of the traditional trallalero), go down to the tonic with a sudden jump of a descendant fifth. In this repertoire of the Apennines the constant use of the **BASSI PROFONDI**, who double the **BASSI ALTI** and sing without a text, must be considered as an influence of the Genoese manner.

BATAGIÀ — a style of singing typical of the Genoese *contrabbasso*, which consists in the alternation of the words with “nonsense” syllables sung on the same note with a strong rhythmic characterization. The words are broken up in isolated syllables without finishing the word.

The term clearly derives from a particular performance which is played in the Genoese bells concerts. In the “feast sonate” the clapper is “played” by hand in order to be beaten rhythmically on the inner edge of the major bell (*bomboìn*).

BISCANTARE — at Taggia (Imperia) this term evokes the polyphonic liturgy. The term might even derive from the ancient “discanto”, a medieval polyphonic technique. It is likely to be an enlargement of the verb “to sing” as if singing were doubled.

BORDONE (see CD 50) — singing with drone, a classic term which is spread in the area of Ceriana (Imperia), a village of western Liguria. This song is based upon long sounds held by the basses on the dominant. Only in concluding the different pieces the basses part into two groups, one of which takes the task to tune up the tonic one fifth below the drone. The text is commonly made of narrative songs and is always present. Long ago the drone used to be called “basso continuo” until everybody was clear that in the music vocabulary this term has a different meaning.

BUIASCHE — a repertoire from the inland which is linked to the name of Bogli (see CD 48) village (dialect term: Buggi). Nowadays it is to be found in the province of Piacenza (Emilia region), but it is culturally linked to the Genoese area. In the past there was also a group of Genoese singing. The contacts with Genoa were established through the caravans of muleteers. Its style is characterized by Apennines’ features: the singers are so good that their singing is duly considered as an example for everyone.

C

CANSOÏN — professional songs, the whole repertoire written by authors which is destined to the singers’ group or adapted by these using tunes of different origin. The most famous songs are performed in Genoese dialect and, for the most part, date back to the period between 1925 and 1940.

CANTI FERMI — in this case as well the term indicates, in the academic vocabulary, the Gregorian song of the Christian church. In the popular context, instead, in the mountain areas, *canti fermi* designs a way of singing with no fixed measure. Thus, this is similar to the movement of the traditional liturgic song.

CHITÄRA — guitar. In the trallalero it is the voice who performs a part without text which is based on “nonsenses” such as “don” or “don-do-do-don”. It shows a baritone, very vibrating tone. From the point of view of the gesture, it is easily recognizable from the back of the singer’s hand overturned at the niveau of his mouth. He can perform long sounds in parts of free “tempo”, but, traditionally, he counterpoints the parts of the other voices while singing solo parts in particular interlaces, also in the final measures.

CONTRAETO — contralto, male contralto. In the trallalero it is the high voice with a typical “head timbre”. As a rule a masculine voice sings the part although, sometimes, feminine voices exceptionally perform the song in the same extension of voice. It is also referred to as the term *bagascetta* (bitch), often used in the past.

CONTROBASSO OF BARITONO — in the trallalero it is the voice which links the high voice with the basses. It shows a dark, dense timbre. It is a precious voice, rich of harmonic nuances which interacts with the clear voices. He does not sing all the words of the text but breaks them up (see *batagiâ*) in a peculiar way. No longer used is the term *contrafô* (literally counternoise), that is to say the voice that is opposed to the strong sounds of the other parts.

D

DAËTA (see CD 55) — the way of giving, a quality which is utmost important in a skilled tenor. It consists in the skill to tune up a song in a personal manner, with circles and embellishments, united to the colour given to the text by the dialect cadence. It is considered a peculiarity that cannot be taught. It can be employed to denote the capacity to perform in a personal way pieces of instrumental music, for example the fife (*piffero*) and the bells.

DIVIDERE (LE PARTI) — to assign the various parts of the polyphony to the team’s voices. It is the practical realization of a sort of non-written arrangement that the master keeps in mind to concert a multipart singing melody of a one-voice song (typically a professional song), evolving into a multipart performance. It can be said *dividere una canzone* (to divide a song).

M

MEISTRO — master. He coordinates the singers’ group, he may even sing. He gives the pitch (nowadays with the help of a choir singer) and the entries with particular gestures of the hand. He teaches the parts, chooses the voices, draws up the programs of the concerts, chooses the repertoire in accordance with the members of the groups. Sometimes, if he has a classic music culture, he may write or sketch an arrangement

written for the songs (see “to divide the voices”). Sometimes who leads the group (see “to lead the team”) is not the same person who “divides” the voices.

MÈZE NOTTE (see CD 53) — (lit.) half notes. They are sounds held in the part of the basses who are neither the tonic nor the dominant of the song. They may be the fourth or the sixth grade of the scale or even inflected grades (usually the sixth or seventh grades)

P

PASSATE (see CD 52) — passages of the basses of the trallalero made of a sequence of quick sounds in contrast with the long sounds of support which characterise this vocal part. They can be formed either by a succession of joint grades (within a fifth) or by an arpeggio.

PORTARE (LA SQUADRA) — to lead the team. The task to coordinate and lead the group during the performances in concert through proper hand signs. There were also large groups in which there were also two coordinators: the former for the first group, the latter for the group of the basses.

PRIMMO (see CD 49) — the “primo”, first voice, the tenor’s voice in the trallalero. He has the most important role in the melody of the ancient repertoire. In the professional songs (see *cansòin*) the main melody is afforded to the falsetto; a few pieces are entrusted to the tenor — the original melody is distributed between “canto” and “controcanto”. In the area of the Four Provinces the “primo” is the high voice which goes up over the “secondo” (see below).

PROFONDO — the dominant of the key sung by the basses of the trallalero.

R

RECHEUGGEITTI — occasional singers, occasional groups of singers, who are not organized in a proper companionship.

REMESCIO OF REMESCELLO — miscellany or more precisely enchainment of short songs of different origin linked to form a single piece.

REGULATÙ (see CD 51)- regulator. The term is common at Ceriana (Imperia) to define the singer who intones the incipit of the «IX Lesson of the Office for the Dead (Quare de vulva eduxisti me)», in multipart singing. In the past, each brotherhood had his “*regulatù*” who was chosen by the prior in charge.

RISOLVENTE — in the trallalero, in some songs which are tuned up in keys which are different from the usual ones (G or A flat), it means the reversal of the positions of the tonic and the dominant: the former is tuned on the “profondo”, the latter on the “battuta”.

S

SECONDO (see CD 49) — a bit dark tenor’s timbre who intones the songs of the repertoire of the Ligurian inland and that of the Four Provinces. He is responsible for the performance, as, in free or spontaneous singing, takes up the useless tone of the choir singer and with his way of singing, he influences more or less the whole group.

SQUADRA — team, a well organized group of trallalero singers (*canterini*). It is made up of a series of voices between the eighth and the twelfth, covering all the roles. A chairman takes up the functions of the organisation and P.R., while a secretary is also the treasurer. The income of the concerts is used to buy uniforms, (if the group has got one), which are suitable to different seasons, to organise lunches, to contribute to pay expenses if not covered by contracts, to refund expenses to the singers who come from other regions to take part to rehearsals.

T

TRALLALERO — the term is used in relation to the team’s singing (see above), typical of Genoa and its area, with some traces to be found in the Apennine area of Piedmont and Lombardy. It may have three different meanings:

a) a well-defined multipart style of singing with strong timbre contrasts and voices which imitate the instruments. The sound prevails on the text, at least in the most ancient repertoire (see below).

b) the ensemble of the traditional repertoire defined as *trallaleri*, which is characterized by a short text with a lyrical or satirical content, whose intonation is always followed by a section sung on *nonsense* (see below) syllables. We do not know the authors’ names : all the pieces connected to the genre *trallalero* are defined as “traditional”.

c) the section of the songs of the ancient repertoire without a text, tuned up on *nonsense* syllables, often “tra-la-le-ro”, from which the genre derives. Usually, there is a link between the melodic line and the harmony of the section containing the text: originally, it may have been an unforeseen part, which is afterwards fixed in rather stiff schemes with slight changes to be remarked in the single voices, and not in the whole of singing.

V

VUSÌN (see CD 49) — high voice detaching from the rest of the group and climbing up gradually or intoning directly the superior tonic at two octaves over the basses. The voice is employed both in the repertoire *a bordone* of Ceriana (see CD 50), both in the Apennine song.

Lexicon of local terminology in multipart singing in Sardinia (Work in progress)

TABLE 1: Denominations of the groups

VILLAGE'S NAME	MAIN DENOMINATION OF THE GROUP	OTHER DENOMINATIONS
ABBASANTA	Cuntzertu	
AIDOMAGGIORE	Cuntzertu	
AGGIUS	Coru	Taja
ALÀ DE SARDI	Tenore	
ANELA	Tenore	
ARDAULI	Cuntzertu	
AUSTIS	Cuntzertu	
BENETUTTI	Tenore	
BITTI	Tenore	
BOLOTANA	Cuncordu	
BONNANARO	Coru	
BONO	Tenore	
BORTIGALI	Cuncordu	Tenore
BOSA	Tragiu	
BOTTIDDA	Tenore	
BUDDUSÒ	Tenore	
BUDONI	Tenore	
BULTEI	Tenore	
BURGOS	Tenore	
BUSACHI	Cuntzertu	
CAGLIARI	Contra	Basciu e contra
CASTELSARDO	Coru	
CUGLIERI	Cuncordu	
DORGALI	Tenore	
DUALCHI	Cuncordu	Tenore
FONNI	Cuncordu	Tenore
GALTELLÌ	Tenore	

VILLAGE'S NAME	MAIN DENOMINATION OF THE GROUP	OTHER DENOMINATIONS
GAVOI	Cuncordu	
GHILARZA	Cuntzertu	
ILLORAI	Tenore	
IRGOLI	Tenore	
LEI	Cuncordu	
LOCULI	Tenore	
LODÈ	Tenore	
LODINE	Cuncordu	
LULA	Tenore	
MAMOIADA	Cussertu	Tenore
MONTI	Tenore	
NEONELI	Cuntzertu	Tenore
NORAGUGUME	Cuncordu	Tenore
NORBELLO	Cuntzertu	
NULE	Tenore	
NUORO	Tenore	
OLIENA	Tenore	
OLLOLAI	Cuncordu	
ONANÌ	Tenore	
ONIFAI	Tenore	
ONIFERI	Cuncordu	
ORANI	Cuncordu	
ORGOSOLO	Tenore	
OROSEI	Tenore	Cuncordu
OROTELLI	Cuncordu	Tenore
ORUNE	Tenore	
OSIDDA	Tenore	
OVODDA	Cuncordu	Tenore
PADRU	Tenore	
PATTADA	Tenore	
POSADA	Tenore	
QUARTU	Contra	Basciu e contra
SANTU LUSSURGIU	Cuncordu	
SARULE	Cuncordu	Tenore
SCANU MONTIFERRU	Cuncordu	
SENEGHE	Cuntratu	

VILLAGE'S NAME	MAIN DENOMINATION OF THE GROUP	OTHER DENOMINATIONS
SENNARIOLO	Cuncordu	
SILANUS	Cuncordu	
SINDIA	Cuncordu	Tenore
SINISCOLA	Tenore	
SINNAI	Contra	Basciu e contra
SORGONO	Tenore	
TÈMPIO	Coru	Taja
TÈTI	Cuntzertu	Tenore
TIANA	Cuncordu	Tenore
TĪIESI	Cunsonu	
TORPÉ	Cussertu	Tenore
ULA TIRSO	Cuntzertu	Tenore
URZULEI	Tenore	
VILLAGRANDE	Tenore	

TABLE 2 : Denominations of the vocal parts according to the current use in 77 villages. The denominations in brackets () are not in use any more. They are attested in the literature or in the older layers of oral tradition.

	Village's name	The lowest vocal part	the second vocal part (bottom up)	the third vocal part (bottom up)	the fourth vocal part (bottom up)	eventually 5 th highest vocal part
1	ABBASANTA	Bassu	Contra	Boghe	Mesa 'oghe	
2	AIDOMAGGIORE	Bassu	Contra	Boghe	Mesa 'oghe	
3	AGGIUS	Bassu (grossu)	Contra	Bozi	Trippi	Faltzitu
4	ALÀ DE SARDI	Basciu	Contra	Tertzù	Mesa 'oghe	
5	ANELA	Bassu	Contra	Boghe	Mesa 'oghe	
6	ARDAULI	Bassu	Contra	Boghe	Mesa 'oghe	
7	AUSTIS	Bassu	Contra	Boghe	Mesa 'oghe	
8	BENETUTTI	Bassu	Contra	Boghe	Mesa 'oghe	
9	BITTI	Bassu	Contra	Boche	Mesa 'oche	
10	BOLOTANA	Bassu	Contra	Boghe	Mesa 'oghe	
11	BONNANARO	Basciu	Contra	Boghe	Mesa 'oghe	
12	BONO	Bassu	Contra	Boghe	Mesa 'oghe	
13	BORTIGALI	Bassu	Contra	Boghe	Mesa 'oghe	

	Village's name	The lowest vocal part	the second vocal part (bottom up)	the third vocal part (bottom up)	the fourth vocal part (bottom up)	eventually 5 th highest vocal part
14	BOSA	Basciu	Contra	Tenore	Cuntraltu	
15	BOTTIDDA	Bassu	Contra	Boghe	Mesa 'oghe	
16	BUDDUSÒ	Bassu (Tenore)	Contra	Boghe	Mesa 'oghe	
17	BUDONI	Bassu (grossu)	Contra	Boghe	Mesa 'oghe	
18	BULTEI	Bassu	Contra	Boghe	Mesa 'oghe	
19	BURGOS	Bassu	Contra	Boghe	Mesa 'oghe	
20	BUSACHI	Bassu	Contra	Boghe	Mesa 'oghe	
21	CAGLIARI	Basciu	Contra	Boxi		
22	CASTELSARDO	Bassu (grossu)	Contra	Bogi	Falsittu	
23	CUGLIERI	Bassu	Tenore faltzu	Tenore	Contraltu	
24	DORGALI	Bassu	Contra	Boche	Mesu 'oche	
25	DUALCHI	Bassu	Contra	Boghe	Mesa 'oghe	
26	FONNI	Bassu	Hontra	Bohe	Mesu Bohe	
27	GALTELLÌ	Bassu	Contra	Voche	Mesu Voche	
28	GAVOI	Bassu	Hontra	Bohe	Mesu bohe	
29	GHILARZA	Bassu	Contra	Boghe	Mesa 'oghe	
30	ILLORAI	Bassu	Contra	Boghe	Mesa 'oghe	
31	IRGOLI	Bassu	Contra	Voche	Mesu Voche	
32	LEI	Bassu	Contra	Boghe	Mesa 'oghe	
33	LOCULI	Bassu	Contra	Voche	Mesu Voche	
34	LODÈ	Bassu	Crontra	Boche	Mesa 'oche	
35	LODINE	Basciu	Hontra	Bohe	Mesu vohe	
36	LULA	Bassu	Crontra	Boche	Mesa 'oche	Cuinta
37	MAMOIADA	Bassu	Hontra	Vohe	Mesu Vohe	
38	MONTI	Bassu	Contra	Boghe	Mesa 'oghe	
39	NEONELI	Bassu	Contra	Boghe	Mesu Boghe	
40	NORAGUGUME	Bassu	Contra	Boghe	Mesa 'oghe	
41	NORBELLO	Bassu	Contra	Boghe	Mesa 'oghe	
42	NULE	Bassu	Contra	Boghe	Mesa 'oghe	
43	NUORO	Bassu	Contra	Boche	Mesu Boche	
44	OLIENA	Basciu	Hontra	Vohe	Mesu Vohe	
45	OLLOLAI	Basciu	Hontra	Vohe	Mesu vohe	
46	ONANÌ	Bassu	Crontra	Boche	Mesa 'oche	
47	ONIFAI	Bassu	Contra	Voche	Mesu Voche	
48	ONIFERI	Basciu	Contra	Boche	Mesu boche	

Lexicon of local terminology in multipart singing in Sardinia (Work in progress)

	Village's name	The lowest vocal part	the second vocal part (bottom up)	the third vocal part (bottom up)	the fourth vocal part (bottom up)	eventually 5 th highest vocal part
49	ORANI	Basciu	Contra	Boche	Mesu Boche	
50	ORGOSOLO	Bassu	Hontra	Bohe	Mesu 'vohe	
51	OROSEI	Bassu	Crontra	Voche	Mesu Voche	
52	OROTELLI	Bassu	Crontra (Cronte)	Boche	Mesu boche	
53	ORUNE	Basciu	Contra	Boche	Mesu boche	
54	OSIDDA	Bassu	Contra	Boghe	Mesa 'oghe	
55	OVODDA	Bassu	Hontra	Vohe	Mesu vohe	
56	PADRU	Bassu	Contra	Boghe	Mesa 'oghe	
57	PATTADA	Basciu	Contra	Boghe	Mesa 'oghe	
58	POSADA	Bassu	Contra	Boghe	Mesa 'oghe	
59	QUARTU	Basciu	Contra	Boxi		
60	SANTU LUSSURGIU	Bassu	Contra	'Oghe	Cuntraltu	
61	SARULE	Basciu	Contra	Boche	Mesu Boche	
62	SCANU MONTIFERRU	Bassu	Contra	'Oghe	Mesa 'oghe	
63	SENEGHE	Bassu	Contra	Pesadoe	Mesa 'oghe	
64	SENNARIOLO	Bassu	Contra	Boghe	Contraltu	
65	SILANUS	Bassu	Contra	Boghe	Mesa 'oghe	
66	SINDIA	Bassu	Contra	Boghe	Mesa 'oghe	
67	SINISCOLA	Bassu	Contra (crontra)	Boche	Mesa 'oche	
68	SINNAI	Basciu	Contra	Boxi		
69	SORGONO	Bassu	Contra	Boghe	Mesu 'oghe	
70	TEMPIO	Bassu (grossu)	Contra	Boci (tinori)	Trippi	Falsittu
71	TETI	Bassu	Contra	Boghe	Mesa 'oghe	
72	TIANA	Bassu	Contra	Boghe	Mesa 'oghe	
73	THIESI	Bassu	Contra	Boghe	Mesa 'oghe	
74	TORPÉ	Bassu	Contra	Boghe	Mesa 'oghe	
75	ULA TIRSO	Bassu	Contra	Boghe	Mesu 'oghe	
76	URZULEI	Bassu	Contra	Boche	Mesu 'oche	
77	VILLAGRANDE	Bassu	Contra	Boghe	Mesu 'oghe	

TABLE 3: Denominations of the three part group made by lowest, second and fourth vocal parts (bottom up). This restricted group has a special function in accompanying the oral improvised poetry contests.

	VILLAGE'S NAME	MAIN DENOMINATION	OTHER DENOMINATIONS
1	ABBASANTA	Cuntzertu	
2	AIDOMAGGIORE	Cuntzertu	
3	AGGIUS	Coru	Taja
4	ALÀ DE SARDI	Tenore	
5	ANELA	Tenore	
6	ARDAULI	Cuntzertu	
7	AUSTIS	Cuntzertu	
8	BENETUTTI	Tenore	
9	BITTI	Tenore	
10	BOLOTANA	Cuncordu	
11	BONNANARO	Coru	
12	BONO	Tenore	
13	BORTIGALI	Cuncordu	Tenore
14	BOSA	Tragiu	
15	BOTTIDDA	Tenore	
16	BUDDUSÒ	Tenore	
17	BUDONI	Tenore	
18	BULTEI	Tenore	
19	BURGOS	Tenore	
20	BUSACHI	Cuntzertu	
21	CAGLIARI	Contra	Basciu e contra
22	CASTELSARDO	Coru	
23	CUGLIERI	Trazu	
24	DORGALI	Tenore	
25	DUALCHI	Cuncordu	Tenore
26	FONNI	Cuncordu	Tenore
27	GALTELLÌ	Tenore	
28	GAVOI	Cuncordu	
29	GHILARZA	Cuntzertu	
30	ILLORAI	Tenore	
31	IRGOLI	Tenore	

	VILLAGE'S NAME	MAIN DENOMINATION	OTHER DENOMINATIONS
32	LEI	Cuncordu	
33	LOCULI	Tenore	
34	LODÈ	Tenore	
35	LODINE	Cuncordu	
36	LULA	Tenore	
37	MAMOIADA	Cussertu	Tenore
38	MONTI	Tenore	
39	NEONELI	Cuntzertu	Tenore
40	NORAGUGUME	Cuncordu	Tenore
41	NORBELLO	Cuntzertu	
42	NULE	Tenore	
43	NUORO	Tenore	
44	OLIENA	Tenore	
45	OLLOLAI	Cuncordu	
46	ONANÌ	Tenore	
47	ONIFAI	Tenore	
48	ONIFERI	Cuncordu	
49	ORANI	Cuncordu	
50	ORGOSOLO	Tenore	
51	OROSEI	Tenore	Cuncordu
52	OROTELLI	Cuncordu	Tenore
53	ORUNE	Tenore	
54	OSIDDA	Tenore	
55	OVODDA	Cuncordu	Tenore
56	PADRU	Tenore	
57	PATTADA	Tenore	
58	POSADA	Tenore	
59	QUARTU	Contra	Basciu e contra
60	SANTU LUSSURGIU	Trazu	
61	SARULE	Cuncordu	Tenore
62	SCANU MONTIFERRU	Cuncordu	
63	SENEGHE	Cuntratu	
64	SENNARIOLO	Cuncordu	
65	SILANUS	Cuncordu	
66	SINDIA	Cuncordu	Tenore

	VILLAGE'S NAME	MAIN DENOMINATION	OTHER DENOMINATIONS
67	SINISCOLA	Tenore	
68	SINNAI	Contra	Basciu e contra
69	SORGONO	Tenore	
70	TEMPIO	Coru	Taja
71	TETI	Cuntzertu	Tenore
72	TIANA	Cuncordu	Tenore
73	THIESI	Cunsonu	
74	TORPÉ	Cussertu	Tenore
75	ULA TIRSO	Cuntzertu	Tenore
76	URZULEI	Tenore	
77	VILLAGRANDE	Tenore	

Lexicon of local terminology in Lithuanian multipart singing: *sutartinės*¹

A

APLINKUI, APLINKUI GIEDOTI — to sing (SUTARTINĖ) round, to sing around. See GIEDOTI BE GALO, APSKRITA.

One begins, the next one quickly catches up, and from there, the third one; and so, it goes around as many singers as are performing. ... *Viena pradedą, tuoj kita pagauna, iš tos trečia, ir taip eina aplinkui, kiek tų giedotojų yra.*

APSKRITA (adj. n; sing.) — the convertible term, characteristic of the SUTARTINĖ (three-some); is derived from the adjective ‘round ones’ [The ringing of the music itself seems to run in an endless circle. This has also probably had an influence on the way the performers arrange the unfolding of the song in a circular fashion. This judgment is formed by commentaries heard, such as “one begins, the next one quickly catches on, and from there, the third one; and so, it goes around as many singers as are performing” (LLIM 291)]. See SUTARTINĖ.

An old *sutartinė* (*apskrita* — circular) *sektinė* — ‘following song’, from Kupiškis, sung *trijūs* — in threesome, *turavojant* (*keliems*) — accompanied by several who sing: *sodauto rūta, sodauto*. [Sung by Stefanija Glemžaitė. Rec. in 1956 (SIS 1251).];

“A circular (APSKRITA) *sutartine*, a following song in a threesome” (*Sutartinė apskrita, sektinė, trijos.*) [Sung by Stefanija Glemžaitė, age 70, Kupiškis. Rec. in 1959 m. (SIS 218).]

ATATARĖJA — performer of ATITARIMAS.

ATATARIA, in the dialect of ATITARIA (v, third person), ATITARTI (inf.) — to answer, to respond. See ATATARIMAS (ATITARIMAS), ATITARTINĖ.

This is how the singers divide up their work: One ‘gathers’ the words; so to speak, leads the *sutartinės*. The second one ‘agrees,’ in *Dainininkės šitaip „pasiskirsčiusios“ darbą: I “renka” žodžius, t. y. veda sutartinę, II “sutaria”, t. y. pirmosios tekstą dainuoja ta pačia*

1 I wish to thank Emilija Sakadolskis for the translation from Lithuanian into English.

other words, sings the text of the first in the same melody, but doesn't bring in anything new of her own; whereas the third ATATARIA 'assents'.

melodija, tačiau ji nieko savo naujo neįneša, III "atataria". Šie terminai pačių dainininkių vartojami [Written down by Juozas Kar-tenis in 1935 (SIS 1234b)]

ATATARIMAS, in dialect — ATITARIMAS (verbal n; sing.) —

1. The melody line of the refrain.

2. The part of refrain ("insert") — one word or compound. The term is derived from the verb ATITARTI (in dialect *atatarti*) — to answer, to respond. See PRITARINYS, ATITARTINĖ, ATITARTINĖ TREJINĖ, ATITARTINĖ TREJINĖ KETURIOSE.

ATITARIA (v, third person; inf. ATITARTI) — to answer, to respond. See ATITARIMAS, ATITARINYS.

"A circular sutartinė, a following song, sung in a foursome, with the fourth ATITARIANT responding." (*Sutartinė (apskrita) sektinė, dainuojama keturiūs, ketvirtai atitariant.*) [SIS 458]

ATITARTINĖ (adj. n; sing.) — the name of the SUTARTINĖ (threesome) with assent, response, is derived from the verb AT(S)ITARTI — 'to answer, to respond', or the name of PAKAITINĖ — 'alternation' hymn (antiphonal singing). [Sung by Domicelė Šlapelienė, age 74, Rakučiai village, Kupiškis district, Panevėžys County. Written down in 1937 (SIS 691b).]. See SUTARTINĖ; also see PAKAITINĖ.

ATITARTINĖ TREJINĖ (threesome with assent) —

1. Each of the three singers holds back for a short pause at some particular place in the song. Usually this entails skipping any one of the onomatopoeic words of the short refrain (*dobilio, dautuvo, siudijo*, or the like), or the compound of such words (*dobilio čiūto* or *Dobilio rūto*). Another singer, who is unoccupied at that time, ATITARIA sings this word or compound, thereby filling in the gap in the melody. This sort of structure seems to require that the singers have a chance to catch an extra breath and relax.

2. Although three sing this type of the threesome, ATATARĖJA the third one only performs ATITARIMAS the refrain assent. She fills in the gaps in the melody left by the first and second singer, thereby providing them with a brief breather. The part of the ATATARĖJA third singer is based on an imitation of the motif of the first.

ATITARTINĖ TREJINĖ KETURIOSE (threesome by four with assent) — three singers sing in strict canon. The fourth ATATARĖJA provides them with an additional breather. Her part ATITARIMAS is only composed of an imitation of the motif of the first refrain, be-

ing sung by the others in canon. Thereby, *ATATARĖJA* assents in sequential order to the first singer, then the second, and finally the third.

ATMUŠIMAS (verbal n; sing.) — the melody line of the refrain; it is derived from the verb *ATMUŠTI* ‘to reflect, beat back’. See *PRITARINYS*.

I can't remember the *ATMUŠIMAS* — the accompaniment. In threes it was easy, but in fours — not everyone knew how (manuscript note: “the singer refers to this *sutartinė* as a foursome, but cannot remember the second melody.”)

Atmušimo nebeatomanu. Trijos – lengva būdavo, keturios – ne visos temokėdavo (rankraštyje pastaba: „dainuotoja šią sutartinę skiria prie keturinių, tačiau antrosios melodijos neatsimena“). [Written down by Stasys Paliulis in 1936 from Elžbieta Janavičienė (SIS 638).]

ATOTARIA (v, third person) on the dialect of *ATITARTI* (inf.) — to answer, to respond. See *ATITARIMAS*.

“There's no-one to respond *ATOTARIA* to me. We could blow a *sutartinė* together.” (*Nebar kas mon atotaria, galatumėm sutartiną supūsti.*) [Rendered by Vasiliauskas, b. in 1847 Bakšėnai village, Salamiestis district, Vabalninkas County. Written down by Stasys Paliulis in 1936 (Vyžintas 2002: 262).]

ATSAKINĖJA (v, third person: inf. *ATSAKYTI*) — to answer, to respond. It is the part of the refrain involved in the chanting of all *PAKAITINĖS* ‘alternation’ (amoebaeon) hymns; one group chants the main text and the other group the refrain, with the performance continuing without interruption as the groups take turns in their chants. This manner of singing is similar to the responsory in Catholic rituals. See *PAKAITINĖ*.

Foursome. It is sung (*kudekuojama* — cackled) this way: the first voice says, “I went, I traveled.” The second and third, “*Ai ciuta, do ciuta* (as if reciting a litany: one calls, the others *ATSAKINĖJA* respond), the fourth voice (the first one can remain silent): “On the open road,” and again the second and third says, “*ai ciuta, do ciuta,*” and so on. It is a rye-harvest hymn.

Keturinė. Giedama (kudekuojama) šitaip: pirmas balsas sako: „Aš ejau, keliavau“; antras ir trečias: „Ai ciuta, da ciuta (irgi litanijos būdu: vieni skaito, kiti atsakinėja) <...>. [Sung by Anelė Blaževičienė, age 67, Rizgūnai village, Paringys district, Švenčionys County. Written down by Juozas Aidulis and Juozas Jurga in 1936 (SIS 1715)]

ATSITARTINĖ (adj. n; sing.) — synonym of *ATITARTINĖ*. See *SUTARTINĖ*, *PAKAITINĖ*.

B

BARAS (BARIS) — row, ‘one verse’ (half a stanza) in the SUTARTINĖS structure. See EILĖ.

“Pushing forward a verse, one is the leader, but for another verse — the warbler” (*Ta sauge dainuojas trise, kits nuo kito pajindami, taip, jog, vieną barį varant, vienas est vadovu, o kitą barą — suokėju.*) [SIS 1194];

“Ejdijo! All three, but one responds when one of the leaders finishes their BARIS line.” (*Ejdijo! Vis 3, bet tad atsiliep’, kai katras tarp’ rinkėjų pabaig’ sava barį.*) [Written down by Mykolas Miežinis in 1849, MMR (SIS 623).].

BOSAVOJA (v, third person; inf. BOSAVOTI, BOSUOTI) — to sing the bass.

1. BOSAVOJIMAS means the lowest part in some SUTARTINĖS.

2. In the tradition of homophonic polyphony (for example Panevėžys district) BOSAVIMAS (verbal n) means a drone, a *basso ostinato* part.

“Sutartinė in a threesome. The first voice is marked “leads”, the second — “accompanies” and the third — BOSAVOJA “sings the drone”. (“Sutartinė trijūs”. *Prie pirmojo balso pažymėta: „vada“, prie antrojo — “tūravoja” ir prie trečiojo — „bosavoja“.*) [Sung by Anatolija Kytrienė, age 53. Written down by Birutė Kytraitė in 1943 (SIS 1753).]

C

CIUTELĖ (n; sing.) — the name of the *sutartinė* in East Lithuania. It is derived from the onomatopoeic words. The name came from the repetitive refrains of *ciuta, ciutelė*, which are most frequently heard in PARUGINĖS hymns. See SUTARTINĖ.

CIUCIUOJA (v, third person; inf. CIUCIUOTI) — to sing CIUTELĖ; the name of the *sutartinė* or PAKAITINĖ about Švenčionys-Ignalina.

“Women from several fields would gather and CIUCIUOJA (sing *ciutelė*) for everyone to hear.” (*Suseina iš kelių rėžių bobos ir kad pradės ciuciuoti ant viso lauko <...>.*) [Sung by Uršulė Jeskėnienė, age 75, Bikėnai village, Dūkštas district. Written down by Stasys Paliulis in 1936 (Výžintas 2002: 113).]

CIŪTUOJA (v, third person) inf. CIŪTUOTI, CIUCIUOTI ‘to sing CIUTELĖ — the name of the SUTARTINĖ (*pakaitinė*) about Švenčionys-Ignalina.

This is how it was. They shouted so that even the fields would jangle, not like now. Everyone did so. You don’t know or under

Tada jau taip būdavo. Rėkia, net laukai žvanga, tai ne dabar. Visi taip... Kitų žodžių nežinodamas ir nesuprasi, ciūtuoja tik ir

stand other words, so you just *CIŪTUOJA* sing *ciūtuoja sau*. [Sung by Uršulė Jeskėnienė, age 75, Bikėnai village, Dūkštas district. Written down by Stasys Paliulis in 1936 (Vyžintas 2002: 113).]

ČIUTELĖ (n; sing.) — the name of the *SUTARTINĖ* in East Lithuania; it is derived from the onomatopoeic words. The name came from the repetitive refrains of *čiuta*, *čiutelė*, which are most frequently heard in *PARUGINĖS* hymns. See *SUTARTINĖ*.

D

DAINA-ŠOKIS (n; sing.) — ‘song-dance’; the name of the danced *sutartinė* [SIS 1306]. See *YPATINGAS ŠOKIS*; *MOTERŲ ŠOKIS SUTARTINIS*; *PRIE ŠOKIŲ*; *RATELIS SUTARTINIS*; *SUKAMOJI*; *ŠOKĖJUS*; *ŠOKIS*; *ŠOKTINĀ*; *ŠOKTINĖ*; *ŠOKTINĖ, KETURIŌS*; *ŠOKTINĖ, SUKTINĖ*; *TRIJŲ SUTARTINĖ SUKTINĖ*; *VAIKŠČIOJAMOJI*; *VAIKŠTINĖTINĖ, NE ŠOKTINĖ*; *ŽAIDIMAS*; *ŽAIDIMAS-ZABOVA*, etc.

DERĖTI (v inf.) — to negotiate or be in accord with. A synonym of *SUTARTI*, the verb from which the term *SUTARTINĖS* is derived.

DVEJINĖ (cardinal n; sing.) — twosome. See *SUTARTINĖ*. In the dialect *DVEJŌS* (*DVEJOSE*, *DVEJUOS*), *DVEJU*, *DVIEJŌS*, *DVIESAI*, *DVIESE*, *DVININĖ*, *LUMŽDINĖ*, *RINKINYS ANT DVIEJŲ BALSŲ*.

1. Counterpoint by two singers

Usually, two singers in a pair sing the *DVEJINĖS* songs. Both sing the same text, but with independent melodies. A characteristic of many of the *DVEJINĖS* is an enunciation of certain syllables at different times rather than at once, and little interjections of short refrains (onomatopoeic words). This serves to enlarge the number of syllables in a stanza for one of the parts, and at the same time adds a difference in rhythm to the melody.

2. Twosome canon or canon by two singers (groups) represents a description, based on the dialect that is used for the word *dviese* ‘by two’ — *dvejŌs* ‘[fem.] by two,’ *in du pulku* ‘by two flocks.’, and *TRININĖ* or *tryninė* (??). (see *TRININĖ*, *TRYNINĖ*)

DVEJŌS, *DVEJOSE*, *DVEJUOS* (cardinal; in dialect) — see *DVEJINĖ*.

“*DVEJŌS* Twosome. The *sutartinės* need to sound like *skudučiai* — panpipes. There’s no panpiping, people would say when we’re not in accord.” (*DvejŌs. Reikia, kad sutartinės skudučiuotųsi. Čia nėra skudučiovimo — pasako dažnai, kai nesutariam.*) [Sung by Viktė Našlėnienė, age 80, Galvokai village, Biržai County. Written down by Stasys Paliulis in 1936 (SIS 1179).];

“Singing about the daughter-in-law. DVEJŌS Twosome.” (*Apgiedant marčią. Dvejōs.*) [Sung by Viktė Našlėnienė, age 80, Galvokai village, Biržai County. Written down by Stasys Paliulis in 1936 (SIS 919).];

Singing about the in-laws. DVEJŌS Twosome. Written observation: “Našlėnienė claims that all songs about in-laws are sung in twosomes with these melodies. This is how you sing about the mother-in-law, the daughter-in-law, the brother-in-law and the match-maker.”

Apgiedant svotus. Dvejōs. Užrašinėtojo pastaba: „Našlėnienė tvirtina, kad apgiedamosios giesmės visos šitaip giedamos: dvejios ir šitomis melodijomis. Taip apgiedama svočia, marti, dieveris, priešlys.“ [Sung by Viktė Našlėnienė, age 80, Galvokai village, Biržai County. Written down by Stasys Paliulis in 1936 (SIS 1117).];

DVEJU (cardinal; in dialect) — see DVEJINĖ.

“You can call this DVEJU in a twosome; I bet you don’t need the leading part then.” (*Galema ir dveju saugti, bet tuokart šaukyma nebreik.*). [Written down by Mykolas Miežinis in 1849, MMR (SIS 624).].

DVEJŌS (cardinal; in dialect) — see DVEJINĖ.

“According to Križanauskienė, this song is sung DVEJŌS as a twosome.” (*Anot Križanauskienės, šie giesmės dvejōs giedama.*) [Sung by Katrė Križanauskienė, age 70, Kraukliai villege, Nemunėlio Radviliškis district, Biržai County. Written down by Adolfas Sabaliauskas in 1912 (SIS 1085).]

DVIESAI (cardinal; in dialect) — see DVEJINĖ.

“Sung DVIESAI as a twosome and danced.” (*Dainuojama dviesai ir šokama.*). [Written down by Aukusti Roberti Niemi in 1910 (SIS 1469).];

DVIESE (cardinal) — see DVEJINĖ.

“The sutartinė *Lineliai* (Little Flax) is sung DVIESE as a twosome. (*Sutartinę “Lineliai” gieda „dviese“.*) [Sung by Sprindienė, b. 1844, town of Biržai. Written down by Stasys Paliulis in 1932 (LLIM 4).]

DVININĖ (cardinal n; sing.; in dialect) — see DVEJINĖ. DVININĖ [Written down by Žiogas in 1899–1904, Rimšė district, Zarasai County. (SIS 1562)]

E

EILĖ — line (dimin. *eilutė*; in dial. AILUTĖ); in SUTARTINĖS tradition ‘one verse’ (half a stanza); synonym of BARAS.

When *sutartinės* are sung in threes, one is always resting because it takes a lot of energy to call without ceasing, and that cannot be done. Even the smallest lapse spoils it. You need to be very, very careful. This is how it is sung. The first one or the leader sings the first EILĖ line, while the others are silent. When he starts the next EILĖ line, the second singer takes the line from the person that just sang it. After that the first one stops singing, the second one sings the second EILĖ line and the third one starts from the beginning with the first EILĖ line, and so on.

Sutartinės dainės dainuojant trise, visad vienas ilses, nes reik tuoitompos rėkti be paliaubų, kas negalems daikts daturėti. Mažiausis nusizioplinims gadin tajopy; taj tat rejkalauj baisej dideli daboimasi. Tas taip dainuj. Pirmas, ar vadovs kitiem tylant pardainuoja pirmą eilę, kada praded ipieding eilę, II-as paim nuo jo padainuotąją eilę. Pagiedojus jam tą, pirmas nutyl, antras antrą eilę, o trečias vel paim iš pradžios I eilę ir t. t. [Written down by Mykolas Miežinis in 1849, MMR];

When the first one sings the first AILUTĖ, line, the second and the third voices are silent. When the first one starts the second AILUTĖ, line, the second one sings the first (line). So they sing one after another. In the manuscript, a *sutartinė* is called a “collection for three voices.”

Dainuojas taip: kada 1 balsas dainuoja pirmų ailotį, antras ir trečias balsas tyli, kada pirmas balsas – antrų ailotį, antras pirmų. Taip paailiu ir dainuoja. Rankraštyje *sutartinė* pavadinta: *Rinkinis ant 3 balsų* [Written down in 1911, without references (SIS 695)]

G

GIEDA (v, third person) inf. GIEDOTI ‘to sing GIESMĖ’.

Sutartinės GIEDA, are sung as hymns or tooted. They used to say: how beautifully they toot. They toot like swans.

Sutartinės gieda arba tūtuoja. Sakydavo: kaip gražiai tūtuoja. Tūtuoja kaip gulbės. [Sung by Elžbieta Janavičienė-Tamėnaitė, b. 1841, Suvaizdžiai village, Pandėlys County. Written down by Stasys Paliulis in 1936 (LLIM 328).].

“Rye-harvest song. It is sung (GIEDA) after the cutting is finished, three on a part.” (*Ruginė. Gieda, eidami pjovē po tris un balso.*) [Sung by Paulina Ramelytė, Adutiškis town, Švenčionys district, written down in 1941 (SIS 79).];

“Foursome, it is sung (GIEDA) in fours like a litany. Two lead (sing out): “Oh, where the woodpecker perched” and they stop. The other two respond, “The dew swung on the

field”.)” (*Keturinė, gieda keturiose litanijos būdu: dvi vedžioja (išgieda): “Oi, kur genelis tupėjo” ir tyli. Kitos dvi atsakinėja: „Siūravo rasa in baro.*) [SIS 1725];

GIEDOJIMA(S)(-I) (verbal n; sing. (pl.)) — the name of the SUTARTINĖ; is derived from the verb GIEDOTI ‘to sing GIESMĖ (convertible term of SUTARTINĖ) — hymns’.

GIEDOTOJA (n; f, sing.) — the chanter. 1. Who generally chants GIESMĖ or SUTARTINĖ. 2. Who chants the refrain of a sutartinė. See PRITARINYS, PRITARĖJA.

- IDIOM

GIEDOTI BE GALO — to sing endlessly.

The structure of the *sutartinės* is best expressed by the symbol of a wheel. They seem to have no ending in the sense that they contain no ending cadenza. The singer merely ends the singing by a certain hoot, or by a specific musical formula of words, such as *gan*, *sese, gan*, *lyli* ‘enough, sis, enough, lylia.’ The fact that the people have referred to the *sutartinės* as *apskritos* ‘round ones’ is no mere random occurrence. The ringing of the music itself seems to run in an endless circle. This has also probably had an influence on the way the performers arrange the unfolding of the song in a circular fashion. RINKIMAS ‘collecting’ — unfinished process [The often-lengthy continuation of “collecting” the song, and its process of never arriving at a final finish are of themselves incredibly interesting. The SUTARTINĖS song seems to be recognized as an unfinished product. It is composed during the processes of setting it to music. The singers themselves have borne witness to this idea: “The length of that kind of text depended on the ability of the singer to keep on combining and forming new stanzas” (*Tokio teksto didumas pareidavo nuo dainininko sugebėjimo naujus posmus sukombinuoti, sudėti*) (SIS 1375); and other similar descriptions.]

“You can keep on singing and singing the same BE GALO without end...” (*Tą galima giedoti ir giedoti be galo. Dainuojama po vestuvių pas jaunąją.*) [Written down by Juozas Jurga in 1937 (SIS 1189).];

“Unfinished. But usually words are added, as many as you like.” (*Nebaigta. Bet paprastai taip prideda po žodelį, kiek patinka.*) [Sung by Pečiukonienė, Taujėnai district, Ukmergė County. Written down by Jurgis Dovydaitis in 1935 (SIS 26b).];

“You always keep on collecting the words. You can gather as many of them as you like.” (*Vis taip renki žodžius, gali kiek nori pririnkti. Dainuodavo keturios, eidamos į laukus*) (SIS 37));

“They would sing when returning from work. You keep collecting the words (RENKI IR RENKI ŽODŽIUS) for a long time.” *Kai iš darbų grįždavo, dainuodavo. Renki ir renki žodžius, ilga*

buvo.) [Sung by Anelė Bukienė, age 74, Ceikiniai village, Švenčionys district. Written down by E. Karaliūtė in 1949 m. (SIS 172).];

“Collect (rink) the collection (song) the way you see fit.” (*Rinkinį kaip išmislij jūr rink.*) [Written down in Kupiškis district (SIS 1568).]

GIEDOTINĖ (adj. n; sing.) — the convertible term of the *sutartinė*; it is derived from the verb *giedoti* ‘to sing *giesmė*’.

“They would sit down to spin at the wheel and sing. I don’t remember the melody. We sang before the war of 1914 in Palaidžia village. GIEDOTINĖS songs are short.” (*Susėdavo verpt ir giedodavo. Melodijos nebeatsimenu. Giedodavom prieš 1914 m. karą Palaidžioj. Giedotinės neilgos.*) [Sung by Marija Bičiūnienė, age 50, Pandėlys district. Written down by Stasys Paliulis in 1954 (SIS 279).].

GIESMĀ — the dialect name of the *giesmė*. [Sung by S. Balaišienė, Kupiškis town. Written down by A. Vireliūnas in 1925 (SIS 767).]

GIESMĖ (n; sing.), GIESMĖS (n; pl.) ‘hymn(s)’ –

1. The convertible term of the *SUTARTINĖS*. The collectors of *sutartinės* Canon Adolfas Sabaliauskas, Prof. Aukusti Roberti Niemi and others referred to the *sutartinės* as hymns. They used the term to distinguish these songs from the newer (continual) songs: “There is a category of Lithuanian songs, which are called *giesmės* ‘hymns’. These are not spiritual hymns, as many would believe, but rather secular. And, as the older singers of hymns tell it, these songs are not merely sung, but rather sung as hymns... [in the Lithuanian language the verb *dainuoti* ‘to sing’ is distinguished from the verb *giedoti* ‘to sing hymns] Now, they don’t make a mistake: they’ll never call a song a hymn, or a hymn a song, and that’s the difference between the two. There is a great musical difference between songs and hymns, and the difference can be seen in the words of the texts as well” (Sabaliauskas 1911: 7).

2. The archaic *IŠTISINĖS GIESMĖS* ‘continual hymns’ (monophonic refrain hymns) are sung in unison, heterophonically. Often they contain the kind of refrains which are common to the *sutartinės*. The simplest of their structures is: text 4 (5–7) + refrain 3 (2) syllables. Apparently, varieties of polyphonic forms could have evolved from similar refrain hymns, especially in East Lithuania.

Foursome. It is sung (*kudekuojama* — cackled) this way: the first voice says, “I went, I traveled.” The second and third, “*Ai ciuta, do*

Keturinė. Giedama (kudekuojama) šitaip: pirmas balsas sako: „Aš ejau, keliavau“; an trās ir trečias: „Ai ciuta, da ciuta (irgi litanijos būdu:

ciuta (as if reciting a litany: one calls, the others respond), the fourth voice (the first one can remain silent): “On the open road,” and again the second and third says, “*ai ciuta, do ciuta,*” and so on. It is a rye-harvest GIESMĖ hymn.

vieni skaito, kiti atsakinėja <...>. *Giesmė rugiapiūtinė (ruginė)*.“ [Sung by Anelė Blaževičienė, age 67, Rizgūnai village, Paringys district, Švenčionys County. Written down by Juozas Aidulis and Juozas Jurga in 1936 (SIS 1715).]

“The *sutartinės* were referred to as *sutartinė* hymns (GIESMĖS) or as agreements (pl.).” (*Sutartinės vadino: sutartinės giesmės ir sutartys (dgs.)*). [Rendered by Jokūbas Gasperavičius, b. 1846, Salamiestis town, Vabalninkas district, Biržai County. Written down by Stasys Paliulis in 1932 (LLIM 6).];

“A spinning hymn (GIESMĖ).” (*Verptinė giesmė*). [Sung by Ona Burčikienė, age 80, Klausučiai village, Biržai County. Written down by P. Burčikas in 1925–1926 (SIS 285).]

• IDIOM

GROTE GROTI — to sing SUTARTINĖS just as they had been played. [it is worthy of note that the vocal SUTARTINĖS hymns have a resonance which is closely related to that of different instruments, or the actual resonance of instruments.]

“In older times, the *sutartinės* were sung just as GROTE GRODAVO they had been played.” (*Seniau sutartinės giedodavo, kaip grote grodavo, linus raudamos*). [Rendered by Vasiliauskas, b. 1847, Bakšėnai village, Salamiestis district, Biržai County. Written down by Stasys Paliulis in 1932 (LLIM 119).];

“The women would say: we’ll sing a song. All four of them KAIP GROTE GRODAVO sounded like they were playing an instrument. In Bakšėnai they would dance to these songs.” (*Sakydavo moterys: pagiedosim kokią sutartinę. Kaip grote grodavo jos visas keturios. Bakšėnuos šokdavo grotines*). [Sung by Jurgis Borisas, b. 1866 m. Bakšėnai village, Salamiestis district, Biržai County. Written down by Stasys Paliulis in 1932 (LLIM 5).].

I

• IDIOMS

IN DU PULKU — by two flocks.

1. Twosome canon or canon by two groups. (see TREJINĖ).

2. KETURINĖ ‘foursome’ by two groups — counterpoint without antiphony. This is a manner of singing, which was popular throughout East Lithuania. It is performed by two singers (or pairs, groups), wherein one only sings the main text, and the other only the accompaniment. In this manner, they sing continuously to the end without pause or interruption. See KETURINĖ.

3. *KETURINĖS*, a type of *PAKAITINĖS* hymn, are chanted by four women (or two groups), the same as for the *SUTARTINĖS*, only they sing by strictly alternating in turns: two (first group) chant the text, and two (second group) reply in assent with the refrain. This is the most frequent manner of performance for the *ruginės* (rye harvest or working in the rye fields) *KETURINĖS*. See *PAKAITINĖ*.

4. Antiphonal singing by two groups. Each group sings one complete stanza. The second group repeats what the first had sung. This is the singing of *IŠTISINĖS* ‘continual hymns’ in an antiphonal manner. The songs for working in the rye fields are usually performed in this manner: “When there are many, they walk through the rye field in a line of four or so, and sing. One group sings out a stanza, and the other repeats the words.” (*Kai daug būna, eina eile per parugę po 4 ar po kiek ir dainuoja. Vienas pulkas sugieda posmą, kitas tuos žodžius pakartoja.*) *KTR* 11(136). See *IŠTISINĖ*.

IR EINANT, IR ŠOKANT — both walked and danced; the characterisation of the danced *sutartinė* [*SIS* 1370]. (see *DAINA-ŠOKIS*)

IŠGIEDA (v, third person; inf. (*iš*)*giedoti*) — to sing *giesmė*, to give a *giesmė*. See *GIEDA*.

“Foursome, it is sung in fours like a litany. Two lead (*IŠGIEDA*, sing out): “Oh, where the woodpecker perched” and they stop. The other two respond, “The dew swung on the field.” (*Keturinė, gieda keturiose litanijos būdu: dvi vedžioja (išgieda): „Oi, kur genelis tupėjo” ir tyli. Kitos dvi atsakinėja: „Siūravo rasa in baro.*) [*SIS* 1725];

IŠMISLIAUNA (v, third person) inf. *IŠMISLIAUTI* ‘to think, to invent’ — to sing the first part of the *SUTARTINĖ*, to compose the words. (see *SUMISLIAUTI, SUMISLYTI*)

We sing in a foursome, but if we like, we can shout using even more voices. We call it a foursome. We sing as we harvest rye. We split into two flocks. If there are four of us — in twos. One from the first flock leads (*IŠMISLIAUNA*), makes it up, while the other attends and says the word “*dobile*” — clover.

*Giedam keturiose, nors, kaip norim, ir daugiau balsų rėkiam. Vadinam „keturine“. Giedam pjaunant rugius. Susiskirstom in du pulkus. Jei esam keturios, po dvi. Pirmojo būrio viena kuri surinkėja „išmisliauna“, o kita „padabavoja“, sako žodį „dobile“ <...> [Sung by Paulina Masiulienė, age 73, Kackonys village, Svirkos parish, Švenčionys district. Written down by Genovaitė Četkauskaitė in 1958 (*KTR* 12(178)).]*

IŠTISINĖ (adj. n; sing.), *IŠTISINĖS* (adj. n; pl.) — continual. This name reflects various extended variations of the structure of text and refrain, albeit sung continuously (without a sharing of any sort by the voice parts) in unison or heterophony.

- **IDIOMS**

IT VARPAI — like bells [voices of singers ought to sound (‘clang’) ‘like bells’]. See LYG SKAMBINA VARPAIS, KAIP ZVANAI.

“An agreement in the woods tolls IT VARPAI like a bell” (*Sutariant pašilėj, zvanku it varpai.*) [Written down by Mykolas Miežinis in 1849, MMR (SIS 262).]

K

- **IDIOMS**

KAIP GERVIŲ GARGĖJIMAS — singing *as if* ‘garbling like cranes’.

I never heard the ‘foursome’ sung while I was growing up in Rimša Parish. Only my mother and I sang them, and when we did, people would really listen. The song — KAIP GERVIŲ GARGĖJIMAS, sounded like the garbling of cranes.

Keturinės dainos – senybinės. Aš, Rimšės parapijoj augdama, jau negirdėjau keturinių giedant, tik mess u motina giedodavom, tai žmonės labai klausydavo. Daina – kaip gervių gargėjimas. [Sung by Viktorija Bukauskienė, age 78, Kazimieriškė village, Rimšė district, Zarasai County. Written down by Juozas Aidulis ir Juozas Jurga in 1936 (SIS I, P. 734)]

- **IDIOMS**

KAIP GULBĖS TŪTUOJA — toot like swans. See TŪTUOJA KAIP GULBĖS; TŪTUOTI.

“The ‘threesome.’ We tooted KAIP GULBĖS TŪTUODAVĀM like the swans.” (*Trejinė. Kaip ir gulbės tūtuodavām.*) [SIS 510; Written down in 1939]

- **IDIOMS**

KAIP ZVANAI — (sing. *zvanas* ‘bell’ from the pol. *dzwon*) ‘like bells’. (see IT VARPAI)

“Voices toll KAIP ZVANAI, like bells.” (*Balsai susidaužia kaip zvanai.*) [KTR 12(78)].

KAPELIJA (n; sing.) ‘choir, chapel, band’ -

1. The name of the vocal collective SUTARTINĖ. Unlike the traditional or group SUTARTINĖS, this is sung collectively by 4 to 20 performers. Each one of them has her own part — a certain formula of words and music. It is repeated frequently without stopping. It is believed that collective SUTARTINĖS were influenced by the homophonic polyphony which had been taking hold at the time.

2. The name of the vocal-instrumental collective SUTARTINĖ. These are those SUTARTINĖS in which the singing blends with the music of woodwind instruments

(*skudučiai* ‘flutes of a panpipe type’, *lumzdeliai* ‘type of longitudinal flutes’ and the *birbynės* ‘reed fifes’). The relationship of the voices in these *sutartinės* is similar to that of the vocal *kapelija*. (see KŪLINIS, TRAILINIMAS, VILNIAUS VARPAI, etc.)

KAPOTINĖ (adj. n; sing.) — the convertible term of the *sutartinė*; it is derived from the verb KAPOTI ‘to chop’ [SIS 89 a; SIS 1303, etc.]. See SUTARTINĖ.

KETURGIESMĖ (n; sing.) — the convertible term of the GIESMĖ ‘hymns’ foursome. [Sung by Antanina Strolienė, age 80, Vaivadiškės village, Kavarskas district, Ukmergė County. Written down in 1937 (SIS 188).]. See KETURINĖ, SUTARTINĖ.

KETURIESE (cardinal) — foursome, see KETURINĖ.

They sing KETURIESE, in a foursome. In two pairs. This collecting of songs is called an agreement. They sang these in the olden times and this clearly shows that our forefathers not only knew how to sing well, but they could put together some lines with good meaning. There was a variety in the way they were put together; maybe in twos, threes or four (KETURIESE), or on pipes or to be danced or sung.

Dainuoja keturiese. Po dvi pori [(SIS 764; SIS 1297)]; *Tas surinkimas dainų vadina-
mas sutartiniu <...> gedojo senoves gadiniu
ir aiškiai mums rodo, kad mūsų bočiai mokėjo
ne vien gražiai dainuoti, bet ir gera prasme
eiles sumušti. Čia kas nors gal rasti įvairumą
jų sumušimo; gal dviejų, trise, keturiese, ar
ant vamzdžių, ar šokant dainuoti...* [Written
down by Mykolas Miežinis in 1849, MMR]

KETURINĖ (adj. n; sing.) — ‘foursome’, in dialect KETURGIESMĖ, KETURIESE, KETURIŌS, KETURIUOS, KETURSAUGĖ, etc. -

1. One of the leading types of the polyphonic SUTARTINĖS; counterpoint + polytextuality:

- a) antiphonal counterpoint (four singers, who are paired, perform antiphonal counterpoint: the second pair repeats what the first pair has just sung. Each of the pair of singers has a share of the different parts: one collects the lines of the main text, whereas the other frequently repeats the accompaniment, singing the refrain in an independent melody line);
- b) counterpoint without antiphony (this is a manner of singing which was popular throughout East Lithuania. It is performed by two singers (or pairs, groups) where one only sings the main text being collected, and the other only the accompaniment. In this manner, they sing continuously to the end without pause or interruption.) (see SUTARTINĖ)

“KETURINĖS foursomes are not sung, but rather ‘hiccuped’.” (*Keturines giesmes žaksi, ne dainuoja.*) [Sung by Ieva Kaukėnienė, age 80, Rizgūnai village, Paringys district, Švenčionys County. Written down by Juozas Aidulis in 1933 (SIS 1173).].

Ya know, I don’t know how to sing by myself the way that four do <...> it used to be that when we went out — the fields were a’ toll with them KETURINĖS. Ah, now child, I have forgotten.

A foursome (KETURINĖ) work song. Vocal foursomes are from the olden days. I never heard the KETURINĖS ‘foursome’ sung, while I was growing up in Rimša Parish. Only my mother and I sang them, and when we did, people would really listen.

One time four of us met, and said: ‘granny, you sing us a KETURINĖS.’ So, since we were four, and the voices were much like granny’s (was a real pretty voice by all four). When she let loose, we all said: ‘louder.’ We were a laughin’ so hard, our bladders about bust! Back then, granny had more years than me, but she could sure sing beautiful! Them three would repeat: ‘*dobiliukeli, doBILE, doBiliukeli doBILE* [trans. assumed to all be variations of the word for clover],’ and they’d be the ones to start in singing (and they’d be the only ones to sing). And one always said the word *doBILE*, and them — one by one — always *doBILE* and *doBILE*... ‘louder, grannies!’ — so they’d get louder. Back then, our brother had an accordion. So, it’d be her words, while he’d play that squeezebox on the part they came together. So, that way they’d get

„*Tai tokios keturinės buvo. Ale aš viena nemoku tep padainuoti kap keturiōs. Mat keturinės. Būdavo, nusiveža ažu Švenčionėlių pjaut rugių, vasarojaus, būdavo, kap išeisim – laukai žvaga šitom keturinēm. A dabar jau, vaikelai, ašmiršau.*” [Sung by Zabelė Krušinskienė, age 77, Švenčionėliai County. Written down by Angelė Vyšniauskaitė in 1949 (SIS I, p.735).]

Daina keturinė (darbo). Keturinės dainos – senybinės. Aš, Rimšės parapijoj augdama, jau negirdėjau keturinių giedant, tik mes su motina giedodavom, tai žmonės labai klausydavo ... [Sung by Viktorija Bukauskienė, age 78, Kazimieriškė village, Rimšė district, Zarasai County. Written down by Juozas Aidulis and Juozas Jurga in 1936 (SIS I: 734).];

Vieną kartą sus’rinkį mes keturios sakom: „babut, padainuokit jūs keturinį“. Tai anas kai keturiosu, i babutes labai balsų turi (visų gražus takis balsas buvo), tai kai palaide, tai mes sakam: „garsiau!“ , tai mes juokiamės, net mūs pirkela plyšta! Babute tadu jau daugiau metų turėja, kaip aš, o teip gražiai galėja dainuot! Visos trys saka: „dobiliukeli, doBILE, doBiliukeli doBILE“, šitos užgieda vis (i tos vien tik tuos gieda), o viena saka vis žodžius ir „doBILE“, o šitos – išvien vis „doBILE“ ir „doBILE“ ... „Da garsiau, babutes!“ – tai jos da garsiau. A tadu mūs braliukas buvo su armonika, tai jos žodžius, a tas ant sutaikyma armonika groja. Tai kaip tie sutika, – net pirkela plyšta! E kai babutes garsiau, – anas armoniku garsiau ... [KLF 654 (76)]; Račiūnaitė-Vyčiniene 2000; 2002.].

together, — why, the bladder would start a’ busting! And when them grannies get to going louder, — he’d go louder on that accordion...

2. Type of PAKAITINĖ(S) ‘alternation’ hymn(s). They are chanted by four women, the same as for the *sutartinės*, only they sing by strictly alternating in turns: two chant the text, and two reply in assent with the refrain. This is the most frequent manner of performance for the RUGINĖS (rye harvest or working in the rye fields) KETURINĖS. The next type of the KETURINĖS, where the text is chanted alternately by two singers, and the refrain by a pair of singers, is a new type — KETURINĖS, performed by four chanting one at a time: I. *Kur važiuoji*, II. *Dagile*, III. *Jaunasai berneli*, IV. *Dobile*, etc.). See PAKAITINĖ.

KETURIŌS (cardinal; in dialect) — see KETURINĖ.

“I can’t remember the *atmušimas* — the accompaniment. In threes it was easy, but KETURIŌS, in fours — not everyone knew how (manuscript note: “the singer refers to this *sutartinė* as a foursome, but cannot remember the second melody.” (*Atmušimo nebeatomanu. Trijōs — lengva būdavo, keturiōs — ne visos temokėdavo*. Rankraštyje pastaba: „dainuotoja šią *sutartinę* skiria prie keturinių, tačiau anrosios melodijos neatsimena.“) [Sung by Elžbieta Janavičienė; written down by Stasys Paliulis (SIS 638).];

“Those threesomes, foursomes (KETURIŌS). When you listen from far off, it sounds like hens clucking. When they agreed, it sounded very good, as far as I remember. In my times they didn’t sing them much any more.” (*Tos trijōs, keturiōs, kai iš tolo klausais, tai kaip vištos kudoja. Kai sutarydavo, regis, tai pagražu būdavo. Mano eilių nebelabai begiedodavo*.) [Sung by Kotryna Rasimavičienė-Veščičūtė, b. 1856, Suvaizdziai village, Pandėlys district. Written down by Stasys Paliulis in 1936 (LLIM 268).].

KETURIŌS, ŠOKTINĖ (cardinal; in dialect: danced) — danced *sutartinė* foursome, see DAINA-ŠOKIS.

KETURIŌS, ŠOKTINĖ ‘Foursome’, danced. Very simple, but above all it is very old. It was danced when we were small. When they were going somewhere in their free time, they would toot oo! Oo! Oo! Young men

„Keturiōs, šoktinė. Pati prastoji, pirmiausia, labai sena. Ją šokdavo, kai mes mažos buvom. Kur dykos eina, negiedodamos, jos ūksi: ū! ū! ū! Ir zenkia ūksėdavo. Pakiūdavo kojais. Sugriūdavom. Juoko!“ [Sung by

would toot too. Someone would trip you.
We'd fall down laughing.

Viktė Našlėnienė, b. 1851, Galvokai village,
Vabalninkas district, Biržai County. Writ-
ten down by Stasys Paliulis in 1932 (LLIM
307).];

KETURIUOS (cardinal; in dialect) [SIS 1233] — see KETURINĖ.

KETURSAUGĖ (n; sing.) — the convertible term of the SAUGĖ (SUTARTINĖ) foursome. See SAUGĖ, also KETURINĖ.

ketursaugė [Written down by Mykolas Miežinis in 1849, MMR (SIS 59); 754(40); SIS 265).].

• IDIOMS

KUDAKUOJA [KAIP VIŠTOS] — ‘cackling like hens’,

KUDAKUOJA [KAIP VIŠTOS] on the one hand reflects the main characteristics of performing *sutartinės*: quick “scampering” from one pitch to another, accenting separate voices, as well as distinct melodies and texts sounding at the same time. On the other hand, the 20th century brought a change in the aesthetic sense. People began poking fun at these hymn singers: “When they got teased that they were clucking like chickens, then they’d sing as one” (*Kai pašidydavo, kad kaip vištos kudakuoja, tai iš vieno giedodavo*), explained Elžbieta Janavičienė (born in 1841). Stasys Paliulis wrote that there had even been a special parody created where fun was made of the “clucking” by the hymn singers. The women would engage in a dialogue, as if they were chickens, and would ‘cluck’ a song: “this is yours, this is mine, put ‘em both together, they are both ours” (*čia tavo, čia mano, sudėsim abiejų — bus tik mūsų dviejų*) The singer E. Bratėnaitė (born in 1852) described the events thus: “this was the way the fellers sang, laughing at the gals who were singing the *sutartinės*” (*taip dainuodavo zenkliai, pasijuokdami iš mergų, sutartines giedančių*) (LLIM: 413). See KUDAKUOT(1), KUDEKUOTI, KUDĖKAKOTI, KUDĖKOTI, KUDOTI, etc., (v, inf. ‘cackle, cluck’) — dialect terms, synonyms.

KUDAKUOT(1) (v; inf.) — cackle.

...the old women KUDAKAVO would cluck as they harvested: one woman or gal would only sing the words, “Who planted the rue?” Another would answer, “Sister planted the rue.” A third one would answer, “*Ku dė ka ka ka!*” (2 times) <...>. Sometimes a fourth would join in, but she would “oo” (drone) with no words. That type of singing raised a lot of laughter. Then we would say, “Our old

...*bobos rugius pjaudamos kudakavo: viena boba ar merga dainuoja tik tuos žodžius: „Kas rūtėlą pasėja?“ Kita jai atsako: „Sese rūtų pasėja“. Trečia sakydavo: „Ku dė ka ka ka!“ (2 k.) <...>. Kartais pritardavo ir ketvirtoji, tik ji be žodžių vis uždavo: Ū-ū-ū-ū... Mums toks dainavimas sukeldavo daug juoka. Tada sakydavom: „Jau mūsų bobos kaip vištelas pradėja kudakuot!“ [LTR 1948(195)].*

ladies started KUDAKUOT KAIP VIŠTOS to cluck like hens.”

KUDEKUOJAMA (v; inf. KUDEKUOTI) — see KUDAKUOJA [KAIP VIŠTOS]

Foursome. It is sung (*kudekuojama* — cackled) this way: the first voice says, “I went, I traveled.” The second and third, “*Ai ciuta, do ciuta* (as if reciting a litany: one calls, the others respond), the fourth voice (the first one can remain silent): “On the open road,” and again the second and third says, “*ai ciuta, do ciuta*,” and so on. It is a rye-harvest song.

„*Keturinė. Giedama (kudekuojama) šitaip: pirmas balsas sako: „Aš ejau, keliavau“; antras ir trečias: „Ai ciuta, da ciuta (irgi litanijos būdu: vieni skaito, kiti atsakinėja), ketvirtas balsas (pirmas gali nedainuoti): „Viešiuoju keleliu“, ir vėl antras ir trečias – „ai ciuta, da ciuta“, ir t. t. Giesmė rugiapiūtinė (ruginė).“* [Sung by Anelė Blaževičienė, age 67, Rizgūnai village, Paringys district, Švenčionys County. Written down by Juozas Aidulis and Juozas Jurga in 1936 (SIS 1715).]

KUDĖKAKOJANT (v; inf. KUDĖKAKOTI) — see KUDAKUOJA [KAIP VIŠTOS]

A light-hearted *sutartinė* song. Collector’s comment: The informant would hear the girls spinning and cackling (KUDĖKAKOJANT) the *sutartinės* songs. It has been said that in olden times if there was a job to be done, there was always a song to go with it. And it was always a *sutartinė*.

Dainuškėla, sutartinė. Užrašytojo pastaba: „Pateikėjas girdėjo mergas verpiant ir kudėkakoiant sutartinės dainuškas. Sakydavo, kad seniau kokį darbą dirbdavo, tai vis ir dainuška būdavo. Ir vis sutartinė.“

KUDĖKOJANT ‘while cackling’ [Rendered by Zabarskas, age 88, Kamajai district, Rokiškis County. Written down by Ona Kairytė in 1939 (SIS 1764).], see KUDAKUOJA [KAIP VIŠTOS]

KUDOJA (v, third person; inf. KUDOTI) — see KUDAKUOJA [KAIP VIŠTOS]

“The threesomes. They KUDOJA cackle like the hens.” (*Trijos. Kaip ir vištos ir kudoja.*) [Pandėlys, written down by Stasys Paliulis in 1936 (SIS 233).]; “...Whenever they pull flax, they KUDOJA cackle.” (... *Ar linus rauna, tai ir kudoja.*) [Rendered by Elena Savickienė. Written down by Stasys Paliulis in 1937 (SIS 261).]; “When they got teased that they were KUDOJA KAIP VIŠTOS clucking like chickens, then they’d sing as one” (*Kai pašidydavo, kad kaip vištos kudoja, tai iš vieno giedodavo*) [Sung by Elžbieta Janavičienė-Tamėnaitė, b.1841, Suvaizdžiai village, Pandėlys district, Rokiškis County. Written down by Stasys Paliulis in 1936 (LLIM 334).]

The threesomes, the foursomes, when you listen from a distance, it's *KUDOJA KAIP VIŠTOS* like hens cackling. When they came together, it was beautiful. But in my time they didn't sing them much any more.

Tos trijūs, keturiūs, kai iš tolo klausais, tai kaip vištos kudoja. Kai sutarydavo, regis, tai pagražu būdavo. Mano eilij nebelabai begiedodavo. [Sung by Kotryna Rasimavičienė-Veščiūtė, b. 1856. Suvaizdžiai village Pandėlys County. Written down by Stasys Paliulis in 1936 (LLIM 268).];

KŪLINIS (adj. n; sing.) — it is derived from the noun *kūlimas* 'thrashing' or *kūlėjas* 'thresher'; maybe from the noun *kūlinys* 'romp, frolic, rampage' — the name of the collective *SUTARTINĖ*. (see *KAPELIJA*)

It was called *KŪLINIS* threshing because every singer had different words and melodies. This piece was sung in threes. One sang, "Mother-in-law has a goose," the other one sang, "Even if she does, it's hers," the third sang, "Whose business is it that she does?" They all sang together. The *KŪLINIS* can be sung by many people, but there should be as many different melodies and texts as there are singers. The *KŪLINIS* is begun by one person, then a second person joins in, then the third, and so on. If this *kūlinis* is sung in a foursome, the fourth singer says "Ajajaja, turi, turi" — Oh, oh, oh, she has, she has.

„Kūlinis vadinasi dėl to, kad kiekvieno dainininko yra kiti žodžiai ir melodija. Šį kūrinį dainavo trise. Vienas dainavo: „Turi svočia žuši“, kitas – „Kad ir turi, savo turi“, trečias – „Kas tau darbo, kad ji turi“. Dainavo visos kartu. Kūlinį gali dainuoti ir daugiau žmonių, bet kiek dainininkų, tiek naujų melodijų ir žodžių. Kūlinį pradeda dainuoti vienas, po to prisideda antras, trečias ir t. t. Jei šį kūlinį dainuotų keturiese, tai ketvirtas dainininkas tarų: „Ajajaja, turi, turi“. [Biržai County, written down in 1936 (SIS 1797).]

KUNDAVOTOJAS (verbal n; m, sing.) — performer of the second part (refrain) of a *sutartinė*; it is derived from the dialect verb *kundavoti* (unknown meaning; maybe from Pol v *kandować* 'sugar'). See *PRITARĖJA(S)*, *PRITARINYS*.

"There is a remark next to the refrain: "KUNDAVOTOJAI — refrainers (tenor)." (*Prie sutartinės pritarinio pažymėta: „Kundavotojai (tenoras).*) [Rendered by Petras Žuromskas, Skripkos village, Rimšė district, Zarasai County. Written down by J. Žiogas in 1900–1904 (SIS 1230).];

"That song was tweeted on two fiddles. The first one just kept fiddling the first two lines: "*Daniula gegiula kukava, lile*" (The cuckoo sang.) The second fiddle *KUNDAVODAMA* — "refrained" the first, second, third and fourth lines in a row." (*Tą dainą čirpina ant skripkų dviese. Ant vienos skripkos nuolat grieže gi vien tik pirmas dvi eiles: „Daniula gegiula kukava, lile“. O antra skripka kundavodama 1, 2, 3, 4, iš eilės (paeilium).*" *Sutartinė pavadinta dvinine.*) [Rimšė district, Zarasai County. Written down by J. Žiogas in 1899–1904 (SIS 1562).].

KUPOLI(O)Ų GIESMĖ — ‘the KUPOLĖ hymn’, the name of the sutartinė ‘which is sung while walking’. This particular walk implies the ritual of picking wild flowers and grasses to ultimately be woven into wreaths for the holiday. The word is derived from the name *kupolė* (*kupolis*) for a flower (*Melampyrum pratense*) that has clusters of blue and yellow blossoms on one stalk. There were three different names of the midsummer solstice feast celebrated on June 24 all around Lithuania: *Joninės* (St. John’s Day), *Rasa* (Dew Holiday) and *Kupolė*. The feast of *Kupolė* is the feast of flowering and visiting and *Kupolė* itself is the sense of flowering. It was thought that an ancient name of this feast originated from the word *kūpėti* — ‘to grow well, to visit’. *Kupoliavimas* (gathering of medicinal herbs and field plants at Kupolė) — one of the most important rituals. Not only kupoliavimas, but the singing of the appropriate songs is an integral part of the summer solstice feast. Earlier, KUPOLIŲ GIESMĖS were sung not only at St John’s and before it, but also for a longer period of time — up to St. Peter’s feast. In some settlements KUPOLIŲ GIESMĖS were sung up to the beginning of July when they went to the rye fields to weed. Most ancient KUPOLIŲ GIESMĖS contain the following refrains: „*kupolio rože, kupolijyte*”, „*kukalėli, čiūto*” and similar ones.

“The hymn is sung by doing the KUPOLĖ walk. The dance is in a circle around the fire by the rye field.” (*Dainuoja kupolia ejunt. Apie ugnį šoka ratu parugėj.*) [SIS 541]; “A hymn KUPOLIO GIESMĖ is sung by doing the KUPOLĖ(s) walk [imitating the flower picking ritual]... they pull up those KUPOLĖ(s) ‘bunches of wild flowers and grasses,’ and carry them over to the gates of the main village roadway. There, they’d shake them out by handfuls and dance.” (*Kupolia giesmė, kupolių einant. <...> Pasirauna kupolių, prineša pas ulyčios vartus, pakrato po saujelę ir šokdavo.*) [SIS 547].

L

LYDI (v, third person; inf. *lydėti*) — to accompany. See PRITARIMAS, PRITARINYS.

“Two sing and one LYDI, accompanies the melody.” (*Dvi dainuoja ir viena lydi melodiją.*) [Sung by Marijona Stasiūnienė, age 80, and sisters Juozapa Liomokienė, age 72, and Katrina Vaicekienė, age 67, Mociškės village, Adučiškis district. Written down by Juozas Aidulis; LTR 2394 (154); LTR 2394(158).]

• IDIOMS

LYG SKAMBINA VARPAIS — they are singing as if they were ringing bells [the voices of singers ought to sound (‘clang’) like bells]. See IT VARPAI, KAIP ZVANAI.

When many respond it sounds as if they are ringing bells (LYG SKAMBINA VARPAIS). When I was young they sang in bunches coming

... *Kai daug atitaria – atrodo lyg skambina varpais. Dainavo mano jaunystėje laukuose, eidamos iš darbo dviem būreliais. Dainavo ir*

home from working the fields. They also sang in the evenings while spinning. There were very few who sang them, even when I was young.

vakarojant verpdamos. Kai aš buvau jauna, tai jau jas mažai kas bedainavo. [Sung by Emilija Gančerienė, age 73, Čiobiškis town, Širvintos district, b. in Švenčionys district. Written down by Jurgis Dovydaitis (SIS 1803).].

LUMŽDINĖ (adj. n; sing.) — the name of the counterpoint *sutartinė* ('twosome') by two LUMŽDŽIAI (LUMŽDŽIAI) 'wooden pipes (flutes)', or by two *daudytės* ('long wooden trumpets'), or by two singers. See DVEJINĖ.

"LUMŽDINĖ — on 2 *lumzdeliai* or 2 *daudytės* or sung." ("Lumždinė" — 2 *lumzdeliais, arba 2 daudytėmis, arba giedama*.) [Sung by Ona Smilgienė, b. 1837, Gavėniškis village, Papilys district, Biržai County. Written down by Adolfas Sabaliauskas in 1911 m. (SbG 451).];

"One sings, the other accompanies and dances while she sings... Note next to the melody: on the LUMŽDŽIAI." ("*Viena dainuoja, kita užutaria ir dainuodamos šoka...*". „*Prie melodijos pažymėta: „lumždžio*“." [Sung by Alzbieta Paliulienė, age 25, Savučiai homestead, Vabalninkas district, Biržai County. Written down by Adolfas Sabaliauskas in 1911 (SIS 1541).]

M

MOTERŲ ŠOKIS SUTARTINIS — 'women dance at one', of a suit with another, the name of the danced *sutartinė* [SIS 1630]. (see DAINA ŠOKIS)

P

PADAUŽIA (v. third person; inf. *padaužti*) — to strike (voices). See SUDAUŽTI; also see PRITARINYS.

We sing in a foursome, but if we like we can shout using even more voices. We call it a foursome. We sing as we harvest rye. We split into two flocks. If there's four of us — in twos. One from the first flock leads, makes it up, while the other attends and says the word "dobile" — clover. Some of them think up the words, others PADAUŽIA strike them.

Giedam keturiose, nors, kaip norim, ir daugiau balsų rėkiam. Vadinam „keturine“. Giedam pjaunant rugius. Susiskirstom in du pulkus. Jei esam keturios, po dvi. Pirmojo būrio viena kuri surinkėja „išmisliauna“, o kita „padabavoja“, sako žodį „dobile“.<...> Vienos sumisliauja, kitos padaužia. [Sung by Paulina Masiulienė, age 73, Kackonys village, Svirkos district, Švenčionys County. Written down by Genovaitė Četkauskaitė in 1958 (KTR 12(178)).]

PADAUŽĖJA, and similarly PRIDAUŽĖJA (form the verb *daužti* — ‘to strike’) — performer of PRITARINYS.

PADRENKA (v, third person; inf. *pa(d)rinkti*) — to collect, sing the first part, compose a text of the *sutartinė*. See RINKINYS.

We sing in a foursome, but if we like we can shout using even more voices. We call it a foursome... We think up and PADRENKAM choose the words ourselves, and that’s how the song comes about.

Giedam keturiose, nors, kaip norim, ir daugiau balsų rekiame. Vadinam „keturine“... Mes pačios sumislijam, padrenkam žodžius. Kaip sumislijam, taip ir išėina daina... [KTR 12(178)]

PADUOTINĖ (adj. n; sing) — it is derived from the verb *paduoti* ‘to give’ (to reach, to pass). See SUTARTINĖ.

PAKAITINĖ (adj. n; sing.), PAKAITINĖS (adj. n; pl.) — ‘alternation’ hymn(-s). The primary principle involved in the chanting of all alternation (*amoebae*) hymns is this: one group chants the main text and the other group chants the short refrain, with the performance continuing without interruption as the groups take turns in their chants. The structure of these alternation hymns can be quite varied. The structure of the primitive alternation hymn conforms to that of refrain songs (text — 5 syllables + refrain — 3 syllables). [It must be recalled that the differentiation of songs in East Lithuania into categories, such as refrain, PAKAITINĖS ‘alternations’, KETURINĖS ‘foursomes’, TREJINĖS ‘threesomes’, and so forth is something derived by agreement. The use of such a differentiation is to direct attention towards the variations of performance styles, because the line of demarcation between these different types is not a straightforward one. The same refrain hymn can become a PAKAITINĖS, a symmetrical PAKAITINĖS — a SUTARTINĖS song (TREJINĖS or KETURINĖS), and vice versa.]. See PALAIDŌMS.

PALAIDŌMS — the convertible term of the PAKAITINĖ; it is derived from the adverb *palaidōms* (*palaidōm, palaidomis*), i.e. *pakaitomis* ‘alternately’. See PAKAITINĖ.

“They sing PALAIDOMS alternately.” (*Palaidoms dainuoja.*) [JLD I 159; SIS 679].

PALAISTINĖ (DAINA) (adj. n; sing.) — the convertible term, characteristic of the SUTARTINĖ; it is derived from the *paláidyti* “*paleisti vienas kitą pasivaduojant*” to relieve one another by giving them a “time out.”; *gérklę paláidyti „kiek parėkauti, pašūkauti*” ‘to let your throat go free,’ to cry out. See SUTARTINĖ.

“A sutartinė or PALAISTINĖ (DAINA) a homophonic song. Threes. (?) “Tribinevičius said, “The sutartinės (palaistinės) can be sung by as many as wanted to, but constantly — by just two. Mostly women would toot this way at banquets. Those were the kinds they tooted, rarely did they sing the regular drawn out homophonic songs. I did better with the PALAISTINĖS.” (*Sutartinė arba palaistinė daina. Trijos*) (?). *Tribinevičius sakė: „Sutartiniais (palaistiniais) kiek tik nori dainuoja, bet nuolat tik dvi. Daugiausiai moterys taip tutuodavo per banketus; daugiausiai tokias ir tutuodavo, retai kada pašauktines (patraukiamas) dainuodavo. Palaistinės man geriau sekės.*) [Written down by Adolfas Sabaliauskas in 1919 (SIS 194).]

PARINKIMAS (verb. n; sing) — is derived from the verb *parinkti* ‘to pick, to select’. See RINKINYS.

“PARINKIMAS selection: “Vosilka rūta dobilia.” (*Parinkimas: „Vosilka rūta dobilia“*) [Written down by Mykolas Miežinis in 1849, MMR].

PARUGINĖ (adj. n; sing.), PARUGINĖS (pl.) — a hymn performed while walking, visiting the spring rye. Generally, two groups shared the song. The hymns related to going out into the fields for the spring rye or other crops will be presented in greater depth here. These PARUGINĖS ‘along the rye’ hymns have only survived in a small part of the territory of Eastern Lithuanian. The rye and other crops would be collectively visited from the time the rye blossomed to Whitsuntide. This sort of “singing fest” or “shouting fest” among different groups is also characteristic of the Lithuanian PARUGINĖS. This is a ritualistic game with the earth, in which it is sung about from all different sides. “This here song was sung when walking out PARUGĖN to the rye fields. They’d walk around the rye and split up into two equal parts. The first would start the singing, and the second would finish it. Each group would sing two lines.” (*Šią dainą dainuodavo, kada eidavo parugėn. Eidavo aplink rugius ir skirdavosi į dvi lygias dalis. Pirmoji pradėdavo dainuoti, o antroji užbaigdavo. Kiekviena grupė dainuoja po dvi eilutes.*) (SIS 1958: 661). This denotes but one of the possible performance styles of which there are a great many. PAKAITINĖS hymns and *sutartinės* would also be sung by two large groups. An unusual number of different forms can be distinguished among the PAKAITINĖS (amoebaeen) hymns.

PASUOK(IA) (v, third person; inf. (*pa*)*suokti*) — ‘to jug, trill’, sings ATITARINYS. See SUOKĖJAS, also see ATITARINYS.

“At the end the third one trills (PASUOK), “Sudajczio! Sudajcziatele!” That third singer is called the responder; the verse is called the response.” (*Trečias wis an galo pasuok Sudajczio! Sudajcziatele!*” *Tas trečiasis dainuotojas pavadintas atitarėju, jo posmas atitariniu.*) [Written down by Mykolas Miežinis in 1849, MMR (SIS 1207).]

PAŠAUKTINĖ(-S) ‘call’ — the name of the homophonic songs, antonyms of the *sutartinė(-s)*. (See PATRAUKIAMA(-OS))

“Most of those kinds were tooted; only rarely were the PAŠAUKTINĖS (patraukiamos) ‘calling (drawn out) songs’ (PAŠAUKTINĖS, patraukiamos songs — antonyms of the *sutartinės*) ever sung].” (*Daugiausiai moterys taip tutuodavo per banketus; daugiausiai tokias ir tutuodavo, retai kada pašauktines (patraukiamas) dainuodavo.*) [Written down by Adolfas Sabaliauskas in 1919 (SIS 194).]

A sutartinė or a homophonic song. Threes. (?) “Tribinevičius said, “The sutartinės (palaistiniais) can be sung by as many as wanted to, but constantly — by just two. Mostly women would toot this way at banquets. Those were the kinds they tooted, rarely did they sing the regular drawn out PAŠAUKTINĖS homophonic songs. I did better with the palaistinės.

Sutartinė arba palaistinė daina. Trijos (?). Tribinevičius sakė: „*Sutartiniais (palaistiniais) kiek tik nori dainuoja, bet nuolat tik dvi. Daugiausiai moterys taip tutuodavo per banketus; daugiausiai tokias ir tutuodavo, retai kada pašauktines (patraukiamas) dainuodavo. Palaistinės man geriau sekės.*“ [Written down by Adolfas Sabaliauskas in 1919 (SIS 194).]

PATARĖJA (n; f, sing) — the singer, who sings PATARIMAS, refrain of the *sutartinė*. See PRITARINYS.

PATARIA (v; third person; inf. *patarti*) — to sing the second part (refrain) of the *sutartinė*. See PRITARINYS.

“The first singer ‘gathers’ the words, the second one ‘PATARIA’ sings the refrain.” (*Pirmoji dainininkė „renka”, antroji „pataria“.*) [(SIS 18)].

PATARIMAS (verbal n; sing.) — the melody line of the refrain; it is derived from the verb *patarti* ‘to assent’. See PRITARINYS.

PATRAUKIAMA(-OS) ‘to pull or draw’ songs — the name of the homophonic songs, antonyms of the *sutartinės*. See PAŠAUKTINĖ(-S).

“Most of those kinds were tooted; only rarely were the PAŠAUKTINĖS (PATRAUKIAMOS) ‘calling (drawn out) songs’ (PAŠAUKTINĖS, PATRAUKIAMOS songs — antonyms of the *sutartinės*) ever sung].” (*Daugiausiai moterys taip tutuodavo per banketus; daugiausiai tokias ir tutuodavo, retai kada pašauktines (patraukiamas) dainuodavo.*) [Written down by Adolfas Sabaliauskas in 1919 (SIS 194).]

A sutartinė or a homophonic song. Threes. (?) “Tribinevičius said, “The sutartinės (palaistiniai) can be sung by as many as wanted to, but constantly — by just two. Mostly women would toot this way at banquets. Those were the kinds they tooted, rarely did they sing the regular drawn out PATRAUKIAMOS homophonic songs. I did better with the palaistinės.

Sutartinė arba palaistinė daina. Trijos (?). Tribinevičius sakė: „*Sutartiniais (palaistiniais) kiek tik nori dainuoja, bet nuolat tik dvi. Daugiausiai moterys taip tutuodavo per banketus; daugiausiai tokias ir tutuodavo, retai kada pašauktines (patraukiamas) dainuodavo. Palaistinės man geriau sekės.*“ [Written down by Adolfas Sabaliauskas in 1919 (SIS 194)].

• IDIOMS

PILTI, PILTI [SUTARTINES] — to do something (to toot, to sing, to dance *sutartinės*) in a hard manner, intensively, quickly and smoothly (adv.).

The girls would roll off (PILDAVO IR PILDAVO) the sutartinės one after another. They kept pouring out (PILDAVO) the same ones as they pulled flax. The ones who sang well always sang together (in twos).

Mergos sutartines tik pildavo ir pildavo. Ir linus raudavo, vis tas pačias pildavo. Kurios mokėdavo gerai giedoti, giedotojos, tai vis kartu (dvi) raudavo. [Rendered by Valiauskas, b. 1854, Geniškės village, Vabalninkas county. Written down by Stasys Paliulis in 1936. (Vyžintas 2002: 54)].

PO TRIS UN BALSO — the characterization of the threesome. See TREJINĖ.

“A rye-harvest song. They sang as they walked through the harvest, PO TRIS UN BALSO, three to a voice part.” (*Ruginė. Gieda, eidami pjovę po tris un balso.*) [Sung by Paulina Ramelytė, Adučiškis town, Švenčionys County. Written down in 1941 [(SIS 79)].

PRIE ŠOKIŲ — by dance, the characterization of the danced *sutartinė* [(SIS 1421)]. See DAINA ŠOKIS.

PRITARĖJA(-AS) (noun f, m; sing.), and similarly PATARĖJA, PRITARYTOJA, etc. — the singer repeating the refrain (is called ‘accompanist’), or GIEDOTOJA ‘hymner or chanter,’ and the like. Also called ATATARĖJA, SUOKĖJA, PADAUŽĖJA (PRIDAUŽĖJA).

PRITARIMAS (verbal n; sing.) — the melody line of the refrain; it is derived from the verb *pritarti* ‘to assent’. See PRITARINYS.

PRITARINYS (noun; sing.) — the melody line of the refrain; it is derived from the word *pritarti* ‘to assent’, and is the accompaniment to the song. Also called ATMUŠIMAS, ATA-

TARIMAS (ATITARIMAS, SYNONYMS), (UŽ-)GIEDOJIMAS, PA(PRI-)DAUŽIMAS, PRITARIMAS, PATARIMAS, SUTARIMAS, SUOKIMAS, etc.

PRITARYTOJA (noun f; sing.) — the singer repeating the refrain (is called the ‘accompanist’). See PRITARINYS.

They always sang split up into two groups, for example if there were six, they would split up into threes. The one who sang the rinkinys — the main melody — was called the leader, the one who sang the refrain was called the PRITARYTOJA “refrainer”.

Dainuodavo visada pasiskirsčiusios dviem būriais, pvz., jeigu eidavo 6, tai pasiskirstydavo po 3. Dainuojanti rinkinį buvo vadinama vedėja, o pritarinio dainuotoja – pritarytoja. [SIS 176].

R

RATELIS SUTARTINIS — roundelay at one, of a suit with another, the name of the danced *sutartinės* [(SIS 1626)]. (see DAINA ŠOKIS)

RENKA (v, third person; inf. rinkti) — to collect, sing the first part, compose a text of the *sutartinė*. See RINKINYS.

RINKĖJA(-AS) (noun f, m; sing.) — collector, the singer, performing the main part of the *sutartinės* text, or the one leading the song. See RINKIMAS, also see RINKINYS.

RINKIMAS (verbal n; sing.) — collecting, the process of creating a text of the *sutartinės*, first referred to in the weaving of sashes. Certain Lithuanian sashes are even referred to by this term: *rinktinės juostos* ‘collected sashes’ (probably having in mind the collecting or selection of the pattern). Similarly, the term RINKIMAS ‘collection’ is used to denote the gathering of the loops of yarn in knitting. The process can also be called PARINKIMAS (a choice, a selection), SAKYMAS (saying, speaking), ROKAVIMAS (talking), SUMISLIAVIMAS (thinking, inventing), VADOVAVIMAS (leadership, guidance), VEDIMAS (leading, is derived from the verb *vesti* — to sing the first part), ŠAUKIMAS (a call, a cry, to sing in a drawling voice), etc.

“RINKIMAS — collecting: “*Saule teka liai tekina*” (“The sun is rising, let it rise”). (*Rinkimas: “Saule teka liai tekina*”). [Written down by Mykolas Miežinis in 1849, MMR].

RINKINĀ (verbal n; sing.) — characteristic of the *sutartinė* [(SIS 1794)]. See RINKTINĖ DAINA; also see RINKINYS.

RINKINYS (verbal n; sing.)

1. The main melody of the *sutartinės*, related to the lyrics of the story line; it is derived from the verb *rinkti* ‘to collect, or put together,’ in other words, to create a text; this can be termed the main collection of the song. Sometimes, the *sutartinės* themselves are referred to as RINKINYS (‘collection’). For example, at times people might say, “now we will sing a ‘collection’”. (see SUTARTINĖS); (*Rinkinį kaip išmislyji ir rink.*) “Collect the collection (RINKINYS) as you see fit.” [Written down by A. Vireliūnas.];

“The one who starts the [threesome] song is called the collector of the RINKINYS collection.” (*Tas, kurs pradeda giesmės [trise] posmus, vadinas rinkinio rinkėjas — rinkėja.*) [Written down by Adolfas Sabaliauskas.].

2. “Inwrought textile, pattern”: “she has a beautiful RINKINIAI collection.” (*ji gražių rinkinių beturinti.*) (DLKŽ: 660); “the skirts from the Highlands that are adorned in the collected patterns (RINKINIAIS) are the most typical and the most ornate.” (*rinkiniais išmarginti aukštaičių sijonai yra būdingiausi, puošniausi.*) (LKŽ XI: 648);

3. ‘Device of the pattern’s composition’ (LKŽ XI: 648). In the area of traditional handicrafts, the word *rinkimas* (‘collecting’) first referred to the weaving of sashes, to the technology of the RINKINYS.

rinkinys ant dviejų balsų — ‘the main melody of the *sutartinės* ‘collection’ for two voices’ [Written down in 1911, without references (SIS 709).] See DVEJINĖ.

RINKINYS ANT TRIJŲ BALSŲ — ‘the main melody of the *sutartinės* ‘collection’ for three voices’. [Written down in 1911, without references (SIS 695)] See TREJINĖ.

RINKTINĖ (DAINA) (adj. n; sing.) — the characteristic of the *sutartinė*; it is derived from the verb *rinkti* ‘to collect’ (a text).

RINKTINĖ DAINA — the collecting song, convertible term of the *sutartinė* (SIS 220). See SUTARTINĖ.

ROKAVIMAS (verbal n m; sing.) — the main melody of the *sutartinės*, related to the lyrics of the story line; is derived from the verb *rokuoti* ‘talk, blab, recount, suppose’. See RINKINYS.

ROKUOTOJA (verbal n f; sing.) — the singer, performing the main part of the *sutartinės* text, or the one leading the song; is derived from the verb *rokuoti*. See ROKAVIMAS, also see RINKĖJA(-S), RINKINYS.

RUGINĖ (adj. n; sing.) — characteristic of *sutartinė*, is derived from the noun *rugys* ‘rye’, rye harvest or working in the rye fields *sutartinė*. See SUTARTINĖ.

RUKAVIMAI (verbal n m; pl.) — the main melody of the *sutartinės*; is derived from the verb *rukuoti* (on the dialect from *rokuoti*) (see ROKAVIMAS; also see RINKIMAS).

Lepo leputeli [onomatopoeic words] — the second pair in the song only sang those add-on words; RUKAVIMUS the crooning TUTUOJ by the second group was repeated by the first, taking turns, but only two would sing at any one time.

Lepo leputeli – tuos užtartinius žodžius toje dainio antra pora tedainiuoj; o antros rukavimus tutuoj pirma pora viens vienu pavadujunt; bet kartu vis du tegied. [From Mykolas Miežinis’ letter to A. Kosaževskis. MMR; written down in 1849 (SIS II 727).].

S

SAKO (v, third person; inf. *sakyti*) — to say, to sing the first part, to compose a text of the *sutartinė*. See RENKA, RINKINYS.

Foursome. It is sung (cackled) this way: the first voice SAKO, says, “I went, I traveled.” The second and third, “*Ai ciuta, do ciuta* (as if reciting a litany: one calls, the others respond), the fourth voice (the first one can remain silent): “On the open road,” and again the second and third says, “*ai ciuta, do ciuta,*” and so on. It is a rye-harvest song.

Keturinė. Giedama (kudekuojama) šitaip: pirmas balsas sako: „Aš ejau, keliavau“; antras ir trečias: „Ai ciuta, da ciuta (irgi litanijos būdu: vieni skaito, kiti atsakinėja), ketvirtas balsas (pirmas gali nedainuoti): „Viešiuoju keleliu“, ir vėl antras ir trečias – „ai ciuta, da ciuta“, ir t. t. Giesmė rugiapiūtinė (ruginė). [Sung by Anelė Blaževičienė, age 67, Rizgūnai village, Paringys district., Švenčionys County. Written down by Juozas Aidulis and Juozas Jurga in 1936. (SIS 1715).].

This song is a *sutartinė*. It was written down using the second voice. The first voice SAKO, says, “Orphan girl, little rue”, etc.

Ši daina yra sutartinė. Užrašyta, dainuojant antru balsu. Pirmas balsas sako: „Našlaitėlė rūtytėlė” ir t. t. [Sung by Marė Švelnikienė, age 90, Pikčiūnai village, Ukmergė county. Written down by P. Gaidamavičius in 1930 (SIS 858).];

...Them three SAKA would say: ‘*dobiliukeli, doBILE, doBiliukeli doBILE* [trans. assumed to all be variations of the word for clover],’ and they’d be the ones to start in singing (and

... *Visos trys saka: „dobiliukeli, doBILE, doBiliukeli, doBILE”, šitos užgieda vis (i vien tuos te-gieda), a viena saka vis žodžius ir „doBILE”, o šitos — išvien vis „doBILE” ir „doBILE”...* [Sung

they'd be the only ones to sing). And one always SAKA said the word *dobile*, and them — one by one — always *dobile* and *dobile*...

by Pranė Jasiulionienė-Mikulėnaitė, b. 1908 m. Stoniūnai village, Švenčionys district. Written down by Daiva Račiūnaitė, Daiva Prakopimaitė, and Rytis Ambrazevičius in 1986. (KLF 654(76).]

SAUGĖ (n; sing), SAUGĖS (n; pl) — the name of the *sutartinė(-s)*; is derived from the verb *saugti*, that may have been adapted from the nearby Latvians (the Latvian word *saukat* means to shout out or emit short shouts; the verb *saukt* means to shout or scream; and *saucējs*-is a person who shouts — the lead singer of ancient Latvian polyphonic songs), or from the Lithuanian verb *šaukti* — ‘to cry or shout at the top of one’s voice’, ‘to scream, yell’, and *sūkti* — ‘to cry, to sing in a drawling voice’.

“That SAUGĖ is song in threesome, passing the song from one to the other so that when driving one stanza there is one leader, in another stanza there is a suokėjas “a warbler”. (*Ta sauge dainuoja trise, kits nuo kito pajimdami, taip, jog, vieną barį varant, vienas est vadovu, o kitą barą — suokėju.*) [SIS 1194].

SAUGIMAS (verbal n; sing.) — the performance of the *saugė(-s)*.

“SAUGIMAS [another dialect] singing (shouting) of *sutartinės*’ — that’s horribly beautiful, but it demands tremendous order, so that it is tightly wound, and nicely clanged.” (*Saugimas — bausis gražumas, bet reikalau tam didelio tvarkos, idant sukriai — gražiai sumušti.*) [From MMR; written down in 1849, without references (SIS 1195).]

SAŪGTI (v)– to sing (to shout) the *saugė*. (see SAUGĖ; also see SUTARTINĖ)

“It is possible for two SAUGTI to cry out, but then you don’t need to shout.” (*Galema ir dveju saugti, bet tuokart šaukyma nebėrik.*) [Written down by Mykolas Miežinis in 1849, MMR. (SIS 624).];

“To cry them out (SAUGIANT) the singers split into two groups.” (*Dainininkai, jas saugiant, į dvi puses dalijas.*) [Written down by Mykolas Miežinis in 1849, MMR.];

“Some sing (SAUGIA) this in fours.” (*Tą kiti saugia ir keturiese.*) [Written down by Mykolas Miežinis in 1849, MMR.].

SAUKTINĖ DAINA — vociferous song, the name of the *sutartinė*. See SAUGĖ.

SEKA (v, third person; inf. *sekti*) —

1. ‘To keep trace, to dog somebody’s steps, follow’, follow, emulate the first singer (first twain) follow narrate;

2. ‘To recite’, sing the first part, compose a text of the *sutartinė*. See RENKA, RINKINYS.

“KETURINĖ foursome. This SUTARTINĖ (KETURINĖ) is sung by four singers in twos. The first pair always leads, whereas the second pair SEKA follows the words of the first.” (*Keturinė. Šią sutartinę (keturinę) dainuoja keturios po dvi. Pirmoji pora vis vedžioja, o antroji pora seka pirmosios žodžius.*) [SIS 770].

SEKTINĖ (adj. n; sing.) — a convertible term, characteristic of the *sutartinė*; is derived from the verb *sekti* (synonym — *pasakoti*) ‘to tell, to narrate, to recite’, or ‘to dog somebody’s steps, follow’. (see SEKA)

“Old *sutartinė* (circular) SEKTINĖ — “following song”, from Kupiškis, sung in a threesome, accompanied by several who sing: „sodauto rūta, sodauto.” (Senovinė kupiškėnų sutartinė (apskrita) sektinė, dainuojama trijūs, turavojant (keliems) „sodauto rūta, sodauto.) [Sung by Stefanija Glemžaitė. Written down in 1956 (SIS 1251).]

SKAITO (v, third person; inf. SKAITYTI) — ‘to read’, sing the first part, compose a text of the *sutartinė*. [Also, the term SKAITYTI ‘to read’ is used by local folk for laments, as follows: “the grandmother went next to the deceased and began SKAITYTI to read words: ‘my dear daughter ...’” (*močiutė priėjo prie numirėlio ir pradėjo skaityti žodžiais: „brangioji dukrele ...*”) (R. Sabaliauskienė). It seems that this word provides the change in the text with an added meaning; its importance is in the process of performing one or another composition.]. See RENKA, RINKINYS.

Foursome. It is sung (cackled) this way: the first voice says, “I went, I traveled.” The second and third, “*Ai ciuta, do ciuta* (as if reciting a litany: one SKAITO, calls, the others respond), the fourth voice (the first one can remain silent): “On the open road,” and again the second and third says, “*ai ciuta, do ciuta,*” and so on. It is a rye-harvest song.

„*Keturinė. Giedama (kudekuojama) šitaip: pirmas balsas sako: „Aš ejau, keliavau“; antras ir trečias: „Ai ciuta, da ciuta (irgi litanijos būdu: vieni skaito, kiti atsakinėja), ketvirtas balsas (pirmas gali nedainuoti): „Viešiuoju keleliu“, ir vėl antras ir trečias – „ai ciuta, da ciuta“, ir t. t.*“ [Sung by Anelė Blaževičienė, age 67, Rizgūnai village, Paringys district, Švenčionys County. Written down by Juozas Aidulis and Juozas Jurga in 1936 (SIS 1715).]

Keturiōsi [dialect] by four.’ Two SKAITYDAVA would read the words, and two of ‘em — always *dalijute* [daleeyoote]. And they’d sing in twos. Granny and this here Russian woman had been taught it. So, that Russian woman — always *dalija dalijute* [daleeya, daleeyoote; onomatopoeic words]. My momma used to sing: momma SKAITA would recite the words, while my daughter — *dalija* [daleeya], so both of ‘em would sing.

Keturiōs. Dvi žādžius skaitydava, ē dvi – vis „dolijute“. Ir dvejesiu dainuodava. Bābutē ir tākia ruskē buva išmokyta, tai ruskē vis „dalija dalijute“. Mana moma dainuodavā: moma skaita žādžius, a mana duktē „dalija“, tai anās abi dainuodavā. [Sung by Anelė Špakauskienė-Gasytė, b. 1913 in Ceikiniai town, Ignalina district, lived in Gudeliai village, Švenčionys district. Written down in 1986. Transcribed by Daiva Račiūnaitė (KLF 654(1), 801(39); Račiūnaitė-Vyčiniėnė 2000; 2002.]

SKUDUČIUOTI (v inf.) — it is derived from the noun SKUDUTIS (sing.) ‘whistle’, SKUDUČIAI (pl.) ‘multi-part whistles’. The *sutartinės* “have to be sung in a SKUDUČIAI ‘multipart whistles’ sounding voice” (*reikia, kad sutartinės skudučiuotųsi*); “that ain’t the sound of SKUDUČIAI,’ people would say when we didn’t come together.” (*čia nēr skudučiuovimo — pasako dažnai, kai nesutariam.*).

Dvejōs, twosome. The *sutartinės* SKUDUČIUOTŲSI have to be sung in a SKUDUČIAI manner. “That NĒR SKUDUČIOVIMO isn’t the sound of SKUDUČIAI,” people would say when we didn’t come together.

Dvejōs. Reikia, kad sutartinės skudučiuotųsi. Čia nēr skudučiuovimo – pasako dažnai, kai nesutariam. [Sung by Viktė Našlėnienė, age 80, Galvokai village, Biržai district. Written down by Stasys Paliulis in 1936 (SIS 1179).]

Sutartines were mainly sung while spinning. Formerly this is how they sang: there were as many people as there were verses — five, six, ten twelve. It was very beautiful, KAIP SKUDUČIAIS, as if on the SKUDUČIAI (multi-pipe whistles). One starts, the other grabs hold of it, the third does the same, until it goes around all of the singers.

Labiausiai sutartines giedodavo verpiant. Seniau giedodavo taip: kiek punktelių, tiek žmonių – penkiōs, šešiōs, dešimty, dvylikoj. Labai gražu būdavo, kaip skudučiais. Viena pradeda, tuoj kita pagauna, iš tos trečia, ir taip eina aplinkui, kiek tų giedotojų yra. [Sung by Karalina Bačiulienė-Augustauskaitė, b. 1862, Pyragiai village, Kupiškis district. Written down by Stasys Paliulis in 1932 (LLIM 291).]

SUDAUŽTI (v inf.) — to streik (voices). See PADAUŽTI.

SUKAMOJI, SUKTINĖ, synonyms (adj. n; sing.) — wheeled, revolving, the name, characteristic of the danced *sutartinė* [(SIS 1358b)], see DAINA-ŠOKIS, TRIJŲ SUTARTINĖ SUKTINĖ.

SUMISLIAUJA (v, third person; inf. *sumisliauti*) — ‘to think up, to invent’, to sing the first part of the *sutartinė*, to compose the words. See SUMISLIJA, ALSO RENKA, RINKINYS.

We sing in a foursome, but if we like, we can shout using even more voices. We call it a foursome. The way we think up the song is the way it turns out. Some of them SUMISLIAUJA, think up the words, others strike them.

Giedam keturiose, nors, kaip norim, ir daugiau balsų rekiame. Vadinam „keturine“. <...> Mes pačios sumislijam, padrenkam žodžius. Kaip sumislijam, taip ir išeina daina. Vienos sumisliauja, kitos padaužia. [Sung by Paulina Masiulienė, age 73, Kackonys village, Svirkos parish, Švenčionys district. Written down by Genovaitė Četkauskaitė in 1958 (KTR 12(178)).]

SUMISLIJA (v, third person; inf. *sumislyti*) — ‘to think, to invent’ — to sing the first part of the *sutartinė*, to compose the words. See sumisliauja, išmisliauna, ALSO RENKA, RINKINYS.

We sing in a foursome, but if we like, we can shout using even more voices. We call it a foursome. We SIMISLIJAM, think up and choose the words ourselves. The way we think up (SIMISLIJAM) the song is the way it turns out. Some of them think up the words, others strike them

Giedam keturiose, nors, kaip norim, ir daugiau balsų rekiame. Vadinam „keturine“. <...> Mes pačios sumislijam, padrenkam žodžius. Kaip sumislijam, taip ir išeina daina. Vienos sumisliauja, kitos padaužia. [KTR 12(178)]

SUMUŠTI (v inf.) — to clash or hit together.

The informant did not say how many would sing, she could not remember. It seems it could be sung in threes or twos. As far as the last isolated measure is concerned, Janavičienė only said, “the second voices sometimes hit together (sumušdavo) the “Dobilio.”.

Pateikėja nepasakė keliose giedama, nebeatšiminė. Atrodo, kad galima buvo giedoti ir trijose, ir dvejose. Dėl paskutiniojo, atskirtojo, takto Janavičienė tiek tepasakė: „Dobilio“ sumušdavo kartais antrosios“. [SIS 1036];

SAUGIMAS [another dialect] singing (shouting) of *sutartinės*’ — that’s horribly beautiful, but it demands tremendous order, so that it is tightly wound, and nicely SUMUŠTI clanged, stricked.

Saugimas – baisus gražumas, bet reikalau tam didelios tvarkos, idant sukriai – gražiai sumušti. [From MMR; written down in 1849, without references (SIS 1195).]

SUOKĖJA(-AS) (verbal n f, m; sing.) is derived from the verb *suokti* ‘to jug’ ‘to trill’ — performer of RINKINYS, the singer repeating the refrain (is called ‘accompanist’). See *rinkėja(-as)*, RINKINYS.

“Pushing forward a verse, one is the leader, but for another verse — SUOKĖJAS the warbler.”
(Ta sauge dainuojas trise, kits nuo kito pajimdami, taip, jog, vieną barį varant, vienas est vadovu, o kitą barą — suokėju) [SIS 1194].

SUTARIA (v, third person; inf. *sutarti*) — ‘to attune’ with another person.

This is how the singers divide up their work: One ‘gathers’ the words, so to speak, leads the *sutartinės*. The second one SUTARIA ‘agrees’; in other words, sings the text of the first in the same melody, but doesn’t bring in anything new of her own, whereas the third ‘assents’.

Dainininkės šitaip „pasiskirsčiusios“ darbą: I “renka” žodžius, t. y. veda sutartinę, II “sutaria”, t. y. pirmosios tekstą dainuoja ta pačia melodija, tačiau ji nieko savo naujo neįneša, III “atataria”. Šie terminai pačių dainininkių vartojami“ [Written down by Juozas Kartenis in 1935 (SIS 1234b)].

SUTARIMAS (verbal n; sing.) — ‘harmonious singing’ of *sutartinės*, or the melody line of the refrain; is derived from the verb *sutarti* ‘to agree or reach accord’, ‘to be in harmony’. See SUTARTIS, SUTARTINĖ.

SUTARYTĖ (verbal n; sing.) — the dialect name of *sutartinė*; is derived from the verb *sutaryti* ‘to attune’ with another person [(SIS 190, 346)]. See SUTARTINĖ.

SUTARYTINĖ (verbal n; sing.) — the dialect name of *sutartinė*; is derived from the verb *sutaryti* ‘to attune’ with another person. See SUTARTINĖ.

SUTARYTI (v inf., in dialect from the verb *sutarti*) — to agree, to attune with another person. See SUTARTINĖ; also see DERĖTI.

The threesomes, the foursomes, when you listen from a distance, it’s like hens cackling. When they SUTARYDAVO agreed, it was beautiful. But in my time they didn’t sing them much any more.

Tos trijės, keturiės, kai iš tolo klausais, tai kaip vištos kudoja. Kai sutarydavo, regis, tai pagražu būdavo. Mano eilij nebelaibai begiedodavo. [Sung by Kotryna Rasimavičienė-Veščiūtė, b. 1856. Suvaizdžiai village Pandėlys County. Written down by Stasys Paliulis in 1936 (LLIM 268).].

In the past, you would hear the rumble of the panpipes. They’d be returning from harvesting rye, and someone would suggest, SUTARYKIM let’s be in agreement, and they’d start puffing.

Seniau, būdavo, tik siaudžia, siaudžia skudčiai. Eidavo, būdavo, rugius piove, na, tai sutarykim — ir pūsdavo. [Rendered by Kazimieras Tručinskas, b. 1862. Pagiriai village, Papiyls district. Written down by Stasys Paliulis in 1932. (LLIM 102).].

sutartinā (n; sing.) — the dialect name of *sutartinė* [(SIS 258; 408)]. See SUTARTINĖ.

SUTARTINĖ (n; sing.), SUTARTINĖS (n; pl.) –

1. Lithuanian polyphonic song(s); is derived from the verb *sutarti* ‘to agree’, ‘to attune’ with another person, ‘to agree or reach accord’, or the noun, *sutartys* ‘agreements or contracts’. (see also DERĖTI) The *sutartinė* also were called APSKRITA, ATITARTINĖ (ATSITARTINĖ, synonym), DVEJINĖ, GIEDOTINĖ, GIEDOJIMAS(-I), GIESMĀ (in dialect from GIESMĖ), KAPOTINĖ, KETURINĖ, KETURGIEMĖ, KETURSAUGĖ, PADUOTINĖ, PALAISTINĖ, PAKAITINĖ, PARUGINĖ, RINKINĀ, RINKINYS, RINKTINĖ, RINKTINĖ DAINA, RUGINĖ, SAUGĖ, SEKTINĖ, SUTARYTINĖ (SUTARYTĖ, SUTARTINĀ, synonyms), SUTARTINĖ DAINA, SUTARTIS (-YS), TIESINĖ, TREJINĖ, TREISAUGĖ, TRIGIESMĖ, TRUŠINĖ, etc.

2. The long wooden trumpets (after one of the most significant Lithuanian writers and folklorists, Simonas Stanevičius (1799–1848). A commentary with the last song from *Dainos Žemaičių* ‘Samogitian Songs’ in 1829 read:

This song is one of the *sutartinės* which has recently gone out of fashion and has lost its purpose among the Samogitians. Remnants of the song are now more commonly heard in Lithuanian [herein understood to mean Upland Lithuanian]. Along with these songs, trumpets or those long, standing horns made of wood would be played. Like the songs, such horns had also been called SUTARTINĖS. Those horns are no longer recognized, but merely remembered from the past.

Yra tai viena iš dainų, kurios neseniai Žemaičiuose iš mados ir tikslo išėjo. Jų palaikai Lietuvoje dar išliko. Prie tų dainų būdavo trimitai arba ilgos trūbos statinės iš medžio, kurios vėl, kaip ir dainos, sutartinėmis vadinos. Tos trūbos dabar nėra pažįstamos ir nuo senųjų laikų tiktai atmenamos.

There is some doubt regarding trumpets being named SUTARTINĖS. None of the other later researchers or folklore collectors have ever made mention of such a name. The name had possibly been associated with horns, because they were played specifically during a vocal SUTARTINĖS song.

SUTARTINĖ DAINA — the *sutartinė* song [JLD 117]. See SUTARTINĖ.

SUTARTIS (n sing.), SUTARTYS (pl.) — the dialect name of the *sutartinė*; it is derived from the noun *sutarti(y)s* ‘agreement(s)’ [*sutartinės* were truly unique kinds of SUTARTYS ‘agreements’ between the singers]. See SUTARTINĖ(S).

“Sutartinės were also called hymns of agreement or SUTARTYS, agreements.” (*Sutartines vadino: sutartinės giesmės ir sutartys (dgs.)*.) [Rendered by Jokūbas Gasperavičius, b. 1846,

Salamiestis town, Vabalninkas district, Biržai County. Written down by Stasys Paliulis in 1932 (LLIM 6).]

ŠAUKĖJA(-AS) (verbal n f, m; sing.) — the singer, performing the main part of the *sutartinės* text, or the one leading the song. The name ŠAUKĖJAS is derived from the verb *šaukti* ‘to cry, to sing in a drawling voice’. See RINKĖJA(-AS), also see SAUGĖ.

Next to the text “Oh rue, little rue, oh orphan girl” there is a remark: “the second pair keeps repeating this”; next to “Orphan, little rue, what’s thou flow?” — ŠAUKĖJAS, the leader, i.e. the collector.

Prie teksto „Ei rūta rūtele, ej našlaitele“ pažymėta „*antra pora vis tą*“; prie „Našlaite rūtele, kas tar taka“ — „sz. [*šaukėjas*] t. y. *rinkėjas*.“ [Written down by Mykolas Miežinis in 1849, MMR. Zarasai district (SIS 147).].

ŠOKĖJUS (n; sing.) — dialect name of the *šokis* ‘dance’, the name of the danced *sutartinė* [Written down by Mykolas Miežinis in 1849, MMR (SIS 1312; 1320).]. (see DAINA-ŠOKIS)

ŠOKIS (n; sing.) — dance, the name of the danced *sutartinė* [SIS 1315]. (see DAINA-ŠOKIS)

ŠOKTINĀ, in dialect from ŠOKTINĖ (adj; sing) — the characterization of the danced *sutartinė* [SIS 1446; SIS 1609]. (see DAINA-ŠOKIS)

ŠOKTINĖ, KETURIŌS — danced, foursome; the characterization of the danced *sutartinė* [SIS 1417]. See KETURIŌS, DAINA-ŠOKIS.

ŠOKTINĖ, SUKTINĖ — danced, wheeled; the name of the danced *sutartinė* [SIS 1625]. See DAINA-ŠOKIS.

T

TARYTI (v inf.) — in dialect from (*su*)*tarti* ‘to agree’. See SUTARYTI, also DERĖTI.

They tootled on five trumpets — daudytės. They were long. Wrapped in birch bark. They blew well. Very much TARYDAVO in agreement.

Pūsdavo penkiom triūbom-daudutėm. Ilgos būdavo. Ošim apvyniotos. Gražiai įpūsdavo. Daudytėm labai tarydavo. [Rendered by Anastazija Balaišienė-Šilaikaitė, b. 1852. Abonys village, Šimonys district. Written down by Stasys Paliulis in 1932 (LLIM 60).].

TIESINĖ (adj. n; sing.) — the convertible term of the *sutartinė*; is derived from the adjective *tiesi* ‘straight’, or from the noun *tiesė* ‘stretch’. It is a rare term.

“This stretch (TIESINĖ) is sung in threesome.” (*Tiesinė, trise giedama.*) [SIS 342].

TRAILINIMAS (verbal n; sing.) — is derived from the verb *trailinti* ‘to prate’; the name of the collective *sutartinė* with a changing text (small talk). The text itself would seem as if it were one collected piece, usually consisting of a long humorous text or a conglomeration of various texts, and contains many different accompaniment parts. Sometimes, the melody of this “collection” is performed with some sort of instrument, such as the *birbynės* or *lumzdeliai*. The different parts are all based on the same principles of complimentary rhythm, the same as for the group *sutartinės*. Trice and quintet intervals predominate in the vertical, and and the bass — ostinato. (see KAPELIJA)

TREJINĖ (adj. n; sing.) — ‘threesome’ (canon), in dialect *po tris un balso, rinkinys ant trijų balsų, treisaugė, trejininė, trigiesmė, trijinė, trijos (trijūs, trijuos, synonyms), trininė, trisai, trise, tryninė*, etc. This is the most popular singing style of *sutartinės*. The singing is performed in strict canon by three singers (sometimes groups). Each of them enters the song in stages, while the other singer proceeds with the second part of the melody. In other words, the second singer enters while the first is still singing; the third, while the second one is singing; and the first again while the third is singing. In this manner, the entire *sutartinė* is sung around in a circle. Only two voices sound at any one time, except for the first stanza, when the voice of the lead collector of the text starts the song alone. See **SUTARTINĖ**.

TREJININĖ — the convertible term of the threesome. [SIS 527] See *trejinė*.

TREISAUGĖ (n; sing.) — the convertible term of the SAUGĖ (**SUTARTINĖ**) threesome. [Written down by Mykolas Miežinis in 1849, MMR (SIS 623)]. See SAUGĖ, also see **TREJINĖ**.

TRIGIESMĖ (n; sing.) — the convertible term of the GIESMĖ ‘hymns’ threesome. [Sung by Marijona Tamošaitienė, age 90, Valtūnai village, Žemaitkiemis County (SIS 202)]. See **TREJINĖ**.

TRIJINĖ (cardinal; sing.) — the convertible term of the threesome. [Written down in Rokiškis district (SIS 32; SIS 268)]. See **TREJINĖ**.

TRIJŲ SUTARTINĖ SUKTINĖ — ‘SUTARTINĖ threesome wheeled’, the characterization of the *danced sutartinės* (SIS 1660). See DAINA-ŠOKIS.

TRIOSE (cardinal; sing.) — the convertible term of the threesome. [SIS 12; SIS 165]. See TREJINĖ.

TRIJŌS (cardinal; sing.) — the convertible term of the threesome. See TREJINĖ.
 “A circular sutartinė, a “following song”, TRIJŌS threesome.” (*Sutartinė apskrita, sektinė, trijos.*) [Sung by Stefanija Glemžaitė, age 70, Kupiškis town. Written down in 1959 (SIS 218); also SIS 15; 133.]

TRIJUOS (cardinal; sing.) — the convertible term of the threesome. [Sung by Tumonienė, age 76, Taraldžiai village, Kamajai County. Written down by Ona Kairytė in 1939 (SIS 227); Kupiškis County. Written down by Balys Buračas in 1935 (SIS 247, 259)]. See TREJINĖ.

TRININĖ, TRYNINĖ (cardinal n; sing) –

1. The name of the TREJINĖ ‘treesome’ in the dialect found around Švenčionys-Ignalina. See TREJINĖ.

2. Twosome canon or canon by two singers (groups) represents a description based on the dialect expression that is used for the word *dviесе* ‘by two’ — DVEJŌS ‘[fem.] by two,’ and IN DU PULKU ‘by two flocks.’ This canon variation only differs from the ordinary *trejinės* in the number of performers (not three, but two), and in the manner of singing without pause. Often, the comments noted alongside this type of song, which had been documented in East Lithuania, contain the descriptive word TRYNINĖ or TRININĖ. Z. Slaviūnas believed that the word referred to *trejinės*, except that in these cases, a third singer is not mentioned. Our opinion is that this term is distinctive to the singers from that area, and probably came into use to describe the uninterrupted and continuous singing by two singers (groups), originating from the word *trintis* ‘friction’ or *trinti* ‘to rub’ (dialect forms of these words are *trynėti* and *trynioti*). This would be similar to the origin of the name for the songs in second, termed KAPOTINĖS ‘choppers’ in Northeastern Lithuania (probably due to the peculiar kind of chopping sound which comes from the “clash” of the seconds). [SIS 88; 297; 298; 299, etc.] See DVEJINĖ.

TRISAI (cardinal; sing.) — the convertible term of the threesome. [Šimonys district. Written down by Aukusti Roberti Niemi in 1910 (SIS 1701)]. See TREJINĖ.

TRISE (cardinal; sing.) — the convertible term of the threesome. See TREJINĖ.

“This stretch is sung TRISE in threesome.” (*Tiesinė, trise giedama.*) [SIS 342; SIS 33.]

TRUŠINĖ (adj. n; sing.) — the characterisation of the SUTARTINĖ; it is derived from the noun *truša* ‘dung, manure’. The hymns related to going out into fields for the manuring (dunging). [SIS 300; 301; 302].

TŪRAVOJA (v, third person; inf. *tūravoti*) — to accompany, to harmonize. See PRITARINYS.

“Old *sutartinė* (circular) *sektinė* — “following song”, from Kupiškis, sung *trijūs* — in threesome, *turavojant (keliems)* — accompanied by several who sing “*sodauto rūta, sodauto.*” (*Senovinė kupiškėnų sutartinė (apskrita) sektinė, dainuojama trijųs, turavojant (keliems) „sodauto rūta, sodauto.“*) [Sung by Stefanija Glemžaitė. Written down in 1956 (SIS 1251).]

“The men TŪRAVOJA, harmonize — bellow during the song.” (*Dainuojant vyrai tūravoja — bauboja.*) [Sung by Elzbieta Jankauskienė, age 72, Kupiškis town. Written down by J. Vaitiekūnas in 1956 (SIS 1606).];

Additionally, the third one TŪRAVOJA accompanies by repeatedly singing: “One lily, five leaves.” It is written down as a foursome which has the refrain “that one lily.”

... *Be to, trečia dainuotoja visą laiką tūravoja: „Tās vienās lelijās pinki lapai.“* Pastaba: užrašyta kaip keturinė, kurios pritarinys „tas vienas lelijas...“ [Sung by Elena Zaukienė. Written down by Emilija Kuzavinienė in 1936 (SIS 718).];

Sutartinė in threesome. The first voice is marked “leads,” the second TŪRAVOJA “accompanies” and the third “sings the drone.”

Sutartinė trijųs. Prie pirmojo balsu pažymėta: „*vada*“, prie antrojo – „*tūravoja*“ ir prie trečiojo – „*bosavoja*“. [Sung by Anatalija Kytrienė, age 53. Written down by Birutė Kytraitė in 1943 (SIS 1753).]

TŪRAVOJIMAS (verbal n; sing.), TŪRAS (synonym of TŪRAVIJIMAS) —

1. the melody line of the refrain; it is derived from the verb *tūravoti* ‘to accompany’. See PRITARINYS.

2. The second part of the plain polyphonic songs.

TŪRAVOJIMO (TŪRO) BALSAS — accompanying voice, the melody line of the refrain. It is derived from the verb *tūravoti* ‘to accompany’, or the second part of the plain polyphonic songs. See PRITARINYS.

I never heard the ‘foursome’ sung while I was growing up in Rimša Parish. Only my mother and I sang them, and when we did, people would really listen... The leading voice: “*Žvilgso raselė ant baro, lylia...*”, (the dew glistens on the field, lylia) and TŪRAVOJIMO BALSAS, second voice (an accompaniment): “*Žvilgso raselė ant baro...*”. Both voices sing together.

A foursome work song. The leading voice: “*Ulioja lelija, esime, sese*” (Ulioja lelija, sister, we shall go.). The TŪRO BALSAS accompanying voice: “*Ulioja lelija, ulioja lelija*” (only these words). They sing together.

“A foursome work song. The accompanying voice (TŪRAVOJIMO BALSAS) sings, “*Ciutelė, ciutelė, ciuta lylia.*”.” (*Keturinė darbo daina. Tūravojimo balsas gieda: „Ciutelė, ciutelė, ciuta lylia.“*.) [Sung by Viktorija Bukauskienė (SIS 134).];

TŪTAVIMAS (verbal n; inf. *tūtuoti*) — ‘tooting’ was both a blowing on horns and singing of *sutartinės* (not excluding dancing, as well). See TŪTUOTI.

• IDIOMS

TŪTUOJA KAIP GULBĖS (KAIP GULBĖS TŪTUOJA) — ‘toot like swans’. See TŪTUOTI.

“The ‘threesome’. KAIP IR GULBĖS TŪTUODAVĀM we tooted like the swans.” (*Trijinė. Kaip ir gulbės tūtuodavām.*) [Sung by Marijona Klasčiuvienė, age 101, Bružai district, Baltriškės district, Zarasai County. Written down in 1939 (SIS 510).].

They used to say: how beautifully they toot. They toot like swans TŪTUOJA KAIP GULBĖS.

Aš, Rimšės parapijoj augdama, jau negirdėjau keturinių giedant, tik mess u motina giedodavom, tai žmonės labai klausydavo... Vedamasis balsas: „Žvilgso raselė ant baro, lylia ...”, o tūravojimo balsas: „Žvilgso raselė ant baro ...”. Abu balsai gieda kartu. [Sung by Viktorija Bukauskienė (SIS I, P. 734).]

Daina keturinė (darbo). Vedamasis balsas: Ulioja lelija, esime, sese, ir t. t., o tūro balsas: Ulioja lelija, ulioja lelija (tik šitie žodžiai). Dainuoja kartu. [Sung by Viktorija Bukauskienė, age 78, Kazimieriškė village, Rimšė district, Zarasai County. Written down by Juozas Aidulis ir Juozas Jurga in 1936.]

Sutartines gieda arba tūtuoja. Sakydavo: kaip gražiai tūtuoja. Tūtuoja kaip gulbės. [Sung by Elžbieta Janavičienė-Tamėnaitė, b. 1841, Suvaizdžiai village, Pandėlys County. Written down by Stasys Paliulis in 1936 (LLIM 328).].

TŪTUOTI, TUTUOTI (v inf.) — ‘to toot’ (synonyms: *dūduoti*, *triūbuoti*, *trimituoti*, and *vamzdžiuoti*, and others); TŪTUOTI ‘to toot, to pipe, to trumpet, to sing’ *sutartinės*; as well as ‘to shout in a drawling manner, to trumpet (about swans, geese, cranes); *sutūtuoti* — to have tooted — ‘to come to agreement’, to have sung’, *tūtuoklės* and similar — *skudučiai*. Thus, *tūtavimas* ‘tooting’ (noun with the same root as the verb — *tūtuoti*) was both a blowing on horns and singing of hymns (not excluding dancing as well). [*Tūtūtis* ‘hoopoe bird’ is the name of one of the polyphonic compositions for the *skudučiai*, which is well-loved by people from Biržai. This song is named after the bird, just as others are, such as *Untytė* ‘Duck (dialect)’ or *Intakas* ‘Village Bird.’ Just as in other song compositions, many of the parts are based on similar onomatopoeic words, and the instruments used to play the songs have been given appropriate names. For example, in the surroundings of Salamiestis, the following names are known for sets of *skudučiai*: 1) *tutūtūtūtūtis* (*tutūtis*), 2) *tūtūtūtūtis*, 3) *kvepas* (*dūchas*, *ūchas*), 4) *untutas*, 5) *untyta*, and the like (LLIM: 413).].

Times when we’d get a hankering, that’s when TŪTUODAVĀM we’d toot. Sing three singers.

Kai užeidavā unt seilās, tai ir tūtuodavām. Dainuoja trys. [Sung by Marijona Klasčiuvienė, age 101, Bružai district, Baltriškės district, Zarasai County. Written down in 1939 (SIS 591).].

Lepo leputeli [onomatopoeic words] — the second pair in the song only sang those add-on words; the crooning TUTUOJ by the second group was repeated by the first, taking turns, but only two would sing at any one time.

Lepo leputeli – tuos užtartinius žodžius toje dainio antra pora tedainiuoj; o antros rukavimus tutuoj pirma pora viens vienu pavadujunt; bet kartu vis du tegied. [From Mykolas Miežinis’ letter to A. Kosąževskis. MMR; written down in 1849 (SIS II 727).].

U

UŽGIEDA (v, third person; inf. *užgiedoti*) — to sing a GIESMĖ, in this case ‘to sing the melody line of the refrain’. See PRITARINYS.

... All three would say: ‘*dobiliukeli, doBILE, doBiliukeli doBILE* [trans. assumed to all be variations of the word for clover],’ and they’d be the ones UŽGIEDA to start in singing (and they’d be the only ones to sing). And one always said the word *doBILE*, and these — one by one — always *doBILE* and *doBILE*...

... *Visos trys saka: „dobiliukeli, doBILE, doBiliukeli, doBILE“, šitos užgieda vis (i vien tuos tegieda), a viena saka vis žodžius ir „doBILE“, o šitos – išvien vis „doBILE“ ir „doBILE“ ...* [Sung by Pranė Jasiulionienė-Mikulėnaitė, b. 1908 m. Stoniūnai village, Švenčionys district. Written down by Daiva Račiūnaitė, Daiva Prakopimaitė, and Rytis Ambrazevičius in

1986 (KLF 654(76); Raciūnaitė-Vyčiniene 2000; 2002).]

UŽTARTINIAI ŽODŽIAI — ‘accompaniment (refrain) words’. See PRITARINYS.

Lepo leputeli [onomatopoeic words] — the second pair in the song only sang those UŽTARTINIUS ŽODŽIUS add-on words; the crooning by the second group was repeated by the first, taking turns, but only two would sing at any one time.

Lepo leputeli — tuos užtartinis žodžius toje dainio antra pora tedainiuoj; o antros rukavimus tutuoj pirma pora viens vienu pavadujunt; bet kartu vis du tegied. [From Mykolas Miežinis’ letter to A. Kosaževskis. MMR; written down in 1849 (SIS II 727).]

UŽUTARIA (v, third person) — inf. *užutarti* to sing ‘an accompaniment’. See PRITARINYS.

“One VEDA, leads (the *sutartinė*), and second one UŽUTARIA, sings ‘an accompaniment’.” (*Vienas veda, o antras užutaria.*) [SIS 1688];

UŽVEDA (v, third person) inf. *užvesti* ‘to start singing the first part of the *sutartinė* (plain song)’. See RENKA.

The first one who UŽVEDA starts the singing collects the song. Three, four or more can sing a *sutartinė*.; as many as ten.

Pirmasis, kuris užveda vis, vadinasi — rinkinį renka. Sutartinė, ją gali dainuoti trys, keturi arba ir daugiaus, nors ligi dešimčiai. [Written down in 1918–1921. Panemunis district (SIS 341).]

ŪKAS (VŪKAS) (verb. n; sing.) — humming, drone, buzz, etc. -

1. The name of the lowest *skudutis* ‘whistle’ in the *skudučiai* ‘multi-pipe whistles’ piping tradition.

2. The name of the bagpipe drone (‘pipe making a drone sound’);

3. The name of the whirligig (humming-top), etc. See ŪŽTI.

ŪŽTI (v; inf.) — to drone, to din, to hum, sing wordless (with vowel ū ‘oo’) the third (fourth) part of the *sutartinė* or lowest part of the collective *sutartinė*, see KAPELIJA [(SIS 1772, 1767, 1782, and 1815; LTR 587, 25; 1722, and 75; and others).]

...the old women would cluck as they harvested: one woman or gal would only sing

...*bobos rugius pjaudamos kudakavo: viena boba ar merga dainuoja tik tuos žodžius:*

When *sutartinės* are sung in threes, one is always resting because it takes a lot of energy to call without ceasing, and that cannot be done. Even the smallest lapse spoils it. You need to be very, very careful. This is how it is sung. The first one or *VADOV(A)*s, the leader sings the first line, while the others are silent. When he starts the next line, the second singer takes the line from the one that just sang it. After that the first one stops singing, the second one sings the second line and the third one starts from the beginning with the first line, and so on.

„*Sutartines dajnes dainuojant trise, visad vienas ilsės, nes reik tuoitompos rekti be paliaubų, kas negalems daikts daturėti. Mažiausis nusižioplinims gadin tajopų; taj tat rejkalauj baisej dideli daboimasi. Tas taip dainuj. Pirmas, ar vadovs kitiem tylant pardainuoja pirmą eilę, kada praded įpieding eilę, II-as paim nuo jo padainuotąją eilę. Pagiedojus jam tą, pirmas nutyl, antras antrą eilę, o trečias vel paim iš pradžios I eilę ir t. t.*“ [Written down by Mykolas Miežinis in 1849].

VAIKŠČIOJAMOJI ‘wolked’ — the characterisation of the danced *sutartinė* [(SIS 1357)]. See *DAINA-ŠOKIS*.

VAIKŠTINĖTINĖ, NE ŠOKTINĖ ‘wolked not danced’. — the characterisation of the danced *sutartinė* [SIS 1330]. See *DAINA-ŠOKIS*.

VEDA (v, third person; inf. *vesti*) — sing the first part. See *RINKINYS*.

This is how the singers divide up their work: One ‘gathers’ the words; so to speak, *VEDA*, leads the *sutartinės*. The second one ‘agrees,’ in other words, sings the text of the first in the same melody, but doesn’t bring in anything new of her own; whereas the third ‘assents’.

Dainininkės šitaip „pasiskirsčiusios“ darbą: I “renka” žodžius, t. y. veda sutartinę, II “sutaria”, t. y. pirmosios tekstą dainuoja ta pačia melodija, tačiau ji nieko savo naujo neįneša, III “atataria”. Šie terminai pačių dainininkių vartojami“ [Written down by Juozas Kar-tenis in 1935 (SIS 1234b)].

“One *VEDA*, leads (the *sutartinė*), and second one sings ‘an accompaniment’.” (*Vienas veda, o antras užutaria.*) [(SIS 1688)];

One *VEDA*, leads while the others agree, singing “*Taito taitėla*” <...>. The extent of the text of the dance depended on the ability of the singer to construct and come up with new verses.

Vienas veda, o kiti sutaria, dainuodami „Taito taitėla“ <...>. Šokio teksto didumas pareidavo nuo dainininko sugebėjimo naujus posmus su-kombinuoti, sudėti. [SIS 1375];

Sutartinė in threesome. The first voice is marked VEDA “leads,” the second — “accompanies” and the third — “sings the drone.”

Sutartinė trijūs. Prie pirmojo balso pažymėta: „vada“, prie antrojo – „tūravoja“ ir prie trečiojo – „bosavojas“. [Sung by Anatalija Kytrienė, age 53. Written down by Birutė Kytraitė in 1943 (SIS 1753).].

VEDAMASIS BALSAS — ‘leading voice’, the first part of the *sutartinė* (RINKINYS), likewise the first part of the plain polyphonic (homophonic) songs. See RINKINYS.

A foursome work song. The leading voice (VEDAMASIS BALSAS): “*Ulioja lelija, esime, sese*” (Ulioja lelija, sister, we shall go.). The accompanying voice: “*Ulioja lelija, ulioja lelija*” (only these words). They sing together.

Daina keturinė (darbo). Vedamasis balsas: Ulioja lelija, esime, sese, ir t. t., o tūro balsas: Ulioja lelija, ulioja lelija (tik šitie žodžiai). Dainuoja kartu. [Sung by Viktorija Bukauskienė, age 78, Kazimieriškė village, Rimšė district, Zarasai County. Written down by Juozas Aidulis ir Juozas Jurga in 1936.]

I never heard the ‘foursome’ sung while I was growing up in Rimša Parish. Only my mother and I sang them, and when we did, people would really listen... VEDAMASIS BALSAS, the leading voice: “*Žvilgso raselė ant baro, lylia...*”, (The dew glistens on the field, lylia) and second voice (an accompaniment): “*Žvilgso raselė ant baro...*”. Both voices sing together.

Aš, Rimšės parapijoj augdama, jau negirdėjau keturinių giedant, tik mess u motina giedodavom, tai žmonės labai klausydavo... Vedamasis balsas: „Žvilgso raselė ant baro, lylia...”, o tūravojimo balsas: „Žvilgso raselė ant baro...”. Abu balsai gieda kartu. [Sung by Viktorija Bukauskienė (SIS I, P. 734).]

VEDĖJA(-AS) (n; sing.) — the singer performing the main part of the *sutartinės* text, or the one leading the song; it is derived from the verb *vesti* ‘sing the first part’. See RINKĖJA(-AS).

At least two sing the leader’s (VEDĖJOS) words so one of them could catch her breath. When many respond it sounds as if they are ringing bells. When I was young they sang in bunches coming from working the fields. They also sang in the evenings while spinning. There were very few who sang them, even when I was young. “The song is called a foursome.”

Vedėjos žodžius daunuoja mažiausia dvi, kad vis viena galėtų atsikvėpti. Kai daug atataria atrodo lyg skambina varpais. Dainavo mano jaunystėje laukuose, eidamos iš darbo, dviem būreliais. Dainavo ir vakaruojant verpdamos. Kai aš buvau jauna, tai jau jas mažai kas bedainavo“. “Daina pavadinta „Keturine“.

[Written down by Jurgis Dovydaitis in Širvintos district (SIS 1803).].

They always sang split up into two groups, for example if there were six, they would split up in threes. The one who sang the rinkinys — the main melody — was called VEDĖJA, the leader, the one who sang the refrain was called the “refrainer.”

Dainuodavo visada pasiskirsčiusios dviem būriais, pvz., jeigu eidavo 6, tai pasiskirstydavo po 3. Dainuojanti rinkinį buvo vadinama vedėja, o pritarinio dainuotoja – pritarytoja. [SIS 176].

These were called sutartinės. Every line is sung by a separate person using a different melody and many times until VEDĖJAS, the leader stops them.

Šitos sutartinėm vadindavos. Kiekvieną eilutę gieda atskiras žmogus kita melodija ir daug kartų, kol vedėjas sustabdo. [SIS 1791].

VEDŽIOJA (v, third person) — the verb is derived from the verb VEDA. See RINKINYS.

A foursome. This foursome sutartinė is song by four women in twos. The first pair VEDŽIOJA, takes the lead and the second pair follows the words of the first pair.

Keturinė. Šią sutartinę (keturingę) dainuoja keturios po dvi. Pirmoji pora vis vedžioja, o antroji pora seka pirmosios žodžius. [SIS 770].

Foursome, it is sung in fours like a litany. Two VEDŽIOJA, lead (sing out): “Oh, where the woodpecker perched” and they stop. The other two respond, “The dew swung on the field”

Keturinė, gieda keturiose litanijos būdu: dvi vedžioja (išgieda): „Oi, kur genelis tupėjo“ ir tyli. Kitos dvi atsakinėja: „Siūravo rasa in baro.“ [SIS 1725].

Vilniaus varpai — ‘The Bells of Vilnius’, the name of the collective *sutartinė*. (see KAPELIJA).

Y

Ypatingas šokis — ‘specific dance’, the characterization of the danced *sutartinė* [Written down by Adolfas Sabaliauskas in 1911 (SIS 1636)]. See DAINA-ŠOKIS.

Z

ŽAIDIMAS (n; sing.) — play, the name of the danced *sutartinė*. [SIS 1304b]. See DAINA-ŠOKIS.

ŽAIDIMAS-ZABOVA (from Pol. *zabawa* ‘entertainment’) — ‘light play’, the name of the danced *sutartinė*. [SIS 1323]. See DAINA-ŠOKIS.

ŽAKSI (v, third person; inf. *žagsėti*) — to hiccough, hiccup.

“Foursomes are not sung, but rather ŽAKSI hiccupped.” (*Keturines giesmes žaksi, ne dainuoja.*)
[Sung by Ieva Kaukėnienė, age 80, Rizgūnai village, Paringys district, Švenčionys county.
Written down by Juozas . Aidulis in 1933 (SIS 1173).]

Abbreviations

JLD [Lithuanian abbreviation, reference to]:

- Juškevičė, Antanas, Transcriber. 1880. *Lietuviškos Dainos* [Lithuanian Songs]. Vol. 1 and 2. Kazanė: Imperatoriškojo universiteto spaustuvė [Imperial University Press].
- Juškevičė, Antanas, Transcriber. 1882. *Lietuviškos Dainos* [Lithuanian Songs]. Vol. 3, Kazanė: Imperatoriškojo universiteto spaustuvė [Imperial University Press].
- Juška A., Transcriber. 1954. *Lietuviškos Dainos* [Lithuanian Songs]. Vol. 1–3. Vilnius: Valstybinė grožinės literatūros leidykla [National Polite Literature Press].

KTR [Lithuanian abbreviation, reference to]:

- *Lietuvių Tautosakos Rankraštynas* [Manuscript Library of Lithuanian Folklore]. Lithuania SSR State Conservatory. (currently — Lithuanian Academy of Music).

LKŽ [Lithuanian abbreviation, reference to]:

- o *Lietuvių kalbos žodynas* [Dictionary of the Lithuanian Language] (V. I–XX, 1941–2002). Edit.staff: Naktinienė, Gertrūda (Editor), Jonas Paulauskas, Ritutė Petrokienė, Vytautas Vitkauskas, Jolanta Zabarskaitė. Vilnius: Lietuvių kalbos institutas [Institute of the Lithuanian Language], 2005.– www.lkz.lt.

LLIM [Lithuanian abbreviation, reference to]:

- Paliulis, Stasys, ed. 1959. *Lietuvių Liaudies Instrumentinė Muzika* [Lithuanian Instrumental Folk Music]. Vilnius: Valstybinė grožinės literatūros leidykla [National Polite Literature Press].

LTR [Lithuanian abbreviation, reference to]:

- Lithuania SSR Science Academy of Lithuanian Language and Literature (presently — Folklore Manuscript Library of the Lithuanian Institute of Literature and Folklore).

MMR [Lithuanian abbreviation, reference to]:

- o *Mykolo Miežinio rankraščiai* [Manuscripts of Mykolas Miežinis].

SbG [Lithuanian abbreviation, reference to]:

- Sabaliauskas, Adolfas, Comp. 1916. *Lietuvių Dainų ir Giesmių Gaidos* [Notes to the Songs and Hymns of Lithuanians]. Helsinki: Suomiuų literatūros draugijos spaustuvė [Finnish Literary Society Press].

SIS [Lithuanian abbreviation, reference to]:

- Slaviūnas, Zenonas, ed. 1958–1959. *Sutartinės: Daugiabalsės Lietuvių Liaudies Dainos* [*Sutartinės: Polyphonic Lithuanian Folk Songs*]. Volumes 1–3. Vilnius: Valstybinė grožinės literatūros leidykla [National Polite Literature Press].

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Lexicon of local terminology on multipart singing: Montenegro seacoast with hinterland

INTRODUCTION

Music tradition of Montenegro Seacoast with Hinterland is being expressed through several styles. This has happened because of the various differences that shaped this tradition.

In the 14th and the 15th century, the Slav population migrates from The Dinaric mountains area, mostly from rural, patriarchal and continental regions of Montenegro to the seacoast (referring to Cvijić 1991: 130, 390, 396). The inhabiting of the researched area was not simultaneous, so there is the obvious difference between the tradition of the people that inhabited the researched area, for example, in 15th century and the tradition of the people that inhabited the same area several years before.

The diversification of the tradition of those ethnically leveled settlers is caused also by their choice of settling location. That is not relative only to the difference between living in the urban and in the rural settlements, but also to the difference between living on the sheer seacoast and in its hinterland. All the urban settlements on the researched area are on the seacoast, and the rural settlements are in the hinterland and on the very shore of the Adriatic Sea.

The differences between the settlements in the researched area deepened due to the historical events. The foreign rulers fought for these areas: for example in the 15th century the Venetians and the Turks did. The Venetians had conquered the seacoast area, and the Turks conquered the Hinterland of the Seacoast of Montenegro. Afterwards other conquerors came. The different rule was established by the French, the Russians, etc, and after the 17th century the Austrian rule (1797–1806) and Austro-Hungarian rule (1814–1918) were the most permanent ones over the area (Opća enciklopedija JAZU 1977 vol. II: 238, Daničićev zbornik 1925: 451).

Stated geographical features and historical and social changes affected the recognition in the musical practice on the Montenegro Seacoast with Hinterland in the following features: the singing of the urban style, and the singing of the rural style.

The musical features of the urban style of performing undoubtedly show that such performing is the part of tradition of the population of the Coastal-Mediterranean cultural area (this cultural area contains the tradition of the population of the urban

settlements on the Adriatic Seacoast; this term has been introduced after an interview with the Croatian ethnomusicologist MA Joško Čaleta), shaped by the urban lifestyle on the Adriatic Seacoast disregarding whether the Venetians or the Austro-Hungarians ruled the area. Such performing concerns homophonic, two-part, three-part and four-part performing of songs, which are mostly love songs and rhymed lyrics organized in verses. They are mostly love songs, with rhymed lyrics, organized in verses. Their tunes are commonly based on major tonality. They have a musical component alien to the songs of the hinterland, namely, they mostly use of harmony kindred to the Western European classical music.

The singing of the rural style has ritual tradition in its basis, the tradition of a Continental-Mountain cultural area from which (as it has been previously mentioned) the population of the rural settlements originated (the Continental-Mountains cultural area subsumes the culture of the continental and rural parts of Montenegro, Herzegovina and the Dalmatian Hinterland; this term has been introduced after an interview with the Croatian ethnomusicologist MA Joško Čaleta). The use of melodic models for performing various lyrics is one of the features of the rural style of performing. Those melodic models are of limited range (mostly of several tones), and the sonority between the tones is mostly lesser than a tempered semi-tone. Rhythmic patterns of those melodic models generally follow the metrics of the lyrics. The songs of the Hinterland are most commonly relevant to the occasion on which they are performed, every melodic verse is a meaningful unit, and the use of rhymes is very rare. They are mostly performed by a group of people in the form of the unison singing. These songs periodically contain the heterophonic second two-part singing most commonly at the cadenzas (Grbalj).

All the explanations and terms in the Lexicon are derived from the explanation from fieldwork, unless it has been otherwise stipulated. If the term common to the traditions of both: the researched area and some other area musical tradition then source of the new term is immediately explained.

Lexicon entries

B

BALKONADA [балконада] — a song sang from a balcony, a specific performance style. The urban love songs originating from the Coastal-Mediterranean cultural area that are sang in this fashion in Budva (referring to the Dalmatian songs; the Coastal-Mediterranean songs; the songs from Budva; serenades).

K

КЛАПА [клапа] — a specific kind of a group of singers.

A special group of amateur singers who perform urban songs of the Coastal-Mediterranean or Central-European cultural area on the Montenegro Seacoast with Hinterland (referring to the songs from Budva; the Dalmatian songs; the Coastal-Mediterranean songs; the Central-European songs; the homophonic singing). In the first half of the 20th century these groups named themselves *Choral Societies* and the term *klapa* entered the Montenegro Seacoast with Hinterland urban tradition as the result of the influence of Croatian tradition during the second half of the 20th century (see further: CD-ROM Hrvatska tradicijska kultura 2004, Čaleta 2008: 159–176). According to its basic characteristics, *klapa* can be seen as:

a) A gathering of the inhabitants, without any designated name, who gather according to their own needs and desires, in order to sing in various places in the city. Even though this is not a commonly folk accepted term, for the purpose of clearer recognition, this type of *klapa* will be called an “ad-hoc” *klapa*. “It was a group of young men who sang, and others followed, since there was no other entertainment” (Ive Zanki, Tivat, in born 1912, in Makarska, Croatia). It also “was joining of five or six voices (singers, ex. Z.M.) of young men, and each of them had a girlfriend to sing to” (Petar Jelušić, Budva, born in 1920, in Budva). The repertoire of the ad-hoc *klapa* consisted of various songs of Coastal-Mediterranean or Central-European cultural area, or as the Budva singers themselves artfully called them, Dalmatian or Vojvodina songs (referring to the Dalmatian songs; the songs of Vojvodina; Coastal-Mediterranean songs; Central-European songs; the homophonic singing). The origins of the songs are not of any importance to the performers; their only criterion is the choice of the tune. If the tune is suitable according to their tastes they will accept it as their own. Anyone present can also join their singing, as well as any musicians, usually playing the guitar, accordion, mandolin or tamburica (small tambour, typical for music practice of urban ensembles and orchestras in north parts of Serbia — Vojvodina, referring to Andreis 1977: 542–544, parts of Croatia — Slavonija, referring DVD CD-ROM 2004.).

b) A gathering of singers which number is precisely determined and which has a specifically chosen name (“Bokeljski mornari”, “Bokelji”, “Karampana”, “Harmonija” etc.). This type of *klapa* is organized for a specific purpose: for public mostly a cappella performance, during *which* the audience is passive and only listens to the performance of the *klapa*. Although it is not a commonly folk accepted term, it will be further known as a *klapa*-institution in further text. Contrary to the ad-hoc *klapa*, to which anyone with the will to sing can join, in the *klapa*-institution the singers must not only be musically talented, but must have a good voice as well. Special attention is paid to the repertoire of the *klapa*-institution, which consists of:

- the urban style songs that originated from the Coastal-Mediterranean cultural area (referring to the homophonic singing; the Coastal-Mediterranean songs)
- the urban style songs originating from Prčanj which are designated as “real”, “old” or “Prčanjske”; from the second half of the 20th century. These songs have been musically arranged, so they have to be signed by the different music producers. It is the characteristic of the Coastal-Mediterranean cultural area, music making (referring to the homophonic singing; the Coastal-Mediterranean songs), and it is not infrequent that they are signed by music producers (Nikola Čučić, Nikola Gregović and others)
- the songs whose lyrics were made within the Continental-Mountain cultural area, but their tunes and the link between the voices are a part of the musical urban tradition of the Coastal-Mediterranean cultural area (referring to the homophonic singing; the Coastal-Mediterranean songs; the Continental-Mountain songs)
- the urban songs made in the past several decades, and for their making composers were employed. In this group most often appear the types of songs which accompany carnivals along the Adriatic Seacoast (or as the singers themselves say, “aimed at the sound of the masqueraders”, Obrad Mandić). Not only that they abandoned a cappella performing, for that reason, but they also abandoned the traditional musical instruments which often accompany klapa singing, replacing them with the more profitable electronic ones (which again, with emphasized rhythm, imitate the traditional sounds of the guitar, accordion, mandolin or tamburica — small tambour, typical for music practice of urban ensembles and orchestras in north parts of Serbia — Vojvodina, referring to Andreis 1977: 542–544, parts of Croatia — Slavonija, referring DVD CD-ROM 2004.). Subsequently the close connection of the newer songs of the klapa-institution with the songs of the so-called popular music scene was made (they often have the same authors, who resort to the same musical means). On the other hand, this type of repertoire not only is more readily broadcast on the public radio stations and during festivities, but, in addition, it is easier to “pull in” the older, a cappella performed songs. By employing composers, the klapa-institutions are seriously involved in the process of creating lasting records, first recorded on phonograph records and audiotapes, and in recently on compact discs too. All of that adds to the activities of the klapa-institution a new dimension: a money based one (hiring arrangers, composers, recording studios, sale of the recorded songs, etc.), which most often include the singers of the klapa-institution themselves.

N

NADGORNJAVANJE [НАДГОРЊАВАЊЕ] — a specific type of a singing competition.

A type of singing noted during the wedding customs in the rural areas of the Montenegro Seacoast with Hinterland. They do not sing them as the other songs (referring

to pjevanje; pojanje), but rather “natpjevavaju” (out-sing, Spič), that is, the performers “natpjevavaju” or “nadgornjavaju” one another using these songs (that is, compete in singing, Grbalj). This group of songs can be performed at the wedding feast table and around it, in the evening, a day before the wedding, while the guests gather at the bridegroom’s house (Spič), as well as on the actual wedding day (Grbalj, Maini). For example, should this group of songs be performed on the wedding day, they are relative to the moment when the guests are sitting at the table and are awaiting for the girl to be escorted (Grbalj), or when the bride is brought into her new home (Paštrovići). In these moments, women tirelessly “natpjevavaju” with the guests (men) while standing around them at the table (Grbalj). Besides humorous rhyming couplets during the “natpevanja”, these songs are often the toasts to the guests, or are even used to call them out, and every guest called out in this way must call out the next guest (see redice). Then a fixed melodic model is used, and the singing is most often in unison, which in the cadences occasionally switches to heterophonic second two-part singing (referring to the heterophonic singing two-part; nadgornjavanje; natpjevavanje; prepjnice; the Continental-Mountain songs).

НАТРЈЕВАВАЊЕ [натпјевавање] — a specific kind of a singing competition (referring to the heterophonic two-part singing; nadgornjavanje; napitnice; prepjnice; redice; the Continental-Mountain songs).

P

ПЈЕСМЕ [пјесме] — songs, musical form.

(a) БУДВАНСКЕ [будванске] — from Budva, a specific type of songs.

These songs are a part of the Coastal-Mediterranean cultural area. In the urban settlements of the Montenegro Seacoast with Hinterland (Kotor, Tivat, Herceg Novi, etc), these types of songs still bear the name of Dalmatian songs (referring to the Dalmatian songs; balkonada; serenada; the Coastal-Mediterranean songs, the homophonic singing). They are mainly characterized by the lyrics about love, in rhyming stanzas, which are homophonically sung in two, three or four voices. Most often they are in the major key, with a harmonic basis made of tonic, dominant and subdominant chords. The transition from one harmonic function to the next is very important for the singers, for, according to tradition, the chords must ‘flow’ one into another. The leading voice in these songs performs the highest part and it is required of him/her to be very skillful in technique (near the manner of bel canto), and to have an appropriate vocal tone. The second voice, usually in harmony of a third, follows the part of the first voice. The third voice, (if it is performed in four voices), fills in the chord, and the fourth voice (or the third if there are three voices) most often undoubtedly indicates the basic key of the chord.

(b) DALMATINSKE [ДАЛМАТИНСКЕ] — Dalmatian, a specific type of songs.

The repertoire of the ad-hoc klapa most often contains the urban songs of Coastal-Mediterranean cultural area, or as the performers of Budva artfully call them, Dalmatian songs. As the name itself indicates, those are mainly songs that are sung all over the Dalmatian Coast. The only difference between the songs of the Montenegro Seacoast and the songs of Dalmatia can be detected in some parts of the lyrics, the parts which the people of Montenegro contributed in order to leave the personal mark on it. For instance, the various Dalmatian names of squares, streets or personal names in the researched area are changed, for example to the names of Budva squares, streets or the names of local people. It is not important to the performers where the songs they are performing originate from. There is only one requirement for the choice a tune: if the tune is suitable, according to their tastes, they will accept it for their own; referring to the songs of the Coastal-Mediterranean (referring to the songs from Budva; balkonada; serenada; klapa; the Coastal-Mediterranean songs; the homophonic singing).

(c) DOBRA MOLITVA [ДОБРА МОЛИТВА] — good prayer.

These are special songs that in some rural areas of the Montenegro Seacoast with Hinterland are performed at the weddings (Grbalj), after the parental blessing of the bride when she leaves for her new home. They are performed by male guests who come for the bride. They are sung in group, in unison, which in the cadences of the songs occasionally switches to heterophonic second two-part singing (referring to the heterophonic two-part singing; the Continental-Mountain songs).

(d) PRIMORSKO-MEDITARNSKE [ПРИМОРСКО-МЕДИТЕРАНСКЕ] — Coastal-Mediterranean.

These are urban songs that originate from the Coastal-Mediterranean cultural area (this is not the commonly accepted folk term, but it has been introduced after an interview with the Croatian ethnomusicologist MA Joško Čaleta). They originated and are sung for entertainment. For example, these songs are sang in Kotor for Saint Trifun's Day, which is celebrated on February 2nd and 3rd, for Saint Sava's Day, on January 29th, etc, (as it has been recounted by Nikola Gregović, born in 1926, in Kotor, during the masquerade procession in Budva, (recounted Petar Jelušić, born in 1920, in Budva), for the birthday celebrations not only of the inhabitants but also of the rulers of that time, etc (referring to the balkonade, sotto voce; serenade; the homophonic singing). In the second half of the 20th century these songs were not only sung by the people among themselves to one another, but also for tourists. Such performing is relative to the homophonic two-part, three-part and four-part performing of songs. They are mostly love songs, with rhymed lyrics, organized in verses. Their tunes are commonly based on major tonality, with a harmonic base made of tonic, dominant and subdominant chords. The transition from one harmonic function to another is very

important for the singers, for the chords must “flow” one into the next. The leading voice in these songs performs the highest part and it is required of him/her to be very skillful in technique (in the manner of belcanto), and to have an appropriate vocal tone. The second voice, usually in harmony of a third, follows the part of the first voice. The third voice, (if it is performed in four voices), fills in the chord, and the fourth voice (or the third if there are three voices) most often undoubtedly indicates the basic key of the chord.

(e) KONTINENTALNO-PLANINSKE [КОНТИНЕНТАЛНО-ПЛАНИНСКЕ] — Continental-Mountain songs.

These are songs that mostly originated from the rural and patriarchal culture of the continental part of Montenegro, from whence is the heritage of the majority of the inhabitants of the Montenegro Seacoast with Hinterland (this is not the commonly accepted folk term, but it has been introduced after an interview with the Croatian ethnomusicologist MA Joško Čaleta). These songs are based on rituals; the contents of the lyrics are relative to the ritual for which they are performed. These songs very often have a so-called variable refrains. It is possible, for example in the case of the wedding songs lyrics, to, in a particular spot, insert the names of the bride and groom in question or other significant participants of the wedding ceremony should it be necessary (such as the “stari svat” — the chief witness, the brother-in-law, etc.). The use of the melodic models for performing various lyrics is one of the features of these songs. Those melodic models are of limited range (mostly of several tones), and the sonority between the tones is mostly lesser than a tempered semi-tone (older singers are still biased on a co-called untempered tonal series, and the younger ones are biased on a tempered basis or completely tempered). Rhythmic patterns of those melodic models generally follow the metrics of the lyrics, the use of rhymes is very rare, and the verses most often come out in symmetric octosyllables (VII: 4, 4). Songs of that style are sung loudly, in full voice, for they are traditionally relative to the performing outdoors (this means singing loudly, for as the inhabitants say, when the singers “storm their voices, it can be heard afar”, Vaso Donković, born in 1924, Grbalj). These songs are generally sung by a group, of a dozen or more performers, in unison, except in some parts of the Montenegro Seacoast with Hinterland in which the unison sound is interrupted with heterophonic second two-parts in the cadences (Grbalj, referring to the singing heterophonic two-part). Some of the songs of this cultural area are also performed in unison, with heterophonic second two-parts in the cadences, but also antiphonally (Spič, referring to the singing antiphonal).

(f) НАПИТНИЦЕ [НАПИТНИЦЕ] — a specific type of songs. A type of rural songs noted in the wedding customs. They are performed at the wedding feast table, by means of a

set number of melodic models, most often in unison, from which (in the cadences) it is moved to the heterophonic second two-part (referring to the heterophonic two-part singing; the Continental-Mountain songs; nadgornjavanje; natpjevanje; prepojnice; redice). These songs are toasts to all the important participants in the wedding.

(h) NEVJESTAČKE [НЕВЈЕСТАЧКЕ ПЈЕСМЕ] (bridal) — specific type of songs. A type of rural songs from Grbalj that are sung when the bride is introduced into her new home. They are often sung in unison, with the second heterophonic two-parts at the ends of the cadenzas (referring to the heterophonic two-part singing; the Continental-Mountain songs), by means of one melodic model. Their contents primarily describe the difficult position of a married woman in a patriarchally structured family, or mourn the passing of the days before becoming a wife.

(i) PAŠTROVSKE [ПАШТРОВСКЕ] — a specific type of songs from Paštrovići.

These are songs which could, by their characteristics, simultaneously be attributed to both the Continental-Mountainous and the Coastal-Mediterranean cultural area. The indications of their bond with the Continental-Mountain cultural area (i.e. to the segment from tradition of their former homeland; referring to the Continental-Mountain songs) are: the genre of the songs, for the majority of the songs belong to the ritual area tradition (most frequently the wedding customs). The lyrics of such Paštrovske songs describe each important part of the occasion on which they are performed by means of a certain amount of melodic models. Their bond with the Coastal-Mediterranean cultural area (resulted from the acceptance of life on the sea-coast; referring to the Coastal-Mediterranean songs) is indicated by the following: again the genre of the songs, this time because of the lyrics of an amorous content and exceptional poetic values, sometimes with the phrases borrowed from languages of Latin origins (for example in Paštrovići “žardin” ili “đardin”). The tunes are tempered, frequently in a symmetric form, in a wide range compared to the tunes of the Continental-Mountain cultural area, frequently of three-part or six-eighths count divisions. Finally, in songs from Paštrovići the diatonic homophonic multipart singing is noted (referring to the homophonic singing). According to the existing data, the performers from Paštrovići probably began to sing homophonically in the middle of the 20th century, but soon afterwards that practice ceased. Hence the recordings by the composer Nikola Hercigonja from 1954 in the Phono-archives of the Faculty of Music in Belgrade are the only evidence to the multipart singing in Paštrovići. As the contrast to that there are recordings made before and during the time of the previously cited recordings, as well as the recordings made in 2002, and 2004, showing that the same tunes are sung in a group, but in unison. Hence it is possible to make hypothesis that after 1945, in Paštrovići appeared, under the influence of Coastal-Mediterranean

singing, a new manner of performing, in which traditional singing in unison acquired its new “attire”, i.e. one more, a homophonic voice.

(j) ПРЕПОЈНИЦЕ [препојнице] — a specific kind of rural songs in Grbalj (referring to the heterophonic two-part singing; the Continental-Mountain songs; natpjevavanje; napitnice; redice).

(k) РЕДИЦЕ [редице] — a specific kind of songs in Grbalj.

These rural songs the female singers used to toast all the guests around the wedding feast table, but also to “call the guests out” in order, so that every guest called out must continue the song, toasting and calling out the next one (Grbalj, referring to the heterophonic two-part singing; the Continental-Mountain songs; natpjevavanje; napitnice; prepojnice).

(l) СРЕДНЈО-ЕВРОПСКЕ [средњоевропске] — Central-European, a specific kind of songs.

These are urban songs that appeared in the second half of the 19th century, primarily under the influence of the national revival at the time of the Austro-Hungarian empire (this is not commonly accepted folk term, but it has been introduced after an interview with the Croatian ethnomusicologist MA Joško Čaleta). These songs were sung by klapas, particularly called ad-hoc klapas (referring to the klapa), and the inhabitants called them Vojvođanske (referring to the songs of Vojvodina). Their lyrics were of an amorous content, organized in rhyming couplets or quatrains. The authors of those songs were not well known composers and poets who worked during the second half of the 19th and at beginning of the 20th century (for example, in Budva the verses of Serbian poet Zmaj-Jova Jovanović are accepted as a part of the tradition). Frequently within one song several different types of verses are used, that are not noted in the songs of the Continental-Mountain cultural area nor in the Coastal-Mediterranean cultural area (XIV; 5, 9; XII: 6, 6 etc.). These songs are also characterized by quiet performance (referring to the sotto voce), a major key basis, and most commonly homophonic three-parts singing (referring to the homophonic singing).

(m) ВОЈВОЂАНСКЕ [војвођанске] — from Vojvodina, a specific type of songs.

These are the urban songs that appeared during the second half of the 19th century under the influence of the national revival within the Austro-Hungarian Empire (or as the performers of Budva artfully call them, the songs of Vojvodina). They were sung in sotto voce, homophonic three or four-part, in klapas and had amorous contents (referring to the Central-European songs). The singers themselves consider that it is not at all important where the songs originate from, but are fairly more concerned

with the tune which is decisive for the acceptance and duration of those songs in their tradition (if the tune is to their taste, it will become a part of their repertoire).

PJEVANJE [пјевање] — SINGING

ANTIFONO — antiphonal: in some parts of the Montenegro Seacoast with Hinterland (Boka Kotorska, Grbalj, Spič), the wedding songs of the rural area are performed antiphonally, with the overlapping of the end of melo-stanza with the beginning of the subsequent one (the similar way of performing had been noted in the south-east parts of Serbia). The heterophonic two-part second singing is also used most frequently (referring to the heterophonic two-part singing; the Continental-Mountain songs; nadgornjavanje; natpjeavanje). Those songs are very long. They are sung at the wedding feast table with the purpose of naming all the important participants of the wedding ceremony, in the order of seniority.

GRUPNO — in a group: In rural parts of the Montenegro Seacoast with Hinterland singing is most often in a group and in unison. Those are songs sang during the rituals, and from their features it could be noticed that they have originated from the tradition of the Continental-Mountain cultural area (referring to the Continental-Mountain songs).

HETEROFONO DVOGLASNO — heterophonic two-part: group singing and singing in unison in some rural parts of the Montenegro Seacoast with Hinterlands switch into heterophonic second two-part, but only in the cadences (Grbalj, referring to the singing in a group). The heterophonic second two-part singing in the cadences also appears in antiphonal singing (Spič, referring to the antiphonal singing). This singing is relative to the rural areas in the Hinterland (the similar way of performing had been noted in some continental parts of Montenegro, as well as in some rural parts of Serbia). Such songs are performed in the rural areas of the Montenegro Seacoast with Hinterlands and they are relative to the rituals and customs (for example, at the wedding ceremonies, occasionally at the celebrations of the family Saint Patron's Day, at social gatherings etc.). Those songs are based on a tone row, which is mostly non-tempered, and the harmony of the second appearing in the two-part singing is considered a consonance. These songs begin with a soloist who *initiates* (diže) [диже] the song and who is then allowed to embellish it with usual melodic ornaments (single and double appoggiaturas, after-beats, vibrato, etc.). In a way, it is the soloist who introduces the other singers to the song, and they afterwards take over the song, which by that time has been sung halfway through, and they also embellish it, in this case by changing to a perceptibly slower tempo as opposed to the solo beginning. During the singing by the group, in the cadences there is a transition from the singing in unison to the heterophonic second singing.

HOMOFONO — homophonic: there are two different styles in homophonic singing:

a) The first style is associated with rural areas, and is common with the tradition in question. In two-part singing in Boka Kotorska and Paštrovići the characteristic sound is a third, and the cadences are a fifth. Three-part singing appears also, but very seldom and mostly in the cadences in some areas of Boka Kotorska.

b) The second style of polyphonic singing is relative to the urban areas music tradition of the urban settlements such as Kotor, Budva, Herceg Novi, Tivat, etc. Those songs are performed at the traditional social gatherings, and nowadays at concerts. Homophonic songs are performed by groups called *klapas*, for example in the Dalmatian coast musical tradition (referring to the *klapa*). Those songs are sung a cappella, mostly in two or three parts, or accompanied by accordion, guitar, mandolin or tamburica ensembles. Hence their tonal basis is equally tempered, within the usual major-minor tonality, and with intervals of a third prevailing. Almost all of them are love songs, with a prominent and melodious tune, rendered invariably by the leading voice (tenor or soprano). Therefore, the singer cannot be just anyone: besides a delicate sense of music, based on the Western European harmonic concept, the performer must also possess a fair voice and considerable performing technique. Homophonically performed songs are most often in a major key, with a harmonic basis formed by the tonic, dominant and subdominant chords. The transition from one harmonic function to the next is very important for the performers, for according to tradition, the chords must “flow” one into the next. The leading voice in these songs performs the highest parts and it is required of him/her to be very skillful in technique (in the manner of *bel canto*), and to have an appropriate vocal tone. The second voice, usually in harmony of a third, follows the part of the first voice. The third voice, (if it is performed in four voices), fills in the chord, and the fourth voice (or the third if there are three voices) most often, undoubtedly, indicates the basic key of the chord.

POJANJE [појање] — singing (referring to *pevanje*)

PONAT [понат] — a melodic model.

This term has a wide usage in the various aspects of life of the people on the Montenegro Seacoast with Hinterland (it could be a point in a card game or a knitting point, etc), but in the musical tradition it is used as:

- the term covering the melodic models, used only in Grbalj (rural area), and only in practice of senior singers: “In which *ponat* shall we sing?” (Šišići, Grbalj). The similar term covering the melodic models has been noticed in the coastal parts of Croatia (*punat*, according to the data gained from the ethnomusicologist MA Joško Čaleta),

- the term used to cover the range of a song, for example in a few rural parts of Boka Kotorska (Bijela), it is said for some songs of the rural areas such as Grbalj, based on the two tones only, that “they flip ponat twice” (*два пута понат мијењају*).

S

SERENADA [серенада] — serenade, a specific performance style.

This is the manner in which the performers in Budva perform the urban love songs that originated in the Coastal-Mediterranean cultural area (referring to the Dalmatian songs, the Coastal-Mediterranean songs; the songs from Budva). They are performed by klapas (referring to the klapa), i.e. a group of singers, most often for the purpose of courting ladies (those very songs are also called balkonade: songs from balcony, balkon = balcony). They are sung homophonically, at least in two voices, but also in three or four voices (referring to the homophonic singing). The highest voice is also the first, the lowest voice most often performs the basic tone of the chord, and the middle voice (or voices) fills in the harmony. It is very important for the singers to perform in low voice (referring to the sotto voce), in a slow tempo, and that their chords flow from one to the next.

SOTTO VOCE [сото воће] — in a low voice, a specific performance style.

According to the singers from Budva, some love songs of the urban areas that originated from the Coastal-Mediterranean cultural area are sung in sotto voce, i.e. in low voice. Depending on the assembled singers, who would often call themselves a klapa (referring to the klapa; the Coastal-Mediterranean songs), those songs are performed homophonically, most often in two, three or four voices, of which the highest voice carries the melody, the middle voice (or voices) fills in the chord, and the lowest voice most often performs the basic tones of the chord. These songs are also characterized by a slow tempo. “Those are songs that you sing to the girl that you love” (Budva, referring to the serenade).

СТИХ [стих] — verse, a melodic model.

In some rural parts of the Montenegro Seacoast with Hinterland the performers use the term “stih” as a designation for melodic models: “It is not that *stih*, but rather...” (Grbalj). It appears that they are aware of some musical characteristics of these models, for they are able, for example, to recognize the tempo of the performance: “That is sung at a faster *stih*” (Grbalj).

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Key to Catalan terminology

A

L'ALT — the highest part in the two and three-part songs.

L'ALT I EL BAIX — in songs with two parts or voices, the higher and the lower parts. Was often called “singing a duo” (*fer el duo*), and in many cases is limited to parallel thirds, with occasional spreading towards sixths.

B

EL BAIX — the lowest part in three-part songs.

C

CANÇÓ — term used to designate the text of a narrative song or ballad in a large part of the linguistic area, probably originating from the troubadour *cansó* genre. On Majorca and in certain parts of the Ebre and Valencia Regions, it is called *cançó llarga* (long song), to differentiate from the *cançó curta* (short song), or simply *cançó*, referring to texts with few lines. In north eastern parts of Catalonia and on Majorca, about a quarter of all ballads were sung multipart around a main melody, just as was the case with religious songs. The simplest formulation is the homorhythmic song in parallel thirds (rarely in sixths), which can occur throughout the whole song or only during the chorus. In the cadential chords, these thirds can appear as a triad chord in its fundamental form. The melodies of these songs are almost always tonal and in the major mode. In many cases, the main part is the lower of the two parallel ones and ends on the tonic, whereas the higher ends on the third degree of the scale. Nevertheless, the singers can perform either part separately, as independent melodies. More sporadically, other procedures appear, such as drones or mobile drones, more usual in religious polyphony. Song in parallel thirds with a third voice singing an independent bass can be deduced from certain recordings, but it is much less common, in the same way that three-part parallelism at intervals of thirds and fifths in ballads is also hypothetical. Multipart singing was very common in this repertory, despite the limited evidence found in published song collections — the work of collectors convinced that popular song had to be simple and uncomplicated and therefore monodic. Marià Aguiló (1993:72) wrote a superb description of the way a group of men performed ballads in three voices, between about 1850 and 1868: “In Bruguera, the mayor and several villagers, all adults,

sang countless old songs in a choir for me, all of them extremely good. Among them the Catalan one: “*Quien pudiese dormir, señora, una noche sin temor*”. In those songs with a chorus, which constitute the majority, they select the three best voices to sing the romance: bass, tenor and treble, and then the middle voices and all those present who wish to sing the chorus in unison [...]. The effect they produce is extremely pleasing and solemn”.

CANÇÓ CURTA — short song.

CANÇONS DE PANADES — on Majorca, songs sung by youths during the Easter collection round, with dance-like melodies and words which, in some cases, can be improvised. They can be multipart with parallel third procedures and triad chords at the cadential position. The songs could be accompanied by instruments such as the violin, guitar and *guitarro* (small guitar).

CANÇÓ DICTADA — a narrative song created orally by a specific person, the *dictador de cançons* — a man, rarely a woman —, usually by linking quatrains with changing rhymes, or having other stanza patterns, and often sung to a familiar melody. They could be sung multipart, and were quite common in Catalonia.

CANÇÓ LLARGA — long song.

CANÇÓ NOVA — a narrative text created as a novelty, usually with a strophic structure. In many cases, equivalent to a *cançó dictada*, despite sometimes being diffused on written sheets. Once in common use, they were also called *cobles noves*.

CANT — Melody or main melodic structure; used above all in religious songs, especially in the extensive Pyrenean area. In several zones, the term *cant* refers to the main part or voice (*veu*) of multipart songs, usually the middle one (see *veu*; *tonada*).

CANTADOR — the singer. In the Pyrenees, designates only the men who sing the religious repertory in Latin from the church choir and in processions.

CANTADORET — on Majorca, the children who sang in religious choirs, that is, altar boys trained as choristers. From among them, one was chosen for the part of the *sibil·ler*, to perform the *Cant de la Sibil·la* (Sybil's Song).

CANTAR A BARRAQUES — in l'Empordà (northeast Catalonia), singing at meetings of friends or relatives during trips into the countryside for communal meals on feast

days. Very diverse songs are sung, often with different vocal parts in parallel thirds and the possibility of a tonal bass. *Havaneres* of Caribbean origin are very frequent, which became popular in the second half of the 19th century, and also *sardanes* (a dance in a ring from the same period, which later became the national dance of Catalonia). Many of these songs were also sung in taverns, in arrangements with up to three parts.

CANTAR A VEUS — the singing of various separate, relatively independent melodic parts, usually in homophony. The simplest combination is of two parts in homophonic parallel thirds (occasionally in sixths). These thirds can change into triad chords in cadential chords, and in some more tonal styles (such as *havaneres* or *sardanes*) can be completed with a tonal bass accompaniment. In some religious songs of the Pyrenees, the parallel thirds can end in a simple final fifth chord. When these songs are in three parts, the main part is usually the middle one (*cant*), with a higher part running above, frequently in parallel thirds, and a bass below which can take various forms, even during the course of the same song.

The shapes of the bass are:

a) lower thirds parallel to the middle part, a procedure which creates a surprising series of thirds and fifths, giving a brilliant, full sonority thanks to the singers' timbre and the resulting harmonics.

b) the seeking, at cadences, of the most basic harmonic supports of a modal bass, in a manner not far removed from the polyphonies of Corsica and Gascony.

c) sustaining a drone during relatively long melodic sections, which can develop during performance into what we call a "mobile drone".

Most singers, or *cantadors*, perform the middle part (*cant*), and the singer of high or low parts is said to "escape", "leave" or "exit" (*s'escapa*, *marxa*, *surt*), because he has the solo, or shows off, or stands out from the rest. The Vespers and Magnificat are performed in Latin with a flexible, recitative-style scansion.

CANTS DE L'AURORA — in all regions, the songs sung in the streets during the dawn rosary or in the call sung to announce the dawn rosary, often performed by groups of men singing different parts, sometimes accompanied by wind instruments. In either the Catalan or Castilian languages, with a considerable diversity of forms, but very commonly multipart. They are still in active use in some villages in the Valencia Region. The most frequent multipart procedure is in parallel thirds, but some employ the other procedures described under religious songs. In La Vall d'Uixó (Valencia Region), the three parts can be doubled at the octave to create an arrangement in five or even six parts. The rhythm can be regular and measured, or else flexible, in recitative style.

CANTS DE CURRUCA — in Plana Baixa (Valencia Region), songs performed by hunters at their get-togethers, usually sung multipart in parallel thirds and final chords.

CARAMELLES — A collection-round (*ronda de capta*) carried out by youths on Easter night, according to one of the most usual names in central and north eastern parts of Catalonia. *Goigs* and other multipart songs appropriate to the day were sung.

CARAMELLAIRES — The youths who take part in the round of *caramelles*, by singing and/or dancing.

COBLA — Each of the stanzas of a *cançó dictada* or of other strophic, narrative genres such as the *goigs*. On the Pithusian Islands (Ibiza and Formentera), one of the parts or monorhythmic passages of a *cançó*, which in this case is never sung multipart.

D

DIVINO — name of any of the songs narrating the Passion of Christ.

E

ENTONADOR — in the Valencia Region, the person(s) beginning a religious song which is afterwards answered by the whole group of singers, referred to as *contestacions*.

F

FER EL DUO — singing a duo.

FLOREJAR — in the Valencia Region, to create melismas with the voice (*requintats*). In the Pallars area (Pyrenees), vocal embellishments are referred to as *refil*, *redolins*, or *fer cargolets*.

G

GALEJAR LA VEU — on Majorca, the ability to elaborate the melody — *tonada* or *veu* — rendering it correctly with good melismas, and endings sustained till breath runs out.

GOIGS — A religious, narrative song relating the life of the Virgin Mary or a saint, commending him or her with the care of believers. Usual in the Catalan language in Catalonia and the Balearic Islands, in either Catalan or Castilian in the Valencia Region, and in Sardinian in Sardinia. Sung on the day of the patron saint and on significant occasions in community life. In numerous localities sung multipart, according to the various two or three part options described under *cantar a veus*. The rhythm often follows the giusto syllabic model. The versification of this genre is in

stanzas of eight lines, the last two acting as the chorus. Humorous and satirical *goigs* also exist.

GOTJAIRÉS — the fellow brothers who take part in the round of *caramelles* singing the *goigs* of the Virgin of the Rosary.

M

EL MITJÀ — the middle part in the three-part songs. See *el segon*.

MOT — on Majorca, a line of a *cançó* (song). In the Pyrenees, each verse of a religious song in Latin.

MUSIQUET — see *cantadoret*

P

PARAULA — in the Ebre and Valencian areas, a line of a *cançó* (song).

PLEC — on Majorca, loose sheets with the words of narrative songs, sold at markets.

PLEGUETA — see *plec*.

EL PRIMER — the highest part in the three-part songs. See *l'alt*.

POSADA — stanza or *cobla* in narrative genres, especially in the *goigs*.

R

REQUINTAR — see *florejar*.

RESCOBLA — in the *goigs*, the two lines of chorus at the end of each *cobla*.

RESPÒS — one of the names for the sung chorus. See *respost* and *return*.

RESPOST — one of the names for the sung chorus. See *respòs* and *return*.

RETURN — see *respost* and *respòs*.

ROMANCE — text of a narrative song of written composition and formerly diffused on loose sheets sold at markets. They were rarely sung in more than one part, although some examples are known.

S

EL SEGON — the middle part in the three-part songs. See *el mitjà*.

SES SALES — see *cançons de panades*.

T

TENIR BONA MIULA — on Majorca, the positive attribute assigned to those with a high, powerful and penetrating voice, both when singing and speaking. In villages in the north of the island, also called *viula* and *perla*.

TONADA — melody or main melodic structure of a song, of general use in all varieties of the Catalan language.

V

VEU — melody or melodic structure of a song, a generally used term in all varieties of the Catalan language. Synonyms: *tonada* and *cant*, and also *cantet* in Majorca.

VEU DE CONTRA — for some singers in the Pallars region, the part which separates from the middle part or *cant*. It is unclear whether this can mean either high or low parts.

VEU DE TRON — for some singers in the Pallars region (Pyrenees), the low part.

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Key to Spanish Terminology in Murcian Auroros

*Information taken from publications by Castaño López et al
and from Salvador Martínez*

A

AGUILANDOS — songs performed during the New Year collection and the Christmas cycle with instruments (*music*) and tambourine. *Coplas de aguinaldo* are sung, with the individual figure of the *trovero* or improviser of *trovos* (texts), who is a member of the brotherhood.

B

BAJO Y CUARTA — the low and high part respectively of the *coro primero*, generally at octaves — occasionally at two octaves distance — which behave as drones or mobile drones at the fifth scale degree or the tonic of the key, or of the relatives into which the melody moves, depending on styles. They frame the *tronco* and the *segunda*, and commence after the two preceding parts.

C

CANTOS DE LA AURORA — “dawn songs”: songs performed by the singing members of a brotherhood (*hermandad, cofradía*) in villages in the Murcia area, during the revelry (*la despierta*) lasting from midnight on Saturday to the first mass on Sunday, which goes round the brothers’ houses, with a lamp and a banner, to end at the church at the start of mass. The repertory consists mostly of salves, but also includes songs for the deceased at houses where family deaths have occurred, and Passion or Christmas songs for the corresponding cycles. Multipart singing is accompanied by a bell, which has led to the groups being referred to as *campanas de Auroros*. The year is divided into the following cycles, with specific songs for each *Ciclo ordinario* (ordinary cycle), *Ciclo de pasión* (Passion cycle), *Ciclo de difuntos* (Cycle of the deceased), and *Ciclo de navidad* (Christmas cycle).

CICLO DE DIFUNTOS — Cycle of the deceased, from All Saints’ Day (November 1st) till December 7th. The same salves as for the ordinary cycle, but with words dedicated to the dead.

CICLO DE NAVIDAD — Christmas cycle, from the Immaculate Conception (December 8th) to Epiphany (January 6th). More cheerful texts and melodies with *salves de aguilando* accompanied by string instruments (guitars, lutes, requintos, violins and bandurrias) and tambourine.

CICLO ORDINARIO — ordinary cycle, particular salves and songs for the families of the deceased. From Resurrection or Holy Saturday till June, the pause in crops, and from September to November.

CICLO DE PASIÓN — Passion cycle, particular salves and unique *estilos de pasión*. Through Lent till the evening and night songs of Holy Thursday.

CONTRABAJO — very infrequent part of the *coro primero* following the same procedure as the *septillo*, but at a third above the *bajo*.

COPLA — final part which indicates the ending of the piece. The two choirs (*coro primero* and *coro segundo*) alternate. All the *salve* of a given cycle share the same *copla*. After performance, the appropriate prayer is offered.

CORO PRIMERO — choir of the best singers (*cantores*) which initiates alternation with the *coro segundo*. This choir performs the *estribillos* or *solos*. It is made up of the following parts or *voces*: *tronco*, *segunda*, *bajo y cuarta*, *quinta*, *sextillo* or *septillo*, *contrabajo*.

CORO SEGUNDO — the most numerous choir, acting in response to the previous one. It requires the *tronco* and *segunda* parts, and can have the *quinta* performed by children. Only in the *de pasión* style does it also have the *cuarta* and *bajo* parts. The entry of this choir is marked by the bell, which also indicates the ensuing alternations. It is the choir for new singers and in which guests are allowed to sing.

Broadly speaking, the homophonic succession displays movement in parallel thirds framed by the drones at the dominant of the mode, although it can also display a succession of chords at the fourth and sixth position from the lowest note.

E

ESTRIBILLO — refrain or optional part performed by the *coro primero* when so indicated by the *guía*. There are currently few examples in use and they can seldom be heard. It is a part with flexible time and free in appearance, in which the voices are presented in a very melismatic dialogue, while the rest of the choir merely punctuates with chords.

ESTILOS — name of the different singing procedures and their structure, probably indicating typologies. Research is lacking to enable description of each *estilo*, but the different names alluding to them are known: *ordinario del Carmen*, *Salerosa*, *de medio verso*, *araña*, *lugareña*, *atalana*, *aragonesa-carmelitana*, *de la puerta de la iglesia*, *Corazón de Jesús primero*, *Corazón de Jesús segundo*, *ligera*, *seguidilla*, *de Bullas*, and *de Lope*. The *estilo de Pasión*, constitutes a separate group, and is only performed between the day after Saint Joseph's Day (March 19th) and Easter, and includes: *Juan de la Chica*, *pesá*, *repetía*, *del Carmen*, *Corazón de Jesús*, *mezcla* and *Domingo el Dulce*.

G

GUÍA — the brother who rings the bell, starts the song (*romper la salve*), and who marks the changing points between musical sections, usually indicating them by chimes and changes in tempo of the bell, which requires special ability to achieve the desired timbre. He sings the *tronco*, or main part. It is of great importance to intone at the correct pitch, to ensure that each singer is in a comfortable tessitura; the bell can indicate tuning.

H

HERMANDAD — in the towns and villages of Murcia, a brotherhood of mutual aid devoted to a particular Virgin, and with the main dedication of providing death assistance to fellow brothers (*hermanos*). There is documental evidence for their existence from the 16th century onwards, but several were officially founded in the late 19th century.

HERMANOS CANTORES — only the 15 men of the brotherhood who could sing. They are referred to as *titulares* (“full members”) as opposed to the *suplentes* who substitute when one of the *titulares* dies or retires after 12 or 20 years.

Q

QUINTA — very high part of the *coro primero* performed by a child or a falsetto voice. Can be at the octave above the *tronco*.

R

RESPUESTA —

1. see *coro segundo*.

2. name of the part sung by the *coro segundo* which alternates with the *salve*.

S

SALVE —

1. song.

2. the part sung by the *coro primero*, which alternates with the *segundo*.

SEGUNDA — a higher part than the *tronco* of the *coro primero*, almost always running at a parallel third above, but, at certain points, demanding a fourth, fifth or second with regard to the *tronco*. With fewer singers than the *tronco*, it begins a couple of beats later.

sextillo or *septillo* — name of a very uncommon, high part usually singing a parallel third above the *cuarta* only at certain cadential points of the *coro primero*. It appears to follow the logic of denomination from low to high.

solo — see *estribillo*.

T

TITULARES — “full members”.

TRONCO — main voice or part of the *coro primero*, which begins the song through the *guía*, who is joined by three or four brother singers (*hermanos cantores*) in unison.

V

VILLANCICOS — see *aguilandos*.

voz — each of the independent melodic parts in a multipart song, homophonic in structure and syllabic in tempo generally *giusto*, but with sections with recitative scansion and the occasional melismatic passage. Song which can be analysed in terms of the relation and alternation of the major mode with the relative minor mode.

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JAUME AYATS, ethnomusicologist and violinist, received a Diplôme D’Études Approfondies in Ethnomusicology at the l’École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales of Paris in 1992 and completed his PhD in Arts-Musicology at the University Autònoma of Barcelona in 1997. He has taught Traditional Music and Ethnomusicology at the Universidad Autònoma of Barcelona since 1998 and is Head of the Musicology Department at the Escola Superior de Música de Catalunya. Ayats has undertaken fieldwork on oral traditional music in Catalunya, Mallorca and Valencia, and has taken part as an ethnomusicologist in a French-Venezuelan project on the Pumé from Venezuela. Among his main interests are: performance of traditional vocal music, Catalonian musical instruments, ballads and dance songs.

MAURO BALMA, born in Genova (Italy) in 1940, has been active for over thirty years in research on music traditions in Liguria and the surrounding areas. He has collected a considerable number of sound documents with singers, players and story-tellers. On this topic he has produced radio and television programs, organized meetings, written a large number of essays and held conferences in Italy and abroad. Worth mentioning are the two conferences on “Canterini at the Opera”, which were realized in cooperation with the Opera Theatre “Carlo Felice” of Genoa (1994 and 2000), with the exhibition of eight teams of singers. He has cooperated with the Region Liguria in the foundation of the Centre for Archives and Research on material passed down from one person to another.

JEAN-JACQUES CASTÉRET, PhD, was born in Pau (France) in 1970. Besides being in a trumpet group, he attended the musicology course at the University of Paris IV-Sorbonne and attained in 1995 a D.E.A. (postgraduate degree) with a study on folk songs in Béarn (French Pyrenees). In 2004 he completed a doctoral thesis about table multi-part singing in Béarn and the Gascon Pyrenees (Bordeaux III University/Lacito C.N.R.S. associated). A member of the Société Française d'Ethnomusicologie, he is also the ethnomusicologist in charge of the Music & Orality Service at the Occitan Institute (Aquitaine Region). Fieldwork in the Occitan area and the northern Basque Country.

PIOTR DAHLIG, Ph.D (b.1953), ethnomusicologist, professor of the University of Warsaw, works at the Institute of Musicology and the Institute of Arts at the Polish Academy of Sciences (Phonogram archives). He has published the books *Muzyka ludowa we współczesnym społeczeństwie* (Folk Music in Contemporary Society, Warszawa 1987), *Ludowa praktyka muzyczna w komentarzach i opiniach wykonawców Polsce* (Folk Music Practice in Comments and Opinions of Performers in Poland, Warszawa 1993), *Tradycje muzyczne a ich przemiany. Między kulturą ludową, popularną i elitarną Polski międzywojennej* (Musical Traditions and their Transformations. Between the Folk, Popular and Elite Culture of Interwar Poland, Warszawa 1998), *Muzyka Adwentu. Tradycja gry na ligawkach* (Music of Advent. The Tradition of Playing on the Wooden Horn ligawka, Warszawa 2003) and over 100 articles mainly about traditional ethnic music and folk instruments usually based on his own field research in Poland since 1975.

KLAUS P. EHRENBERGER (MD) was Head of the First Department of Otorhinolaryngology at the University of Vienna (Austria) between 1983 and 2004, Head of the Department of Otorhinolaryngology of the Medical University of Vienna until 2006 (Emeritus) as well as honorary professor at the Institute of Neurobiology of the University of Berne (Switzerland, 1987–2002). Since 1999 he has been a Member of the National Health Board of Austria.

His research is connected mostly with Otorhinolaryngology, Auditory Physiology, Head-Neck-Oncology, Physiology, Neurophysiology and Brain Research in different institutions in Austria, Germany, Switzerland, France, the USA and within UNESCO programmes.

His current main topics of research are Physiology, Pathology and Pharmacology of the Ear and the Equilibrium System as well as Immunology of the Upper Aerodigestive Tract.

EVELYN FINK-MENNEL (1972) studied at the University of Music and Performing Arts in Vienna “Instrumentalpädagogik Violine” (1998 “Magister Artium”), “Lehrgang für Tonsatz nach Heinrich Schenker” and “Aufbaustudium Kulturmanagement” (2008 “Master of Advanced Studies”).

She has been working since 1998 at the Institute for Folk Music Research and Ethnomusicology in Vienna and teaches folk music in theory and practice at the University of Music and Performing Arts in Vienna, at the University Mozarteum in Salzburg and the Vorarlberger Landeskonservatorium. Her main research topics are folk music in Austria and biographic studies on the Viennese music theorist Heinrich Schenker.

Her publishing activity includes articles, musical recordings, booklets, exhibition catalogues, editorial work and books. Here can be mentioned “Johlar und Juz. Registerwechselnder Gesang im Bregenzerwald. Mit Tonbeispielen 1937 bis 1997, with CD, (Graz 2007), “Schenker-Traditionen. Eine Wiener Schule der Musiktheorie und ihre internationale Verbreitung/A Viennese School of Music Theory and its International Dissemination (Vienna 2006) as co-editor with Martin Eybl. As a violinist and vocalist she regularly performs traditional and contemporary music.

TAMAZ GABISONIA was born in 1962 in Tbilisi, Georgia, where he received a Honorary Diploma in Ethnomusicology from Tbilisi State Conservatory (1986). Between 1986 and 1990 he worked as a research assistant and later as a lecturer (since 2004 as a senior lecturer) at the Department of Georgian Traditional Music at the Tbilisi State Conservatory. Since 2005 he has also taught Georgian traditional and Georgian medieval religious music at the Batumi State University, and since 2006 at the Tbilisi Academy of Religious Studies. Gabisonia is co-editor of the Bulletin of the International Research Centre for Traditional Polyphony, which is published twice a year in Georgian and in English.

His publications particularly include questions of multipart, religious music in Georgia and Georgian ecclesiastical choral singing. In 2005 he also published a handbook for the Tbilisi State Conservatory Performance Faculty students on Georgian Folk Musical Art together with Tamar Meskhi.

GERLINDE HAID, born in 1943 in Bad Aussee, Styria, received degrees in music education and German philology and a PhD in ethnology and musicology. She served as secretary general of the Austrian Folk Music Society and as an assistant at the Department for Traditional Music at the Mozarteum University in Innsbruck. Since 1994 she has been the director of the Institute for Folk Music Research and Ethnomusicology at the University of Music and Performing Arts in Vienna. The main topic of her research is folk music in the Alpine region.

JOSEPH JORDANIA was a professor at Tbilisi State Conservatory and the Head of the Musical Section of the Centre for Mediterranean Studies at Tbilisi State University until 1995, when he moved to the University of Melbourne in Australia. He has published two books on traditional polyphony (“Georgian Traditional Polyphony in the International Context of Polyphonic Cultures” 1989 and “Who Asked the First Question? The Origins of Human Choral Singing, Intelligence, Language and Speech” 2006). He is author of over 100 research publications on different aspects of traditional polyphony. In the 1980s he organized a number of international conferences on traditional polyphony. He is the founding member and the Head of the Foreign Department of the International Research Centre for Traditional Polyphony at Tbilisi State Conservatory. In 2009 he was awarded Fumio Koizumi Prize in ethnomusicology.

BERNARD LORTAT-JACOB is founder of the Société française d’ethnomusicologie (1984) and was its president between 1985 and 1992. Since 1992 he has been Directeur de Recherche of the Centre national de la recherche scientifique in Paris, being also responsible for the Laboratoire d’ethnomusicologie of the Musée de l’Homme (1990–2004), teaching at the same time ethnomusicology at the Université de Paris X-Nanterre.

Bernard Lortat-Jacob is a specialist in traditional music of the Mediterranean area. He has published and edited a dozen books, numerous articles and more than 20 monographic discs based on the musical aesthetics of the Mediterranean. He has realised the films “*Vievola, Chœurs et danses du Col de Tende*” in cooperation with J.-D. Lajoux (1975), “*Musica Sarda*” (Arte) in cooperation with Georges Luneau (1990), and directed the work on the film “*Chant d’un pays perdu/Singing for a lost country*” (Albania/Greece, 2006), realised together with Héléne Delaporte. He is also the author of a documentary DVD included in the book “*Chant et danse au pays de l’Oach [Roumanie]*” (2002).

IGNAZIO MACCHIARELLA is assistant professor of Ethnomusicology at the Faculty of Lettere e Filosofia, University of Cagliari. He obtained his PhD [dottorato in ricerca] in Musicology in 1991. Afterwards he worked as a researcher at the University of Palermo, the Folkstudio of Palermo, the University of Bologna and the University of Trento where he organized the Laboratory of Ethnomusicology. Since 1997 he has taught in several universities in Italy and France as a visiting professor. His main musical interests are in polyphony, music and ritual, music analysis, and improvisation in vocal music. Macchiarella has carried out fieldwork in Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, southern Italy, the Italian Alps and Tunisia.

ZLATA MARJANOVIĆ ethnomusicologist. Graduated and obtained her M.A. in ethnomusicology at the Faculty of Music — Department for Musicology & Ethnomusicology in Belgrade. She worked as a lecturer at the college of Music Art in Niš (1999–2004). After that, she worked as a teacher of ethnomusicology at the Mokranjac High School in Kraljevo (since 2005). Her research subjects are mostly focused on the musical traditions of the Montenegro coast and its Hinterland. She is working on a PhD thesis about the musical tradition of the Montenegro coast and its Hinterland.

SÍLVIA MARTÍNEZ graduated in Arts-Musicology from Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona 1991, and completed her PhD in Arts-Popular Music Studies at the Universidad of Barcelona in 1997 after studies and research semesters at the Université de Montréal (Canada) and UCLA (USA). She completed her studies at the Humboldt Universität zu Berlin (Germany) from 1997 to 1999. Her main fieldwork was undertaken on urban popular music; however, she has collaborated on a re-study of the traditional repertoire carried out in 1997 in the Spanish province of Catelló. She has published one book on heavy metal music and several articles and book chapters on ethnomusicology, popular music and pedagogy. Martinez currently teaches Popular Music and World Music at the Escola Superior de Música de Catalunya.

ŽANNA PÄRTLAS (Estonia) was born 1964 in St. Petersburg (Leningrad), Russia (former USSR). She studied musicology at the Rimski-Korsakov State Conservatory, St. Petersburg. In 1992 she defended a doctoral thesis on heterophony in Russian folk songs (based on the archaic songs of Northwest Russia — Pskov and Smolensk regions). In the years 1991 and 1992 she was a lecturer of music theory at the Herzen Pedagogical University of Russia, St. Petersburg. Pärtlas lives since 1992 in Tallinn (Estonia). In 1994 she started working at the Estonian Academy of Music and Theatre (the Department of Musicology), first as lecturer of music theory then as associate professor and senior researcher. From the middle of 1990ies her research interests have concentrated on the archaic tradition of multipart singing of the Setus (Southeast Estonia). Her research projects mostly deal with the analytical approaches to traditional music and general theoretical questions of traditional multipart singing.

ANKICA PETROVIĆ is a specialist in the music of Eastern Europe, in particular of her native Bosnia. Her scholarly expertise is in rural music of the Dinaric Alps, Jewish Sephardic culture in the Balkans, Bosnian Muslim music, religious chants and cross-cultural studies in music and gender and music and politics.

She was the central figure in Bosnian musicology and ethnomusicology from the late 1970s to the early 1990s and had extensive connections to an international community of scholars interested in the region. She chaired the Department of Musicol-

ogy at the University of Sarajevo in the late 1980s and early 1990s until the war there made her work and that of her colleagues untenable. She has resided in the U.S. since 1993 and has held teaching residencies at UC Berkeley, UC Santa Cruz, Duke University, the University of Washington, and at the UCLA.

Petrović has written a number of articles in ethnomusicological journals, books and music encyclopedias. She also has extensive experience as an author of audiovisual media works.

LOZANKA GEORGIEVA PEYCHEVA (PhD in Arts — 1991, Dr. in Arts — 2007) is Associate Professor of Ethnomusicology at the Institute of Folklore, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. She is the author of the books “Dushata plache — pesen izliza: Romskite muzikanti v Bulgaria I tjahnata muzika” (Your soul cries and out comes a song: Roma musicians in Bulgaria and their music, Sofia 1999), “The zurna tradition in Southwest Bulgaria”, (Sofia 2002, co-author Ventsislav Dimov), “Neravnodelnostta — sistema za izuchavane”, (A system for learning asymmetric music, Sofia 2005, co-author Ljudmila Velcheva), “Megdu Seloto I Vselenata: starata folklorna muzika ot Bulgaria v novite vremena” (Between Village and Universe: the Old Folk Music from Bulgaria in the New Times, Sofia 2008) and of several music textbooks. She has more than 120 articles, and is an active collaborator in electronic and printed media. Her basic interests are in the transformations (modernization and globalization) of folk musical practices, styles, repertoires and the musical traditions of different ethnic groups in Bulgaria.

She is a university teacher with long years of experience (Southwestern University “Neophit Rilsky” — Blagoevgrad; State Music Academy “Pantcho Vladigerov” — Sofia; New Bulgarian University — Sofia; Shumen University). She has participated in scientific conferences and lectures in Austria, Albania, Germany, BiH, Greece, Republic of Macedonia, Slovenia, Hungary, Romania, the Czech Republic, France, Finland and the USA. She is a member of the “Musicologists” section at the Union of Bulgarian Composers; of the ICTM Study group Music and Minorities and Music Liaison of the Committee of the ICTM Study Group on Music and Dance in Southeastern Europe.

SEBASTIANO PILOSU was born in Torpè (Sardinia, Italy) in 1958. In 1977 he was awarded a diploma in Industrial Chemistry (Institute “Giua” Cagliari), in 1993 a diploma in Electrical Engineering (Institute “A. Volta” Nuoro) and in 2003 a diploma in an experimental course of Ethnomusicology (Conservatorio di Musica “G.P. Da Palestrina” Cagliari). His teaching activity includes among others Chemistry (1978–1993), Electrical Engineering (since 1994, Institute “A. Volta”, Nuoro) and Sardinian Music Laboratory and Forms of Poetry in Sardinian music (since 2004, Conservatorio di Musica “G.P. Da Palestrina”, Cagliari). Pilosu sings the “contra” in the “Tenore

Sèlema” singers group, which published a CD in 1996. In 1986 and 1997 he received the “Premio Ozieri” for Sardinian poetry. Since 2007 he has been President of the “Associazione Tenores Sardegna”, an organization of more than 100 singer groups. He also gives workshops about a tenore singing and has published several articles on this subject. In 2006 he was a scientific collaborator and coordinator of the First Meeting of the “Associazione Tenores Sardegna”.

DAIVA RAČIŪNAITĖ-VYČINIENĖ (1962), Doctor of Arts, graduated at the Lithuanian Academy of Music in 1985. She has been teaching at Lithuanian Academy of Music since 1989, is Associate Professor since 1998 and head of the department of Ethnomusicology since 2001. In addition to numerous scientific articles and presentations at national and international scholarly meetings, she is author of the books *Sutartinė atlikimo tradicijos* (The Traditions of Performing the Sutartinės, 2000) and “Sutartinės. Lithuanian Polyphonic Songs” (2002). Objects of her scientific interests are sutartinės and other forms of early polyphony; traditional polyphonic singing in contemporary cultures; peculiarities of musical performance; archaic forms of folklore; mythology.

Račiūnaitė-Vyčinienė leads the sutartinės performers’ group “Trys keturiose” since 1981. She organizes as well the International Folklore Festival “Skamba skamba kankliai” in Lithuania.

List of audio and video examples

ARDIAN AHMEDAJA

Introduction

DVD 01 *Gloria.*

(p. 10) Performers: A men group of Montedoro, Sicily, Italy.

Place: Vienna, Austria.

Date: March 11, 2005.

Recorded by: Hans Hofer.

Source: Archive of the Institute for Folk Music Research and Ethnomusicology at the university of Music and Performing Arts in Vienna (EMM-V 54).

Duration: 2:13.

DVD 02 *Vallë a vjen behari kurrë? (Will the summer ever come?)*

(p. 10) Performers: Men of the group “*Visaret e këngës*” (The treasures of the songs), from Southeastern Albania. Endri Fifo — *marrës* (the one who takes it), Jorgo Malelli — *kthyes* (the one who gives it back) and the drone group.

Place: Vienna, Austria.

Date: March 12, 2005.

Recorded by: Hans Hofer.

Source: Archive of the Institute for Folk Music Research and Ethnomusicology at the university of Music and Performing Arts in Vienna (EMM-V 57).

Duration: 3:30.

DVD 03 *Haj, baj, bot' pa faj (Guiltless world)*

(p. 10) Performers: The group “*Jehona labe*” (The Lab Echo), from Southwestern Albania. Kalo Zenelaj and Bejushe Bajramaj — *marrës* (the one who takes it), Valter Sulçaj — *pritës* (the one who cuts it), Resmi Ferraj — *bedhës* (the one who throws it) and the drone group.

Place: Vienna, Austria.

Date: March 12, 2005.

Recorded by: Hans Hofer.

Source: Archive of the Institute for Folk Music Research and Ethnomusicology at the university of Music and Performing Arts in Vienna (EMM-V 57).

Duration: 2:41.

II. Cultural Listening and Local Discourse

MAURO BALMA

Examples to accompany his contribution:

*“The tradition of religious music in the Ligurian area (Northern Italy):
the sunset of a culture between a crisis of identity and a reassertion of local pride.”*

- CD 01 *Ave Maris stella*
(p. 66) Performers: women.
Place: Casale Staffora, Pavia, Italy.
Date: October 28, 2007.
Recorded by: Mauro Balma.
Duration: 0:55.
- CD 02 *Ave Maris stella*
(p. 66) Performers: women and men.
Place: Badalucco, Imperia, Italy.
Date: September 10, 2008.
Recorded by: Mauro Balma.
Duration: 0:49.
- CD 03 The beginning of the ninth *Lezione dei Defunti*
(p. 68) Performers: men.
Place: Ceriana, Imperia, Italy.
Date: Novembre 1, 1983.
Recorded by: Mauro Balma.
Duration: 1:55.
- CD 04 *Te Deum*
(p. 68) Performers: men.
Source: Balma and d’Angiolini 2007: 17–18, 34–35. CD nr. 1, track nr. 4.
Duration: 1:35.
- CD 05 *Lucis Creator optime*
(p. 69, 70) Performers: men and women.
Place: Cosola, Alessandria, Italy.
Recorded by: Marco Domenichetti.
Source: Balma 2008, CD inclosed, n. 25.
Duration: 1:34.
- CD 06 *Figlio dell’Eterno Padre*
(p. 70) Place: Ceriana, Imperia, Italy.
Recorded by: Mauro Balma.

Date: July 17, 1988.

Duration: 0:51.

PIOTR DAHLIG

Examples to accompany his contribution:

“Multipart singing in Poland as a cultural and musical phenomenon”

CD 07 *“Zmarły człowiecze, z tobą się żegnamy”* (Funeral song)

(p. 80, 81) Performers: Regina Misiejko born in 1934, Franciszek Raczko born in 1933, Alina Wałyniec born in 1949.

Place: Village Olchówka, district of Grodno, Belorussia.

Date: 1998.

Recorded by: Piotr Piszczatowski.

Duration: 1:22.

CD 08 *“Barbaro święta, perło Jezusowa”* (Funeral song)

(p. 80, 82) Performers: Wincenty Gryszan born in 1924, Józef Nowik born in 1935, Edward Palczukiewicz born in 1928, Witold Wilczewski born in 1936.

Place: Village Zaprudiany, district of Grodno, Belorussia.

Date: 1998.

Recorded by: Piotr Piszczatowski.

Duration: 1:52.

CD 09 *“Wyletiela dusza z ciała”* (Funeral song)

(p. 83) Performers: Group of women.

Place: Village Dobrowoda, district of Hajnówka, voivodship Podlaskie, Poland.

Date: 1998.

Recorded by: Piotr Dahlig.

Duration: 1:25.

ŽANNA PÄRTLAS

Examples to accompany her contribution:

“Men’s Songs in a Women’s Song Tradition. Some Remarks on Men’s Multipart Singing in Setumaa, Southeast Estonia.”

CD 10 *Laul laulust* (The Song About Song)

(p. 99) Performers: Juhkim Luuga (born in 1894) (lead singer — *iistütlejä*), Jakob Kadak (born in 1896) (the upper part *killõ*) and choir.

- Place: Uusvada village, Estonia.
 Date: 1973.
 Recorded by: Ingrid Rüütel and Kristi Salve
 Source: Hagu 2000, No 12; RKM, Mgn. II 2418 (h)
 Duration: 1:18.
- CD 11
 (p. 99) *Põllulaul* (Field song)
 Performers: Juhkim Luuga (born in 1894) (lead singer, *iistütlejä*), Jakob Kadak (born in 1896) (the upper part *killõ*) and choir.
 Place: Uusvada village, Estonia.
 Date: 1977.
 Recorded by: Ingrid Rüütel and Enn Säde
 Source: Hagu 2000, No 2; RKM, Mgn. II 3686 (l)
 Duration: 1:18.
- CD 12
 (p. 101) *Kalarannalaul* (Fishing Coast Song)
 Performers: Nati Tarkus (born in 1922) (lead singer, *iistütlejä*), Veera Lunda (born in 1921) (the upper part *killõ*) and choir.
 Place: Mikitamäe village, Estonia.
 Date: 1998.
 Recorded by: Vaike Sarv, Jaan Tamm, and Žanna Pärtlas.
 Duration: 0:48.
- CD 13
 (p. 102, 105) *Hällilaul* (Swing Song)
 Performers: Gavril Riitsaar (born in 1904) (lead singer, *iistütlejä*), Jakob Kadak (born in 1896) (the upper part *killõ*) and choir.
 Place: Uusvada village, Estonia.
 Date: 1972.
 Recorded by: Ingrid Rüütel.
 Source: Hagu 2000, No 17; RKM, Mgn. II 2433 (e).
 Duration: 0:59.
- CD 14
 (p. 103, 105) *Hoi taas vellekõisi* (Men's Party Song)
 Performers: Nikolai Rimm (born in 1922) (lead singer, *iistütlejä*), Nikolai Vahtramägi (born in 1925) (the upper part *killõ*) and choir.
 Place: Uusvada village, Estonia.
 Date: 1990.
 Recorded by: Vaike Sarv and K. Hakala. Multi-channel recording.
 Source: RKM, Mgn. I 66.
 Duration: 1:05.
- CD 15
 (p. 104, 107) *Vel'okõisi pikk ääl* (My Dear Brothers: The Long Tune)
 Performers: Setu men's choir *Liinats'ura*¹ (Paul Hagu, Lauri Sommer, Urmas Kalla, Andreas Kalkun, Heno Sarv, Kaspar Kolk, Pärtel Lippus,

Peter Panov, Paul Vahelaan, Arvi Haak, Jüri Metssalu and Valdo Valper).

Place: Tartu, Estonia.

Date: 2003.

Recorded by: Jaan Tamm.

Source: CD *Liinats'ura*⁹ (2004), No 11.

Duration: 1:36.

ANKICA PETROVIĆ

Examples to accompany her contribution:

“The phenomenon of multipart singing in rural communities of the Dinaric Alps”

- CD 16 *Bosiok je rano cvijeće* (Basil is an early flower)
Women's singing “in three” (*pjevanje “u tri”*)
(p. 119) Performers: women's group from the village of Gornja Vručica near Teslić in Northern Bosnia.
Place: Village of Gornja Vručica near Teslić in Northern Bosnia.
Date: October 1982.
Recorded by: Ankica Petrović and Predrag Lazarević.
Source: Mg tape. Private sound collection of Ankica Petrović.
Duration: 2:01.
- CD 17 *Svatovska potresalica* (Wedding shaking song)
(p. 121) Performers: Three singers.
Place: Village of Strojice, near Jajce, Bosnia and Hercegovina.
Date: October 1973.
Recorded by: Ankica Petrović and Predrag Lazarević.
Source: Mg tape. Private sound collection of Ankica Petrović.
Duration: 1:38.
- CD 18 *Ganga*
(p. 123) Performers: Three singers.
Place: Village of Podorašac in Northern Hercegovina.
Date: September 1973.
Recorded by: Ankica Petrović and Predrag Lazarević.
Source: Mg tape. Private sound collection of Ankica Petrović.
Duration: 1:11.

ZLATA MARJANOVIĆ

Examples to accompany her contribution:

“*Cultural Listening in Multipart Traditional Singing on the Northern and Central Montenegro Coast and its Hinterland.*”

- CD 19 *Da mi se stvoriti pticom lastavicom (Wish I should swallow)*
 (p. 129) Performers: Men from “Bokeljski mornari”. Slavko Davinović, Anto Milošević, Branko Janjalija, Obrad Mandić, Adam Cuca, Romeo Mihić, Zoran Otašević, Slobodan Bajković.
 Place: Kotor, Montenegro.
 Date: 03.09.2005.
 Source: CD “Bokeljske naravi”, No 8.
 Duration: 0:30.
- CD 20 *Dobar čovječe, dobre li reče (dobra molitva = good prayer)*
 (A finer word from a fine man)
 (p. 129) Performers: Men from Grbalj. First part (*rises*) Đuro Donković. Second part: Branko Đurić, Ivo Krstičević, Božo Latković, Milivoj Latković, Nebojša Latković, Rade Marković, Vlado Odža, Milorad Perović, Dejan Šovran, Duško Šovran, Sreten Šovran, Petar Vukšić, Slobodan Vukšić, Božidar Zec.
 Place: Radanovići, Grbalj, Montenegro..
 Date: July 31, 2000.
 Recorded by: Zlata Marjanović.
 Source: Zlata Marjanović private archiv.
 Duration: 0:35.
- CD 21 *Primorkinja konja jaše (Primorkinja rides, primorkinja = girl, inhabitant of the coast)*
 (p. 130) Performers: Ilija Mitrović and Eva Mitrović
 Place: Petrovac, Paštrovići, Montenegro.
 Date: January 7, 2002.
 Recorded by: Zlata Marjanović.
 Source: Zlata Marjanović private archiv.
 Duration: 0:30.
- CD 22 *Primorkinja konja jaše (Primorkinja rides, primorkinja = a girl, inhabiting the coast)*
 (p. 135, 136) Performers: Female vocal group “Harmonija” from Budva. Solo: Mirjana Pajović, accompaniment: Biserka Bogović, Marija Lazaravić, Vesna

- Milović, Marijana Mitrović, Danijela Nikolić, Marija Šumić, Jadranka Uzelac, Dušica Vugdelić.
Place: Budva, Montenegro.
Date: 2001.
Recorded by: Sound studio V. Sokolj Podgorica.
Source: CD “*More Ljubavi*” (“Sea of Love”) No 14.
Duration: 0:40.
- DVD 04 “Crveno cvjeće cvjetaše” (“*Red flowers bloomed*”)¹
(p. 136) Performers: Women from Grbalj. First part (*rises*): Danica Marković. Second part: Bose Grivić, Milka Ivetić, Stane Latković, Savica Stojisavljević, Zorka Uličević.
Place: Kotor, Montenegro.
Date: October 12, 2001.
Recorded by: Društvo za obnovu manastira Podlastva Grbalj, Boka Kotorska.
Source: Phonoarchive of Društvo za obnovu manastira Podlastva Grbalj, Boka Kotorska.
Duration: 0:14.
- DVD 05 *Crveno cvjeće cvjetaše* (Red flowers bloomed)
(p. 136) Performers: Men and women, students of ethnomusicology of the Stevan S. Mokranjac High Music School, Kraljevo.
Place: Kraljevo, Serbia.
Date: June 13, 2008.
Source: Phonoarchive of the Department of Ethnomusicology in the High Music School “Stevan S. Mokranjac”, Kraljevo, Serbia.
Duration: 1:27.

III. Local Terminology

GERLINDE HAID

Examples to accompany her contribution:

“*The role of folk terminology in the research of multipart singing in Austria.*”

- CD 23 *Znagst hân i ma d'Schneid amâl damisch valetzt* (The other day I did harm to my cutting edge).
(p. 156) Farm labourer song from Ramsau am Dachstein, Styria.

1 We apologize for the low technical quality of the recording.

- (Two-part turnover singing)
 Performers: Greti Steiner, Heli Gebauer.
 Place: Ramsau am Dachstein, Styria, Austria.
 Date: January 4, 1982.
 Recorded by: Gerlinde Haid
 Source: Haid, Gerlinde and Hans Haid 1999: 22, nr. 9.
 Österreichische Volksliedarchiv, T 109/B.
 Duration: 2:49.
- CD 24 *Es war einmal eine Jüdin* (There was a pretty Jewish girl)
 (p. 157) (Two-part singing adding thirds)
 Performers: Katharina Glöckl, Elisabeth Rubanovich, Rosalia Weber.
 Place: Deutschkreuz, Burgenland, Austria.
 Date: 1973.
 Source: Source: Gmasz, Haid, Pietsch 1993a: 26–27, nr. 8.
 Duration: 3:23.
- CD 25 *Rinegger*.
 (p. 160) Yodel from Ramsau am Dachstein, Styria.
 Performers: Greti Steiner, Herti Plut, Heli Gebauer.
 Place: Ramsau am Dachstein, Styria, Austria.
 Date: January 4, 1982.
 Recorded by: Gerlinde Haid.
 Source: Haid, Gerlinde and Hans Haid 1999: 21, nr. 8.
 Österreichische Volksliedarchiv, T 110/B.
 Duration: 1:00.
- CD 26 *Ja und das Vogerl vom Zwetschnbam* (Yes and the bird from the plum tree)
 (p. 162) Performers: Friedl Pfeffer, Walter Sacchett, Kurt Leser.
 Place: Aubade from Puchberg am Schneeberg, Lower Austria.
 Date: 1976.
 Source: Gmasz, Haid, Pietsch 1993b: 40–42, nr. 15.
 Duration: 1:56.

EVELYN FINK-MENNEL

Examples to accompany her contribution:

“The yodel in the German-speaking parts of the European Alps with a special focus on the behaviour of the parts in Austrian yodelling.”

- CD 27 *Drüschtimmar*
 (p. 171, Performers: Adolf Hammerer (1910–1996), Johann Georg Helbock

- 172) (1897–1978), Jodok Lang (1907–1989), Emmerich Schneider (born 1921), Hubert Schneider (1912–1983), Sepp Schneider (1909–1986).
 Place: Egg, Vorarlberg, Austria.
 Date: 1967.
 Recorded by: Edwin Waldner.
 Source: Fink-Mennel 2007: 40.
 Duration: 0:46.
- CD 28 *s' Herisauerli*
 (p. 171) Performers: Chlausengruppe Stein: Ernst Meier (Vorzaurer), Werner Meier, Walter Neff, Walter Kolb, Martin Preisig, Alfred Preisig, Hansueli Brägger.
 Place: Appenzell, Switzerland. Live-Recording Alter Silvester.
 Date: 1997.
 Recorded by: Ernst Meier.
 Source: Chlausezäuerli 1997, Track 6.
 Duration: 2:12.
- CD 29 *Apfelbauern dudler — Version H.* (Apple peasants dudler — Version H)
 (p. 174) Performers: Peter Kaiser (1917–1999), Juliane Kaiser (1921–2006) und Karl Schönthaler (1928–2002).
 Place: Miesenbach, Lower Austria.
 Date: 1989.
 Recorded by: Rudolf Pietsch.
 Source: Pietsch 1989: 116–117.
 Duration: 1:08.
- CD 30 *Bugl-Ländler*
 (p. 175) Performers: “Hermann Fritz Trio” according to the performance of the accordion player Mr. Bugl.
 Place: Klostertal, Lower Austria.
 Date: 25.07.2002.
 Recorded by: Evelyn Fink.
 Source: Evelyn Fink private archive.
 Duration: 0:17.
- CD 31 *Triale*
 (p. 177) Performers: Jodok Lang (1907–1989) and Sepp Schneider (1909–1986).
 Place: Egg, Bregenzerwald, Vorarlberg, Austria.
 Date: 30.03.1977.
 Recorded by: Recorded by: Helga Thiel and Sepp Gmasz.
 Source: Phonogrammarchiv of the Austrian Academy of Sciences (PhA B 23610).

Duration: 0:45.

CD 32 *Wälder* (Jodler)

(p. 178) Performers: Frieda Diem (1909–1994), Maria Fäßler (1907–1990) and Adelina Linder (1903–1968).

Place: Bludenz, Austria: The 9th “*Bäuerliches Volksliedersingen* [Peasants Folk Song Singing].“

Date: 02.05.1937.

Recorded by: RAVAG — Österreichische Radio-Verkehrs-Aktiengesellschaft.

Source: The collection of Dr. Georg Kotek at the Archive of the *Österreichisches Volksliedwerk* (Austrian Folk Music Society): RAVAG. Matritze 1879 = Platte 1016a, Slg. Kotek, Nr. 77/1–3.

Duration: 0:52.

CD 33 *Jodler [Triale]*

(p. 179) Performers: Anton Erath (1893–1956), Sales Lang (1907–1978), Alois Metzler (1903–1972), Jakob Metzler (1897–1969), Josef Anton Metzler (1891–1987), Josef Meusburger (1892–1952), Xaver Herr (1903–1978), Valentin Winsauer (1886–?) from Bizau, Austria.

Place: Bludenz, Austria.

Date: 02.05.1937.

Recorded by: RAVAG — Österreichische Radio-Verkehrs-Aktiengesellschaft.

Source: The collection of Dr. Georg Kotek at the Archive of the *Österreichisches Volksliedwerk* (Austrian Folk Music Society): RAVAG. Matritze 1879 = Platte 1016a, Slg. Kotek, Nr. 77/1–3. See also Fink-Mennel 2007: 66, track 9.

Duration: 0:47.

CD 34 *Labbeuger*

(p. 179, 180) Performers: Martin Winkler (principal voice) and Josephine Koblinger (Walchauer Tochter).

Place: Flachau, Pongau, Salzburg, Austria.

Date: 11.07.1986.

Recorded by: Maria Walcher.

Source: Archive of the Austrian Folk Music Society T 335, 13.

Duration: 0:35.

CD 35 *Labbeuger* with *Gstanzl*

(p. 180) Performers: Martin Winkler (principal voice), Maria Walcher and Josephine Koblinger.

Place: Flachau, Pongau, Salzburg, Austria.

Date: 11.07.1986.

Recorded by: Maria Walcher.

Source: Archive of the Austrian Folk Music Society T 335, 14.

Duration: 0:31.

TAMAZ GABISONIA

Examples to accompany his contribution:

“*Terminological Priorities of Georgian Traditional Polyphony.*”

CD 36 Polyphony imitation on the chonguri in Guria “*Batonebo*”.

(p. 208) Recorded by: Otar Chijavadze.

Place: Vani, Guria (western Georgia).

Date: 1965.

Source: Phonogram Archive of the Laboratory of Georgian Folk Music of Tbilisi State Conservatoire.

Duration: 0:48.

CD 37 Singing with glossolalias in Gurian song “*Grdzeli ghighimi*”.

(p. 210) Place: Makharadze, Guria (western Georgia).

Recorded by: Vladimer Akhobadze.

Date: 1960.

Source: Phonogram Archive of the Laboratory of Georgian Folk Music of Tbilisi State Conservatoire.

Duration: 1:00.

CD 38 Mimqoli — the voice accompanying the partner voice in triade, in Imeretian song “*Batonebis nanina*”.

(p. 212) Place: Ghvankiti, Imereti.

Recorded by: Grigol Chkhikvadze.

Date: 1967.

Source: Phonogram Archive of the Laboratory of Georgian Folk Music of Tbilisi State Conservatoire.

Duration: 0:20.

CD 39 Inclination to improvisation in Gurian song similar to chant “*Chven msb-vidoba*”.

(p. 212) Place: Kvemo aketi, Guria (western Georgia).

Recorded by: Otar Chijavadze.

Date: 1965.

Source: Phonogram Archive of the Laboratory of Georgian Folk Music of

- Tbilisi State Conservatoire.
Duration: 0:26.
- CD 40 Drone bass in Kakhetian song “*Chakrulo*”.
(p. 213) Place: Gurjaani, Kakheti.
Recorded by: Grigol Chkhikvadze.
Date: 1952.
Source: Phonogram Archive of the Laboratory of Georgian Folk Music of Tbilisi State Conservatoire.
Duration: 0:36.
- CD 41 Episodic drone bass in the work song from Achara “*Tetri kori chandarze*”.
(p. 213) Place: Kobuleti, Achara.
Recorded by: Vladimer Akhobadze.
Date: 1964.
Source: Phonogram Archive of the Laboratory of Georgian Folk Music of Tbilisi State Conservatoire.
Duration: 0:34.
- CD 42 Synchronic polyphony in Svan song “*Barbal dolash*”.
(p. 213) Place: Mestia, Svaneti.
Recorded by: Otari Chijavadze.
Date: 1959.
Source: Phonogram Archive of the Laboratory of Georgian Folk Music of Tbilisi State Conservatoire.
Duration: 0:38.
- CD 43 Ostinato polyphony in Kakhetian song “Dideba”.
(p. 213) Place: Shilda, Kakheti, Eastern Georgia.
Recorded by: Grigol Chkhikvadze.
Date: 1957.
Source: Phonogram archive of the Laboratory of Georgian folk music of Tbilisi state conservatoire.
Duration: 0:31.
- CD 44 Episodic bass alternating with trio in Gurian song with *gadadzakhili* “*Me patara qartveli var*”.
(p. 214) Place: Vani, Guria, Western Georgia.
Recorded by: Otari Chijavadze.
Date: 1965.
Source: Phonogram archive of the Laboratory of Georgian folk music of Tbilisi state conservatoire.
Duration: 0:47.
- CD 45 Gurian Yodel — *Krimanchuli* in gurian song “Perkhuli”.

- (p. 214) Place: Guria, Western Georgia.
Recorded by: Otar Chijavadze.
Date: 1964.
Source: Phonogram archive of the Laboratory of Georgian folk music of Tbilisi state conservatoire.
Duration: 0:31.

Addendum

Approaches to a “Lexicon of Local Terminology on Multipart Singing in Europe”

ŽANNA PÄRTLAS

Examples to accompany her approach to the:

“*Local Terminology of Multipart Singing in Estonia. The Setu multipart song tradition.*”

- CD 46 The game song *Käsikivi* (“The Grinding Stone”)
(p. 320) Performers: Anne Vabarna (1877) and Ode Vabarna (19??).
Place: Tonja village.
Date: 1959.
Source: RKM, Mgn. II 321 a).
Duration: 1:16.
- CD 47 The harvest song (*Lelotaminõ*)
(p. 320) Performers: *leelokuur* “Helmine”, *iistütlejä* — Laine Pai (1938) and *killõ* — Veera Lunda (1921).
Place: Mikitamäe village.
Source: CD “Helmine”. ISBN 9985-9218-7-9, Eesti Kirjandusmuuseum, Eesti Keele Instituut, Tartu, 1999, no 4.
Duration: 1:10.

MAURO BALMA

Examples to accompany his approach to the:

“*Lexicon of multipart singing in Liguria and in the area of the Four Provinces (Apennine of the provinces of Genoa, Alessandria, Pavia and Piacenza — Italy).*”

- CD 48 *Majulin*.
(p. 376) Genre: *Buiàsca*.
Comments: Singing style of Bogli, Piacenza, Italy.
Performers: *Cantori di Bogli*.

- Place: Bogli, Piacenza, Italy.
 Recorded by: Mauro Balma.
 Source: Mauro Balma private archive.
 Duration: 1:05.
- CD 49 *Se tu brami di vedermi.*
 (p. 375, Genre: *Canto delle Quattro Province.*
 378, 379, Comments: The name of the parts sung: *primmo, secondo, bassi alti, bassi*
 380) *profondi, vusin.*
 Performers: *Cantori dell'Oltrepò.*
 Place: Oltrepò, Italy.
 Recorded by: Mauro Balma.
 Source: Mauro Balma private archive.
 Duration: 1:41.
- CD 50 *Alma Contempla.*
 (p. 376, Genre: *Canto a bordone di Ceriana.*
 380) Comments: Drone (bordone) in a liturgical song of the Holy Thursday
 (*Giovedì Santo*).
 Performers: *Confraternita di Villa.*
 Place: Ceriana, Italy.
 Recorded by: Mauro Balma.
 Source: Mauro Balma private archive.
 Duration: 1:54.
- CD 51 *Officium defunctorum — Lez. IX.*
 (p. 378) Genre: *Canto a bordone di Ceriana.*
 Comments: *Regulatu che inizia* (drone in a liturgical song).
 Performers: *Confraternita di Ceriana.*
 Place: Ceriana, Italy.
 Recorded by: Mauro Balma.
 Source: Mauro Balma private archive.
 Duration: 2:04.
- CD 52 *Serenata medioevale (Silvestri) a*
 (p. 378) Genre: *Trallalero. Canzone d'autore* (composed song).
 Comments: *passaatte (passata dei bassi): bassi cantabili* in a rhythmic func-
 tion.
 Performers: *A Lanterna.*
 Place: Genova, Italy.
 Recorded by: Mauro Balma.
 Source: Mauro Balma private archive.
 Duration: 0:43.

- CD 53 *Serenata medioevale (Silvestri)* b
(p. 378) Genre: *Trallalero. Canzone d'autore* (composed song).
Comments: “*Mèze notte*” at the bass, soloists.
Performers: *A Lanterna*.
Place: Genova, Italy.
Recorded by: Mauro Balma.
Source: Mauro Balma private archive.
Duration: 2 :09.
- CD 54 *Canson da squaddra (Celso)*
(p. 375) Genre: *Trallalero. Canzone d'autore* (composed song).
Comments: *Bassi cantabili* with melodic function.
Performers: *A Lanterna*.
Place: Genova, Italy.
Recorded by: Mauro Balma.
Source: Mauro Balma private archive.
Duration: 0 :56.
- CD 55 *Quell'uccellin del bosco*
(p. 377) Genre: *Trallalero. Brano tradizionale* (traditional song).
Comments: Example of “*daeta*” at the beginning of “*primo*”.
Performers: *La Giovane Mignanego*.
Place: Ceriana, Italy.
Recorded by: Mauro Balma.
Source: Mauro Balma private archive.
Duration: 1 :15.

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