

Singing the Other: Singing in Two Languages and Code-Switching / Stitching

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ABSTRACT. This article discusses the switching of language codes and the influence of such switching on the community. The first part deals with the question of how the use of macaronic songs and switching between languages relates to the Other. By creating hybridity within the songs, macaronic songs can establish either a dialogue between two different cultures or aspirational domination of one over the other. The latter is typical of environments where the majority dominates the minority. We can say that this is a manipulation of two languages and words i.e. “code-switching” or “code-stitching”. This process can be a sign of multiculturalism, or colonization. The second part of the article addresses the question of whether the use of particular language code (e.g. a dialect or a supra-dialect) in songs and speech actually governs identification with the community. The choice of a language code always depends on the social setting in which the bearers themselves live. The collective consciousness of a local community stems from their identification with the local level through dialect (conversation, memories), whereas group consciousness on the national scale stems from identification with that level through supra-dialect: singing songs. I emphasize that both questions reveal communication with the Other or Others, with singers, researchers, and cultures.

KEYWORDS: code-switching / stitching, folk songs, macaronic songs, dialect, supra-dialect, identity, Other.

INTRODUCTION

Macaronic songs are bi- or multilingual songs that are created in the environment where two or more cultures are in contact. According to Gerald Porter, they have always been part of the literary system (Porter 2008: 258) and are often jocular in character. In the past, macaronic songs combined Latin with national, vernacular languages (i.e. *Carmina Burana*). Perhaps the best-known song of this kind is *In Dulci Jubilo* (‘In Sweet Rejoicing’), a traditional Christmas carol. Originally, the song combined German and Latin which alternated from verse to verse¹.

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1 An instrumental arrangement of the Pearsall’s version by English musician Mike Oldfield, “In Dulci Jubilo”, reached number 4 in the UK Singles Chart in January 1976, available from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VCvz7uflMIU>.

This article discusses this kind of song, focusing on the switching of language codes and the influence of such switching on the community. The first part deals with the question of how the use of the macaronic songs (Pazarkaya 1983; Thomason, Kaufman 1988; Posen 1992; Auer 2002; Jonsson 2005; Porter 2008) and switching between the language codes relates to the Other. The second part addresses the question whether the use of a particular language code (e.g. a dialect or a supra-dialect) in songs and speech actually governs identification with community (Botkin 1949; Дуличенко 1981; Steenwijk 1992; Fikfak 1999; Šekli 2015a, 2015b; and others). We will look at the analyses of texts of macaronic or bilingual, multilingual or polylingual songs and poems. I will use the findings of folkloristics, literary studies and the theory of intertextuality to explore songs that mix languages or language codes and act as a “pastiche” (Genette 1982). I will take into account the social and cultural contexts in which the songs were produced, who the bearers were and whether the songs acted as a means of dialogue between the majority and the minority communities or perhaps even a means of ridicule of one group towards the other and a means of rebellion against dominant language. I will discuss bilingual intertextuality and examine how it affects the form of a particular song. Finally, on the basis of contextual data, I will look at the link between language and national identities in border areas, which may allow for the possibility of multilingual ethnicity² or in some cases simply a dominance of the official language over the minority language.

Based on folkloristic, linguistic, anthropological and intertextual research, I will address the question of whether the use of bilingualism in songs is connected to dual identification and how the use of dialect and supra-dialect and switching from one language code to another affects the singer’s identification with local, regional or national levels. The second question is that of the attitude to the Other as reflected through language, whether it signals rebellion, mockery of the Other, or respect for the Other when two languages or codes are intertwined within one song. I will analyse several examples from Slovenian folklore (folk songs with German and Latin texts) and poetry (Jani Oswald, Silvana Paletti, Renato Quaglia), which either use bilingualism or dialect as their macro-language.

MACARONIC SONGS AND THE ATTITUDE TO THE OTHER AS SEEN THROUGH LANGUAGE SWITCHING

How can we use macaronic songs and poems (Porter 2008) and explore the change in language codes when we think of the Other? Such songs, which combine

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2 Multilingual ethnicity is only possible in the nations where the minority is respected. Alas, this is not the case in Resia (Italy).

two language codes (Thomason, Kaufman 1988) and hybrids of words, establish either a dialogue between two cultures, identities, or dominance of one culture over another, which is often the case in those environments where the majority dominates over the minority (German-Slovenian, Italian-Slovenian, English-Irish, German-Turkish, but not German over French or French over German) (Pazarkaya 1983). In some ways these examples are about manipulating two languages as a kind of “code-switching or code-stitching” (Posen 1992). On one hand, these songs, poems and singing allow the composer or performer to enter a dialogue with the Other, but on the other, we often see language colonization from the Other, as Gerald Porter suggests in the case of English-Irish songs, where undoubtedly the English language is dominant. Porter goes on to say that most of macaronic songs are Irish rebel songs which “use the dialectical possibilities of the poly-macaronic lyric to break authoritative codes. In this way code-switching becomes an instrument of empowerment” (Porter 2008: 258), particularly in light of the fact that as the Irish language became more and more endangered, speaking even a few words in Irish became a political act (ibid.: 260). This can be the case with any language that is endangered, as in Resia, Italy, where the local Resian dialect became the main vernacular but not standard language of the Slovenian minority in the region (Дуличенко 1981; Šekli 2015a: 201). Using this dialect is thus a powerful act of resistance.

We have only few records of bilingual songs at the Institute of Ethnomusicology ZRC SAZU (abbreviated as GNI)³ archive. They appear to have been of little research interest for the researchers of that time, who focused instead on Slovenia’s rich and powerful ballad and song traditions and not on the bilingual or translated songs. When under foreign rule, Slovenian culture underwent a homogenization in the service of building a national identity. Thus, methodological nationalism became a tool of empowerment. Bilingual, poly-lingual tradition and translated songs were not *intentionally* disregarded, but simply were not the focus of research. Of course, they are an important part of folk creativity and show us ‘joint or combined or opposed identities’ in different contexts.

Porter believes that “[t]he subversive role of the macaronic is seen in the switching from one language to another with the intention of addressing, even momentarily, only part of the audience at the time” (ibid.: 261; see also Jonsson 2005). This means that in the songs we can recognize the audience for one language and then that of the other as the languages alternate. This is very much the case with *Študentovska zdravica* (‘The Student Toast’), in which students praise the brotherhood of students, winegrowers, professors, etc. Here where we can recognize

3 Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut ZRC SAZU / Institute of Ethnomusicology ZRC SAZU, Ljubljana, Slovenia.

a certain vanity – students addressing a higher social class, the intelligentsia, whose members understood Latin. At the same time, the Slovenian language draws the attention of the broader public. It is an example of language interference and switching codes between Latin and Slovenian, one where the corrupt Latin intertext defines class, highlighting the opposition between the language of scholars and that of the nation. Such interference could also be an example of a display of double language and class identity. Rosalia Rodríguez-Vásquez believes (Rodríguez-Vásquez 2010: 99) that the song is the most representative example of alternation, or code-switching, between two languages – Latin-German, Latin-English. According to Hans-Jürgen Diller, “considerable knowledge of the languages concerned must have been needed for comprehension” (Diller 1997–1998: 519; see also Archibald 2010: 278; Nole, Levente 2017). Unfortunately, we do not have the melody, which would highlight whether the switching is minimized in order for the song to be rhythmic and melodic (ibid.: 100).

*Zdaj veselo je živeti,
Dokler še mladost nam sveti,
Kri nam pleše in igra,
Tana vina tana na.
Lauda, Sion, audutaris
Et imprimis professores,
Kar jih svoje delo zna!*

It is great to live,
As long as we are young,
The blood is dancing and playing,
Tana vina tana na.
Praise, oh Sion, the epicures,
And professors above all
Who know how to do their work!

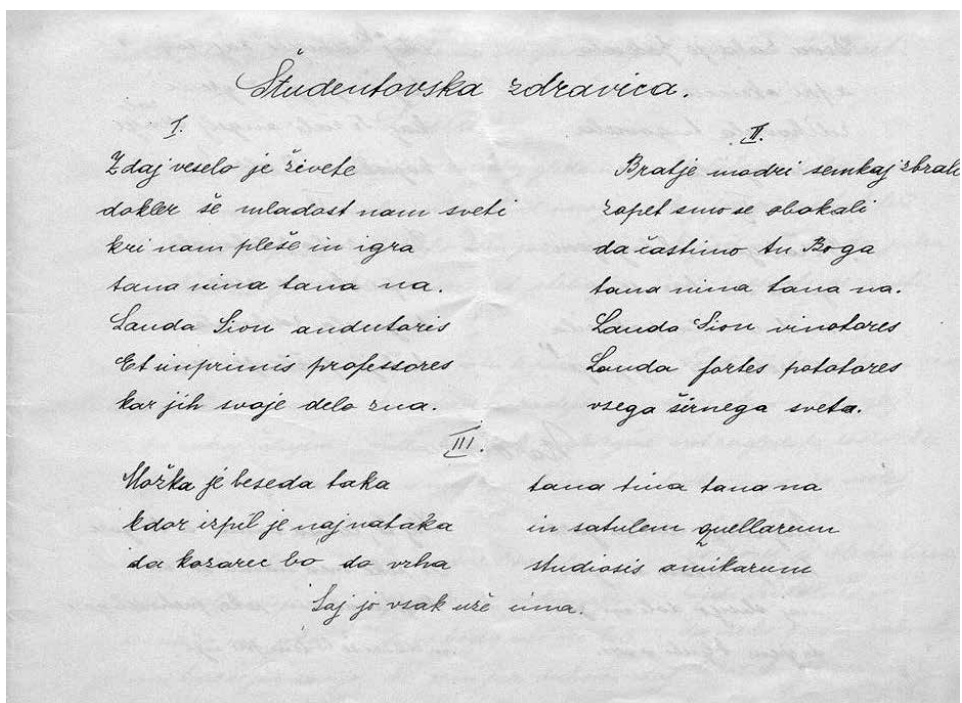
*Bratje modri, semkaj zbrali
Zopet smo se obokali,
Da častimo tu Boga,
Tana vina tana na.
Lauda, Sion, vinotores
Lauda forte potatores
Vsega živega sveta!*

Brothers wise who are gathered here
We have our goblets near
To praise the Lord
Tana vina tana na
Praise, oh Sion, the winegrowers
And the drinkers
From all around the world!

*Možka je beseda taka,
Kdor izpil je, naj nataka
Da kozarec bo do vrha,
Tana vina tana na.
In satulem quellarum,
studiosis amikarum –
Saj vsak uže ima!*

As the men say,
Who drank a glass should pour the wine
To the brim of the glass
Tana vina tana na.
To satisfy the throats
Of all our student friends
For Everybody has that already!⁴

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4 Songs and poems were translated by the author of the article.



Slovenian-Latin song. Manuscript from Karla Medic, high school student, Ljubljana, 1907 (GNI M 436).

Next is a love song, *Jest lubim slovensko dekle*, which creates a double linguistic identity by mixing two languages, but in ironic and mocking ways. The German words are written phonetically, and are thus distorted, making the song humorous in character. The song was recorded in 1909 and can be found in the manuscript collection OSNP⁵.

*O ja, ih libe Medhen zofle,
Jest lubim slovensko dekle.*

O, yes, I love a girl very much,
I love a Slovenian girl.

We can also see examples of code-switching in *Sonce sije, luč gori*, again a humorous song and again the German words are written phonetically, emphasizing rhythm and rhyme. The song originated in an area where the use of German was obligatory during the Second World War and the residues are still seen today. However, in this case we are not talking about dual language identity, quite the opposite and here word play and double meanings are the key:

5 OSNP – Odbor za nabiranje slovenskih narodnih pesmi / The Committee for the Collection of Slovenian Folk Songs.

3811. *Jest ljubim slovensko dekle...*

ETNOGRAFSKI MUZEJ V LJUBLJANI

628.

Odbor za nabiranje slovenskih narodnih pesmi.

Lento.

mf

o-ja, in lije Medken so-

file, jest ljubim slovensko de-kle.

Hitroje.

Dražen finen, finen, zelen, liben,
dražen, finen, finen, zelen, liben,

ahen, najnen, cunen,
ahen, najnen, cunen,

stien, najnen, cunen,
stien, najnen, cunen,

hunden.

3811

(628. Zapisal (z melodijo ved)

Fr. Kramer.

- Pel in narek.
 Jakob Kramer.

- Zapisana 15. maja 1909.

ETNOGRAFSKI MUZEJ V LJUBLJANI

Jest ljubim slovensko dekle. Manuscript of the song, Matena pri Igu, Dolenjska region, Archive no. OSNP 3811, recorded by Franc Kramer, 1909. Two pages.

*Sonce sijje, luč gori,
pred taboj pa, Gela('),
en glažek stoji.
Trink zum, trink zum,
trink zum wein,
če ga spiješ, saj si fajn.
Kluk, kluk...⁶*

The Sun is shining, the light is on,
In front of you, Gela,
There's a glass.
Drink it, drink it,
Drink some wine,
If you drink it, you are fine.
Kluk, kluk...

MACARONIC POEMS? JANI OSWALD: A SLOVENIAN POET
FROM CARINTHIA IN AUSTRIA (BILINGUAL SONGS
AS POETICAL AND POLITICAL CONCEPT)

Since 1987, Jani Oswald, a bilingual poet from Austrian Carinthia and a member of the Slovenian minority there, has been contemplating his dual identity and where or what his home actually was. Was it the language? Maybe the bilingualism, the “language” he felt most at home in? Did he have two language homelands? Or does the regular and balanced use of Slovenian and German words point to a dual identity? Oswald’s switching from one language code to another in his poetry is purposeful and serves to emphasise that the Other is actually himself. In *Oj kje sem doma* (‘Oh, Where is my Home’), he writes:

*Ich ljubim liebe svoj mein dvojni
doppeltes jaz-ich
ich-jaz jaz-ich
jaz-ich ich-jaz
doch dich toda tebe auch
tudi du ti du sich ti sebe schon že
doch da doch daß tu daj gib hier ej ei
ne ich razumem verstehe nicht <...>.⁷ (Oswald 1987: 251–255)*
I love my double / Me / Me, me / Me, me / But you too / You love you too already /
But yes, let's here ei / No, I do not understand anything <...>.

In a later collection, *Pes Marica*, Oswald uses an intertextual approach to link folk songs with poetry. The title is a play on words only possible in Slovenian – if you connect the words, you get *pesmarica*, a songbook in English, but, written as it

6 Sung by folk singers “Sedem mladih”, Markovci, near Ptuj Folklore Society, Regional Meeting of Folk Singers and Musicians (March 2003, Juršinci).

7 This is an example of bilingualism (German-Slovenian) – the text consists entirely of German words intertwined with their translations to Slovenian.

is, the title translates into “Marica the Dog” (which in itself has a double meaning as “Marica”, a female name, also denoted a police van under socialism). Besides word play and the poly-semantics of individual words, the collection also mixes languages. One example is the poem *Kralj Matjaž* (originally the title of a Slovenian ballad that translates into “King Matjaž”): *te prav nič ponoč pač no touch for no / roses my dear **Kralj Matjaž** or King Lear* (‘so, nothing at night then, no touch for no / roses my dear King Matjaž or King Lear’) (Oswald 1994: 22). Oswald uses references from folk ballads and from English language and literature. The use of folk songs in the fabric of the poems with mythological contexts more relevant for Central Slovenia than for Carinthia is actually rather subversive. In this macaronic poem that uses English along with the quotations from English literature, Oswald criticises and takes apart the most revered Slovenian folklore myths. At the same time, he compares two fictional rulers from two national traditions and in this way highlights the equality of languages and mythology through the word play and word meanings. The poem has a certain poetic purpose in its urgency to express its own poetic viewpoint. Oswald later continued his work in the same way. The intertwining of the two languages prevalent in the environment where he lived shows even more linguistic intertextual interference in the poetry collection, *Carmina minora = Carmina mi nora* (‘Songs of the Minority = Crazy Songs’; Oswald 2016), which combines switching codes, German with Slovenian, but there are also traces of French and Italian. His poems are not only inherently literary, but they have to be narrated. Only when we read them out loud, can we hear and understand the different sounds and meanings.

[Ž]almije v / smrtiuri kamen / an und ab / Sterben Samen / gibt es keine oder / ?eine / kleine Hülffmaria / Muttergottesmati / božjo voljo / aglio? ! olio. (Oswald 2016: 67)

I am sorry in / stone of the death hour / from time to time / the seed dies / there is no or / ?one / small Holy Mary / Motherofgodmother / God’s will / vinegar? / oil.

Oswald takes on serious social issues using multilingualism, employing word changes in relation to the Other, seemingly disorganised forms, and language chaos, using language subversively. The chaos, though, is only an illusion; it actually combines the context(s) into a whole. The poet goes from one language to another and then back again, applying the switches to achieve the equality of the two languages, the two cultures. The Other is not limited language-wise nor politically, nor is it neglected; both languages, slang, dialects, all are equal. Poniž believes that a prominent characteristic of Carinthia is actually its bilingualism and the connection of that bilingualism to Slovenian avant-garde and Austrian modern poetry (Poniž 2017: 278–284). We can see the meeting of different language registers, or codes,

where Oswald rejects all conventions, including the folklore ones, and so the little or “crazy” songs are the equally so in Slovenian as well as in German. Through the use of several languages, most frequently German and Slovenian, with traces of English, French and Italian, the poems in *Carmina Minora = Carmina mi nora* mix together and create a network that allows for many open spaces and interpretations. In some passages, the poet ensures that meaning is left to the reader because the reader’s language is not known. On the other hand, the noise of communication and the subversive use of language enable an even stronger expression of criticism of a person’s position – in the world where languages and cultures often overlap, synthesis is not enabled. The code-switching or stitching of words in Oswald’s poems acts as a pastiche (Genette 1982). The poems not only play with languages, but it is precisely their use of different languages that indicates dialogue with the Other. This “merger” of languages (even Slovenian Carinthian dialects which make German “unclean”; Poniž 2013: 33) is supposed to show that through equal use of languages, it is possible to achieve the equivalence of several nationalities in an area where Slovenian is the minority tongue and German that of the majority. Poly-lingualism – poly-linguistic poems, however, show that today there is a global connection between languages and nations. Oswald states that his creative and political concept is the mixing of identities, and suggests that the homogenization of culture is a romantic concept of the 19th century. He also attempts to comprehend the bilingual or even trilingual reality of the region between the Alps and the Adriatic, particularly the “Carinthian” reality which exists somewhere between regionalism and multiculturalism. A text that contains various linguistic inter-texts can become an arena, a space to express respect for the Other, or to ridicule or resist it.

DIALECT AND SUPRADIALECT IN SONGS AND SPEECH-IDENTIFICATION: THE SYMBOLIC VALUE OF THE USE OF DIALECTS

The second part of this article deals with the issue of using a dialect or supradialect in songs and speech and looks at what we identify with, the community or the Other. Let us consider first, on the basis of contextual data, the link between language and national identities in the border area that may indicate the possibility of multilingual ethnicity or simply the dominance of the official language over that of the minority. Language can have the power to connect, but also to alienate. The choice of language reflects social and cultural contexts. Therefore, we have three registers: speech or conversation, singing, and context. Peter Auer debates whether the index of rights and obligations is assigned to individual social groups on the basis of the choice of language (Auer 2002: 3), posing two questions: a) What are

the “codes” in code-switching?; b) How does conversational code switching relate to its wider ethnographically reconstructed social and cultural contexts? (ibid.: 2–3). I would add a third: How are the melody of the song and its singing created using the language code?

Aleksandr Duličenko (Дуличенко 1981) defines dialect as a micro-language and, by analogy, we might think of literary language as a macro-language. We can distinguish between the primary and the secondary uses of dialects (Priestley 1997), as seen in the use of a dialect in a conversation about a song and its secondary use when that song is sung. This supra-dialect is really an intermediate form between non-standardized and standardized language, the duality emphasised when a bearer from a particular dialect group transfers the dialect used in speech to the non-dialect when singing. The language of song is thus commonly somewhere between a dialect and a literary language (Jakop 2008), with singers maintaining at least some dialectal peculiarities of their local area, although the poetic structure of the song can lead them to abandon “pure” dialect.

There are, of course, many other important dimensions deriving from the fieldwork paradigm: content, structure, narration or singing, a contributor’s interaction in dialogue with the researcher, individual contextual situations and the researcher’s own language code. All these parameters can be interconnected and form a network that responds to the speakers’ or singers’ code switching and mixing of languages within a song or narration.

The use of dialect, then, represents the affirmation of one’s national or local origin through language by emphasizing territoriality with reference to the past. The research involves basic concepts of constructing local identities that are clearly associated with the use of dialect expressions in songs, whereas the construction of national identity and self-reflection (Smith 2005; Castells 2010) relates to the structure of linguistic expression (in songs) that is moving away from a pure dialect towards a literary code. In both, we see the expression of the collective identity and the preservation of collective memory (Halbwachs 2001). The collective consciousness of the local community stems from its identification with a dialect (conversations, memories, reflections), whereas the collective consciousness of the national community stems from its identification with a supra-dialect (singing songs, representing folklore as the soul of a nation).

Song and speech follow different rules: a song, a syncretic whole of melody and lyrics, along with a rhythmic scheme, textually leans more towards the literary code, whereas speech (about the context of the song, customs, function, design, etc.) leans more towards the dialectal language code. Most of the songs under consideration are in this so-called supra-dialect, as the language of song is the stylized language of aesthetics, not the everyday spoken word. When memory is interpreted within

the social environment of individual singers, they include, through the improvised creation of variants, the dialect image of their own local area and thereby place individual memory into the collective consciousness, while at the same time strengthening the collective identity of a particular area by the use of dialectal words. Dialect thus plays an important social role in the construction of collective identity, as in, for example, the Prekmurje region, or even a part of it, where the dialect is much more important for local identity than the standard language. This collective identity can be local, regional, or national. The example below shows that, through the choice of a supra-dialect, local, regional or even micro-identity can prevail over national identity. In making this choice, singers create a connection with the local community, triggering a collective memory that further connects the community.

The music group *Hruški fantje* ('Boys from Hrušica'), for example, deliberately sing *Marija z Ogrskega gre...* ('Mary leaves Hungary...'), the first line of *Marija in brodnik* ('Mary and a Ferryman') (SLP II 105), in the dialect of the region they come from, even though they sing other songs in supra-dialect. This creates a distinct local identity and an immediate connection to other people from their community. It is usual to sing such songs in a supra-dialect, but in this case, the singers use the local dialect to underline local identity. They learned the song from their own fieldwork and had to adjust the dialect to the rhythm and melody of the song, or perhaps the other way round. They also transcribed the song in dialect:

31. MƏRIJA Z WOXRŚCIŪA ŪR'Ē

1. Mərija z WoXRŚciŪa Ūr'ē
in ž nju^o Ūr'ē žalostnu sr'ē.
2. Mərija pride do brudā,
prou milu pr^oosə brudə rja.
3. Prepəlji mē zé b^uožji l^uon,
zé b^uožji l^uon, zé neb'ešči tr^uon.
4. Ne wuozə m jēst zé b^uožji l^uon
in tūdə ne zé neb'ešči tro^un.
5. Jēst wuozə m lē zé krajcə rje
in tiste bele zeksə rje.
6. Mərija uzdižne krilice
in se poda čez jézerce.
7. Pred nj^uo se je odžre^bə lu,
zé nj^uo se je zexre^bə lu.
8. Ko ladja zə čne se tonə t,
brudar pa zə čne m^uočnu upə t.
9. Mərija s'edə m žalostə,
pomaxej mə v nevarnostə.
10. Ne m^uorem tə pomaxətə,
ne m^uorem ladje ustavitə.
11. Nej tə pomaxə j^uo krajcə rji
in tistə belə zeksə rji.

Transcription of the song in dialect
(Hruški fanti 2015).

THE USE OF DIALECT AS THE ONLY LANGUAGE OF A MINORITY COMMUNITY

I will turn now to the choice of language with respect to the social context of the bearer, as well as the connection they have to the Other (a different local, national community or class). Folklore studies, an expansive research area in itself, discovered early on that dialect is closely connected with folklore and thus can provide answers to questions around local and standard idioms, registers of use, changes in reception, substitutions for other standard language forms and also to the question of relations between the use of dialect and standard language (Pound 1945; Botkin 1949; Widdowson 2012). Using the example of the Resia region, an area with a distinct dialect, I will address the identification of the local and the national through the lens of dialect and folklore, minority language and culture, and following three discourses: ideology, performance, and practice.

Resia is an Alpine valley in north-eastern Italy (it. Val Resia) which, for geographical and historical reasons, has developed a unique language that is geneto-linguistically related to Slovenian. Resia has preserved not only its dialect but also a Slovenian identity. The Resians only use a dialect form of the Slovenian language and remain tied to the Resian language (vernacular language, Steenwijk 1992). Duličenko believes that Resian is a kind of linguistic island, or a micro-language within a linguistic island. Matej Šekli, however, does not agree, seeing Resian as a Slovenian micro-language, which the dialect actually is (Šekli 2015a: 201). But linguists' perceptions do not correspond to those of Resians, who believe that Resian is the only language they can call their home, as it connects them as a community, while Italian and Friulan are seen as languages of the Other, even more so than Slovenian. Due to the absence of the Slovenian literary language, the people in Resia have not developed a sense of national belonging, but rather a regional identity, in a similar way as Slovenians themselves did in the 19th century (ibid.: 206–207; Negro, Quaglia 2016).

Resians, however, also identify themselves on the national level, in this case with the Italian side, which has largely been imposed on them since the language, as a minority tongue, has not enjoyed any protection, and the Other, i.e. the Italian state, has freely implemented language assimilation policies. Locals therefore created a so-called Resian literary language, which became a macro-language of the community when its grammar and dictionary were codified. Resian was and still is the language of folklore and of poetry, which fostered a close identification between the language and the community. Consequently, we have observed that in Resia there is no switching from the dialect code to the literary code even now when residents commonly learn Slovenian. Songs and poetry are also in the so-called codified dialect (poets are: Renato Quaglia, Silvana Paletti, Rino Chinese).

Resians perceive both Slovenian literary language and Italian, the language of the state, as the languages of the Other. Nevertheless, a part of the Resian community has developed an identity within the framework of Slovenian linguistic and cultural space, meaning that they have also developed a political identity closely tied with cultural identity. This leads to severe political tensions within the Italian state entity, where a member identifying as Slovenian, the Other in Italy's terms, is not treated equally with the Italian citizen and, as a result, the state puts great effort into the suppression of everything that is culturally and linguistically Slovenian. Resians themselves were thus not able to develop a Slovenian national identity and generally identified politically with the Italian state. Resian is the *de facto* literary language of the region because it was cut off from the development of the Slovenian literary form by political borders. It thus became the only element linking Resians with the local and national communities. Resian is not only the vernacular, but it is the predominant language in a community that has to switch from one language code to another on a regular basis, as if they were crossing national borders every day.

Vernacular language may be said to be a specific form of folk creativity (folklore), one closely connected to folklore traditions. Resian language identity, which is very much local (Valentinčič 2015), has thus preserved the oldest Slovenian ballads, now extinct elsewhere. These include, for example, a mythological ballad *Sveti Sintilaudič* ('Saint Sintilaudič', who is the musician at the gates of hell with the Orpheus motif), a family ballad *Lepa Vida* ('Beautiful Vida'), a historic ballad *Kralj Matjaž* ('King Matjaž'), and *Tyčica Bajica* ('Nursemaid Bird') – a legendary ballad about Jesus' nursemaid.

A dialect represents identification with the environment introduced by a particular language, or code. It establishes a collective identity, too, itself defined by that language. It also shows what happens when we switch between dialects, as in the case of a migrant song in a series of different versions, and the consequent changes, inclusions or omissions of dialectal elements. We can see the changes of dialectal words from the Resia dialect to the Gorenjsko and Štajersko dialects. Here are three examples (excerpts) of songs; the first song is recorded completely in dialect, while the second and the third include only some dialectal words and the rest is sung in a supra-dialect.

Ptičica pestrna / Motley Bird

1. Liščaca (Lischiazze), Resia, Italy, sung by Luigia di Floriano, Ana di Floriano, 16.5.1962, SLP II, 77B/15, recorded by GNI; excerpt of the ballad:

<i>Tyčica Bajica,</i>	Little nursemaid bird,
<i>Tyčica mā bajica,</i>	Little nursemaid bird,
<i>kebaj si djala Ježuša?</i>	Where did you put Jesus?
<i>Tičica in pestrna,</i>	Little motley bird,
<i>kam si dela Jezusa?</i>	Where did you put Jesus?

2. Križevska vas, Moravče, Upper Carniola, sung by Francka Merela, Marija Vodnik, Marija Ribič, 1957, SLP II, 77B/7, recorded by GNI; excerpt of the ballad:

<i>Marija bi rada na ohcet šla,</i>	Mary would like to go to a wedding,
<i>pa j nima kdo varvati Jezusa,</i>	But there's no one to look after Jesus,
<i>pa j nima kdo varvati Jezusa,</i>	But there's no one to look after Jesus,
<i>Zveličarja cevga sveta.</i>	The Saviour of the entire world.

3. Nadgrad near Oplotnica, Styria, sung by Marija Belina, 1968, SLP II, 77B/11, recorded by GNI; excerpt of the ballad:

<i>Marija bi rada na ohcet šla,</i>	Mary would like to go to a wedding,
<i>pa j nihče ne zible Jezusa,</i>	But there's no one to rock baby Jesus,
<i>pa j nihče ne zible Jezusa,</i>	But there's no one to rock baby Jesus,
<i>kralja nebeškega.</i>	The heavenly king.

All three songs constitute the same type of a legendary ballad, but due to geographic and linguistic distance, the version from Resia, *Ptičica pestrna B*, developed differently than versions found in Central Slovenia. This version seems to have evolved linguistically and semantically differently from the others, but it is not known whether the person who recorded the song possibly wrote it down in his or her own dialect instead of the local one in which the song originated (Reichl 2001). Furthermore, does the use of a dialect imply different semantics as well? Is the use or omission of dialect, or its replacement with more literary words a matter of attitude to the song? There is also the dilemma of whether individual words the recorder did not know were used incorrectly, inadvertently changing the meaning of the song.

Comparing all three versions of *Ptičica pestrna*, we find that Resian is actually not only a micro-language but that it functions as a macro-language, too, while the Upper Carniolan and Styrian versions are sung in supra-dialects that include some dialect words from their respective dialect groups. The melody and rhythm do not lend themselves to the use of pure dialect but, at the same time, the song is symbolically and semantically subordinate to aesthetics and, when singing, singers

easily move to the edge between pure dialect and literary language. In this way they create a supra-dialect, which links the two language codes and so the local and the regional characteristics of the communities are not lost, while the song simultaneously connects them to the national community.

The song is the element that best connects Resia to the Slovenian national community as evident from Slovenian words found in Resian dialect, pronounced differently, but carrying the same meaning. We could therefore say that the semantics is the same while the language code is different. The informant in the field work in Resia, a poet and singer of folk songs and ballads, Silvana Paletti, talks to us in Resian dialect, mixing Slovenian words from the standard Slovenian language and Italian words, switching codes all the time. However, she sings exclusively in Resian dialect and writes her poems in Resian, too (Paletti 2003). She tells us that her Resian language is her home, a place where she can be what she cannot be among the Italian majority. Her singing, talking and narrating exemplifies the importance of language for local and national identities and using it is a kind of rebellion against assimilative Italian politics. In her speech (using Italian and Slovenian words (GNI field recordings Ravanca, 9.5.2019), we see the mixing of three identities: Italian, Resian and Slovenian (Šekli 2015b: 97). To some extent, Paletti also uses standard literary Slovenian language code, which for her originates from the other side of the Kanin mountains. She uses the expression “ta Buški”, for example, meaning people who come from the town of Bovec in Slovenia. In Resia, this is an expression for Slovenians in general.

Resia is an example of a territory where there is no switching from dialect to supra-dialect in songs as it is a space completely different from Central Slovenia. The inhabitants did not learn literary Slovenian language in the past and so could not develop the so called supra-dialect in songs. The songs are also rhythmically and melodically adjusted to the dialect and the dialect as a micro-language does move closer to Slovenian macro-language in some words and grammatical structures. Only when the inhabitants of Resia use colloquial language, talking about songs, memories, or life, do they incorporate Italian and Friulan words in their speech, along with some literary Slovenian when their interlocutor is Slovenian.

The use of dialect, in contrast to Italian and also Slovenian as languages of the Other, is also known in the poetry of Resia. Renato Quaglia, a poet with artistic roots in folklore, uses the dialect as his poetic language with which he addresses the local community, i.e. people who have to speak in Italian in their public lives, despite being part of a Slovenian minority. For Quaglia, the dialect is the only language that connects him directly with the community in which he lives.

Quaglia thinks that modern standardized languages have lost contact with their roots and with reality, meanwhile the ancient dialects retained this connection. He also acknowledges that the decision to write in Resian is more or less a provocation,

especially coming from him, as his language helps him “understand his very essence” (Pirjevec 2001: 154–155). Quaglia writes in a sort of koiné that is understood by all Resians. He does not imitate or arbitrarily include folk elements just for the sake of it. Rather, they serve as symbols and metaphors that express the existential crisis of the modern individual. The physical and the symbolic worlds of Resia provide the material for reflective expression, which works on concrete and abstract levels (Ježovnik 2016: 61). According to Quaglia, every attempt to revive a language, a dance, or folklore, that does not take into account their spiritual essence is “merely a museum artefact and not cultural work” (Quaglia 1985, 1987: 128–129). Re-use of the old must bring about the new, it is the foundations that remain old.

<i>Ka viš ti?</i>	<i>Kaj veš o tem?</i>	<i>Che ne sai?</i>
<i>Nuč Samo</i>	<i>Solo</i>	<i>Notte</i>
<i>trda nuč</i>	<i>trda noč</i>	<i>profonda dura Notte</i>
<i>sama vse vi</i>	<i>vse vidi, vse ve</i>	<i>tutto vede, tutto sa</i>
<i>nu ne poslušana romoni</i>	<i>in kliče sredi puščave</i>	<i>e nel vuoto segnali invia.</i>

What do you know about that? / Night only / Deep night / Sees everything / And a call in the middle of the desert.

<i>Baside</i>	<i>Besede</i>	<i>Parole</i>
<i>za moret šče živet</i>	<i>s katerimi živeti</i>	<i>per poter ancora vivere</i>
<i>videt</i>	<i>videti</i>	<i>vedere</i>
<i>čot</i>	<i>slišati</i>	<i>sentire</i>
<i>taknuwet</i>	<i>se dotikati</i>	<i>toccare</i>
<i>za na wmrit</i>	<i>da ne bi umrli</i>	<i>per non morire</i>
<i>za wmrit</i>	<i>da bi umrli</i>	<i>per morire</i>
<i>tu-w tribuse vetra</i>	<i>v trebuhu vetra</i>	<i>nel ventre del vento</i>

Words / With them I have to live / See / Hear / Touch / Not to die / To die / In the belly of the wind.

Resians have developed a multilingual identity and practices expressed in song, music, speech and everyday life. We can say that the use of a particular language code (e.g. dialect or supra-dialect, or literary language) in songs, poems and speech actually creates the identification with the community. The dialect is also used as a resistance tool. These multilingual practices reflect the struggle of a minority community to preserve their own language which is under a great political, economic and social threat. The Resian dialect, the language of the local as well as the national community, opens the question of subordination to the majority (*Questi Slavi bisogna*

eliminarli / Te Slovane je treba eliminirati ‘These Slavs should be eliminated’⁸). This attitude towards the Slovenians reached a peak at the time of fascism, from 1922 to 1943, and, unfortunately, continued after the Second World War.

Although Resian is the language of a small community, its use represents a strong bond to the identity and a connection to the territory. Strong roots, tying people to land, music and stories, connect them with cultural memory and with the core of their existence. By using at least two or three language codes and switching them according to different situations, the community shows a strong awareness of their heritage and of their everyday practices, as well. Unfortunately, the assimilative power of the majority language is very much present among the young. Resian was a powerful act of resistance for the generations born immediately after the Second World War, but young people today are not using the dialect much and it must be considered under threat. Nevertheless, there are some young Resians who still speak the dialect, in addition to Italian, and who are also fluent in Slovenian. Switching language codes means a close communication with and respect for the Other, whether representative of another nation, class, locality, identity or belief. But it can also be an instrument of rebellion. Switching codes and languages in text and context in contact (dialect, supra-dialects, literary languages) redefines, on the basis of contextual data, the link between language and national identities in the border area, which may indicate the possibility of multilingual ethnicity only if languages, dialects and nations are treated equally.

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 8 “Giornale di Udine”, 22 novembre 1866, p. 1. Cf “Le cure per eliminare ‘questi slavi’ dai confini del Regno d’Italia”, *SLOVIT: Information bulletin / Informacijski bilten Slovencev v Italiji*, 31 maggio 2011/31. Maj 2011, available from: <https://www.dom.it/le-cure-per-eliminare-questi-slavi-dai-confini-del-regno-ditalia>.

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Dainavimas apie Kitą: dvikalbės dainos ir kodų kaitaliojimas / jungimas

MARJETKA GOLEŽ KAUČIČ

S a n t r a u k a

Raktažodžiai: kodų kaitaliojimas / jungimas, liaudies dainos, makaroninės dainos, dialektas, supradialektas, tapatybė, Kitas.

Pirmoje straipsnio dalyje aptariama, kaip Kitas išryškėja makaroninėse dainose kaitaliojant kalbinius kodus. Makaroninės dainos, vartojančios iškart dvi kalbas ir hibridinius žodžius, arba kuria dialogą tarp dviejų kultūrų ir tapatybių, arba išryškina vienos jų vyravimą prieš kitą – taip dažnai būna ten, kur gyventojų dauguma įsitvirtina mažumos atžvilgiu. Slovėnų dainų tradicijoje taip pat esama kalbų maišymo ar pėrėjimo nuo vienos kalbos prie kitos pavyzdžių. Antai dainoje *Študentovska zdravica* ('Studentų tostas'), kurioje maišomos lotynų ir slovėnų kalbos, išryškėja dviguba tapatybė: tautinė priklausomybė ir priklausymas inteligentijos sluoksniui. Pateikiamas ir pavyzdys – Janio Oswaldo eilės. Šis dvikalbis kūrėjas atstovauja slovėnų mažumai, gyvenančiai Austrijoje, Karintijos regione. Tolygus slovėnų ir vokiečių kalbų vartojimas ar net jų kaitaliojimas jo kūryboje veikiausiai rodo dvigubą tapatybę. Makaroninė poema *Kralj Matjaž* ('Karalius Matjažas'), viena garsiausių slovėnų liaudies baladžių iš pirmojo jo kūrybos rinkinio, kritikuoja ir į šipulius daužo vieną iš pačių garbingiausių slovėnų folkloro mitų.

Antroje straipsnio dalyje bandoma nustatyti, kaip tam tikro dialekto ar supradialekto vartojimas dainose ir kalboje lemia tapatinimąsi su bendruomene. Bendruomeninė tam tikros vietos gyventojų savimonė kyla iš tapatinimosi su vieta vartojant jos dialektą (pokalbiai ir prisiminimai), tuo tarpu bendresnė, tautinė, savimonė randasi iš susitapatinimo su tauta per supradialektą (dainos). Šiam teiginiui įrodyti pasitelkiamas muzikos grupės „Hrušiški fanti“ kūrybos pavyzdys – baladė *Marija in brodnik* ('Marija ir keltininkas'), kur dialekto vartojimas liudija sąmoningą tapatinimąsi su vieta. Pėrėjimas nuo dialekto kaip vietinės tapatybės prie supradialekto kaip tautinės tapatybės dalies taip pat išryškėja analizuojant tris baladės *Ptičica pestrna* ('Margas paukštelis') variantus. Čia aiškiai matyti, kad Režijos slėnio variantas atlie-

kamas vietos dialektu, kurį galima apibrėžti kaip mikro- ar net makrokalbą, o Aukštutinės Krainos ir Štirijos variantai – vadinamuoju supradialektu, nors pati melodija ir dainos ritmas netgi priešinasi dialekto vartojimui.

Toliau straipsnyje gilinamasi į slovėnų mažumos, gyvenančios Rezijos slėnyje, dainavimo tradiciją. Šiame krašte slovėnai yra atskira bendruomenė, įsikūrusi Italijai priklausančioje teritorijoje. Nors dėl jiems neprieinamos literatūrinės slovėnų kalbos ir neįstengė išplėtoti tautinės slovėnų tapatybės, tačiau jie turi stiprią regioninę savimonę, būdingą XIX a. slovėnams. Vėliau ši bendruomenė perėmė ir tautinę italų tapatybę, nors ji Rezijos slėnio gyventojams iš esmės buvo primesta, o jų mažumos kalba visą laiką buvo ir tebėra nesaugoma. Jų dainos ir poezija kuriamos vadinamuoju sisteminiu dialektu (Renato Quaglia, Silvana Paletti). Atidžiau panagrinėjamas S. Paletti repertuaras. Dainuodama liaudies dainas ir pati kurdama eiles ji vartoja Rezijos dialektą, tačiau šnekamojoje kalboje pasitelkia nemažai italų ir friulų kalbų žodžių, o pasakodama apie dainas ir savo prisiminimus, jeigu klausytojas yra slovėnas, netgi pereina į literatūrinę slovėnų kalbą.

Dvikalbystė, pasireiškianti makaroninėse dainose, makaroninėje poezijoje arba dainuojant ir kuriant dainas, taip pat šnekamojoje kalboje vartojant dialektus ar supradialektus, yra tam tikras būdas bendrauti su Kitu arba Kitais – dainininkais, tyrėjais ar ištisomis kultūromis. Daugiakalbystė gali vesti į daugiakultūriškumą ir daugiatautiškumą, tačiau tik tada, kai skirtingos kalbos ir dialektai yra laikomi lygiaverčiais.

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