

Relationship Among Siblings in Portuguese Versions of the Pan-Hispanic Ballad *Delgadinha*

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ABSTRACT. *Delgadinha* (IGR 0075) is one of the most widespread ballads (romances) in the pan-Hispanic world (Portuguese and Spanish-speaking communities and Sephardies) and perhaps one of the most studied, as many scholars have produced articles about it from different perspectives. The present study is a literary analysis of the ballad, considering some anthropological and sociological aspects. It focuses on Portuguese versions, also bearing in mind the other pan-Hispanic branches and features, mainly the part of *Delgadinha*'s narrative concerning the reactions of the girl's siblings towards her situation.

The theme of *Delgadinha* is an attempted father / daughter incest. When she refuses, her father locks her in a tower providing her with salty food and limited or brackish water. The girl desperately begs every family member for water but none of them helps in any way. When she finally tells her father that she will give in, he sends her a jar of clear water, but the girl is already dead when it arrives.

This paper analyses the different excuses and arguments invoked by siblings in refusing help, grouping them by type. It studies the variation of this conduct in order to understand the siblings' relationship within the family structure and the world of the ballad.

KEYWORDS: Pan-Hispanic ballads, Portuguese versions, *Delgadinha*, incest, siblings, salted water.

INTRODUCTION

Delgadinha is an orally transmitted ballad, classified in the *Índice General del Romancero*¹ under the "Incest Romances" (IGR 0075). It is very well known in the pan-Hispanic world – Portugal, Portuguese communities in the United States and

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1 The *Índice General del Romancero*, or IGR, assigns each romance with a number and standardized name (Catalán 1984: 54). The system is kept up to date in the "Pan-Hispanic Ballad Project. International Online Archive of the Pan-Hispanic Ballad. A Database of Ancient and Modern Oral Versions of Ballads" (Petersen 2003), available from: <http://depts.washington.edu/hisprom/ballads/index/php>.

Canada, Brazil, Spain, Spanish-speaking South American countries and Sephardic East and West communities. This wide dissemination and the longevity of its unpleasant theme – father / daughter incest – explain why this is one of the most studied of all the romances. There are numerous articles, books and even Master's and PhD theses written about it, from many different perspectives – literary, of course, but also sociological, anthropological and psychological². Most studies tend to focus on the father or on the mother when analysing family behaviour around the incest theme, looking at the siblings as a unit, and many do not consider the Portuguese tradition, while others mention only a few versions. In this article, using about three hundred Portuguese versions collected between 1828 and 2000 (Ferré 2004), I focus on how family connections are treated in considering, in particular, relationships among siblings.

These pan-Hispanic ballads are sung narrative poems³ that tell very short, fictional stories, featuring characters who act as a mimesis of the empiric world, and mostly lacking the wonder elements usually present in folktales. The romances reproduce human behaviors within a socio-cultural framework, communicating facts, meanings and feelings, allowing us to explore Human Relationships through them.

Sarah Portnoy refers to this ballad as “a cultural portrait of traditional societies” and explains its existence and survival by stating that “women may identify with a tragic figure like Delgadina” (Portnoy 2007: 123), adding that “[t]he correspondence between the ballad's narrative and real-life situations such as these suggests there is a strong emotional connection between the singer and the incest motif in ‘Delgadina’” (ibid.: 129)⁴. Paulo Soromenho considered that romances reflected the attitudes of the poor towards the upper classes, to whom strange behaviors and customs were attributed (Soromenho 1982) and Diego Catalán said that people who sang romances intended to reorganize society and repair injustice, since romances didn't reflect the ideology of dominant classes and the “openness property” of this genre “permite la adecuación de las narraciones romancísticas a la ideología del ‘pueblo’ cantor que las transmite y re-crea”⁵ (Catalán 1984: 21). To António Velez, it is simply impossible to analyze ideologies in romances because of the multiplicity of contents, although he recognizes a reclaiming conscience coexisting with an acceptance of ruling class values (Velez 1989).

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2 Cf. Bibliography, which provides a list of publications related to this ballad.

3 Romances are characteristically composed of a variable number of mono-rhymed verses of fourteen syllables with assonant rhyme. They may be based on epic, biblical, or historic subjects while others (most of them, nowadays) embody a variety of novelesque plots.

4 In the second part of this study, Portnoy also analyses what she calls the children's versions of *Delgadina*.

5 “Allows the suitability of balladic narratives to the ideology of the singing people who transmit and recreate them” (my translation).

We need always to have in mind that we are dealing with texts transmitted orally across many years and different spaces and that many factors and patterns change during this process. Furthermore, romances are not unique and fixed texts but rather the whole of their multiple versions, meaning that they have a stable narrative but accept variations, semantic or structural, provided these do not transform the narrative into another one. In addition, the romances without historical reference, like *Delgadinha*, cannot be considered “social documents” regarding feminine points of view (Burgos, Vasquez 1998), even if most contributors are women, a fact which may itself be the result of a certain typology (old, illiterate, rural women, more likely to be conservative) expected and employed by the researchers (Roig 1997: 32–33).

Nevertheless, the fact that the victims of incest are mainly young female makes *Delgadinha* a good example of how women and their close relatives, mainly siblings, react to one of the most widespread cultural and religious taboos. This is a complex question, since many countries have strict laws about incest or consider it a crime, while others have restrictions for consanguineous marriage but do not criminalize consensual incestuous relationships. Other societies (and religions) also establish kinship degrees for the acceptance or rejection of the problem (Silva 1988, 1997, 1998), which may also be considered differently by law and by communities. When involving children or very young persons, the age of the stakeholders or the use of violence play a role in how the phenomenon is evaluated by society (Sepaha 2016).

BACKGROUND TO THE BALLAD

This ballad focuses on a difficult and unpleasant subject, since its theme is a father / daughter incest, probably less common in European ballads than brother / sister incest. There are no exact parallels to *Delgadinha* in European balladry, according to Samuel G. Armistead’s list of correspondences (Fontes 1997). Perhaps due to moralizing editorial option, *Delgadinha* does not appear in the old catalogues of romances, such as *Primavera y Flor de romances* (Wolf, Hofmann 1856) and others (Pelayo 1945) and the oldest reference to this ballad can be found in a Hebrew Song Book (*himmarium*) of 1555, where it appears in the incipit *Estábase la Delgadita*.

In Portugal, *Delgadinha* was known by the 17th century, according to the German-Portuguese romanist Carolina Michaëlis (1851–1925; Vasconcelos 1907–1909). The ballad is very well known in Portugal, as well as *Silvana* (0005) which has the same subject but a different narrative. Both ballads exist in Portugal independently, but their fusion is also common, producing what seems to be a separate romance (Araújo 2005). In the 19th century, Almeida Garrett

(1799–1854), who introduced Romanticism to Portugal and was also the first great Portuguese collector of romances, recreated *Delgadinha*, as a way to regenerate a National Literature, in a long poem-ballad called *Adozinda* (Garrett 1828), published in London (where he was a liberal political refugee of the national fights in Portugal).

There are also other narratives connected with Catholic *lendarium* that have some similarities with *Delgadinha*, like the legend of Saint Barbara, locked in a tower by her father in order to protect her virginity. Other girls suffered different kinds of martyrdom for declining to partake in idolatry or because they refused to marry pagans. There is a Portuguese version of *Delgadinha* where the father wants the girl to marry a “moor”, an important variation in the sense of the ballad, since it annuls the incest theme. In this version, it seems that the resistance of the girl is due to religious reasons and she is called “Saint” (*Santa Albina*). Pan-Hispanic ballad researchers also identify similarities with poems and other narratives of daughters persecuted by their father’s unnatural love, such as the legend of Saint Dimphna, or, in a less evident way, the *Cap o’ Rushes* tale (the *Peau d’Âne* of Perrault).

DELGADINHA’S NARRATIVE

The Story Told in the Ballad is the Following:

A father (usually a king or a count) has several daughters (usually three) and one of them (usually the youngest) is very beautiful. He says to her that she will be his mistress (usually using euphemisms to express his incestuous desires). The daughter refuses absolutely, using arguments which suggest that this is a mortal sin (she does not want to make her mother unhappy or to be badly married; she will not be the stepmother of her siblings).

The father immediately orders his servants to imprison Delgadinha in a tower for a period of “seven years and one day”, during which she is scarcely nourished with salty food and / or undrinkable water.

After some time, the girl is desperately thirsty, and looks out from the tower. She watches through the windows and sees her sisters embroidering or doing some such feminine task. Delgadinha begs them for water, but they refuse, claiming that they fear their father’s punishment or laying of blame. Then, she climbs higher and sees her brothers, busy with male activities. She begs for a glass of water, but they also refuse. The same happens with the mother.

Finally, in complete desperation, she makes a final appeal to the father who says that she will receive the water as soon as she surrenders to his wish. She agrees and he orders the servants to run and give her jars of clear water. When they arrive,

Delgadinha is dead. She may be surrounded by saints or angels or have a fountain of clear water near her.

A virtual model of the ballad can be divided into narrative sequences:

Narrative introduction⁶:

A father falls “in love” with one of his daughters.

Sequence I – The incestuous imposition:

The father tells his daughter she will be his lover; she refuses adamantly.

Sequence II – The punishment:

Father orders her locked in a tower. She will be fed with salty food and no water.

Sequence III – The appeal to the family:

Delgadinha goes to the tower and consecutively sights through the windows the members of her family (sisters, brothers, mother); she begs each of them for water; they all refuse, using different arguments.

Sequence IV – The yielding:

Delgadinha sees the father; begs for water; he refuses unless she yields to his desire; she agrees unwillingly.

Sequence V – The sending of water:

The father orders the servants to rush and take clean and fresh water to Delgadinha.

Sequence VI – The ending:

Delgadinha is dead (surrounded by celestial entities or / and a fountain of fresh water).

Possible moralizing extension⁷:

Delgadinha goes to heaven; the father (sometimes mother) is punished in hell.

Oral traditional texts tend to adapt themselves to the cultural context where they are performed, variations that reflect certain visions and features of that society. Such variation is, of course, one of the key characteristics of traditional oral narratives.

Participants in the chain of transmission of oral texts decodify the narratives in terms of their own social structures. The types of relationships they establish between the actions and situations narrated and the world as they perceive it will not only determine their comprehension and memorization of the text, but in addition it will necessarily play a part in their restructuring of the narrative when the information is retrieved in a future oral performance of the text (Rhett 1987).

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6 This narrative introduction is not always present.

7 Very frequent in Portuguese versions.

So, the model above does not consider *all* variations that may occur, as, for example in the case of the euphemism present in some versions, where an unwanted boyfriend replaces the father, in a subterfuge to hide the incest. According to Atero Burgos, the Women's Section of the Falange (a pillar organization of the Francoist regime in Spain) eliminated all references to incest in the versions adapted for girls' songbooks ("En el romance de *Delgadina* la sección femenina eliminó el núcleo de la historia, todo lo referente a las pretensiones incestuosas del padre hacia su hija..." – Burgos 1990: 31–32). The "boyfriend versions" represent about 22 per cent of the corpus of Portuguese versions and there is no evidence that they were sung only by children (in only one version, published in 1994, the collector noted that it was used as a round in the thirties, probably noted from a remark by his contributor). Another particularity is that, in some conservative regions of Portugal like the north part of Alentejo, romances were the only songs allowed during Lent period, *Delgadinha* included, with or without the motif of incest⁸.

Other variations also explain the punishment of the girl by presenting the father as a cruel man but not incestuous (e.g., she is punished because she has got a lover, or refuses to be married to someone). There are also variants where the girl wears provocative clothing implying that she has incited the father's wrath, but these do not occur in Portuguese tradition⁹. There are other variations but they are circumstantial (the father is a king or a count, they are at a table, she is the youngest or the oldest daughter) and the situation (the imposition of the incest by the father and the refusal by the daughter) remains invariant. The ending is also invariant – *Delgadinha*¹⁰ always dies (and if she does not, this is probably a hapax).

FAMILY TIES AND SIBLINGS' RELATIONSHIPS

Mercedes Díaz Roig used *Delgadinha* as an example of how the main subject of a romance, in this case incest, could be replaced by another focus: the torment of the girl due to lack of water (Roig 1986)¹¹. According to this idea, it is easy to see that the torment by thirst ordered by the father to break the daughter's resistance is much aggravated by the family's behaviour, which is itself highly conditioned by

8 Maybe because traditional music of this particular region is quite cheerful (in contrast with the slow, sad sounding "cante" from South Alentejo), while the music of the romances used to be more lingering and solemn).

9 They occur in Mexican *corridos*.

10 The girl's name is subject to great variation, but is usually a diminutive. "Delgadinha" is not a current Portuguese nor Spanish name. It denotes, or at least suggests, that she is slim, elegant, and young.

11 See chapter "Los núcleos de interés secundario y su papel en la transformación de los romances" in Roig 1986.

their established power relationships and the importance that each member gives to family ties. This is why each family member's reaction to Delgadinha's appeal for water has such significance.

The father is clearly at the top of the hierarchy. He has the power of life and death and dominates everyone. The mother is supposed to follow father in importance and, additionally, she is supposed to play the traditional role of her children's protector, but this obligation is annulled by her incapacity or lack of willingness to oppose the husband. In many versions, it is clear that she fears an inversion of family roles and sees the daughter as a rival.

Lower in this hierarchy are the children, including Delgadinha. As sons and daughters have the same stature and there is no gender issue in the ballad and we should expect that the relationships between siblings were ones of mutual support. The girl seems convinced of her siblings' solidarity and so aware of the importance of the family ties and their natural obligations that she invokes them when asking water and uses the following implicit premise:

[If = that is why] = You are my family (sister / brother / mother), then you must help me [give me water].

A good example of this premise can be seen in the version below¹², in verses 10, 17, 20 and 26 (marked in bold), freely translated¹³ as follows:

1. Delgadinha, Delgadinha, Delgadinha ou Delgada,	1. Delgadinha, Delgadinha, Delgadinha or Delgada,
2. Ela era tão bonita que seu pai a namorava.	2. She was so beautiful that her father requested her.
3. – Queres tu, ó Delgadinha, ser minha namorada?	3. Do you want, Delgadinha, to be my girlfriend?
4. – Eu não, senhor pai, que faço a mãe mal casada;	4. I do not, lord father, or I will make mother badly married;
5. Mandou fazer uma ventana para meter a Delgada.	5. He gave the order to make a “ventana” ¹⁴ to lock Delgada.
6. A comida que lhe dava era sardinha salgada;	6. The food he provided her with was salty sardines;
7. E a bebida que lhe dava era água de pescada.	7. The drink he provided was fishy water.

12 Collected in the North of Portugal (Vasconcellos 1960: 57–58).

13 Non-literate people who learned these traditional ballads by heart may misrepresent words, forget or add verses, or use regional expressions; some Portuguese versions collected near the Portugal / Spain border maintain Spanish words (like *ventana*) that were also used in ancient Portuguese (contemporarily *janela*, ‘window’ in English). These circumstances make literal translations into another language seem strange or unintelligible, so I decided to make “free translations” into English to transmit the meaning rather than attempting to match the Portuguese metre and rhyme.

14 There is a mistake in this version; the word should be *torre* ‘tower’.

8. Subiu-se á uma ventana mais alta do que onde estava;	8. She climbed to the higher window;
9. Avistou sua irmã bordando seda lavrada.	9. She saw her sister embroidering in silk.
10. – Se tu és minha irmã, dá-me uma pinga d'água,	10. – If you are my sister, give me a drop of water,
11. Que eu à fome não morria, mas à sede me secava.	11. I will not die by hunger but will parch of thirst.
12. – Dava, dava, ó Delgadinha, se o nosso pai não ralhara.	12. – I would give it to you, Delgadinha, if father didn't scold.
13. Nosso pai tem um escrito nas costas da sua espada:	13. Our father wrote on the back of his sword:
14. Quem desse água à Delgadinha tem a mão direita cortada.	14. That he would cut off the right hand of whoever provided water to Delgadinha.
15. Subiu-se a outra ventana mais alta que onde ela estava;	15. She climbed to another, higher window;
16. Avistara o seu irmão, abaixo, numa roçada.	16. She saw her brother below, cutting bushes.
17. – Se tu és meu irmão, dá-me uma pinguinha d'água.	17. If you are my brother, give me a little drop of water. ¹⁵
18. Subiu-se a outra ventana mais alta do que onde estava;	18. She climbed to another higher window;
19. – Avistara sua mãe, abaixo, numa segada.	19. She saw her mother down below, reaping a harvest.
20. Se você é minha mãezinha, dê-me uma pinguinha d'água,	20. If you are my mummy, give me a little drop of water,
21. Que eu à fome não morria, mas a sede me secava.	21. I will not die by hunger, but will parch of thirst.
22. – Dava, dava, ó Delgadinha, se com ela fosses matada;	22. – I would give it to you, Delgadinha, if it would kill you;
23. Que há sete anos a esta parte me fizeste mal casada.	23. Because for seven years up till today you have made me a badly married woman.
24. Subiu-se a outra ventana mais alta que onde estava;	24. She climbed to another higher window;
25. Avistou seu paizinho chegar a uma segada.	25. She saw her daddy arriving to the harvest.
26. – Se você é meu paizinho, dê-me uma pinga de água,	26. – If you are my daddy, give me a drop of water,
27. Que eu à fome não morria, mas a sede me secava.	27. I will not die by hunger but will parch of thirst.
28. – Dava, dava' ó Delgadinha, se cumpriras a palavra.	28. I would give it to you, Delgadinha, if you keep your word.
29. – Meu coração está sequinho, minha alma já findava.	29. My heart is all dry, my soul is about to meet its end.
30. Acudam, moços e moças, a dar água à Delgada.	30. Run, my servants, give water to Delgadinha.
31. O primeiro que lha der, com dote de rei ficava.	31. The first to arrive will receive a king's dowry.
32. O primeiro que lá chegou achou-a amortalhada;	32. The first to arrive found her shrouded;
33. À cabeceira ela tinha um tanque de água clara.	33. Near the headboard of her bed she has a tank of clear water.

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 15 In this version, the brother's answer is missing.

Moreover, those ties are sacred for her, as if they came from God, which is very clear from her appeals:

- a) – *Ó irmão que Deus me deu, dai-m' uma pinguinha d' água,
Qui mi doi o coração desta vida e desta mágoa.* (Cruz 1995: 219–220)
- Oh, brother that God gave me, give me a small drop of water,
My heart is hurting, because of this life and this sorrow.
- b) – *Deus vos salve, ó minhas manas, Deus vos salve a vossa alma!
Pelo amor de Deus vos peço que me deis um jarro d' água.* (Nunes 1928: 225–232)
- God save you, oh my sisters, God save your souls!
For God's sake, I beg you to give me a jar of water.

The way she asks for water is highly emotional and reveals not only her physical weakness but mainly her anguish and lack of hope. The family's lack of support and concern in the face of her suffering is shocking. They are busy with their normal activities, almost as if they had already forgotten her. Her mother and sisters are sewing or embroidering, her father and brothers are training with swords, playing ball, working in the fields, studying, and so on.

TYPES OF ANSWERS

The answers Delgadinha receives are always negative. It is not possible to assign a particular answer to a certain group (sisters, brothers, mother and, eventually, other relatives) but they can be divided into two main types:

- A) They show some sympathy but refuse the water because it is beyond their power and:
- 1) – They are afraid of father's punishment (he threatened to cut his / her head / hand).
 - 2) – They cannot reach the water (the father took the key to the fountain).
- B) They refuse the water because the situation is Delgadinha's fault:
- 1) She did not obey the father (they undervalue the incest).
 - 2) Father mistreats them because of her.

Rarely, a brother does not refuse and tries to help Delgadinha but the father does not allow it, and this is a variant of the norm:

C) They try to help but the father does not allow it (**variant**).

The most shocking denial is that of the mother, who should be Delgadinha's natural protector. In many versions she even curses the daughter, insults her (sometimes with "creative" names like "charmed black pearl" and others) or accuses Delgadinha for making her "badly married". This accusation clearly alludes to the threat the girl represents to the status of the mother within the family, though there are some versions where she shows some desire to help, if it would not result in her own disgrace:

– *Sim, ta dava, Delgadinha, se não me fizesses mal casada.* (Vasconcellos 1960: 56)

– Yes, Delgadinha, I would give it [the water] to you, if you did not make me badly married.

As to the siblings, when they refuse to give her the water, they are subverting the natural obligation to assist an equal and usually show a complete lack of solidarity with her. They sacrifice their sister to the father, in order to protect themselves, of course, or maybe to protect the mother, because the imbalance caused by the girl (if she is put in place of the mother) would certainly affect their own position in the hierarchy of the family. In short, most of the time, they are ensuring that the hierarchy of power is not disturbed.

In a few versions, they seem not to understand why Delgadinha resists and reveal a casual dismissal of the incest:

– *Vai-te daí, irmã minha, cara de filha salgada,*

Porque não fazias tu o que o nosso pai te mandava? (Galhoz 1987: 387–389)

– Go away, my sister, your face is salty,

Why didn't you do what our father ordered?

And this opinion represents a not only male perspective, because there is a version (ibid.: 390–392) where a sister highlights the advantage Delgadinha would obtain, if she had agreed to father's wish:

– *Porque não fazias o que teu pai te pedia,*
Hoje serias da mais alta senhoria.

– Why didn't you do what father asked?
Today you would have the highest ladyship.

FAMILY HIERARCHY – FROM BOTTOM TO TOP

The existence of a rigid hierarchical system is very clear in a version collected in the Azores (Cortes-Rodrigues 1987: 346–348) where the humblest member of the family always yields to the one above. In this version, one sister says she cannot give the water but suggests someone who can – the brother:

*Chega-te à outra varanda onde nosso irmão está;
Se tu água lhe pedires, pode-te a mandar.*

Go to the other balcony where our brother is;
If you ask him for water, he can send it to you.

The brother does precisely the same, advising Delgadinha to ask their mother:

*Chega-te à outra varanda onde nossa mãe está;
Se tu água lhe pedires pode-te a mandar.*

Go to the other balcony where our mother is;
If you ask her for water, she can send it to you.

And the mother sends the daughter to the only one who actually has the power to save her – the father:

*Chega-te à outra varanda onde teu pai está;
Se tu água lhe pedires pode-te a mandar.*

Go to the other balcony where your father is
If you ask him for water, he can send it to you.

As the mother and siblings cannot or do not want to transgress the hierarchy, the ending will always be the same – Delgadinha dies.

VARIANTS – ACCORDING TO AGE

Nevertheless, there are brothers with different opinions coexisting in the same version and in our corpus there is one (Galhoz 1987: 394–395) where this difference is expressed according to the age of each brother. The elder, maybe because he is the future head of the family, says he would kill the sister because of the pain she has caused them. In this case, the boy's answer shows how the family sees itself as a whole:

*Respondeu o mais velhinho: ah quem fosse caçador,
Mesmo daqui te matava que encheste todos de dor.*

The elder answered: Oh, I wish I was a hunter:
I would kill you because you caused us such a grief.

The middle brother would like to help his sister, but does not, because he is sympathetic to their mother:

*Respondeu o da metade: à mesma hora eu te ajudava,
Por causa tua, Silvana, está nossa mãe desgraçada.*

The middle one answered: – I would help you
But because of you our mother is miserable.

Only the youngest brother, maybe because of his age, which is closer to the sister's, shows a wish to help her, using a lyrical expression not usual in this romance, but will not do it:

*Respondeu o mais novinho, cheio de pena e de mágoa:
– Ó quem fosse passarinho que no bico ta levava.*

The youngest answered, full of grief and sorrow:
Oh, I wish I was a little bird, I would take it [the water] in the beak.

There is only one other version in our corpus where the youngest brother tries to help his sister with more than words (Marques 1982: 212–213) and he runs to give her the water. But when he is already near Delgadinha, the father appears and threatens the son with death. Then, the boy tells Delgadinha what happened and the romance ends, as usual, with the death of the girl.

Mas o mais novo sempre lhe queria lá dar a i-água à irmã.

Avistou o seu irmão mais novo no jardim a passear.

– Irmãozinho, se és meu, tua alminha está sagrada.

O rapaz ia a correr com a i-água pra cima, pra le dar a i-água. Chigou lá, o pai pôs-lhe pena de vida ò fundo da escada (ò rapaz).

– Sim, ta dava, irmã minha, s' o pai não me matasse.

But the youngest wanted to go there and give water to the sister.

She saw her youngest brother walking in the garden.

– Little brother, if you're mine, your soul is sacred.

The boy was running up with the water, to give her the water. He arrived, the father downstairs put him to death (the boy).

– Yes, I would, sister, if father would not kill me.

CONCLUSION

Considering that the act of singing is also an act of communication, I have looked at how oral traditional romances (the pan-Hispanic ballads) reveal some aspects of human relationships, exploring how they reproduce people's behaviors inside a socio-cultural framework, even if fictional. Being especially interested in family, gender, and inter-generational conflicts in romances, I focused on *Delgadinha*, whose protagonist is a victim of her father's unnatural desire, drawing on around three hundred versions of *Delgadinha* published from 1820 to 2000.

I chose this particular romance because, unlike other romances, this one includes all members of a family – father, mother, sons and daughters (and sometimes other relatives, and even servants) – allowing the analysis of the infraction and also of the behavior of its perpetrator, of his victim and of all other family elements. Heroes are usually male in pan-Hispanic balladry, but not in the Portuguese and Sephardic traditions (Webber 1989), so it is interesting that a young woman is the heroine of a ballad as widespread in all traditions as *Delgadinha*, even if in the role of the victim.

As *Delgadinha*'s main theme is incest, we should not overlook anthropological, psychological and sociological perspectives. My first concern was to understand how this matter of potential father-daughter incest is treated in studies regarding pan-Hispanic balladry in its several branches¹⁶. The invariant narrative of *Delgadinha*'s Portuguese versions was identified and compared with a large set of Brazilian, Spanish, Sephardic and South American versions in order to find out if there were some important variants, but the main focus was on the relationship among siblings.

Concentrating mostly on the different family members' reactions to *Delgadinha*'s torment (more than on what caused it or on her decision), it can be observed that they are not all the same and also that the diversity of answers to the persecuted girl as she begs for water shows a conflict between a repulsion towards incest and the protection of the family as a social construction. This moral conflict was probably so difficult for ballad singers and listeners that the death of *Delgadinha* is the only possible solution. It is thus invariant in all pan-Hispanic traditions, including the Portuguese.

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 16 *Delgadinha* and *Silvana* are the only father / daughter incest traditional ballads. There is a brother / sister incest ballad. In the biblical *Tamar* (0140) and the Classic *Florabela e Brancaflor* (0184) the incest (with rape, which is not present in the others) is respectively between a brother and a sister and between a brother and a sister-in-law.

In conclusion, concerning the relationships between Delgadinha and her siblings, we can say that in our corpus they do not act or think as a bloc; their reactions, sometimes influenced by their age but not by their gender, range from rejection to compassion, from incomprehension to sympathy, from indifference to a desire to help. So, when they refuse to help, both brothers and sisters undermine the natural solidarity that could be expected inside such a family group, and this too corresponds to the invariant narrative of *Delgadinha* in all pan-Hispanic traditions.

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Brolių ir seserų santykiai portugališkoje ispanakalbės baladės versijoje *Delgadinja*

ANA MARIA PAIVA MORÃO

S a n t r a u k a

Raktažodžiai: ispaniškos baladės, portugališka versija, baladė *Delgadinja*, kraujomaiša, broliai ir seserys, sūrus vanduo.

Straipsnyje pateikiama literatūrinė portugališkos baladės *Delgadinja*, priskiriamos ispaniškai kalbančiose šalyse populiariam baladės (romanso) tipui, versijų analizė. Baladės tema – tėvas bando dukteriai primesti kraujomaišą, o kai ji pasipriešina, yra nubaudžiama; taip pat pasakojama apie šeimos narių elgesį ir dukters mirtį. Daugiausia dėmesio skiriama pasakojimo segmentui, atspindinčiam brolių ir seserų reakciją į merginos prašymus padėti.

Pirmiausia pažymima, kad ispanų baladžių veikėjai įkūnija žmonių elgesį tam tikromis socialinėmis ir kultūrinėmis sąlygomis. Baladė *Delgadinja*, nors ir nebūdama socialinis dokumentas, atskleidžia šeimos narių požiūrį į kraujomaišą; primenama, kad žodiniai folkloro kūriniai sklaidos metu kinta, taigi ir kiekvienas romansas yra daugybės versijų visuma, t. y. jis išlaiko tam tikrą pastovų pasakojimą, tačiau neišvengia semantinių ar struktūrinių variacijų.

Apžvelgiant baladės užrašymų istoriją nurodoma, kad jos nėra seniausiuose romanų sąvaduose, o pati ankstyviausia užuomina apie ją aptinkama 1555 m. žydiškame dainyne. XIX a. pirmasis garsus portugalų romanų rinkėjas Almeida Garretas *Delgadinją* atkūrė ilgoje baladės tipo poemoje *Adozinda*, nes jam atrodė, kad tai puikus būdas tautinei literatūrai gaivinti. Ispanakalbių baladžių tyrėjai įžvelgia šios baladės panašumą su tokiais pasakojimais, kaip legenda apie šv. Dimfną ir pasaka „Tėvas nori vesti dukterį“ (AT 510B).

Toliau straipsnyje analizuojamas baladės siužetas. Merginai nesutikus dalyvauti kraujomaišoje, tėvas įkalina ją bokšte, maitina tik sūriu maistu ir duoda vos kelis lašus vandens. Delgadinja beviltiškai prašo šeimynykščių atnešti jai gerti, tačiau visi atsisako. Galiausiai sutinka paklusti tėvo valiai, šis nusiunčia jai vandens, bet mergina miršta jo nesulaukusi. Virtualus šios baladės modelis remiasi portugališkąja ir kitų šalių tradicijose žinomomis *Delgadinos* versijomis ir turi tam tikrą pastovų siužetą, skaidomą į dalis: kraujomaišos siūlymas, bausmė, kreipimasis pagalbos į šeimą, paklusimas, atsiųstas vanduo, atomazga, lydima papildomo moralizavimo.

Aptariant šeimos santykius, pažymima, kad kankinimą troškuliu dar labiau sustiprina šeimos narių elgesys. Tėvas, esantis galios hierarchijos viršūnėje, visiems diktuoja savo valią, o motina nesiryžta ginti dukters. Dar žemiau yra broliai ir seserys, kurie turėtų palaikyti vienas kitą. Mergina tarsi ir remiasi tokia prielaida prašydama jų atnešti vandens: [Jei = kadangi] = jūs esate mano šeima (sesuo / brolis / motina), tai turite man padėti [atnešti vandens]. Tačiau pagalbos ji nesulaukia. Namiškių atsisakymų neįmanoma griežtai priskirti tam tikriems veikėjams, nors jie skyla į dvi grupes: jie arba baiminasi tėvo pykčio, arba mano, kad pati Delgadinja yra kalta. Iš esmės jie paaukvoja tikrą savo seserį tėvui, kad apsisaugotų ir išlaikytų nepažeistą galios struktūrą. Hierarchiniai šeimos santykiai ypač ryškūs Azorų salose užrašytoje baladės versijoje – ten kiekvienas žemesnis šeimos narys laiko savo priederme atsiklausti aukščiau stovinčiojo.

Vertinant skirtingo amžiaus šeimos narių atsaką, įdomu pastebėti, kad viename turimame variante vyriausias brolis pareiškia, kad jis mieliau užmuštų seserį, kam ši suteikė tiek kančių, vidurinis lyg ir sutiktų padėti, tačiau pernelyg užjaučia motiną, ir tik jaunėlis išreiškia norą pagelbėti seseriai. Dar kitame variante jaunėlis broliukas bėga atnešti vandens, bet jį sustabdęs tėvas pagrasina mirtimi.

Galima daryti išvadą, kad brolių ir seserų atsakas į Delgadinos kančias šiek tiek skiriasi, bet visais atvejais jie randa dingstį atsisakyti jai padėti. Taigi brolių ir seserų negebėjimas parodyti tarpusavio solidarumo, kuris tarsi turėtų vienyti juos kaip žemiausią šeimos hierarchijos grupę, yra būdingas tiek portugališkai šios baladės versijai, tiek visai ispanų tradicijai. Vienodai visos baladės ir baigiasi – dukters mirtimi.