Language Switching in (Folk) Songs along the Slovenian-Italian Border

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ABSTRACT. Folk songs have long been perceived as national identity markers. In Central Europe, the research of folk singing was closely linked to the national movements of the nineteenth century. Bilingual folksongs or singing in "non-national" language were omitted from the field of folklore as non-coherent practices. This paper presents a historical analysis that focuses on singing in "national" and "non-national" language in Goriška brda (the Gorizia Hills) and Venetian Slovenia along today's Slovenian-Italian border. Changing borders and people belonging to different state formations have influenced the changing social and cultural contexts and thus the use of language(s) in songs. The normality of the coexistence of different linguistic groups in border regions has long been reflected in (folk) songs even during intense political situations. Today, the Slovenian language is often used in (folk) singing in Venetian Slovenia as a heritage language.

KEYWORDS: bilingual songs, border regions, in-between practices, songs in "non-national" language, Venetian Slovenia, Goriška brda.

INTRODUCTION

The question of hybridity in folklore, and especially of folksongs that combine different languages in their lyrics, has long been excluded from the framework of Slovenian folklore studies[1]. The discrepancies between institutionally recognized forms of folklore, and therefore authorized heritage practices (e.g. Smith 2006; Bendix, Eggert, Peselmann 2013; Craith 2013), and the diversity of everyday practices among local people is particularly significant in dynamic border regions. These are not only issues of contested heritage (Smith 2006; Silverman 2010; Macdonald 2013), but also questions that reach further into the past and relate to the instrumentalization of folk culture in broader socio-political processes.

1 This subject has been intensively researched only in recent years as part of the project "Song Reflections of Intercultural Coexistence" (2018–2021) led by Marija Klobčar.

Since the nineteenth century, the study of folk singing in Central Europe has been closely connected with the broader efforts of growing ethnic or national movements. It is therefore not surprising that, in Slovenia for example, those who commissioned collections of folk songs were keen to collect old songs in the Slovenian language that bore witness to the long and rich history of a people who, although speaking a common language, lived in various counties under the Habsburg crown without enjoying national political rights. Following Herder's view of folk songs as "archives of a nationality" and "imprints of the soul of a nation" (Wilson 1973: 826), Slovenian philologists endeavored to collect songs that originated in the distant past to prove the nation's long history, oppose processes of modernization, and prevent the songs from disappearing. During the process of collecting and examining desirable artefacts, other songs were left out, not transcribed, and thus not included in the emerging canon of Slovenian folk songs. Although the existence of some of the non-Slovenian or bilingual songs that combine Slovenian and German, Italian, Croatian, Hungarian or Latin words and verses was recorded, only a few of them were transcribed and included in the corpus of Slovenian folk songs. The selection of songs became an important element in the construction of the image of tradition. Songs in foreign languages and bilingual songs were perceived as a disturbance in the construction of the national and ethnic tradition and therefore not transcribed (Klobčar 2020). This would have profound consequences as the representation of folk traditions gradually became canonized and migrated "in more or less reliable form into the media, into popular publications and textbooks, even becoming part of official cultural policy" (Kovačič 2012: 43), thus forming the material basis for the heritage-making process. Not only did non-transcribed songs fall into oblivion but they lost the potential to become a heritage artefact that could be used for presentation and tourist purposes in certain communities.

The mixture of languages tends to be particularly relevant in contact zones of two or more language groups. Border regions have always been characterized by multi-layered particularities (Cole, Wolf 1999; Haller, Donnan 2000; Wilson, Donnan 1998, 2012; Wilson 2012; Lechevalier, Wielgohs 2013; Köstlin 2017), and also by complex heterogeneities of folk traditions. Research into bilingual folk songs in different European contexts where two or more cultures are in contact with each other has focused on many specific cases. For example, Eckhard John (2018) studied a specific type of bilingual songs that combine German and different South Slavic languages. Gerald Porter (2008) stratified the specific roles of the Irish language in English songs. Marija Klobčar (2020) identified the circumstances under which bilingual songs existed in Slovenia and tracked changes in the social role of such songs from the first half of the nineteenth century to the period after the end of the World War

Two. The question of whether the language of songs reflects the relationship between communities is discussed by Marjetka Golež Kaučič in her article "Singing the Other: Singing in Two Languages and Code-Switching / Stitching" (2020). New findings on this topic were developed at the conference "Multilinguality in Folklore" in Ljubljana in 2020. Based on the presented results of Klobčar and Golež Kaučič, this paper examines the question of language in (folk) songs in a geographically limited area with specific socio-political historical circumstances.

In this paper, the use of language in songs from Goriška brda (the Gorizia Hills) on the Slovenian side of the current Italian-Slovenian border and Venetian Slovenia (Beneška Slovenija / Slavia Friulana) on the Italian side is analyzed. The research traces the chronological course of specific political settings that influenced people's daily practices. It begins in 1866 with the "referendum" in Venetian Slovenia, a region with a then predominantly Slovenian-speaking population, that confirmed the annexation of the region to the Kingdom of Italy, which had already been provided for in the peace treaty between the Kingdom of Prussia and the Austrian Empire. It also explains the implications of the Treaty of Rapallo when the Gorizia Hills, along with much of today's western Slovenia, became part of the Italian state until new borders were defined after the World War Two.

LINGUISTICALLY NON-COHERENT FOLK SINGING PRACTICES IN SLOVENIAN-ITALIAN BORDER REGIONS IN THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES

In the post-1848 heterogeneous and multicultural Habsburg Empire, the language of songs was not the way cultural communities were distinguished (Hobsbawm 2007: 73), but rather an indicator of ethnicity (Judson 2006; Almasy 2014; Moric 2020). In this context, the question of the language of songs as human actions reflecting personal and cultural agency (Herder, Bohlman 2017) became very important. If, however, cultural phenomena were treated in their own context as the result of historical and social processes (Hurskainen 1992: 28), the different use of language in the same village or region rarely reflected a fundamental difference in culture as regards the practices of daily life (Cvirn 1995: 156; Judson 2013: 736). The inconsistency between everyday practices and schematic social relations is also reflected in "indifferent" practices (King 2002; Bjork 2008; Zahra 2010; Judson 2016; Van Ginderachter, Fox 2019) that occurred on a situational level and did not necessarily follow the logic of hegemonic discourses of ethnicity or political nation-building. Numerous questions arise from all of this: was singing in a "non-national" language (or a dialectical form of it) situational and part of the normality of multilingual (or) border communities or was it motivated by other factors? Did

singing in a particular language reflect national or ethnic affiliation, as assumed by the national activists of the time, or did it not? Does the complaint of Slovenian folksong collectors that the people in the neighboring region of Gorica / Gorizia at the end of the nineteenth century were "attached to foreign songs" reflect their actual indifference to ethnic belonging? Can indifference expressed in vocal practices during politically tense historical conditions be understood without falling back into either/or categories of national self-understanding (cf. Beck 2004: 51–53; Moritsch 2001: 15)

During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the regions of the Gorizia Hills and Venetian Slovenia were strongly influenced by the changing border situation. The long unaltered language border between the Slavic and Romanic-speaking people who had lived together for centuries was transformed with the emergence of rival national movements in the nineteenth century. The new border between the newly-founded Kingdom of Italy and the Austrian monarchy in 1861 did not have such an impact as the "referendum" in 1866, when Venetian Slovenia, with a population of approximately thirty thousand Slovenian-speaking people, became part of the Kingdom of Italy and the already isolated Slovenian-speaking inhabitants of Venetian Slovenia were separated from the rest of the Slovenian-speaking people of the Austrian-Hungarian Princely County of Gorizia and Gradisca. The formation of the new Italian state had an important influence on a lively national movement that developed among the Italians of the Gorizia region, who made up only a third of the population of the county but maintained social and political dominance (along with the "Regnicoli" immigrants from the Kingdom of Italy). Ethnic Slovenians had frequent political confrontations with the Italians, and to a lesser extent with Germans and Friulans. In the struggle for linguistic and political rights in the county of Gorizia, the border regions, including the Gorizia Hills, were not perceived as "linguistic, cultural, and ethnic transition areas where different influences cross and often mix" (Ther 2003: XI), as described by the Slovenian folklorists Milko Matičetov (1940) and Valens Vodušek (1973) during the second half of the twentieth century. In the rhetoric of the time, these border regions and their inhabitants, as was the case with the Gorizia Hills, were called "the border guards" of national traditions and language (Pisk 2018).

In border regions, identities and identifications are characterized by specific features (e.g. Wilson, Donnan 1998; Donnan, Wilson 1999), and one's "culture" cannot be understood in the same light as one's "identity" (Waldron 2000). Culture in border regions is in a constant state of engagement and detachment from the social structure and order of the community, a process that is always open to new forms of interaction and negotiation. Ethnicizing and nationalizing narratives, which after 1848 began to permeate public debates in much of the Austrian-

Hungarian Empire, assert themselves against the non-coherent practices of border regions, such as singing in "non-national" language and singing bilingual songs.

In 1911, Josip Tominšek, the secretary of the Committee for Collecting Slovenian Folksongs of the *Das Volkslied in Österreich* campaign, sent a letter from Gorizia / Gorica to the Committee, in which he states that "the collection of native folk songs was not at all promising, because people sing less than in Carniola and Styria, and, on top of that, they cling to non-native songs" (Murko 1929: 42). Karel Štrekelj, who completed his primary and secondary school education in Gorizia (1867–1878) and was probably familiar with the songs that were popular in the city and its surroundings (Pisk 2017), included questions about songs in a "foreign" language in his publication "Navodila in vprašanja" (Guidelines and Questions), used to guide the field work of collectors working for the above-mentioned campaign, but unfortunately the questions remained unanswered. During the campaign, only a few bilingual or non-Slovenian language songs were recorded, none of them from what is today's Slovenian-Italian border region where publicly-expressed national differences had reached a peak. On the other hand, Ivan Kokošar, the priest and conductor responsible for the campaign in the Gorizia district, collected numerous Slovenian folk songs in the region, and prepared the collection called "Friulan Folk Songs" as well as a collection of Italian church songs adapted for male choirs outside the *Das Volkslied in Österreich* campaign. The official all-Austrian folk song collection, intended to present a variety of folk song traditions, not only had folkloristic significance but also served various national movements. The dissemination of songs in a particular language was understood as a record of the presence of a particular national group in a particular place.

The transcribers in Gorizia county were mainly teachers and priests, two professions that had the most national awareness. Members of this profession were also the main correspondents for newspapers of the time and publicly criticized the nationally incoherent practices in Gorizia Hills. The following is one example of such criticism: "What they sing is some kind of Friulian-Italian minestrone without color, smell, or taste. The local girls sing without even knowing the meaning of what they're singing. It is sad when folk singing gives way to foreign songs because this is the best proof of negligence and national unawareness" (Soča, 16. 9. 1875). From the newspaper articles, it seems clear that there were two issues at stake: the most worrying was the use of "non-national" language in songs, but there also appeared to be concerns on the part of the national elites about including such popular songs into the repertoire of the "folk"[2]. The greater mobility that came with

2 I will not discuss the problematic question of the distinction between popular and folk music, especially before the dissemination of mass media, but rather use the terms here in the conventional sense.

the construction of the railway and trade over greater distances also encouraged the transfer of folk songs from one region to another long before the rise of mass media. Tradeswomen from the Gorizia Hills, especially from the village of Kozana, spent the summer months in the towns of Carinthia and Styria, selling seasonal fruit from their hometowns that was transported to them by train. During their stay, they learned not only the local language but also the songs they heard while working in the mostly German-speaking towns.

The other important element for the transmission of popular songs, and also of folk songs in "non-national" languages, was military service, which extended the social networks of conscripts. As early as 1771, the Habsburg Empire established permanent recruitment districts, which mostly led to ethnically and linguistically uniform regiments (Klobčar 2007: 39; Kozorog 2018: 91). In Gorizia county, however, the majority of conscripts who spoke Slovenian and Friulan (but also Italian) were assigned to the 97th Trieste Infantry Regiment of the Austro-Hungarian Army[3]. Before the enforcement of compulsory education, the men learned German in the military as it was the command language. Therefore most bilingual military songs combine the Slovenian language and German as the command language. The soldiers returning from the battlefield continue to sing songs they had learned from their comrades, and these songs spread among the Friulan and Slovenian-speaking population of the region. In 1916, during the war, the ethnomusicologist Matija Murko also noticed a "revival of older, allegedly lost (military) songs, as if special crisis circumstances encouraged people to expand their vocal repertoire by reviving older songs" (Klobčar 2007: 39–40). Their use for propaganda purposes in the various languages of the participating soldiers should also not be overlooked (Kozorog 2018: 72).

In other moments of crisis, the folk song was used in its cohesive and manifest social function. Singing in the Slovenian language was used as a sign of resistance under the totalitarian Fascist Italian regime. In 1926, Slovenian singing was banned in public places in Italian-occupied regions, including inns. Songs were an effective means of getting the political message across to the people. The Fascist regime used Italian songs to teach the Italian language in schools and to enforce what they called "higher culture". The understanding of the song as a sound object participating in intense sound encounters under extreme social circumstances has played a central role in the processes of demarcation of national survival, which affected not only the song but also its social use (for more, see Hofman 2015). Folk songs and music not only articulated national identity formations, but also sought to convey a sense of unity to the participating singers and the audience even if they

3 At the beginning of the World War One, some two hundred men, over half of the conscripts from the village Kozana in Gorizia Hills, were drafted into this infantry regiment (Kozanski 2002: 8).

did not necessarily agree with each other (ibid.: 134, 152). Folk singing as an act of resistance was therefore at its most intense during this period of oppression. Some singers were even imprisoned for singing in "Slavo" (Slovenian) (Hrovatin 1951: 32). And yet the same generation that suffered such great difficulties because of singing in Slovenian, today, in a politically different reality, sing Italian songs in retirement homes with pleasure[4].

THE PERMEABLE FOLK SONG TRADITION

With the outbreak of the World War One, this region under investigation became a great battlefield where the Kingdom of Italy and Austrian-Hungarian Empire waged war. This was the site of the terrible Isonzo / Soča Front[5]. The Gorizia Hills and Venetian Slovenia were in the hinterland of the Isonzo Front, but men from Gorizia Hills fought with the Austrian troops while conscripts from Venetian Slovenia were drafted into the Italian army. After the collapse of Austria-Hungary and the Italian occupation of this part of Slovenian territory, which was legalized by the Treaty of Rapallo in 1920 (Fikfak, Jezernik 2018: 10–11), both regions became part of the Kingdom of Italy. The Italian state imposed Italian as the official language and prohibited the Slovenian language in public spaces. Knowledge of the German language and its use in songs was considered a sign of a politically hostile "Austrofilism". As a result, it is assumed that Slovenian-German bilingual songs, which existed in other Slovenian regions, largely disappeared from the singing tradition in this one. The men of the Gorizia Hills started their military service in the Italian army and learned Italian songs, especially the songs of the Alpine troops where most Friulans served. During the folkloristic fieldwork I conducted in the Gorizia Hills (between 2005 and 2017), my interlocutors most often mentioned "La licenza", a variant of the narrative song "The Dead Bride" that dates back to the sixteenth century (Bronzini 1956) and was popular among Alpine troops,

4 Slovenian speaking interlocutors (among them patients with dementia) from the retirement home in Nova Gorica sung various Italian songs that they had learned at school during the Italian occupation of the region, but also narrated how they had not wanted to sing them at school because of the opposition to the occupying regime. They also sung other Italian songs popular in the second half of the twentieth century.

5 In Italy, songs inspired by the tragic events on the Isonzo Front gained an iconic status in popular music only after 1960, for example, the song "O Gorizia tu sei maledetta", written right after the battle of Gorizia in August 1916 that resulted in more than thirty thousand casualties among Italian and Austrian soldiers. During the period of war on the Isonzo Front, songs were composed in the different languages spoken on the battlefields, with the best known being the Italian "Ho perso la voce sul Podgora" (I Lost My Voice at Podgora), "Monte Nero" (Mount Krn), and in Friulan "Il furlan" (The Friulan) (Kozorog 2018: 71).

"Quel mazzolin di fiori", a nineteenth century Lombardo-Italian song also popular among the Alpine troops, and the Friulan "Stelutis alpinis" the text of which is in octagonal verses and refers to the Friulan *villotta* (it does not contain explicit references to religious or liturgical writings, but was often used in the liturgical celebrations of the Alpine troops), and the emblem of all Friulan songs "Oh ce biel cjscjel a Udin" (Hrovatin 1953: 59).

The most frequently transcribed bilingual song from these regions was the military song "Lan san biu u Gorici" (I Was in Gorizia a Year Ago) which combines Slovenian and Italian dialects (Steccati 1932; Hrovatin 1953; Merkù 1976, 2004; Planinska 2015). The singer Gilda Gosnach called this song "barzoleto [a joking song], half Italian, half Slovenian" (Merkù 2004: 238). The content, as in other bilingual love songs, is obscured by the foreign language (Petersen 2015), the use of the "non-national" language concealing sexual innuendo and other content not suitable to express openly in the presence of children. Ethnomusicologist Pavle Merkù considered this song to be of modern origin, learned by the male villagers during their military service in the Italian army (Merkù 1976: 174). The song tells of a young dark-haired boy who wanders into the main square of Gorizia to meet his many lovers. The encounter with the girls from Gorizia, who walk through the streets of the town, beginning with a tango dance, culminates in an entertaining evening. The song ends on a more disappointing note, the girls going home alone, without lovers.

The switching of Italian and Slovenian language in the song does not trouble the singers since the dissemination of cultural objectifications does not stand in any direct relation to (contemporary) national borders (cf. Schenk 2001: 381). Friuli and most of Slovenia belonged to the Central European Alpine musical culture, which was quite homogeneous among all ethnic groups from the Alps. Tonal criteria failed in the musical analysis of the differences between Friulan and Slovenian folk music in the border area (Vodušek 2003: 91). Moreover, the rising rhythm was a typical folklore phenomenon of the Eastern Alps, not bound to a specific language or a single ethnic group (Hrovatin 1973: 246). Thus, the component recognized by the experts that connected a song to ethnic groups in these regions was not the music itself, but the ethnic nature of the text (or the title in instrumental compositions) in a specific language (Gri 1985: 20).

Valens Vodušek recognized the Friulan influence on the Slovenian folk tradition in the textual and musical form of Slovenian songs that repeat the first verse three times in a four-line verse and add the second only at the end, such as *Jaz pa puojdem, sada porajžam* (3x) / *gor na gornjo Štajersko* (GNI R 25.609, GNI R 26.610, GNI R 25.611). This type of Slovenian song has a metric pattern of octameter and heptameter couplets unknown in the category of older Slovenian

songs but a frequent metric pattern in the Friulan *villotta* (Vodušek 2003: 92). "Friulan influence is therefore not excluded in this case, which is also supported by the fact that this song form is popular among Venetian Slovenians and is generally more common in western Slovenia than in eastern Slovenia" (Vodušek 1973: 129). In western Slovenia, refrains, relatively rare in Slovenian folk song in general, are more common. Usually the refrain is at the end of the verse, but it can also be inserted between the lines or form part of a line (Kumer 1988: 264) similar to the *villotta*.

The Friulan term *schiave* (Slavic) also indicates Steierisch melodies, and often appears next to the expression *stajari* (the Steierisch), indicating that the Friulans borrowed the traditional Alpine quatrain from their Slavic neighbors. The melodies themselves confirm this. In such songs, for example "Vidulajle, vidulajle", we find Friulan lyrics combined with the melodies of Venetian Slovenian folk song "Oj božime" (Hrovatin 1953: 68). The vernacular form of speech, including words from the Slovenian, Friulan, and Italian dialects, is most evident in locally-colored humorous and teasing songs. We find it, for example, in the carol "An ti sveti trje kraji" sung by children around the epiphany bonfire (Merkù 1976: 327–328), a custom widespread in Friuli but otherwise known only in western Slovenia, the Gorizia Hills (Kuret 1989: 476), and Venetian Slovenia. The combination of Friulan, Italian, and Slovenian words and lines can be found in many children's songs in these regions, especially in counting songs. These short rhythmic forms are not semantic but functional (lullabies, counting songs, etc.) and are mainly based on sound, sometimes concealing (pre-Christian fertility) rituals. The hardly understandable mixture of Italian, Slovenian, and Friulan dialectical words was very difficult to transcribe. In most cases, Slovenian folklorists transcribed the non-Slovenian words phonetically (Merkù 2004: 199). The question of language in these functionally determined forms is not significant to the singers, being perceived merely as part of the local soundscape.

In Venetian Slovenia, the number of Slovenian speakers in the Slovenian minority area has been declining. In the last decades of the twentieth century, a number of initiatives were undertaken to reinforce the use and vitality of the Slovenian language. For example, since 1971, the festival "Senjam beneške piesmi" (Venetian Slovenian Song Fair) organized by the Rečan Cultural Society Aldo Klodič has been promoting new songs in the Venetian Slovenian dialect and has significantly contributed to the development of music in the region, the formation of music groups, and the preservation of local Slovenian dialects. The festival coalesced with the broader "folk revival" countercultural movement that emerged in Italy in the 1960s (Carrera 2001), which reflected Antonio Gramsci's definition of folklore as a resistant expression of the subaltern and the narration of an alternative

history (Castelli 2009, cited by Kozorog 2018: 71). The current guidelines of the festival, originally created as a venue for the performance of new variants of folk songs from Venetian Slovenia, require that the lyrics of the song be in the Slovenian dialect while there are no special rules for the music. In the first decade of the festival, music derived from folk tunes or new arrangements of traditional songs predominated, while the festival later became a venue for new musical creation in various genres in the heritage language. The competitive character of the festival, offering prizes and the release of recorded music, provides motivation for groups that want to enter the (local) music scene. The participation of young people is strongly encouraged. In the opening speech of the 2018 festival, Peter Česnik, Minister for Slovenians Abroad, emphasized the importance of preserving the Slovenian language and song tradition among the younger generation of the Slovenian minority in Venetian Slovenia, calling them the future flagbearers of Slovenian traditions as folk songs have acquired stereotypical meaning and moral value as identity-markers (Koestlin 2017: 61). Similar to other organized festivals for Slovenian communities in neighboring minority areas and the diaspora, the young people who participate in these events often have little knowledge of Slovenian language. They perform new pieces of music in the dialects of Slovenian Venetian, but off-stage communication between the members of the music groups takes place in Italian or the Friulan dialects. Therefore, singing in a particular language reflects the heritage language of the performers and is a statement of the heritage of ethnic identity in the globalized modern world (cf. Harrison 2010: 154).

CONCLUSION

Over the course of the political changes that took place during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the Slovenian elites tended to purify folk songs as ethnic or national representations by purging them of symbolic significance of languages other than Slovenian (Klobčar 2020: 214). In the Gorizia Hills, that language was first German and later Italian. In the context of political rights for Slovenians, the aim was not cultural (or linguistic) fragmentation but rather establishing common coherent features. This is one of the reasons why the corpus of bilingual songs was outside the research interest of folklorists, because they were not Slovenian, not Italian, not German, but had an entirely unique identity (Marty 2004: 203). The bilingual songs, or songs in "non-national" languages, which folklorists excluded from the research, complement the repertoire of authorized songs of a particular community and are of great importance for understanding the relationships in a community. The nexus of these relationships tends to be even more complex in border regions.

The singing repertoire of the inhabitants of Gorizia Hills and in certain parts of Venetian Slovenia (mainly Slovenian, but also of Friulan and Italian songs) reflects the common experience of the community in which the people have coexisted with linguistically different neighbors, and also their participation in the political unification of people who speak the same language and sing the same songs. This combination of two (in this case, three) different linguistic song traditions had a long-lasting influence on the folk cultures of the region. Italian songs are still popular and have influenced local musical taste, which is less oriented towards Slovenian folk pop (*narodnozabavna glasba*), otherwise the most popular music among Slovenians since the World War Two (Kozorog 2018: 75–76). The resistance of folklore experts and even more of socialist politicians to Italian music remained strong even after the new postwar border and the inclusion of Gorizia Hills in the Republic of Slovenia in the framework of the new Yugoslav state. Ivo Medved, the organizer of Beneška noč (Venetian Night), the Slovenian imitation of the Sanremo Italian Song Festival, was even interrogated by the local Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia in 1953 because of the performance of Italian (folk) songs during the festival (ibid.: 76). The negative attitude of public figures about singing in Italian has not changed significantly over the last century, although the reasons may vary. Nevertheless, the singing practices of local singers have remained equally heterogeneous. In recent decades, the European Union's policy of cross-border cooperation and Interreg projects have had an important influence on changing the perception of linguistically-mixed practices, in large part because of the funding provided for cross-border projects based on common heritage.

Therefore, in addition to folklore studies that focus on the individual text within its corresponding context, it is of great importance to explore the repertoire of songs of a particular community, including all occurring genre and language inconsistencies and heterogeneities. In this way, the analysis focuses not only on activities, but even more so on their significance for the actors (Wietschorke 2010: 211) and not primarily for the folklorists as experts. This question becomes even more important during the processes of presenting communities through their local heritage. The question of which artefacts and texts should be selected and safeguarded perpetuates a long history of abandoning certain genres and texts to oblivion. Contradictions, ambiguities and the unspoken – or what is expressed in "non-national" language – are often part of what is abandoned.

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Kalbos kaita Slovėnijos ir Italijos pasienio (liaudies) dainose

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Santrauka

Raktažodžiai: dvikalbės dainos, pasienio regionai, tarpinės praktikos, dainos „netautine“ kalba, Venecijos Slovėnija, Goricijos kalnai.

Slovėnų folkloro tyrimuose ilgą laiką buvo vengiama aprėpti tas liaudies dainas, kurių tekstuose buvo derinamos skirtingos kalbos. XIX a. ir XX a. pirmaisiais dešimtmečiais dainų kalba buvo laikoma ne būdu atskirti vieną kultūrinę bendruomenę nuo kitos, o tiesiog tautiškumo žymeniu. Dainų, atliekamų tam tikra kalba, sklaida buvo suvokiama kaip liudijimas, kad tam tikroje vietoje gyvena tam tikrõs tautinės grupės žmonės. Institucine prasme pripažįstamų folkloro formų ir tokiu būdu įteisintų paveldo kategorijų neatitikimas įvairiausioms žmonių kasdienėms praktikoms itin ryškus tolydžio kintančiuose pasienio regionuose. Kultūra tenai nuolat tai susiejama su tam tikra visuomenės sandara ir bendruomenės gyvenimu, tai nuo jų atsiejama; šis procesas visuomet yra atviras naujoms sąveikos formoms ir todėl negali būti suvokiamas vien kaip „identitetas“. Goricijos kalnų sritis ir slovėnų gyvenamas Venecijos regionas patyrė reikšmingus istorinių sienų pokyčius. Didesnis žmonių judėjimas nutiesus geležinkelį irgi prisidėjo prie liaudies dainų sklaidos. Dar vienas svarbus veiksnys, paskatinęs populiarių dainų – tarp jų ir liaudies dainų „netautinėmis“ kalbomis – plitimą, buvo karinė tarnyba, kuri suvesdavo draugėn skirtingiems socialiniams sluoksniams ir grupėms priklausančius šauktinius. Bene dažniausiai užrašoma dvikalbė šio krašto daina yra karinė daina *Lan san biu u Gorici* [‘Prieš metus buvau Goricijoje’], kurios tekste maišomos slovėnų ir italų kalbų tarmės.

Funkciniu požiūriu aiškiai apibrėžtose dainose (lopšinėse, skaičiuotėse ir pan.) kalbų derinimas jų atlikėjams neatrodo reikšmingas: tai suvokiama kaip vietos garsinio peizažo dalis. Dainavimas tam tikra kalba Venecijos regiono slovėnų tautinės bendruomenės rengiamuose festivaliuose atspindi atlikėjų kalbinį paveldą ir nurodo jų paveldėtą etninę tapatybę, ypač pabrėžiamą globaliame šiandienos pasaulyje. Makaroninės dainos, arba dainos „netautine“ kalba, neretai iškrinta iš folkloristų tyrimų srities, tačiau patenka į tam tikros bendruomenės autorinių dainų repertuarą ir yra labai reikšmingos žmonių santykiams toje bendruomenėje suvokti. Todėl greta folkloro tyrimų, nagrinėjančių paskirus dainų tekstus ir jų gyvavimo kontekstą, nepaprastai svarbu aprėpti visą tam tikros bendruomenės dainų repertuarą, neišskiriant jokių žanrinių ar kalbinių neatitikimų ar sumišimų.

This article was written within the research project “Song Reflections of Intercultural Coexistence (J6-9369)” and the research program “Heritage on the Margins: New Perspectives on Heritage and Identity Within and Beyond National (P5-0408)” both co-financed by the Slovenian Research Agency.

Gauta 2020-10-28