

VEČJEZIČNOST V FOLKLORI

O RAZISKOVANJU MEDJEZIKOVNIH PESEMskih PREPLETANJ (SKORAJ) STOLETJE PO GLONARJEVEM POZIVU

MARIJA KLOBČAR

Izid zadnjega zvezka obsežne znanstvene zbirke Slovenske narodne pesmi, dokončane leta 1923, je pospremil izčrpen kritični uvod, v katerem je novi urednik Joža Glonar poudaril nujnost raziskovanja medjezikovnih pesemskih prepletanj. Raziskave, namenjene preučevanju dvojezičnih pesmi in pesmi, ki so prehajale med narodi, oziroma prispevki s simpozija, ki je to preučevanje postavil v mednarodni okvir, so prinesli ne le vpogled v ta prepletanja, temveč ponujajo tudi odgovor na to, zakaj slovenska folkloristika tem vprašanjem doslej ni mogla slediti.

Ključne besede: folkloristika, dvojezične pesmi, identiteta, asimilacija, Joža Glonar

The publication of the last volume added to the extensive scientific collection Slovenske ljudske pesmi (Slovenian Folk Songs), finished in 1923, was accompanied by a comprehensive and critical introduction by the new editor Joža Glonar. Glonar emphasized the necessity of research on the intertwining of languages in songs. Research of bilingual songs or songs that traversed nationalities and symposia papers that put this research into the international context provided insight into the intertwining of languages and offered an explanation to the question of why Slovenian folkloristics has not been able to follow these research trends.

Keywords: folkloristics, bilingual songs, identity, assimilation, Joža Glonar

Bil je večer zaključka našega znanstvenega srečanja. Zadnji večer pred slovesom raziskovalcev, povezanih z mislijo na živahne pogovore v dneh naših srečevanj, na raziskovalne izzive, ki so se razpirali, in na dan, ki je bil za nami. Doživetja so odzvanjala skupaj z zvenom naših pesmi. Med njimi se je nenadoma oglasila pesem, ki so jo na drugi strani omizja smeje povzeli v svojem jeziku, nato pa je od nekok iz kota zazvenela v čisto drugi govorici. Pesem je postala izziv in pridružila so se ji iskanja pesemskih bližin med jeziki, dokler ni z različnimi govoricami našega omizja zazvenela pesem »Če študent na rajžo gre«. Z njo smo se v različnih evropskih jezikih sprehajali po prostoru in nehote vstopili v neke druge čase in druge prostore. V čase, ko je druženja in združenja, podobna našemu, spremljala latinščina, med omizja, kjer je nastajala *Carmina Burana*, in med prostranstva, kjer je utihnila.

Desetletje za tem srečanjem, ki je ob svojem koncu v nas pustilo vtise istrskih prepletanj,¹ smo se raziskovalci pesemskega, glasbenega in plesnega izročila v Ljubljani vnovič sestali. Povezala nas je pravzaprav misel, s katero smo se nekateri pred desetletjem razšli: misel, da so nam skupne nekatere pesemske zgodbe, zapete v različnih jezikih in v njihovih prepletih, in problemi, ki se navezujejo nanje. Na znanstvenem srečanju *Večjezičnost v folklori / Multilinguality in Folklore* na začetku oktobra 2020 v Ljubljani (Klobčar, Pisk, Hodžar, 2020) pa je bil drugačen tudi prostorski okvir: Prešernova dvorana na Novem trgu v Ljubljani, kjer

¹ Opis se nanaša na sklepno srečanje udeležencev simpozija *Kam bi s to folkloro / What to Do with Folklore?* (Ljubljana, 24.–29. 9. 2009).

je potekal naš simpozij, se je zaradi epidemije koronavirusne bolezni prek spleta razširila v države oddaljenih udeleženk in udeležencev simpozija, s tem pa miselnim in pesemskim prepletanjem postavila nove meje in nakazala nove možnosti.

Med obema srečanjema pa ni minilo le desetletje, temveč so se razprla obzorja vprašanj in zamisli, ki so v Glasbenonarodopisnem inštitutu pripeljala do raziskovalnega projekta *Pesemski odsevi medkulturnega sobivanja*. Zamisel zanj je spodbudila že najdba dvojezične napitnice iz Vrazove zapuščine, ki jo v kopijah hrani Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut ZRC SAZU (Klobčar, 2020: 211–212): ta pesem je z enakovrednim izmenjavanjem nemških in slovenskih verzov v fondu inštitutskega gradiva predstavljala pravo posebnost tako zaradi vsebine kot zaradi sporočila, hkrati pa je nakazala vrsto kontekstualnih vprašanj, ki so usmerjala nadaljnjo zamisel o načrtnem raziskovanju medjezikovnih pesemskih prepletanj. Misel nanj je dobila svojo potrditev tudi v delu mednarodne skupine raziskovalcev balad (Kommission für Volksdichtung), kjer je bila predstavljena pobuda za sodelovanje v novih primerjalnih raziskavah, s poudarkom na pesmih, ki so »potovale onkraj meja« (John, 2010: 232).

Zamisel o raziskovanju dvojezičnih pesmi se je naslonila na širši disciplinarni premislek, ki se je v slovenski folkloristiki nakazoval kmalu po razpadu Avstro-Ogrske. Joža Glonar, ki je po smrti Karla Štrekelja prevzel uredništvo znanstvene zbirke *Slovenske narodne pesmi* (Štrekelj, 1895–1898, 1900–1903, 1904–1907; Štrekelj, Glonar, 1908–1923), je namreč ob pregledovanju gradiva, zbranega za izdajo, v pesmaricah odkril veliko tujejezičnih, nemških pesmi. Večino tega gradiva je njegov predhodnik izločil (Glonar, 1923: 45); nekaj teh pesmi, npr. pesem »Če študent na rajžo gre« (Štrekelj, Glonar, 1908–1923: 296/11), je izjemoma navedel le v tako imenovanem »Dodatku«, namenjenemu predstavitvi »neljudskih« pesmi. Izjeme je naredil le pri nekaterih zdravicah, predvsem pri pesmih, ki vključujejo besedila v latinščini ali nemščini (Štrekelj, 1904–1907: 404–407; 446–448), in pri pesmi o kralju Matjažu (Štrekelj, 1895–1898: 18/4). Te namreč niso ogrozile narodnoidentitetnih nalog, s katerimi se je folkloristika v času Avstro-Ogrske odzivala na nacionalizme sosedov.

Glonarjevo opozorilo na tujejezične pesmi v pesmaricah je izražalo nove poglede na dveh ravneh: kot zagovornik teoretskih konceptov Johna Meierja (Glonar, 1923: 45) je odnos do jezikovnih prehajanj v pesemskem izročilu presojal na podlagi pesemskih praks, zato so bile po njegovem mnenju vredne obravnave tudi nemške pesmi, ki jih je našel v zbranem gradivu.

Njih sestavljavci so bili po večini dvojezični, poleg slovenskih pesmi so popevali in prepisovali tudi nemške. [...] Taka simbijoza seveda ni mogla ostati brez posledic: nele da so se tuje predloge prevajale, ob njih se je šolal umetniški čut in iz njih so se prevzemala poleg vsebinskih motivov tudi formalna sredstva, večkrat samo goli, nerazumljivi refreni. (Glonar, 1923: 61)

Po drugi strani je Glonarjev pogled izrazil nove naloge folkloristike v spremenjenih razmerah: vključitev večine slovenskih dežel v Državo SHS oziroma v Kraljevino SHS je namreč nakazovala, da se folkloristika lahko razbremeni dotedanje narodnepromocijske in narodnoobrambne drže.

Glonarjev poziv, objavljen pred skoraj sto leti, je bil torej eden od izzivov raziskovalnega projekta. Projekt je bil namenjen raziskovanju medjezikovnih prehajanj v ljudskopesemski ustvarjalnosti, ki v desetletjih delovanja Glasbenonarodopisnega inštituta niso bila obravnavana, prav tako pa smo želeli vključiti večjezične pesemske odzive na družbene spremembe ob koncu 20. stoletja. Zanimala so nas torej tista pričevanja dvojezičnosti, ki so se ohranila v arhivskih zapisih, in tista, ki se v pesmih in glasbi manifestirajo kot živo izročilo oziroma se kažejo v sodobnih izrazih medjezikovnih prepletanj v pesemski ustvarjalnosti. Z raziskavami, ki so ta prepletanja postavile v središče zanimanja, smo se usmerili tako na pesmi kot na vprašanja identifikacij, posebej poudarjenih v nekdanji Habsburški monarhiji (Ballinger, 2003; Santi, 2015; Judson, 2018), na vprašanja nacionalnega in nacionalizmov (Gellner, 2004; Anderson, 2007), vključili pa smo tudi povezovanje večjezičnosti z nenacionalnimi diskurzi. Poleg konteksta petja smo želeli obravnavati tudi kontekst zapisovanja, iz te perspektive pa izrisati vlogo folkloristike v različnih obdobjih, vključno z današnjim zanimanjem za pesemsko izročilo. V sodobnosti so nas zanimala obmejna območja, tudi tista, kjer je slovenski jezik izginil iz govorne prakse, ta iskanja pa smo želeli povezati z raziskovalnimi prizadevanji sodelavcev zunaj naših meja.

PREMISLEK GLONARJEVIH POGLEDOV OB ARHIVSKEM GRADIVU

Izhodišči preučevanja pesemskih sledi večjezičnosti sta bila gradivo, ki ga hrani Glasbnonarodopisni inštit ZRC SAZU, in Glonarjevo sklepanje o kontekstu te ustvarjalnosti. Ob analizi dveh štajerskih pesmaric s tujejezičnim gradivom je namreč Glonar prišel do sklepa, da sta »najznačilnejši strugi, po katerih se je nemški element stekal v našo pesem: pri inteligenci v veseli dvojezični družbi, pri preprostem narodu v treh letih vojaške službe, navadno med Nemci« (Glonar, 1923: 63).

Pri pregledu nismo upoštevali le gradiva, ki ga je imel v rokah Glonar, torej gradiva, zbrana za izdajo zbirke *Slovenske narodne pesmi*, temveč tudi pesemske zapise, ki so nastali v vladni akciji *Das Volkslied in Österreich, Narodna pesem v Avstriji*. Ta akcija je namreč s konceptualno širino, z večjimi zbirateljskimi možnostmi, ki sta jih omogočila plačevanje pesemskih zapisov in večja obveščenost, ter z vključenostjo učiteljev in organistov (Klobčar T., 2012: 148–157) Slovincem prinesla skoraj 13.000 zapisov.

Ob pregledu tega gradiva se je pokazal pomen jezikovnih presečišč med slovenskim in nemškim jezikom, ki jih je opazal že Glonar, predvsem v delu, ki mu še ni bilo dostopno, pa tudi vključenost drugih jezikov. Ta širina je zato omogočila širše opazovanje vsebinske raznovrstnosti oz. tipološke pestrosti gradiva. Analiza dvojezičnih pesmi, potrebna za

njihovo tipološko razvrstitev in spletno predstavitev, je poleg vključenosti drugih jezikov pokazala vsebinsko pomembne skupine in vlogo posamičnih nosilcev. Analizo je spremljal premislek, ali je odnos folkloristike do teh pesmi usmerjal in spreminjal le izbor, ki so ga naredili zbiratelji, ali je vplival tudi na repertoar pevcev (Klobčar, 2020).

V dvojezičnem gradivu so se kot najpomembnejše pokazale pivske pesmi in napolitnice oziroma zdravice, torej pesmi, ki so jih – kot je nakazal že Glonar – peli »v veseli dvojezični družbi« (Glonar, 1923: 63). Sproščенost ob druženju je namreč zlahka prehajala jezikovne ovire (Klobčar, 2020: 211–212). V pesmih sta poleg slovenskega jezika uporabljena latinski in nemški jezik, prvi večinoma z vzklikom »vivat, vivat«, ki pozdravlja navzoče, drugi pa s pozivom »Trink, trink«, ki vabi k pitju.

Pivskim pesmim po pogostnosti sledijo ljubezenske pesmi. V teh se večinoma prepletata slovenski in nemški, ponekod pa tudi slovenski in italijanski jezik, izjemoma furlanski, opazna so tudi prepletanja s hrvaškim jezikom. Vpliv madžarskega jezika je, sicer skromen in izražen bolj v drugih zvrsteh, viden v prevedenih pesmih, ne v dvojezičnosti. Vključevanje drugega jezika v dvojezičnih pesmih strukturno ni enoznačno, saj sega od enakomernega izmenjavanja dveh jezikov do vključevanja posamičnih izrazov. Vsebinsko lahko nakazuje neupoštevanje jezikovnih ovir ob naklonjenosti do ljubljene osebe ali preprosto radoživost, tujejezični deli pa lahko olajšajo izražanje ljubezni ali nastopajo celo kot evfemizem, ki nepoklicanim, predvsem otrokom, prikrije erotični pomen. Preseganje jezikovnih ovir pri ljubezenskih pesmih pogosto deluje lahkotno in šaljivo.

Dvojezične otroške pesmi najpogosteje med slovenščino vpletajo nerazumljivo preoblikovane latinske besede, na stiku slovenskega in italijanskega oziroma furlanskega jezika, kakor npr. v Goriških Brdih, pa je jezik teh folklornih obrazcev mešanica narečnih oblik vseh treh jezikov v stiku. Analiza kratkih folklornih obrazcev je pokazala razloge za ohranjanje večjezičnosti v otroški folklori, hkrati pa tudi njihovo podrobnejšo diferenciranost med izštevankе, zbadljivke, besedilne obrazce iger in uspavanke (Pisk, Šrimpf Vendramin, 2021: 165–172).

Po drugi strani je vključevanje latinščine dajalo pesmim vzvišen pomen, posebej nabožnim; je pa latinščina je iz teh razlogov navzoča tudi v pivskih ali obrednih pesmih. Prepletanje več jezikov, zaznano pri oponašanju in voščilih, pa je bilo bolj kot na ustaljeno prakso oprto na ustvarjalnost posameznika.

Med dvojezičnimi pesmimi v arhivu GNI so pomembne tudi šaljive in zabavljive pesmi, med katerimi so posamezne živalske pesmi. Vključujejo oponašanje jezikov, nasprotja, na katera se nanašajo, pa imajo različne družbene okvire. Prav s tujejezičnostjo izražena ironija je namreč pogosto oblika družbene kritike, ki pa zaradi dvojezičnosti navzven deluje igrivo in šaljivo.

Menjava jezikovnih kodov se je pokazala kot zanimiv izziv tudi s strukturnega stališča. V nekaterih pesmih je izmenjavanje dveh jezikov v posameznih verzih enakovredno, v drugih gre za vključevanje tujejezičnega refrena ali pa le posamičnih besed, bodisi kot odsev jezikovnih praks na dvojezičnih območjih, bodisi kot izraz posebnih učinkov, predvsem igrivosti, satire ali prikrievanja pomenov pred otroki. V nekaterih primerih je dvojezičnost, izražena v posamičnih frazah, izraz ponosa ob poznavanju tujega jezika.

Med dvojezičnimi stanovskimi pesmimi prevladujejo vojaške. V njih se dvojezičnost večinoma nanaša na vključevanje ukazov v nemškem jeziku oziroma v prilagojeni nemščini. Prav služenje vojaške obveznosti oziroma druženja vojakov je ob analizi dveh pesmaric Glonar označil kot področje, kjer se je pri preprostih ljudeh »nemški element stekal v našo pesem« (Glonar, 1923: 63). Iz njegovega nadaljevanja je mogoče razbrati, da ta proces ni bil samo enostranski.

V istem sestavku je namreč Glonar opozoril tudi na spornost prehajanja pesmi med različnimi jeziki. Za zgled je navedel prevod pesmi »Regiment po cesti gre« v nemški jezik in razkril okoliščine, v katerih je pesem postala »nemška narodna pesem« (Glonar, 1923: 63). Omenil je prispevek, ki ga je leta 1917 objavil v *Ljubljanskem zvonu* (Glonar, 1917), s pomočjo katerega je mogoče razkriti prenos te pesmi in razloge za negativni odziv nanj. Leta 1910 sta bila melodija in prevod prve kitice slovenske ljudske pesmi »Regiment po cesti gre« objavljena v nemškem časopisu *Kunstwar*.² Pesem, ki je bila na začetku 20. stoletja med Slovenci zelo priljubljena,³ je bila prevedena in objavljena kot zanimiva pesem, s katero so se Nemci prav tako lahko poistili kot Slovenci. Pesem se je med Nemci hitro širila in je bila prek nemške nepolitične mladinske organizacije Wandervogel leta 1913 uvrščena v *Wandervogeltagebuch* (nav. delo: 319), takoj ob začetku 1. svetovne vojne pa tudi v zbirko vojaških pesmi *Musketier seins lust'ge Brüder: Alte liebe Soldatenlieder* (Jöde, 1914: 10), torej v zbir starih priljubljenih nemških vojaških pesmi.

Medtem ko je bila prva objava pesmi »Regiment po cesti gre« v nemškem jeziku med Slovenci sprejeta z odobravanjem, se je med vojno ta odnos spremenil: »Danes je naš Regiment že – nemška narodna pesem. To nam dokazuje 'Wandervogel',⁴ ki je razširjen po vsej Nemčiji« (Glonar, 1917: 319). Glonar je ob tem navedel razširjenost revije v Avstriji in vlogo graškega folklorista Viktorja Geramba pri objavi te pesmi v *Heimatgrüsse*⁵ leta 1915. Najbolj sporna mu je bila vloga te pesmi pri narodnoidentitetni mobilizaciji, s katero je graški Heimatschutz med 1. svetovno vojno, 18. aprila leta 1917, s petjem te pesmi krepil naklonjenost Nemcem (prav tam).

Glonarjevo besedilo, ki je spodbudilo projekt o pesemskih prehajanjih, je torej pokazalo na nasprotujoči si razumevanji medjezikovnih pesemskih prepletanj – po eni strani sproščen odnos do sprejemanja tujejezičnih pesmi, po drugi strani pa opozarjanje na to, da prehajanje pesmi lahko izraža politično nadvlado. Med ti stališči pa so se nizala tudi vprašanja, obravnavana na simpoziju *Večjezičnost v folklori / Multilinguality in Folklore*, ki so se – skoraj stoletje po Glonarjevih premišljanjih – izostrila v prispevkih v tem zvezku.

² B. n. a., 1910. Regiment po cesti gre ... med Nemci. *Ljubljanski zvon* 30 (4): 254.

³ Priljubljenost potrjujejo zapisi variant: Štrekelj, 1900–1903: 256, 257, GNI ZRC SAZU, Arhiv OSNP, št. 203, 1638, 2323, 3093, 4343, 5140, 5141, 5228.

⁴ V prevodu Ptica selivka.

⁵ *Heimatgrüsse: Kriegsflugblätter des Vereines für Heimatschutz in Steiermark*, št. 7. Graz, 1915.

RAZISKOVANJE MEDJEZIKOVNIH PESEMskih PREPLETANJ V KOMPLEKSNOSTI DRUŽBENIH KONTEKSTOV

V razpetosti med nasprotujočima si stališčema, ki ju je nakazal Joža Glonar, so bile na simpoziju *Večjezičnost v folklori / Multilinguality in Folklore* naslovljene različne teme; večina od njih je predstavljena v tem zvezku.

O pomenu obravnave pesmaric z večjezičnim gradivom, kot jo je raziskovalcem, osredinjenim na preučevanje slovensko-nemških pesemskih stikov, predstavil Glonar, na primeru slovaških rokopisnih pesmaric v članku »Multilingual Songbooks in Slovakia in the 19th Century« (Večjezične pesmarice na Slovaškem v 19. stoletju) prikaže Hana Urbancová (Urbancová, 2022). Obravnava namreč večjezični pesemski repertoar iz 19. stoletja, ohranjen izključno v rokopisnih virih. Gradivo 22 rokopisnih pesmaric dokumentira tradicijo, ki je na Slovaškem obstajala poleg petja v domačem jeziku in kaže na zanimanje ne le za slovaške, marveč tudi za madžarske, nemške, češke, poljske, srbske, slovenske, romske in latinske pesmi; medjezikovna prepletanja izražajo tudi dvojezične pesmi, in sicer latinsko-slovaške, latinsko-madžarske, latinsko-nemške, slovaško-madžarske, slovaško-nemške, romsko-slovaške pesmi. Kakor poudarja avtorica, večjezično gradivo, ki ga narodnobuditeljska folkloristika ni obravnavala, ponuja različne izzive za bodoče raziskovanje, hkrati pa zahteva tudi interdisciplinarni pristop in mednarodno primerljivost. Ob tem se ponuja primerjava s slovenskim gradivom in z Glonarjevimi opažanji: ob večjezičnem gradivu, ohranjenem v rokopisnih pesmaricah, je Glonar pred stoletjem zapisal, da so ti zapisi pomembni ne samo za Slovence, temveč »so v enaki meri važni tudi za nemški folklor« (Glonar, 1923: 63).

Univerzalnost problematike medjezikovnih pesemskih prepletanj izraža prispevek »Interlinguistic Intertwining in Songs: Dāstān in the Repertoire of Khorasani Bards« (Medjezikovna prepletanja v pesmi: *dāstān* v repertoarju pevcev iranskega Korasana) (Youssefzadeh, 2022). Prostorski okvir obravnave je pokrajina Korasan v severovzhodnem Iranu, ki je zaradi večstoletne intenzivne kulturne izmenjave med govorcami turških in iranskih jezikov oziroma zaradi pester etnične sestave postala izjemno zanimiva za preučevanje medjezikovnih prepletov v pesmih. Avtorica osrednjo pozornost namenja obravnavi turškega *dāstāna* ali *hekāyata*, ki je v središču repertoarja horasanskih bardov, poznanih kot *bakhsbi*. Prispevek z obravnavo žive ustvarjalnosti opozarja na pomen glasbenih in jezikovnih prepletanj v sodobnem času.

Na sodobna medjezikovna pesemska prepletanja se z obravnavo narečno obarvane slovensko-italijanske pesmi »Lan sem biu u Gorici« odziva tudi članek »'Un bel moretto' – Linguistic Interweavings in Songs from the Primorska Region« (»Un bel moretto«: Jezikovna prepletanja v pesmih s Primorskega) (Pisk, 2022). Nanaša se na območje ob slovensko-italijanski meji, ki ga je Glonar za opazovanje pesemskih prepletanj označil kot manj pomembno (Glonar, 1923: 61), časovna mejnika pa sta čas fašizma, ko je bila pesem tudi prvič zapisana, in njen sodobni preporod v Istri. Ob vprašanjih, ki se ob tem odpirajo, avtorica jezika v pesmih ne razume zgolj kot sredstvo komunikacije, temveč tudi kot estetski element glasbenega izražanja, pri čemer poudarja tudi vlogo večjezičnosti kot

izraz identifikacije Istranov; pesem ima identifikacijsko vlogo tako v slovenskem kot v hrvaškem delu Istre.

Prispevek Marjete Pisk omogoča zanimivo vzporejanje s prispevki o obmejnih območjih na slovenskem severozahodu in severu. Čeprav gre tudi v teh primerih za obmejne prostore, izbiro jezika določa dejstvo, da so Slovenci tu v vlogi manjšine. Na drugačne jezikovne položaje in njihov izraz v pesemskih praksah kaže že članek »Singing on the Village Patron's Feast and New Year's Carols« (Petje na žegnanju in novoletno koledovanje) (Ravnik 2022): obravnava petja v Ukvah v Kanalski dolini v Italiji, kjer so se v jeziku do nedavnega izražala prepletanja slovenskega, nemškega, italijanskega in furlanskega jezika, je namreč pokazala, da v tem primeru izbiro jezika pomembno določa sama komunikacija. Ob prevladi italijanščine je slovenski jezik v tem kraju v pesmih navzoč le še ob najpomembnejših ritualnih praksah, ob *žegnu* in pri koledovanju, imenovanem *šapa*.

Izjemno pomembna vloga ritualnih praks, povezanih s pesmijo, se kaže tudi v članku »Intertwining of Languages in Songs and Changes of Identifications in the Gail Valley« (Medjezikovna pesemska prepletanja in spreminjanje identifikacij v Ziljski dolini) (Klobčar, 2022). V članku je analizirano praznovanje žegna med Slovenci v tem prostoru in njegovo spreminjanje v procesu asimilacije. Pokazalo se je, kako so na ta proces vplivali usmerjevalci nacionalnih politik: z njihovimi posegi je večinski narod postopno prevzel najznačilnejše simbolne identifikacije manjšine, s prevodi slovenskih obrednih pesmi pa je tudi sam ritual dobil nemške značilnosti. V prispevku so ugotovljene razlike med pesemskimi prevodi obrednih pesmi in med pesmimi, v katerih je dvojezičnost bolj ali manj spontan nasledek sobivanja dveh narodov.

Na dvojezični prostor Koroške se nanaša tudi članek »Zakaj, zakoj, warum, or Why? Multilinguality in Austrian Carinthian Popular Music« (Zakaj, zakoj, warum ali why?: Večjezičnost v popularni glasbi na avstrijskem Koroškem) (Kovačič, 2022). V njem avtorica analizira jezikovno izbiro na primeru ustvarjalnosti sodobnih glasbenih skupin. Skupine, ki se v popularni glasbi izražajo v nemščini, v slovenskih koroških narečjih, v knjižni ali pogovorni (standardni) slovenščini in angleščini, se namreč za določen jezik odločajo iz ekonomskih razlogov ali z zavestnim premislekom, ki upošteva položaj manjšine. Ekonomske razloge za jezikovno izbiro podpira dejstvo, da je glasba globalni fenomen, medtem ko izbira manjšinskega jezika simbolno nasprotuje kulturno-politični in jezikovni prevladi večinskega naroda ter utrjuje, javno izraža ali promovira etnično in jezikovno pripadnost skupine.

Raziskavi pesemskih odsevov stikov med govorcji slovenskega in nemškega jezika na Koroškem dopolnjuje članek »Rituals and Music as Elements in the Use of the Minority Language« (Obrednost in glasba kot elementa rabe manjšinskega jezika) (Šivic, 2022), ki se prav tako usmerja v aktualna vprašanja. Avtorica v spodnji Ziljski dolini obravnava rabo slovenščine in nemščine v različnih kontekstih. Spoznanja imajo zanimivo vzporednico v prispevku o jeziku v obredju v Ukvah v Kanalski dolini (Ravnik, 2022): kljub močni germanizaciji, zaradi katere slovenščine v javni rabi tam skoraj ni več, se v bogoslužju in pri pogrebih ter v trikraljvskem koledovanju in pri žegnu slovenščina pojavlja v posamičnih

govorjenih voščilih, predvsem pa v petju obrednih in tudi spontano petih pesmi. Ugotovitve avtorica dopolnjuje s spremljanjem rabe slovenščine ob družabnih priložnostih. Raziskava rabe manjšinskega jezika v obrednosti in glasbi torej kaže, da se v nemško govorečem okolju slovenščina v ritualnem kontekstu večinoma (z izjemo redkih posameznikov) uporablja kot fonetično naučen jezik in torej ne gre za razumevanje jezikovnih sporočil. Poleg tega je ritualni kontekst celo ena od redkih priložnosti, ko posameznik sploh izgovarja (govorjeno ali peto) slovenščino. V slovensko govorečem okolju sta ritualni kontekst ali bogoslužje samo eden od prostorov rabe jezika ali sobivanja z nemščino: slovenščina se tako kaže kot jezik vsakdanjega sporazumevanja, ohranjanja tradicij pa tudi jezik »pogajanja« – slednje predvsem pri bogoslužju in pogrebih, ko je delež slovenščine v primerjavi z nemščino odvisen od nosilcev, tako od njihovega števila kakor moči.

DRUŽBENE RAZSEŽNOSTI MEDJEZIKOVNIH PESEMSKIH PREPLETANJ ALI ZAKAJ SLOVENSKA FOLKLORISTIKA NI SLEDILA GLONARJU

Prispevki, ki govorijo o območjih, kjer živi slovenska manjšina, in obravnavajo vpliv asimilacijskih politik na jezikovno podobo ritualnih praks (Klobčar, 2022) in sodobna medjezikovna pesemska prepletanja ter njihova prizorišča (Ravnik, 2022; Šivic, 2022), posredno ponujajo odgovor na to, zakaj slovenska folkloristika pred stoletjem ni mogla slediti Glonarjevemu načrtu za obravnavo dvojezičnih in prevzetih pesmi: ljudske pesmi so namreč na območjih nagle asimilacije ohranile vlogo nacionalnega identifikatorja. Ta naloga je usmerjala tudi Maroltovo delo v predvojnem Folklornem institutu (Marolt, 1935). Objavljeni prispevki pa hkrati dokazujejo, zakaj je stoletje po Glonarjevem pozivu raziskovanje teh prepletanj nujno za razumevanje sodobnih identifikacij in jezikovnih izbir narodov v stiku (Kovačič, 2022; Pisk, 2022; Urbancová, 2022; Youssefzadeh, 2022).

Ob tem so se ob prispevkih posredno ali neposredno pokazale tudi nekatere značilnosti, ki kažejo ne le na različnost obravnavanih družbenih kontekstov, temveč tudi na različne izrazne možnosti dvojezičnih pesmi. V prispevkih, ki obravnavajo ritualne prakse, se je pokazala posebna vloga obrednih pesmi: prenos obrednih pesmi iz jezika manjšine v jezik vladajoče večine najgloblje izraža asimilacijo; po drugi strani obredne pesmi ali pesmi, ki jih pojejo ob skupinsko najznačilnejših ritualnih praksah, skušajo ljudje najdlje ohranjati v izvirnem jeziku, čeprav marsikdaj le še kot fonetično naučena besedila.

Ljubezenske in pivske pesmi izražajo največjo povezovalnost; ne glede na njihovo strukturo, torej ne glede na to, ali izražajo enakovredno izmenjavanje obeh jezikov ali so besedila v obeh jezikih v neravnovesju, ne izražajo nadvlade. Zelo povezovalne so lahko tudi šaljive pesmi, po drugi strani pa je prav s šaljivimi pesmimi mogoče izraziti najglobljo ironijo.

Joža Glonar je torej presodil, da je prišel čas nepristranskega opazovanja medjezikovnih pesemskih prepletanj. Stoletje pozneje se je pokazalo, da so ta prepletanja proces nenehnih odločanj, odvisnih od številnih okoliščin, vključno s preteklimi razmerji med narodi v stiku.

Glede na vlogo slovenskega jezika v teh prepletanjih so se razlike pokazale tudi v tem, ali dvojezičnost, v katero je vključen, pojavlja v okolju, kjer slovenščina prevladuje oziroma se prebivalci ne čutijo ogrožene ali pa v času opazovanja pesemske dvojezičnosti tega niso čutili, ali gre za območje zunaj naših meja.

Tako projekt *Pesemski odsevi medkulturnega sobivanja* kot tu zbrani prispevki so torej odgovorili na številna odprta vprašanja, hkrati pa nakazujejo nova: tista, od kod in kako so »potovale« nekatere pesmi, vključno s pesmijo »Če študent na rajžo gre«, pri kateri je Karel Štrekelj zapisal, da je »narejena po nemški Geht der Studio auf die Reis'« (Štrekelj, Glonar, 1908–1923: 296/11), in tista, ki jih sledi teh poti vodijo v druge smeri.

MULTILINGUALISM IN FOLKLORE ON THE RESEARCH OF THE INTERTWINING OF LANGUAGES IN SONGS (NEARLY) A CENTURY AFTER GLONAR'S CALL

It was the last day of our scientific meeting, the previous evening before we said our goodbyes. It was punctuated with reflections of our lively conversations throughout the days of the research challenges that had been opened and tackled and of the day behind us. Our adventures still reverberated in our minds, mixing with the echo of songs. Song had become a challenge that prompted a search for linguistic accord until the babel of languages subsided and made way for the song "Če student na rajžo gre". The song took us from one European language to another, moving through the room and entering some other times and spaces; times when conviviality like ours was accompanied by Latin, other places where the rooms and tables like ours created *Carmina Burana*, and the vast spaces where it went silent.

A decade after this meeting that had left us with impressions entwined with Istria,⁶ the researchers of song, music, and dance traditions met again in Ljubljana. We were connected by a thought with which some of us had parted ten years prior: we share certain song stories sung in different languages or a weave of different languages, and with that, we share the problems they present. The scientific meeting *Multilingualty in Folklore* in early October 2020 in Ljubljana (Klobčar, Pisk, Hodžar, 2020) gave a different framework in terms of space; the Covid-19 pandemic meant that the Prešeren's Hall in Novi trg in Ljubljana entered countries of our symposium's attendees with the help of information technology and internet. The remoteness set new boundaries to the intertwining of thought and song but also opened new possibilities.

⁶ This describes the final researchers' meeting at the symposium *Kam bi s to folkloro? / What to Do with Folklore?* (Ljubljana, 24.–29. 9. 2009).

The decade dividing the two meetings did not pass uneventfully. On the contrary, it saw the emergence of new ideas and questions that led the Institute of Ethnomusicology to start the research project *Song Reflections of Intercultural Coexistence*. The idea for the project came from finding a bilingual drinking song from the Stanko Vraz legacy, copies of which are held by the ZRC SAZU Institute of Ethnomusicology in Ljubljana (Klobčar, 2020: 211–212). The even alteration of German and Slovenian texts in the song, its context, and its message make it somewhat peculiar to the Institute’s material. At the same time, the song presents several contextual issues that prompted the idea of systematic research into the intertwining of languages in songs. This idea corresponded to the initiative within the international community of researchers of ballads (Kommission für Volksdichtung) to collaborate in the new comparative research on songs that “traveled beyond borders” (John, 2010: 232).

The idea of the research of bilingual songs leaned on a broad disciplinary thought that Slovenian folkloristics adopted soon after the dissolution of Austria-Hungary. After Karel Štrekelj’s death, Joža Glonar became the editor of the scientific collection *Slovenske narodne pesmi* (Štrekelj, 1895–1898, 1900–1903, 1904–1907; Štrekelj, Glonar, 1908–1923). When checking the material, Glonar found many songs in foreign, i.e., German language. Most of this material had been rejected by Glonar’s predecessor (Glonar, 1923: 45). Some of the songs, e.g., “*Če student na rajžo gre*” (Štrekelj, Glonar, 1908–1923: 296/11), Štrekelj included as exceptions in the so-called “Appendix” intended to present “non-folk” songs. He allowed exceptions only for a few drinking songs, mostly those that include text in Latin (Štrekelj, 1904–1907: 404–407; 446–448), and for the song of *kralj Matjaž* (King Matthias) (Štrekelj, 1895–1898: 18/4). He believed these songs did not jeopardize the tasks within the context of national identity advocacy with which Slovenian folkloristics responded to the rising nationalism within the neighboring countries in the Austro-Hungarian community.

The fact that Glonar highlighted songs in a foreign language in the songbooks indicated new perspectives on two levels: as a proponent of John Meier’s theoretical concepts (Glonar, 1923: 45), he assessed code-switching in song traditions on the basis of song practices. That is why he believed that the German songs he had found in the collected material were worth being considered.

The creators were mostly bilingual, besides Slovenian songs they sang and wrote down also German songs. [...] Of course, such symbiosis could not exist without consequences: not only did they translate the source material from a foreign language, but they also honed their artistic senses and adopted motifs and formal means, often merely unintelligible refrains. (Glonar, 1923: 61)

On the other hand, Glonar’s view conveyed new tasks folkloristics needed to tackle in the changed environment. The inclusion of the majority of Slovenian lands into the new State of Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs and later the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes

indicated that Slovenian folkloristics could set aside the responsibility to construct and promote Slovenian national identity.

Glonar's call, published almost a century ago, was one of the challenges of our research project that examines code-switching in folk song creativity. In the decades since the Institute of Ethnomusicology first began its work, researchers have never dealt with this topic until now. Moreover, we wanted to include multilingual songs created in reaction to the social changes happening at the end of the 20th century. We were interested in those testimonies of bilingualism that had been preserved in the archival records and those that manifest in song and music as a living tradition and are seen in the contemporary expressions of interlinguistic intertwining in songs. Our project put this multilingual intertwining at the center of the research and consequently focused on songs as identification questions, questions that became paramount at the time of the former Habsburg Monarchy (Ballinger, 2003; Santi, 2015; Judson, 2018), and on the issues of the national and nationalisms (Gellner, 2004; Anderson, 2017). We also included connections multilingualism had with non-national discourse. In addition to the context of singing, we wanted to discuss the context of recording, writing down the songs, and use this perspective to draw an image of the role folkloristics played in various periods, including the present-day interest in song traditions. As for the present time, we were interested in the border regions, also those where the Slovenian language has disappeared from the spoken practice; for this purpose, we wanted to connect with the work and the findings of our colleagues across Slovenian borders.

RETHINKING OF GLONAR'S VIEWS ON THE ARCHIVE MATERIAL

The material in the holdings of the ZRC SAZU Institute of Ethnomusicology and Glonar's conclusions represented the basis for the research of the traces of multilingualism in songs. Glonar's analysis of two songbooks from Styria, both with titles in a foreign language, led him to conclude that they are "the most typical streams through which the German element flowed into our song: among the literati in a merry bilingual company, among the common folk during the three years of the military service, usually among the Germans" (Glonar, 1923: 63).

During the review of the material, we considered the material Glonar himself held in his hands, i.e., for the collection *Slovenske narodne pesmi*, as well as the material collected during the government action *Das Volkslied in Österreich* (The Folk Song in Austria). The latter was conceptually broad, had better collection capacities - a consequence of payment for written records - and better access to information as it also included teachers and organists (Klobčar T., 2012: 148–157). All in all, it contributed close to 13,000 written records relevant to Slovenians.

The review of this material revealed the importance of the intersections of Slovenian and German, which Glonar himself had noticed. This was also clear from the records not available to him and which include other languages. Such broad scope also allowed

for a more comprehensive examination of the material's context variety and typological diversity. The analysis of bilingual songs revealed contextually important groups and the roles of individual bearers. The re-evaluation during the analysis considered the attitude of folkloristics, whether it directed and changed only the selection of the material made by the collectors or it also affected the singers' repertoire (Klobčar, 2020).

Drinking songs and toasts were the most prominent in the bilingual material. These are songs that, as Glonar said, were sung in a "merry bilingual company" (Glonar, 1923: 63) when the conviviality of the occasions broke down language barriers with ease (Klobčar, 2020: 211–212). In addition to the Slovenian language, the songs also feature German and Latin languages; the latter mostly with the welcoming cheer "vivat, vivat", while the invitation to drink, "Trink, trink," is in German.

Love songs are second to drinking songs in prevalence. For the most part, we see the intertwining of Slovenian and German languages, sometimes Slovenian and Italian or, very rarely, Friulian. The interlacing with the Croatian was also noticed. The presence of the Hungarian language is rather modest and is expressed in other genres. It is seen only in translation and not in bilingual songs. The inclusion of a second language in bilingual songs is not structurally uniform. It varies from the even alternation of the two languages to the inclusion of only individual expressions. Contextually, it points to the disregard of language barriers when wooing a loved person or it simply shows joyfulness. The parts in a foreign language can either make the expression of love smoother or act as a euphemism that conceals erotic meaning not meant for the ears of some, mostly children. In love songs, overcoming language barriers is often light and humorous.

Bilingualism in children's songs often means that the Slovenian language is punctuated with gibberish words which actually originate from Latin. Where Slovenian and Italian or Friulian meet, e.g. in the Gorizia Hills (Sln. Goriška brda), the language of these folklore forms is a mix of dialect forms of all three languages. The analysis of the short forms revealed the reasons for the preservation of multilingualism in children's folklore as well as the songs' diversification into counting-out rhymes, mocking songs, textual templates of nursery rhymes and lullabies (Pisk, Šrampf, Vendramin, 2021: 165–172). On the other hand, the inclusion of Latin heightened the songs' importance, especially true for religious hymns. However, Latin is included in drinking and ritual songs for the very same purpose. The intertwining of languages that we saw in imitations and greetings depended on an individual's creativity rather than on any established practice.

Among the bilingual songs found in the archives of the Institute of Ethnomusicology, we can also find humorous and mocking songs, including individual songs about animals. These include imitation of languages while the contrasts they refer to derive from different social frameworks. Irony expressed in foreign languages is often a form of social criticism and bilingualism becomes a tool that makes such a song seem playful and humorous.

Code-switching also proved to be interesting from the structural perspective. Some songs alternate the two languages evenly while others switch the language in the chorus

or only include individual words in the second language, be it as a reflection of language practices in bilingual areas or as an expression of special effects mostly as playfulness, satire or when hiding the true meaning from the children. In some cases, bilingualism expressed in specific individual phrases reflects pride in the bearers' foreign language skills.

Military songs represent the largest group within bilingual songs associated with particular social groups. Here, bilingualism is mostly seen in the inclusion of military orders expressed in German language or in adapted German. It was military service and companionship of soldiers that Glonar, upon his analysis of the two songbooks, defined as the area where ordinary people allowed "the German element to flow into our song" (Glonar, 1923: 63). Reading Glonar's findings, we can surmise that the process was not entirely one-sided.

In the same article, Glonar also points out the controversy of code-switching in songs. As an example, he mentions the translation of the song "Regiment po cesti gre" (The Regiment is on the March) into German and reveals the circumstances in which the song became a "German folk song" (Glonar, 1923: 63). He mentions his article from 1917, published in *Ljubljanski zvon* (Glonar, 1917), that helps understand the switch and also the reasons for the negative response to this switch. In 1910, the music and the translation of the first stanza of this Slovenian folk song were published in the German newspaper *Kunstwar*.⁷ The song, which was very popular among the Slovenians at the beginning of the 20th century,⁸ was translated and published as an interesting piece with which the German population could identify in the same way the Slovenians did. The song quickly became popular and spread among the Germans. In 1913, it was included in *Wandervogeltagesbuch* with the help of a German non-political youth organization called *Wandervogel* (ibid.: 319). At the outbreak of World War I, it was also included in the collection of military songs *Musketier seins lust'ge Brüder: Alte liebe Soldatenlieder* (Jöde, 1914: 10), which is a collection of popular old German military songs.

While the first publication of the song "Regiment po cesti gre" in the German language was well received, this changed during the war. "Today, our Regiment has become – a German folk song. 'Wandervogel',⁹ which can be found throughout Germany, proves it" (Glonar, 1917: 319). Glonar also mentions the popularity of the magazine in Austria and the role of Viktor Geramb, a folklorist from Graz, in the publication of this song in *Heimatgrüsse*¹⁰ in 1915. Glonar also found the role of this song in national identity mobilization very problematic as the Heimatschutz in Graz used the song during World War I, on 18 April 1917, to boost the support of Germans (ibid.).

⁷ S. a., 1910. Regiment po cesti gre ... med Nemci. *Ljubljanski zvon* 30 (4): 254.

⁸ The popularity can be seen from the transcripts of different versions: Štrekelj, 1900–1903: 256, 257, GNI ZRC SAZU, Archive of OSNP, nos. 203, 1638, 2323, 3093, 4343, 5140, 5141, 5228.

⁹ Migratory Bird in English.

¹⁰ *Heimatgrüsse: Kriegsflugblätter des Vereines für Heimatschutz in Steiermark*, No. 7. Graz, 1915.

Glonar's text that prompted the project on intertwining in songs reveals a contrasting understanding of code-switching in songs – on the one hand a relaxed attitude towards the acceptance of foreign language songs and warnings of political superiority on the other.

However, in the space between the two attitudes questions arose that we answered at the symposium *Večjezičnost v folklori / Multilinguality in Folklore* and in the articles which are now, nearly a century after Glonar's reflections, in front of us.

RESEARCH OF THE INTERTWINING OF LANGUAGES IN SONGS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE COMPLEXITIES OF SOCIAL CONTEXTS

In the space dividing the two standpoints that Joža Glonar indicated there are various topics that the symposium *Multilinguality in Folklore* addressed; most of them are presented in this notebook.

Hana Urbancová demonstrates the importance of songbooks with multilingual material, such as Glonar presented to researchers focusing on the study of Slovenian-German languages convergence in songs, on the case of Slovak handwritten songbooks in her article "Multilingual Songbooks in Slovakia in the 19th Century" (Urbancová, 2022). She examines multilingual song repertoire from the 19th century that has been preserved only in handwritten form. Twenty-two handwritten songbooks document the tradition in Slovakia that lived together with singing in their mother tongue. The material shows that there was interest not only in Slovak songs but also in Hungarian, German, Polish, Serbian, Slovenian, Roma, and Latin songs. Language intertwining is seen in bilingual songs; these include Latin-Slovak, Latin-Hungarian, Latin-German, Slovak-Hungarian, Slovak-German, and Roma-Slovak songs. The author points out that multilingual material, which nationalist folkloristics did not deal with, presents diverse challenges for future research. In addition, it requires an interdisciplinary approach and an international comparative approach. This leads to comparisons with Slovenian material and Glonar's findings: writing about the multilingual material preserved in handwritten songbooks, Glonar said that these records were important not only for the Slovenians but were "equally important for the German folklore" (Glonar, 1923: 63).

The universal nature of languages intertwining in songs is the topic of the article "Interlinguistic Intertwining in Songs: *Dāstān* in the Repertoire of Khorasani Bards" (Youssefzadeh, 2022). The geographic framework of this work is the Khorasan region in north-eastern Iran, which has seen centuries of intensive cultural exchange between the speakers of Turkish languages and the languages of Iran. Because of that and because of its varied ethnic structure, the region has been of great interest in the research of the interlacing of languages in songs. The author focused on the Turkish *dāstān* or *hekāyat*, which are central to the repertoire of the Khorasani bards, also known as *Bakhshi*. By examining

living creativity, the article highlights the importance of musical and language intertwining in modern times.

The article “Un bel moretto’ – Linguistic Interweavings in Songs from the Primorska Region” (Pisk, 2022) looks at the contemporary intertwining of languages in songs by examining the Slovenian-Italian dialect song “Lan sem biu u Gorici” (Last Year I was in Gorizia). It explores the border area between Slovenia and Italy which Glonar deemed less important for the study of language intertwining in songs (Glonar, 1923: 61). The article’s timeframe is the rise of fascism when the song was first recorded, and its contemporary revival in Istria. Examining the issues that arose in her research, the author does not see language in songs as merely a means of communication but also as an element of aesthetics in music expression. Additionally, she emphasizes the role of multilingualism as an expression of identification of the people in Istria. The song’s identification role is relevant in both parts of Istria, Slovenian and Croatian.

Marjeta Pisk’s article provides an interesting opportunity for the comparison of articles looking at border regions in the Slovenian northwest and north. Although these studies deal with a border region, the choice of language is determined by the fact that the Slovenians are a minority in this specific area. The article “Singing on the Village Patron’s Feast and New Year’s Carols” (Ravnik, 2022) tackles other, different language situations and expressions in song practices. It looks at singing in the village of Ukve in the Kanal Valley in Italy, where not long ago the local language was still a weave of Slovenian, German, Italian, and Friulian languages. The article finds that, in this case, the choice of language is determined by the communication itself. The domination of the Italian language today means that the Slovenian language appears only during the most important ritual practices, for the *žegen*, i.e. the parish fair and *koledovanje*, caroling, called *šapa*.

The article “Intertwining of Languages in Songs and Changes in Identifications in the Gail Valley” (Klobčar, 2022) presents just how critical the role of ritual practices linked to songs can be. The article analyses the celebration of the parish fair among the Slovenians in the region and the changes this celebration underwent in the process of assimilation. It shows how national policymakers affected the process: their interventions led to a gradual takeover of the most characteristic symbolic identifications of the minority. The translations of the ritual songs meant that the ritual itself acquired German characteristics. The article determines the differences between the translations of ritual songs and the songs in which bilingualism was more or less a spontaneous consequence of the cohabitation of the two nations.

The article “Zakaj, Zakojo, Warum or Why?: Multilinguality in Austrian Carinthian Popular Music” (Kovačič, 2022) also looks at the bilingual region of Carinthia. The author analyses the choice of languages in the creativity of contemporary popular music groups. The groups that create in German language, Slovenian Carinthian dialects, standard Slovenian, spoken Slovenian, and the English language decide on a certain language based on economic reasons or after a consideration that takes into account the position of the

Slovenian minority. Economic reasons that factor into the choice of language are supported by the fact that music is a global phenomenon. On the other hand, the choice of the minority language symbolically contradicts the cultural, political, and linguistic dominance of the majority nation and as such reinforces, publicly expresses, and promotes ethnic and linguistic affiliation of specific groups.

The article “Rituals and Music as Elements in the Use of the Minority Language” (Šivic, 2022) adds to the research of songs that reflect the connections of Slovenian and German speakers in Carinthia. Interestingly, the findings correspond to those in the article on the language in Ukve in the Kanal Valley (Ravnik, 2022); the Slovenian language practically disappeared from public use due to strong Germanisation and is today present at church services, funerals, and Epiphany carols, sometimes in the form of individual spoken greetings but mostly in ritual songs and during spontaneous singing. The author supports her findings by following the use of Slovenian during social events. The research on the minority language used in rituals and music shows that in the German-speaking environment Slovenian language in the ritual context is predominantly (with the exception of a few individuals) used as a phonetically learned language and understanding the communicated message is not paramount. In fact, the ritual context is one of the few opportunities that an individual actually pronounces (spoken or sung) Slovenian. In the Slovenian language environment, however, the ritual context and church service are but two of the spaces where Slovenian is used or co-exists with German. Slovenian language is therefore the language of daily communication, preservation of tradition, and also the language of “negotiations”. The last refers to church services and funerals, where the share of the Slovenian language compared to German depends on the carriers, i.e. their numbers and their power.

SOCIAL DIMENSIONS OF THE INTERTWINING OF LANGUAGES IN SONGS OR THE REASON SLOVENIAN FOLKLORISTICS DID NOT FOLLOW GLONAR

The articles that focus on the areas inhabited by the Slovenian minority and examine the influence of assimilation politics on the language of ritual practices (Klobčar, 2022) and on the contemporary intertwining of languages in songs and the corresponding locations (Ravnik, 2022; Šivic, 2022) indirectly provide an answer to the question why Slovenian folkloristics did not follow Glonar’s plan for bilingual and adopted songs a century ago. In the areas where assimilation processes happened quickly, folk songs retained their national identification role. This role directed the work of France Marolt in the pre-war Folklore Institute (Marolt, 1935). The published articles also show why, a century after Glonar’s call, the research of language intertwining is critical for the understanding of contemporary identifications and language choices of nations living together in border regions. (Kovačič, 2022; Pisk, 2022; Urbancová, 2022; Youssefzadeh, 2022).

The articles also directly or indirectly reveal some characteristics that point not only to the diversity of the examined social contexts but also to the different expression possibilities of bilingual songs. The articles dealing with ritual practices show the special role of ritual songs: code-switching, from the minority language to that of the dominant majority, most profoundly presents the assimilation processes. On the other hand, people seek to preserve the original language of ritual songs or songs sung during different ritual practices, even if merely as a phonetic grouping of learned texts.

Love songs and drinking songs express the largest degree of community connectedness. Regardless of the degree of code-switching, whether the languages in the text are balanced or not, they do not express any kind of dominance. Humorous songs also have a strong connective role; however, the humor itself can become a powerful device to convey a deeply ironic message.

A century ago, Joža Glonar felt that it was time to look at the intertwining of languages in songs objectively. Today, we can see that the intertwining is in fact a process of constant decision-making that depends on a number of circumstances, including the past relationships between the cohabiting nations. The differences in the role of the Slovenian language within this process derive from the fact whether bilingualism appears in the areas where the Slovenian language is dominant and the people do not feel threatened, or did not feel so at the time of the research into bilingualism in songs, or whether we are looking at the area outside of the borders of Slovenia.

Both the project *Song Reflections of Intercultural Coexistence* and the articles in front of us have given answers to a number of questions, but also opened new ones: those of how and where the songs “traveled”, including the song “Če študent na rajžo gre” that according to Štrekelj’s interpretation “had been translated from the German ‘Geht der Studio auf die Reis’” (Štrekelj, Glonar, 1908-1923: 296/11), and those associated with these paths which lead us in new directions.

REFERENCE / REFERENCES

- Anderson, Benedict. 2007 (1983). *Zamišljene skupnosti: O izvoru in širjenju nacionalizma*. Ljubljana: Studia Humanitatis.
- Ballinger, Pamela. 2003. Imperial Nostalgia: Mythologizing Habsburg Trieste. *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 8 (1): 84–101.
- Gellner, Ernest. 2004 (1983). *Nations and Nationalism*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Glonar, Joža. 1917. 'Regiment po cesti gre . . .' – med Nemci. *Ljubljanski zvon* 37 (6): 390–392.
- Glonar, Joža. 1923. »Predgovor«. V / In *Slovenske narodne pesmi IV*, ur. / eds. Karel Štrekelj in Joža Glonar, 1–66. Ljubljana: Slovenska matica.
- Jöde, Fritz. 1914. *Musketier sens lust'ge Brüder: Alte liebe Soldatenlieder*. Jena: Eugen Diederichs.

- John Eckhard. 2010. Historisch-kritisches Liederlexikon in the Internet. V / In *From "Wunderhorn" to the Internet: Perspectives on Conceptions of "Folk Song" and the Editing of Traditional Songs*, ur. / eds. John Eckhard in/and Tobias Widmaier, 225–233. Trier: WVT.
- Judson, Pieter M. 2018 (2016). *Habsburški imperij: Nova zgodovina*. Ljubljana: Sophia.
- Klobčar, Marija. 2020. The Perception of Bilingual Songs in Slovenia and the Cultural Dimensions of Language Selection. *Tautosakos darbai* 59: 209–228. http://www.ilti.lt/failai/TD59_spaudai_internetine%20versija-193-212.pdf.
- Klobčar, Marija. 2022. Intertwining of Languages in Songs and Changes of Identifications in the Gail Valley. *Traditiones* 51 (2): 91–118. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3986/Traditio2022510205>.
- Klobčar, Marija, Marjeta Pisk, Marjeta in / and Anja Serec Hodžar, ur. / eds. 2020. *Mednarodni simpozij Večjezičnost v folklori: 1.–2. oktober 2020 = International Symposium Multilinguality in Folklore: 1-2 October 2020*. Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU.
- Klobčar, Teja. 2012. Capturing Singing Tradition: The Transcribers of the Committee for the Collection of Slovenian Folk Songs. *Jahrbuch des Österreichischen Volksliedwerkes* 61: 148–159.
- Kovačič, Mojca. 2022. Zakaj, zakoj, warum, or Why?: Multilinguality in Austrian Carinthian Popular Music. *Traditiones* 51 (2): 119–138. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3986/Traditio2022510206>.
- Marolt, France. 1935. *Slovenske narodnoslovne študije: Zv.1: Tri obredja iz Zilje*. Ljubljana: Glasbena matica, Folklorni institut.
- Pisk, Marjeta. 2022. 'Un bel moretto' – Linguistic Interweavings in Songs from the Primorska Region. *Traditiones* 51 (2): 55–69. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3986/Traditio2022510203>.
- Pisk Marjeta in / and Katarina Šrampf Vendramin. 2021. Večjezične kratke folklorne oblike: Primeri iz Goriških brd. *Studia mythologica Slavica* 24: 161–178. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3986/SMS20212409>.
- Ravnik, Mojca. 2022. Singing on the Village Patron's Feast and New Year's Carols: The Case of the Village of Ugovizza / Ukve / Uggowitz in the Val Canale / Kanalska dolina / Kanaltal / Val Cianâl in Italy. *Traditiones* 51 (2): 71–90. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3986/Traditio2022510204>.
- Šivic, Urša. 2022. Rituals and Music as Elements in the Use of the Minority Language. *Traditiones* 51 (2): 139–162. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3986/Traditio2022510207>.
- Štrekelj, Karel, ur. / ed. 1895–1898. *Slovenske narodne pesmi I*. Ljubljana: Slovenska matica.
- Štrekelj, Karel, ur. / ed. 1900–1903. *Slovenske narodne pesmi II*. Ljubljana: Slovenska matica.
- Štrekelj, Karel, ur. / ed. 1904–1907. *Slovenske narodne pesmi III*. Ljubljana: Slovenska matica.
- Štrekelj, Karel in / and Joža Glonar, ur. / eds. 1908–1923. *Slovenske narodne pesmi IV*. Ljubljana: Slovenska matica.
- Urbancová, Hana. 2022. Multilingual Songbooks in Slovakia in the 19th Century. *Traditiones* 51 (2): 27–42. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3986/Traditio2022510201>.
- Youssefzadeh, Ameneh. 2022. Interlinguistic Interwininig in Songs: Dāstān in the Repertoire of Khorasani Bards. *Traditiones* 51 (2): 43–54. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3986/Traditio2022510202>.

Članek je nastal v okviru raziskovalnega programa *Folkloristične in etnološke raziskave slovenske duhovne kulture* (P6-0111) in raziskovalnega projekta *Pesemski odsevi medkulturnega sobivanja* (J6-9369), ki ju je sofinancirala Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije iz državnega proračuna. / The author acknowledges the financial support from the Slovenian Research Agency (research core funding *Research on Slovenian Folk Culture in Folklore Studies and Ethnology*, No. P6-0111, and research project *Song Reflections of Intercultural Coexistence*, No. J6-9369).