

The Perception of Bilingual Songs in Slovenia and the Cultural Dimensions of Language Selection

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ABSTRACT. This article identifies the circumstances in which bilingual songs in Slovenia existed and follows the changes in the songs' social role from the first half of the 19th century to the period after the end of the Second World War. It follows these changes as they occurred within the framework of folkloristics and in the practices that folklore scholars tried to shape and those that continued without intervention.

In order to discern the circumstances in which bilingual songs were created, the author focuses on two songs that were documented by one of the first collectors and researchers of Slovenian folk songs, Stanko Vraz. These are the German-Slovenian toast song "Seid fröhlich, ihr Brüder", which only rarely appears in later records, and a Slovenian song "Kam bova vandrala vandrovček moj" ('Whither Shall we Wander, my Little Wanderer?'), which transcribers encountered in different dialects or supradialects. This song appears in the records as a bilingual, Slovenian-German song only later, in the 20th century. The author explores which social groups were characterized by bilingual songs and whether the negative attitude of folkloristics to these songs directed and changed only a selection of folk songs made by collectors, or the repertoire of singers as well.

KEYWORDS: bilingual songs, cultural nationalism, Stanko Vraz, Slovenian folkloristics, selection of songs.

The cultural nationalism that spread throughout Europe in the 19th century, mostly due to "the Herder Effect", was based on the egalitarian idea that humanity is composed of a group of nations that consist of equal, equivalent, collective individuals. These collective individuals were defined by a common language, customs, cultural traditions and historical experience (for more, see Casanova 1999: 110–115; Leersen 2006b; Juvan 2008a: 11–15, 2008b: 64). The idea "spread across the continent and overcame language, state and ethnic borders without problems; at the same time it also materialised everywhere in a very similar manner" (Juvan 2008b: 64). It was centred on the creation of a common identity, which was

interdiscursively connected to a broader context of practices referred to as “national revival”. It was a pan-European, transnational matrix of projects of educated and burgher elites, which – based on the traditional forms of ethnic consciousness, enlightenment concepts of civil rights and natural law, and also pre-Romantic and Romantic ideas of the national spirit – aimed to introduce to the public a new model of sociality that was itself based on imaginary connections between different social classes or religions, and which would be recognisable as a group with the same language, history, cultural traditions and with their own whole and undivided territory (ibid.; cf. Anderson 1998; Leersen 2006a).

There are many reasons that Slovenians were susceptible to ideas of cultural nationalism. For centuries, until the end of the First World War, the lands in which Slovenian people lived were mostly part of the Habsburg Monarchy. The transcriptions of folk songs reflected the character of the individual lands within the Monarchy up to the mid-19th century, in many cases even longer. The majority of these transcriptions came from Carniola, Lower Styria and Carinthia; transcriptions of songs from the Littoral region and the area which was under the Hungarian crown were quite rare.

However, the motives for folk-song collecting were not directly linked to Herder’s 1770s ideas about cultural or Romantic Nationalism; the oldest transcriptions of Slovenian folk songs were made earlier, in response to Macpherson’s Ossian poems of 1760 (Kumer 1996: 19). Most of these and other records made before 1830 have not been preserved.

Despite these beginnings, the collection of folk song tradition reverberated most strongly within the frame of Romanticism and the awareness of the creative powers of a nation. In the words of Andreas Wimmer and Nina Glick Schiller:

In the transition from civic to national concepts of the people, folklore studies in Europe and anthropology in both Europe and the United States played a crucial role. Nations were increasingly seen as organic wholes, nourished by the pure lore, tradition or rural virtue of the peasant, yeoman or farmer not yet afflicted by cosmopolitan modernity (Wimmer, Glick Schiller 2002: 314).

Folk songs had a very important role in the processes of national identification (for more, see Pisk 2018: 43) and so folk-song collecting was centred on the creativity of the collectors’ own nations. The scientific ideology of folklore studies was also motivated by cultural nationalism. Those songs that crossed national borders did not belong in the construction of the nation, which meant that transcriptions of songs in foreign languages or songs where the Slovenian language intertwined with other languages were very rare.

In spite of such attitudes, the first systematic collector of folk tradition in Slovenian territory, Stanko Vraz, did record an interesting German-Slovenian song “Seid fröhlich, ihr Brüder” (‘Be happy, you Brothers’):

*Seid fröhlich, ihr Brüder,
Dokler na sveti živimo,
Singt lustige Lieder,
Zdaj bomo pili vsi vino.
Freund, so nimm das Glas, (2)
Da bo kratek čas. (2)
Seyd lustig nun alle,
Bodo nam skerbi nehale.*

Seid fröhlich, ihr Brüder,
As long as we live,
Singt lustige Lieder,
We will now all drink wine.
Freund, so nimm das Glas, (2)
So the time flies by. (2)
Seyd lustig nun alle,
And we won't have any worries.

*Die Welt ist erschaffen,
Da bi se vsi veselili,
Greift hurtig zu Waffen,
Glažke deb' si nalili.
Heute ist der Tag, (2)
De bo lušen vsak. (2)
Was mischt denn das Leben,
Vsak je veselja potreben.*

Die Welt ist erschaffen,
For everyone to be happy,
Greift hurtig zu Waffen,
Glasses to pour.
Heute ist der Tag, (2)
So that everyone is nice. (2)
Was mischt denn das Leben,
Everyone needs happiness.

*Wir wollen jetzt trinken,
Bog živi prijatele naše,
Den Rechten zur Linken,
Naj mi ven zlijemo glaške.
Gott erhalte Sie (2)
Bog njih naj živi (2)
Noch viele Jahre,
Vse nas, mlade ino stare.*

Wir wollen jetzt trinken,
God, give our friends a long life,
Den Rechten zur Linken,
To pour our glasses out.
Gott erhalte Sie (2)
God, give them a good life (2)
Noch viele Jahre,
To all of us, young and old.

*Wir wollen uns lieben,
Kaj ne, mi vsi smo si bratji,
Die freundschaft soll siegen,
De bo ljubesn nam mati.
Trinket alle geschwind, (2)
Imamo še en pint, (2)
Seyd lustig beysammen,
Daj bodemo rekli vsi Amen.*

Wir wollen uns lieben,
Why not, we are all brothers,
Die freundschaft soll siegen,
That our love is our mother.
Trinket alle geschwind, (2)
We got one more sip, (2)
Seyd lustig beysammen,
Let us all say Amen.¹

NUK, Ms 481, VO XVI, E.7

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1 Songs were translated from Slovenian by Tanja Kuret and by DEKS d. o. o.

“Seid fröhlich, ihr Brüder” is a structurally and linguistically refined German-Slovenian toast. The transcription itself does not include any information on where the song was written down or the social environment where the song originated, but its language and form show that it was created within the circle of Slovenian-German, that is bilingual, intelligentsia.

Stanko Vraz started collecting folk songs in 1833, beginning with transcriptions from Lower Styria, his native Prlekija. Later he continued recording in Carniola, Carinthia and continued all the way to the Kanal Valley and to Prekmurje (Novak 1986: 137)². These regions were part of the Habsburg Monarchy, so the official language was German, except in Prekmurje, where Hungarian was the official language from the second half of the 19th century. German was also the language spoken by the majority of the intelligentsia, while in Styria the position of German was even more significant because of the foreign ownership of the local vineyards.

While Vraz did not note where he wrote down “Seid fröhlich, ihr Brüder”, he did mark the location when he wrote down a bilingual song he found in Carinthia. In the first half of the 19th century Carinthia had a large Slovenian population, but the coexistence of Slovenian and German language groups could be found in many villages. This was reflected in the intertwining of the two languages in everyday use. Ziljska dolina (The Gail Valley)³ was strongly characterised by bilingualism, though Slovenian was rapidly losing ground. It was here that Vraz wrote down two variants of a bilingual love song called “Das Dienal is aufstonden” (‘The Maiden has got up’). He titled the first “Na pol nemška pesem” (‘A Half-German Song’) and the second “Najdeni prstan” (‘A Found Ring’) (NUK, Ms 481, XV, 44).

It is clear that Vraz had no reservations about recording bilingual songs, but this was not due to any lack of knowledge of Romantic ideas about the national spirit. In the introduction to the collection of folk songs, *Narodne pèsni ilirske, koje se pevaju po Štajerskoj, Kranjskoj, Koruškoj i zapadnoj strani Ugarske* (‘Folk Songs of Illyria sung in Styria, Carniola, Carinthia and the West Part of Hungary’), which he published in 1839, he explained to Slovenian readers⁴ why the lyrics were not cleansed of the foreign elements:

I beg of you not to hold it against me for failing to better polish the songs, set them up where I could have and for not getting rid of all foreign or compromised words, but for

2 These regions belong today to different states. Lower Styria (which includes Prlekija) and former Carniola (which is today divided into three regions – Gorenjska, Dolenjska and Notranjska) belong to Slovenia. The part of Carinthia where Vraz collected Slovenian folk songs belongs to Austria, a smaller part of Carinthia is in Slovenia. The Kanal Valley, the region with a complex language situation is today in Italy, bordering Slovenia and Austria.

3 The most western valley with a Slovenian population in the Austrian part of Carinthia today.

4 The collection boasts two introductions, the first was printed in Gaj’s Latin alphabet and the second, intended for the Slovenian reader, was printed in Bohorič’s alphabet.

leaving them in the form that they came before my eyes. I did this because I was beholden to the truth, which is required in such books by history and ethnography; even more so, as I have read Russian, Bohemian, Polish and Illyrian, collected in Serbian and Dalmatian etc., and I have seen that the collectors kept all corrupted expressions and provincialisms in them (Vraz 1839: XXIII–XXIV).

Vraz's methodological approach therefore did not allow for any selection: it followed the songs, and thus he did not exclude either foreign words or bilingual songs.

Vraz's collection and his manner of collecting songs went against the beliefs of the most influential cultural circle in Slovenia of his time, that which gathered around the poet France Prešeren. The idea of promoting their own nation pervaded the group's activities, which involved collecting and publishing songs as well; the circle members took part in publishing five notebooks of the collection *Slovenske pesmi krajskega naróda* ('Slovenian Songs of the Carniolan People') (1839–1844). This group of Slovenian intelligentsia, whose members expressed themselves mainly through literary works, not only strongly emphasised the cultural distinction of Slovenians, they also shaped it. In this way, and also by emphasising the importance of the Slovenian literary language, the group aimed to prove their culture's differences from that of the German language community. The ideas of cultural nationalism were realised through political movements based on nationalism, namely by standardising literary languages, collecting folk material, striving to introduce Slovenian as the main language in schools and to have 'national' content in education and journalism, by encouraging literature that was consciously created and consumed as 'national', by setting up reading societies, scientific associations and national theatres and by apparent 'nationalisation' of the capital cities (Juvan 2008b: 64; for more, see Casanova 1999: 110–115; Leersen 2006b; Juvan 2008a: 11–15).

Vraz's transcriptions of Slovenian–German bilingual songs point out the cultural practices that happened outside the frame of such viewpoints. Unlike Prešeren's circle, Vraz supported the Illyrian movement, which also aimed to culturally realise the idea of the nation, but within the community of South Slavic nations⁵. He was certain that the Slovenian nation was too small to create its own cultural identity ([Vraz] 1877: 331–332; Stanonik 2012: 143–144). The fact that he was excluded from the circle of the intelligentsia elite that gathered around Prešeren further strengthened Vraz's loyalty to the Illyrian movement.

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5 The Illyrian movement was a cultural and national-political movement of the first half of the 19th century which, among other ideas, anticipated the language unity of South Slavic nations as the result of the adoption of Pan-Slavism.

Vraz managed to publish only the first part of the planned collection, the narrative songs. Thus the bilingual songs, and many others, were never published and the material remained in Zagreb as “Vraz’s legacy”, until it was brought to *Slovenska matica* (the Slovene Society) in Ljubljana. The material, to which further transcriptions were later added, became the basis for a representative publication of Slovenian folk tradition. This publication, however, was guided by the principle of the promotion of Slovenian national culture, cleansed of any evidence of foreign influence.

Song transcriptions from the second half of the 19th century were created by following the recording principles that were in step with the folkloristics’ mission that focused on national identity. After the revolution in March 1848, demands for the political rights of nations within the Habsburg Monarchy continued to increase, one of them calling for a political agenda called *Zedinjena Slovenija* (‘United Slovenia’). Publishing folk songs therefore became one of priorities as folk song featured prominently in the representation of the nation (cf. Bohlman 2004: 43; Pisk 2013: 109–114).

The symbolic presentation of the nation through songs was seen as a fairly simple task; folk songs represented the nation as one whole, regardless of the number of regions Slovenian people lived in at the time. Plenty of new material was gathered for the planned collection and, as in literary production, the selection of songs was in line with the “aims to build a canon of representative literary works that deserved to be part of the collective memory, and to highlight the continuity of texts written in the ‘national’ literary language” (Juvan 2008b: 64). The collectors would strive to meet these aims mostly by highlighting narrative songs (Klobčar 2010).

Folk songs as national representations had to be cleansed of the symbolic presence of a language spoken by the ruling elite. This was predominantly German, while in the west it was Italian. Slovenians living under the Hungarian crown would confront the issues of language identification over fifty years later when the demands of the ruling Hungarian elite to abolish the use of Slovenian in public surfaced in the late 19th century.

Slovenians finally got a representative publication that met academic requirements with the appearance of the collection *Slovenske narodne pesmi* (‘Slovenian Folk Songs’) (1895–1920), published under the editorship of Karel Štrelkelj. He was fairly consistent when it came to songs that had originated from a foreign language environment, mostly German, and eliminated them from the selection, just as he eliminated songs with known or foreign authorship. All this was in line with the principles of the time. However, he did make an exception with the song “Če študent na rajžo gre” (‘When a Student Goes Travelling’), which could be found in the so-called Addition where he included “non-folk” songs, with

an additional explanation that the song “was created after the German ‘Geht der Studio auf die Reis’” (SNP IV: 296/11).

Bilingual songs – those transcribed by Vraz and subsequent collectors – were not included in Štrekelj’s collection. The preserved material shows that among the songs that some collectors sent to Štrekelj’s predecessors, and to Štrekelj himself, there were songs in foreign languages and macaronic songs. The collected material also included manuscript songbooks that individual singers had kept for their personal use before the collections were sent to Štrekelj or other collectors.

Some of these songbooks very clearly reflected past or living singing practices. The most outstanding was the collection from the 1870s that belonged to Jožef Kranjc⁶, a teacher from Styria. This collection includes different popular songs, songs with patriotic content (among them were those written by well-known Slovenian authors such as France Prešeren and Valentin Vodnik), and then various toasts and songs that reflect the role of the German language. Specifically, Kranjc’s collection contains a songbook with German and Slovenian-German songs, in addition to Slovenian songs (GNI GZ 28).

The German songs in the songbook are mostly light, as for example the song “Es gibt kein schönres Leben als das Studentenleben” (‘There is no better life than that of a student life’). It also includes translations of German songs, such as “To žlahtno vinsko kapljico zdaj hočemo popiti” (‘This Vintage Wine We Now Shall Drink’), which had been translated from “Hinunter mit dem letzten Rest Und immer fort gesungen” and the song “Pivaj, vživaj in prepevaj” (‘Drink, Enjoy and Sing’) also translated from German. Among others, the songbook includes the transcription of the song “Seid lustig, ihr Brüder” (‘Be Cheerful, You Brothers’), titled “Veselica” (‘A Merry Song’), already known from Vraz’s transcriptions (Glomar 1923, no. *62).

The songbook of Kranjc, a teacher and a headmaster, exemplifies the song repertoire of teachers in Lower Styria in the second half of the 19th century. Slovenian teachers in the Habsburg Monarchy were generally fluent in German, but those in Styria would experience the language more immersively than others because of the stronger presence of the German-speaking population. German and bilingual songs testify to the social life of the educated elite who had a fairly pragmatic attitude to the language. On the other hand, there are testimonies that German burghers in Lower Styria sang Slovenian toasts and other songs in the vineyards; the first songs that the founder and the editor of *Das deutsche Volkslied* Josef Pommer heard as a child were Slovenian (Murko 1929: 8).

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6 His name is written in different variants, regarding German and Slovenian orthography: *Josef Kreinz*, *Josef Krainz*, *Jožef Krajnc* and *Jožef Kranjc*.

Kranjc's inclusion of the German-Slovenian toast "Seid lustig, ihr Brüder" in his collection speaks of the popularity of this song among the intelligentsia. The transcription is for the most part the same as the variant preserved in Vraz's legacy; there are more lexical differences in the Slovenian text than in the German.

Despite the unfavourable stance on macaronic songs, they remained part of the repertoire, a fact underscored by the presence of several transcriptions of songs that were done within the frame of a government project "Das Volkslied in Österreich" ("The Folk Song in Austria"). The project was organised in Vienna by the Ministry of Public Worship and Education in 1904 and in Slovenia it was managed by the Committee for the Collection of Slovenian Folk Songs. The collection of songs was financially remunerated and this in fact stimulated the collectors to write down less desirable songs as well, so the German-Slovenian toast that had already been documented by Stanko Vraz was transcribed yet again (see figure 1).

The transcription of this song includes the music notation, as the project required, but it differs from others that were made within the project, as the song was not written down in the required template; the text appears separately from the melody.

As seen in an annotation, the toast remained alive among teaching circles. Rudolf Vrabl, the recorder who sent the song to the committee, noted that he had obtained the song indirectly:

I received this song during this year's summer holiday from the headmaster Karel Mikel from St. Miklavž near Ljutomer. He found it among old books that used to belong to his late father Jurij, who was once a teacher in St. Bolfenk in Kog. The headmaster told me that the song wasn't written by his father. When and where it comes from, that I could not find out (GNI OSNP 825).

The transcription arrived in the archives at the beginning of the project, probably in 1907, and judging from the Bohorič alphabet and the context of the transcription, it must have been written down in the mid-19th century. When compared to the older Vraz transcription, the shorter text allows us to deduce that by the time the song was transcribed it had ceased to be part of common singing practice.

Both transcriptions of German-Slovenian toasts, which entered the song tradition at the end of the 19th century, raise the issue of preservation of bilingual songs at the time bilingualism was not appreciated in these symbolic representations. In the first half of the 19th century the song in question was still part of singing repertoires, but it disappeared later on. The selection of songs accepted by the educated elite therefore changed also because of the influence of the effort to create a national identity.

Trinklied. 829 Rudolf Vrabel

ETNOGRAFSKI MUZEJ
LJUBLJANA

Vajt lufky iſt Ljublar
 Dobler na freti ſhivimo
 Vinjt lufkyu Lubar
 Sedaj bomo pili vfi vino
 ſunimt ſe nimt ber Glas
 De bode nam kraterk ſhos
 Vajt lufky nmt vlla
 De bode nemt ſkerbi do padle.

2.

In Woll iſt unſer Wapen,
 De bi ſe vfi veſellit!
 Gniſt ſunty zu Wapen
 Glaskike so ſe nallit
 Lanta iſt unſer Feig
 Waj bode lufchen vſak

829

Mūs jūst ūns šis Lubn
 Vsa je vespēji potiebon.

3.

Mūs mīšmū onēš vintm
 Bog jhivi Glāfēvika nāfēhe
 Dōn Anstn zu Linbn
 Vaj pājjo onē porhāsi
 Gōd vārtlā fin
 Bog jich nāj fchivi
 Rnūt lūfiv vint Lāfō
 Vaj ti mlade no stare.

4.

Mūs mīšmū onēš vintm
 Vaj svi smo fi brati.

Upomba: Drugo se je izgubilo.

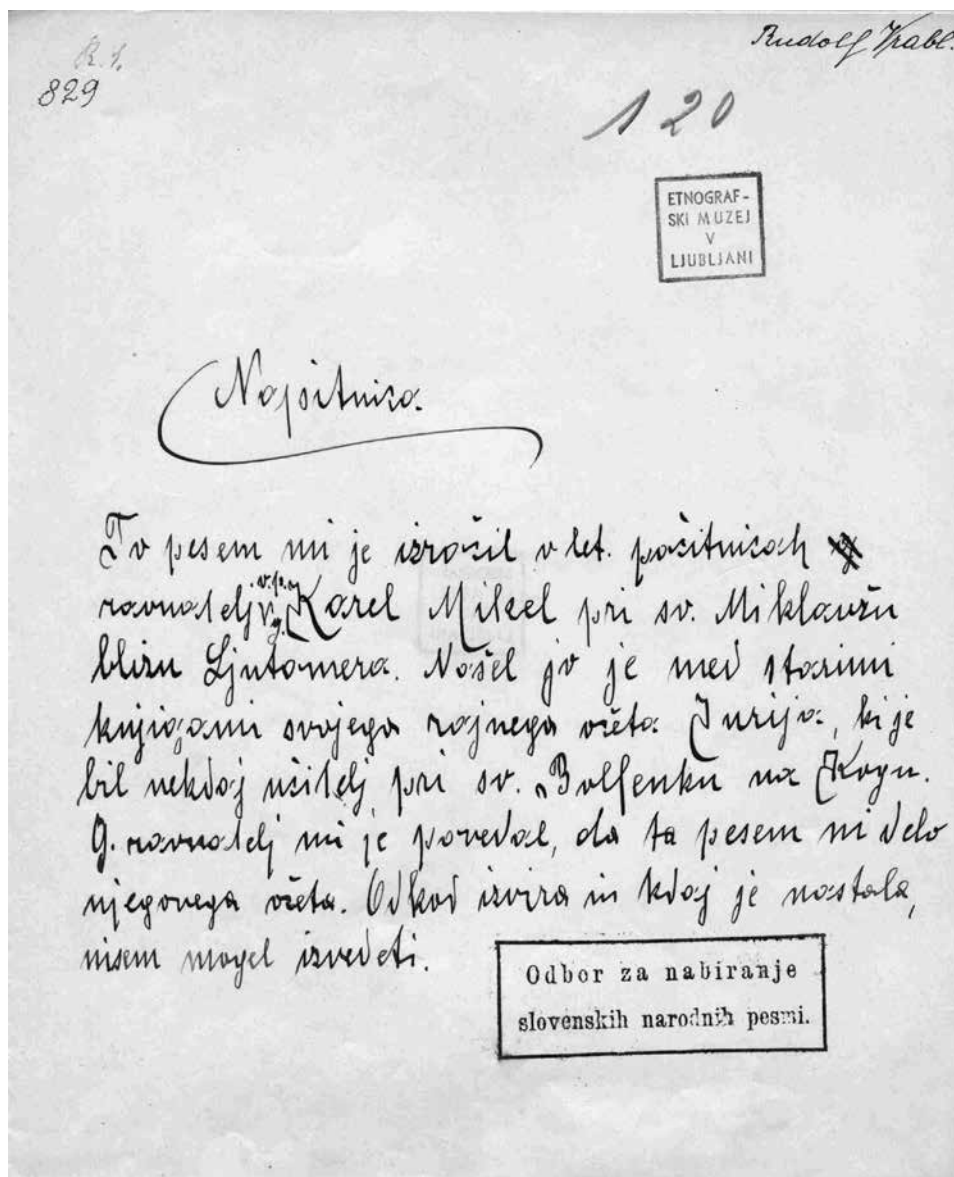


Figure 1. Trinklied (A Toast) (GNI OSNP 825). Three pages.

There are no traces of this German-Slovenian song in the German-speaking lands of Germany or Austria, although the beginning of “Seid fröhlich / lustig, ihr Brüder” is quite frequently found in drinking songs⁷. In 1909, “Seid fröhlich, ihr Brüder” was printed in the Catholic cultural and literary journal *Dom in svet* in an article describing some Slovenian composers of the second half of the 19th century. This German-Slovenian song was presented as an example of the alleged poverty and limitation of Slovenian creativity in the days before national movements, an interpretation that diminished the value of the song and made it less likely to be remembered. The printed version differs from previous ones, so the author of the article must have known the song from another source (Barle 1909: 27).

Bilingualism was not exclusive to the intellectual elite, however, and it could be found among the common people as well, especially in the areas along language borders. Language was “the main marker of national affiliation” (Pisk 2018: 12) and the discourse language of the minority or economically weaker population was generally subordinate to the language of the controlling elite. Still, many people, especially those living in bilingual areas “used more languages, each having a specific place of use and people would seamlessly move from one language to another” (ibid.: 13).

Two Vraz transcriptions of the bilingual love song, “Das Dienal is aufstonden”, from the Gail Valley (NUK, Ms 481, XV, 44), belong to singing practices that were not linked to the educated elite. The question is then whether those who managed the collecting process had any influence on these singing practices. An answer may be found in the extensive analysis made by Štrekelj’s successor Joža Glonar five years after the dissolution of Austria-Hungary.

In 1918, when the First World War ended, the majority of Slovenian lands became a part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, later known as Yugoslavia. Glonar, who took over the editing of *Slovenske narodne pesmi* from Štrekelj in 1912, understood that because of its role in building national identity, folkloristics had been excluding an important part of the material related to singing practices in Slovenia. In his extensive introduction to the last part of *Slovenske narodne pesmi*, Glonar highlighted new tasks of folklore studies in the altered social situation. Analyzing the editorial policies, the collecting practices and the material that the collectors had been sending to Štrekelj from the very beginning, Glonar gave special attention to the songs and songbooks which had previously been omitted:

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 7 Neither the Deutsches Volkslied Archiv (Zentrum für Populäre Kultur und Musik, Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg) or the Volksmusikdatenbank of Österreichisches Volksliedwerk Wien have examples of this song. For this search I owe thanks to dr. Eckhard John (Zentrum für Populäre Kultur und Musik, Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg) and, for help with the transcription, to dr. Walther Deutsch (Österreichisches Volksliedwerk Wien).

The historical value of these songbooks is also in the foreign language material found in them, e.g. the German songs. The writers of songbooks were mostly bilingual; besides Slovenian songs they sang and made copies of German songs as well. The same goes for our songs in the east (Croatia) and west (Italy), although to a lesser extent. Of course, such symbiosis could not have been without consequences: not only were the foreign texts translated, they sharpened the feel for art and in addition to contextual motifs they were the source of formal means, often just bare, unintelligible choruses (Glonar 1923, no. *61).

Glonar analysed the contents of two collections from Styria, Kranjc's collection mentioned before, and a songbook by Franz Scheidt, which contained the largest numbers of transcriptions of German songs. Glonar determined the differences between the two collections and concluded his observations saying: "With this we have determined the two main and most typical streams that bring the German element into our song, be it among the intelligentsia in a merry bilingual circle or the common folk during the three years of military service, usually among the Germans." He also pointed out the importance of these transcriptions for German folkloristics and the significance of the transcription of bilingual songs and songs in foreign languages (*ibid.*). However, he did not specifically mention the creation of songs in bilingual areas.

The reception theory that Glonar endorsed (*ibid.*, no. *45; Kumer 2002: 9–10) relaxed the rigidly dismissive attitude of folkloristics to macaronic songs and the songs transferred from one ethnic group to another, although this change did not bring about direct results. The transcribing of, and research into, folk songs between the two World Wars had an entirely different emphasis, as the work was focused mainly on the areas along the new borders and on the presentation of folklore tradition. The year 1934 saw the foundation of the Folklore Institute, an event in which Glonar did not take part, but the situation did not change much. Therefore, we cannot directly assess the life of macaronic songs between the First and the Second World Wars.

The period after the Second World War offers more possibilities of exploring macaronic songs, though the focus of the researchers was yet again on the exploration of typical Slovenian culture: "the nation-state has become the most prominent form of methodological nationalism in the postwar social sciences" (Wimmer, Glick Schiller 2002: 306). From the mid-1950s a lot of audio material was recorded by the associates of the Institute of Ethnomusicology as a result of systematic work in the field. Among the songs recorded at the time was "Kam bova vandra, vandroček moj?" ('Whither Shall we Wander, my Little Wanderer?') which was recorded in Briše village near Kamnik in central Slovenia.

♩ = 64

O, ver ve raj - zen, o je - gr - ček moj, kam bo - ma pa mi - dva oj

11 ♩ = 94

raj - ža - la ncoj? Dol po štrajs, maj - ne lie - ber Li - za, dol po ce - sti,

17 *rit.*

lu - ba mo - ja Li - za, kajn - cer vens, maj - ne lu - sti - ge nah.

Figure 2. Transcription of the song “O, ver ve rajzen, o jegerček moj” (GNI M 24.610).

“O, ver ve rajzen, o jegerček moj,
kam boma pa midva oj rajžala ncoj?”
“Dol po štrajs, majne lieber Liza,
dol po cesti, luba moja Liza,
kajncer vens, majne lustige nah.”

“O, ver ve rajzen, o jegerček moj,
kaj boma pa midva večerjale ncoj?”
“En štikelc flajš, majne lieber Liza,
kos mesa, ljuba moja Liza,
kajncer vens, majne lustige nah.”

“O, ver ve rajzen, o jegerček moj,
kaj boma pa midva oh pila ncoj?”
“En liter wajn, majne lieber Liza,
liter vinca, ljuba moja Liza,
kajncer vens, majne lustige nah.”

“O, ver ve rajzen, my little hunter,
Oh, whither shall we wander tonight?”
“Down the Strasse, majne lieber Liza,
Down the street, my dear Lisa,
Kajncer vens, majne lustige nah.”

“O, ver ve rajzen, my little hunter?
What shall we dine on tonight?”
“A piece of flajš, majne lieber Liza,
A piece of meat, my dear Lisa,
Kajncer vens, majne lustige nah.”

“O, ver ve rajzen, my little hunter?
Oh, what shall we drink tonight?”
“A liter of wajn, majne lieber Liza,
A liter of wine, my dear Lisa,
Kajncer vens, majne lustige nah.”

“O, ver ve rajzen, o jegerček moj,
kje boma pa midva ležala nocoj?”
“Gor na štrozak, majne lieber Liza,
gor na postelc, ljuba moja Liza,
kajnzer vens, majne lustige nah.”

“O, ver ve rajzen, o jegerček moj,
s kom se ma pa midva odela nocoj?”
“O ti maš kikelco,
oj jaz pa sukenco,
oj lubica moja, le pojd z menoj.”

“O, ver ve rajzen, o jegerček moj,
kaj boma pa midva oj delala ncoj?”
“Majne sin, majne liber Liza,
enga sinčka, ljuba moja Liza,
kajnzer vens, majne lustige nah.”

GNI M 24.610

“O, ver ve rajzen, my little hunter?
Where shall we sleep tonight?”
“Up on the štrozak, majne lieber Liza,
Up on the bed, my dear Lisa,
Kajnzer vens, majne lustige nah.”

“O, ver ve rajzen, my little hunter?
What shall we cover up with tonight?”
“You have your little skirt
And I have my jacket.
My darling, do come with me.”

“O, ver ve rajzen, my little hunter?
What shall we make tonight?”
“Majne son, majne lieber Liza,
A little son, my dear Lisa,
Kajnzer vens, majne lustige nah.”

As the transcription from the field notebook shows, the brother of the lead singer learned this bilingual song in nearby Kamnik sometime between the great wars, more precisely, in an inn where the burghers from Kamnik and well-to-do local people would meet. We can learn from the context that this song contributed to the singers' good reputation because it allowed them to show off their knowledge of German, insofar as they could understand it. At the same time, the parts in the foreign language disguise the meaning when sung in the presence of children. The question is, though, how did the song reach Kamnik and what does the intertwining of Slovenian and German actually tell us.

“Kam bova vandra, vandroček moj?” has been known to Slovenian scholars since the middle of the 19th century, as it had already appeared, as a Slovenian folk song, in Štrekelj's representative collection. Styria offered the largest number of variants, but the song was also written down in Carinthia, in Carniola and in the western part – in the Littoral region – in the county of Gorizia and Gradisca. Most versions of the song address the “little wanderer” (*vandroček*), but some replace it with “darling” (*ljubček*) (SNP II: 150–156). Vraz's transcription can also be found among the published versions (SNP II: 150–151). These versions were transcribed in their respective dialects, from which we can observe the changes in the language code; they present different dialectal levels, which can be discerned either from their closeness to the supradialect or how far they move away from it. Vraz's transcript interweaves the Styrian dialect and formal language:

“*Kam bova vandrala, ljubiček moj?*”
 “*Proti Gradci k oštarjaši:*
ostani da, Micika, pri meni nicoj.”

“Whither shall we wander, my darling?”
 “Toward Graz, to the inn:
 Stay here with me tonight, Mary.”

“*Kaj pa va jela, ljubiček moj?*”
 “*Dobro prato no šalato:*
ostani da...”

“What shall we eat, my darling?”
 “Delicious pork and salad:
 Stay here...”

“*Kaj pa va pila, ljubiček moj?*”
 “*Laško vince muškatele:*
ostani da...”

“What shall we drink, my darling?”
 “Italian Muscat wine:
 Stay here...”

“*Kde pa va spala, ljubiček moj?*”
 “*Gor na štalici, na otavici:*
ostani da...”

“Where shall we sleep, my darling?”
 “Up in the barn, in the soft hay:
 Stay here...”

“*S čim va se odevala, ljubiček moj?*”
 “*Ti s kožuščecom, jaz pa s suknjicom,*
ostani da...”

“What shall we cover up with, my darling?”
 “You with a pelt and I with my jacket,
 Stay here...”

“*Kam va se obrnola, ljubiček moj?*”
 “*Jaz k tebi, ti pa k meni:*
ostani, Micika, pri meni nocoj!”

“Where shall we turn, my darling?”
 “I’ll turn to you, and you’ll turn to me:
 Stay with me tonight, Mary!”

“*Kaj va si goučala, lubiček moj?*”
 “*Jaz od tebe, ti od mene:*
ostani da...”

“What shall we talk about, my darling?”
 “I’ll talk about you, and you about me:
 Stay here...”

NUK, Ms 481, XI, 31

Vraz, who was in fact without prejudice against bilingual songs, defined “*Kam bova vandrala, vandrovček moj?*” as a Slovenian song. This means that he could not have known its bilingual version, otherwise he would have transcribed it as such. However, the song was also known as a monolingual, Slovenian folk song in other places (SNP II: 150–156). As such, it was recorded in Tišina in Prekmurje in 1898 by a Hungarian researcher Béla Vikár (GNI 13-MH 1225) who made the first audio recordings of Slovenian folk songs using a phonograph.

“*Kam bova vandrala, vandrovček moj?*” was also documented as a Slovenian song even later, as is clear from the later audio recordings created among the Slovenian minority in Carinthia (Austria), more precisely, in Ziljska dolina (the Gail Valley – Kumer and Habe 1986: 156–158; [Milisavljevič] 2014: 453), Spodnji Rož (‘Lower Rosental’ – Kumer, Polanc 1992: 74), Zgornji Rož (‘Upper Rosental’ –

Kumer, Polanc 1996: 62, 63) and in Podjuna ('the Jaun Valley' – Kumer et al. 1998: 80–81). In its German-Slovenian form, the song appears only in one transcription from the Jaun Valley (Kumer [et al.] 1998: 82), the valley with the largest share of Slovenian inhabitants in Austria today, in transcriptions from the Gail Valley ([Milisavljevič] 2014: 453) and in Austrian Styria (Hois 2005: 31), where the proportion of people speaking Slovenian was gradually decreasing.

In the 20th century, therefore, two variations of the song – mono- and bilingual – were recorded in bilingual areas, which might have been the mechanism whereby the song arrived in central Slovenia, in Kamnik. The bilingual version was also captured on tape among the Slovenian minority in Hungary, in the Raba Valley, which remained completely isolated behind the Iron Curtain after the Second World War. Before that period, the people in the Raba Valley were generally in contact with other Slovenians and also with the German-speaking inhabitants, mainly due to seasonal work. A transcription of the song "Wos wir ma mächen, o jagrček moj" ('Wos wir ma mächen, my little hunter') (GNI M 32.820) from 1970, a time of complete political isolation, shows that the person who sang the song took pride in his knowledge of German and his worldliness.

We can assume that "Kam bova vandrala, vandovček moj?" might have been bilingual originally, but that the collectors were not aware of that or did not want to write it down in such a form; maybe the singers themselves did not mention it. We cannot exclude the possibility of language selection in the Austrian part of Carinthia. Still, the intertwining of German and Slovenian languages could have occurred at a later point due to the need for more intensive expression, as the first verse is repeated, which allowed for the inclusion of the second language in the repeated phrase. The transcriptions and audio recordings of this and other bilingual songs from the period after the Second World War show that these songs did live among the common people. The vitality of bilingual songs is also demonstrated in the love song documented by Vraz; this was recorded in the Gail Valley at the end of the 20th century ([Milisavljevič] 2014: 281, 282).

However, these transcriptions and audio recordings do not help us determine how the macaronic songs living among the common people were affected by folkloristics. Song transcriptions from some of the songbooks collected for the representative collection *Slovenian Folk Songs*, and other transcriptions as well, show that German or German-Slovenian songs were sung in Slovenia long after the national revival movement gave rise to different representations of national identity. Bilingualism in songs allowed, and still allows, for additional messages, either hiding what the singers wanted to remain hidden or emphasising what they took pride in.

The difficulty of researching the question of macaronic songs underlines the urgency of connecting the work, knowledge, and experience of researchers from different

linguistic environments. This exigency is highlighted by topics from the past that are connected to life in multinational countries as well as by modern topics, mainly those linked to life along state borders. Such connections are dictated by the need to go beyond the borders of language, as expressed by Ludwig Wittgenstein: “The limits of my language mean the limits of my world” (Fikfak 2019: 12). Connections that go beyond the limits of our own national cultural presentation also go beyond the “methodological nationalism” that derives from the assumption that every society is contained within its own national state, its own territory, its own culture and language (Beck 2003: 39–45, 93; see also Beck 2004: 40–47; Juvan 2008b: 65).

Since its founding in 1966, the international *Kommission für Volksdichtung* (‘The Ballad Commission’), has understood the need for comparative research from the very beginning. On the occasion of the *Kommission*’s 50th anniversary in 2006, the “Historical-Critical Edition of Songs” project was presented (John 2010: 232), designed to enable co-operation in new comparative research, including macaronic songs. This need corresponds to the idea that “each and every culture in itself is multiple, hybrid, mixed and saturated with the reflexes of the other, and that both individuals and groups are characterised by a number of cultural matrixes” (Juvan 2008b: 86).

The Institute of Ethnomusicology of Scientific Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts responded to this initiative with “Pesemski odsevi medkulturnega sobivanja” (‘Song Reflections on Intercultural Coexistence’), a project aiming to examine past examples of the intertwining of languages in the song tradition and the contemporary song creativity of languages in contact. Goals include international cooperation, since “the persistence of ethnic groups in contact implies not only criteria and signals for identification, but also a structuring of interaction which allows the persistence of cultural differences” (Barth 2010: 414), and besides research on cultural presentations, we aim to consider carefully how these presentations were treated in the past. Only such research can help us understand what individual folkloristics not only preserved but also influenced and changed.

SOURCES

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- GNI M – Melodies (Sound recordings) in the Archive of Institute of Ethnomusicology (Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut), ZRC SAZU.
- NUK, Ms – Manuscript collections at the National and University Library (Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica), Ljubljana.
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Dvikalbių dainų samprata Slovėnijoje ir kultūriniai kalbos pasirinkimo aspektai

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S a n t r a u k a

Raktažodžiai: dvikalbės dainos, kultūrinis nacionalizmas, Stanko Vraz, slovėnų folkloristika, dainų rinkimas.

Slovėnijoje, kuri iki 1918 m. priklausė Habsburgų imperijai, tautų kaip kolektyvinių individų lygybės idėja, tapusi liaudies dainų rinkimo pagrindu, visą laiką buvo itin aktuali. Liaudies dainų rinkimas buvo laikomas viena svarbiausių ir ryškiausių tautos saviraiškos galimybių; negana to, šiam tikslui surinktas dainas reikėjo apvalyti nuo valdančiojo elito kalbos. Dainų transkripcija leido jas perkelti iš vienos etninės grupės kitai, makaroninių dainų dėl tų pačių priežasčių pasitaikydavo labai retai, o jų užrašymai jau savaime kelia įvairių klausimų.

Siekiant išryškinti aplinkybes, kuriomis buvo kuriamos dvikalbės dainos, straipsnyje nagrinėjama poros dainų, kurias XIX a. pirmojoje pusėje užrašė Stanko Vrazas, vienas iš pirmųjų slovėnų liaudies dainų rinkėjų ir tyrėjų, vaidmenų kaita ir santykis su makaroninėmis dainomis. Ši kaita matyti tiek folkloristikos kaip mokslo sampratoje, tiek liaudies dainų užrašymuose, kuriuos folkloristai siekė reguliuoti. Struktūros ir kalbos požiūriu nugludinta vokiška slovėnų daina „Seid fröhlich ihr Brüder“ ('Būkit laimingi, broliai') pirmąsyk buvo fiksuota mokytojų socialiniame rate ir vėliau randama itin retai. Tuo tarpu pirmieji žinomi dainos "Kam bova vandrata, vandrovc̄ek moj" ('Kur mes keliausim, mano keliauninke') šaltiniai yra tik slovėnų kalba, neišskiriant nė S. Vrazo užrašymo, o vokiška šios slovėnų dainos versija aptinkama jau tik XX a. užrašymuose. Beje, ši daina daugiausia buvo fiksuojama kaimiškosiose vietovėse.

Dvikalbės dainos tik iš dalies atitiko liaudies dainų rinkėjų puoselėtus ideologinius principus. Išanalizavus minėtąsias dvi dainas, straipsnyje keliamas klausimas, ar neigiamas požiūris į makaronines dainas veikė ir keitė tiksliai jų rinkimą ar paveikė ir pačias dainas. Antroji daina, kurios dvikalbis pavidalas pasirodė tiksliai XX a., perša dvi galimybes: arba folkloristai negalėjo ir nenorėjo matyti šios dainos dvikalbystės, arba dvikalbės dainų versijos buvo kuriamos paprastų žmonių, nepaisant akivaizdžiai neigiamo folkloristų požiūrio į tokias dainas. Norėdami susidaryti aiškesnį vaizdą, turėtume sutelkti daugiau užrašytos medžiagos, daugiau duomenų ir platesnį kontekstą, kuris apimtų ir užsienyje gyvenančias slovėnų mažumas. Todėl straipsnyje, aptariant dvikalbes dainas, ypač pabrėžiama platesnio lyginamojo tyrimo būtinybė, o toks tyrimas neįmanomas be tarptautinio mokslinio bendradarbiavimo.

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