Spontaneous Song: Marginal State, Traditional Structures, Vernacular Meanings, Global Expression

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Summary

The ideas for this book grew out of long-time observation of cultural phenomena, related to musical behaviour and practices. Such initial considerations led to the assumption that there are inconspicuous, non-articulated connections between the old peasant folk songs and those that still live on in the communities today and which are difficult to directly call a folk song. They do not fit into the canonical view of traditional Lithuanian culture, which formed over the past few centuries.

As material was purposefully collected, accumulated, managed, assumptions made and then checked, separate cases studied and finally, out of all this, one consistent text was written, a special modus of song existence opened up, which in this book is called *spontaneous*. Through it, the image of the colourful evolutionary road of traditional song culture, which led to the modern multifaceted musical culture, was revealed. The key medium for *spontaneity* is living culture, the aural-oral creation, mastery and transmission of songs in various communities – this is the book's main focus. Another important feature allowing to single out the study object is *marginality*. It can be defined as the being of a song far away from professional public relations services, massproduction, commercial publishing, consumer, commercial, public information space, cultural industries, shows, big stage culture, yet still dialectically relates to all this.

Two central sections can be distinguished in the book's structure: the third – "Outlining spontaneous Lithuanian songwriting", and the fourth – "Signs of tradition in the world of post-traditional songs". It reveals the contradictions of spontaneous songs and at the same time their unity with the surrounding cultural environment. In the third section we discuss the spontaneous **creation** of songs, i.e. the importance of authorship, personality, individual creative decisions in the songs' development from tradition to post-tradition (modernism). The fourth section is

dedicated to analysis of **tradition** as the catalyst for the existence of songs. When selecting the social context of a song's existence – the marginal, barely noticeable dimension – and describing separate cases of being within communities, the "kitchen" of the songs' circulation, consumption is revealed. Personal creations of songs became subjects to the folklore process, they are included in the cultural experiences of communities and constantly gain new meanings, turn into fragments, separate segments, motifs, and are embodied anew as generations change. This allows us to present an image in which songs have become part of modern culture using folklore schemes. Personal songwriting and the effect of the impact of living tradition (in other words, the spreading of songs among the people) are closely linked, thus both parts of the book supplement each other as ideas are intertwined, returned, variably repeated, continued.

Although the most attention is paid to the current position of the researched phenomena, the main methodical instrument is a diachronic outlook – constantly looking at the past, seeing many of the reasons for this position. The study covers the 19th–early 21st c. Its main axis is the musical side of songs and the musical behaviour of the community, its members, and the authors of songs.

The study is supplemented by an annex, consisting of 14 descriptions. Each one discusses a unique case related to a specific song, song author, existence of song in the community; details, facts, and commentary are presented. The annex's descriptions are constantly referenced in the book.

The first section – **Introduction** – presents the research object, introduces the key assumptions, discusses theoretical works that act as starting points for the study (D. Ben-Amos, S. J. Bronner, N. G. Canclini, A. Giddens, J. Tomlinson, S. Nekludov, J. Lotman, L. Yadryshnikova), the selected research method is defined.

In the second section – **Song culture: flow of time and changes** – the directions for the transformation of song culture, as distinguished by Lithuanian folklorists, are covered and lead

to the assumption to form one more direction, which is the basis for this book.

The impact of the phenomena of deterritorialization on song tradition is also examined. The beginning of the traditional song disappears somewhere in the annals of history, each song having grown from its own place's daily routine, connected by the rituals of cyclical time. The primary axes of the flow of songs are land, family, and community. Traditionally, as dictated by the norms of authentic morality, actions are repeated (as repetition is a way of staying in the world that we know, in other words, a way to remain safe), rituals constantly reconstruct the past, organically blending into the present. Tradition creates a stable, coherent framework of collective memory, where the song is slowly polished as it is passed down from generation to generation.

The directions for the modernisation process, especially in the 20th c., begin to significantly rattle the essential connections between person and place. Land reform (after WWI) led to changes in the usual landscape, people moved from the places where they were born and raised, where many generations lived, a lot of people moved to the cities, new communities gathered and settled there. This way, not only links with *place* fracture and change – where a person feels that their roots have settled, that it's their *own place*, where they always want to return, which they dream of, but also incredibly important links, which affect ways of thinking, acting, and decision-making, which are connections with one's own community.

After the inter-war period, which shifted the main axis of a song's flow, with the increasing need for patriotic songs and intersecting with the resources provided by popular culture, another blow was dealt by the period after WWII, which maybe even finally crushed the roots of the old traditional song. Sovietisation, exile, collectivisation, melioration simply swept away the remnants of the basis for traditional culture – the structures of the old way of life. Nevertheless, multi-faceted links to the village culture,

peasant way of thinking to this day are the mark of a Lithuanian, even in a cosmopolitan world that has shrunk down to a global village. The feeling of security, once provided by the traditional community, is now searched for in the non-hermetic, fragmented, rapidly changing environment of urban culture. It seems like traditional song, with the lack of the medium that births it, ended its life cycle and moved to archives, publications, to the work of artists, the amateur stage, or nostalgic memories.

The axis of the flow of songs has shifted, branched out and split up, but its key needs have conditioned and still condition the continuation of the living songwriting and singing process: the need to gather into communities, look for existential meaning in daily life, give meaning to the rhythm of life through points of an exalted state of being – celebrations, rites, and rituals. These needs in modern society are just as strong as in the pre-modern society. Nevertheless, *place* is no longer what gives rise to song. *Place* is supported by songs, given an identity through song, or simply created.

In the third section – **Outline of spontaneous Lithuanian songwriting** – the aim is to differentiate patterns that govern the creative beginnings, to define the guidelines for the relationship between creativity and normality of tradition in modern song culture. The theoretical skeleton of spontaneous songwriting in Lithuania, as an integral phenomenon of modern culture, is presented, and the folkloric "way of talking" for this creative work is highlighted.

Spontaneous, also known as naïve, songwriting today is a common, widespread phenomenon. We almost don't think about it and tend not to notice or simply do not watch it closely. This is the creative work of authors – amateurs or semi-professional songwriters – which is transmitted aurally-orally or in other ways. This chapter reveals what happens to this creative work when it begins to take root in the lives of the communities.

It is very difficult to define the place of a creator of spontaneous song in the community, to establish the typical cultural corner

where this creative work exists. The field of the creators' personal self-awareness, cultural dependence and their educational scale is quite wide – from an elementary education, sometimes with minimal literacy, and at the same time untrained in the skill of writing down something to remember, to a first or second generation person with a higher technical, scientific, or humanitarian education who no longer lives and works in the countryside, to a farmer, worker, or teacher, cultural worker, lawyer, professor, or journalist. Today, a spontaneous songwriter can be anyone, from an elderly pensioner to a student. Nevertheless, it seems like songs are most actively created by middle-aged and older women, usually teachers, members of amateur performance groups, singers of funeral hymns, and by men who are participants of amateur cappellas, wedding musicians/hosts, or musicians/hosts for other family celebrations.

In communities, a song clearly becomes a hybrid cultural entity, such as the example we use of the anthem of a small town. This piece has its authors – a local poet and local composer. The anthem has existed for nearly a decade and has become the new attribute of the town, its musical symbol – people sing this anthem on special occasions, during the culminations of events and gatherings, it is sung while standing up. It is even learned by children at the local preschool. The song seems to be layered from folk-style poetry, as a consciously-used sign of tradition, longevity, experience, and from a simple melody, yet stylistically complicated musical texture. We can distinguish 1) motifs of pre-war patriotic songs, which during the Soviet era became incredibly popular songs to be sung at the feast table; 2) Soviet-era pioneer camp song repertoire cadence slides; 3) pop-style instrumentation; 4) Latin-American rhythmic background, this rhythm's imitation in the melody.

This burst of hybrid cultural forms might seem dangerous, ever deadly, to many local forms, signs of identity. The old link between the person and place is replaced by a new, transformed quality, new signs that localise global experience. They only indicate

that a place's cultural space is, in truth, becoming broader, more complicated, and the new local identity arises not from the ruins of the old, but forms as traditions transform and adapt.

The hybrid texture of a spontaneously created song, having formed under the influence of the culture of literacy, the songs' creative work, reflects the textual themes, abundance of typical poetic figures in the music - the dominance of certain metricalrhythmical patterns. Recently, the incredible surge of the circulation of texts online fuses the expressions of songs and non-songs (rhymed congratulations, greetings, toasts, memorials, words of condolence, mourning sashes, tombstone inscriptions, etc.) - it seems like most pieces are created using material from the same multiplied sources (maybe even subconsciously, simply because it is impossible to not hear, see, and know anything about the stereotypical formulas). The interaction between spontaneous songwriting and the national choral singing movement additionally stimulates patriotic creative themes. The presentational culture gives songs an additional mark: song creators are often the real leader in bringing together the community, they are cultural activists, heads of various stage-performance groups. In songs there is a melding of the naïve aesthetic of musical, verbal, and visual art - the creator of spontaneous songs in many cases can also be a naïve painter, carver, or handicraft artisan. In addition, we can definitely claim that it is a hybrid of the city and of the village mentality, of commercial and spontaneous non-commercial, mass and individual/collective, consumer and creative planes, finally of local and intercultural (according to McLuhan, the global village) identity.

In attempting to highlight the elements of folkloric expression, the following feature of the creation of spontaneous songs is noted – the commonality of creative impulses, principles. In such creative work, originality and uniqueness are not primary concerns, rather it is the opposite – the goal is for the piece to be recognisable, obvious, and easy to understand. Such an aspiration

is neither understood nor articulated in any way. In the creative work of every generation, a clear "donorship" of the authors' youthful leisure, entertainment music, is visible, i.e. the use of motifs, forms, fragments, stereotypical models, or the entire melodies. It doesn't matter whether these are melodies of songs from someone's home village's gatherings, weddings, or heard from recordings, on the radio, TV concerts, movies, as guests at the homes of neighbours, relatives, or heard at student parties. However, "donors" of melodies are not selected consciously – people think that they actually are creating music.

The texts of such "put together" songs have a clearly recognisable expression of the model formed by two or three generations, which was once very close to the expression of folk songs. In other words, spontaneous songwriting grows out of the aesthetics of old folk songs, in the soil of creativity principles and cultural meanings, they jump off of them. But having grown on the foundation of pre-modern public traditional song culture, this creative work now melds into the environment of post-traditional globalised culture, absorbing and using all of the provided resources, the arsenal of tools, yet at the same time continuously supported by direct links connecting it to the past, remaining naively natural and folklorically innate. We can observe how the inertia of tradition slowly smooths, "digests", normalises the brave individuality of a new piece, which is "absorbed" by the community. A piece eventually becomes transmitted aurally-orally, in variants, becoming part of modern customs and rituals.

Nevertheless, we can clearly see that the older musical code has been taken over today by a new (or rather, updated) "dictionary" of musical motifs, fragments, and clichés – that of music which had been heard since before WWII.

The fourth section – Marks of tradition in the post-traditional world of songs – discusses separate song groups (community anthems, student songs, funeral hymns, peculiarities of individual song repertoires).

Today it is extremely popular to have an anthem for a fellowship, collective, or another kind of group of people. In their communities, people tend to express their feelings of unity through favourite, common melodies, which are not in line with either the melodical requirements of canonical European hymns, or traditional folk songs, yet they still thrive in accordance with certain canons, also characteristic of traditional folklore. As is common in folklore, it is an expression of collective taste, the generalised opinion of many people, an announcement of known, not new, things, the use of formulas and aesthetic appreciation when recognising them Finally, the creation of anthems is related to folkloric tradition through the fact that anthems, just like the traditional old ritual songs, are always accompanied by the rules of performing certain customs, actions.

Prior to becoming community anthems, the melodies go through a "natural selection", they take root in the consciousness and thus become suitable for directly expressing, declaring certain values, conveyed through the anthem's text. This is why it is often not something avant-garde, but music based on subconscious reminiscences of a recently-appeared musical style. For example, post-war exiles to Siberia, fighters in the partisan war prior to the Soviet occupation, created were often songs in the style of romances (from the times of the early the 20th c.), inter-war dance music, often-heard German songs, popular dance melodies (from the times of WWII). In people's musical memory, authored songs also find their place, songs that were melodies from famous composers, as they spread and became folklore, or when pop performers bring in a new musical fashion and it spreads. Modern school anthems particularly often are created on the basis of 1950s–1970s Lithuanian pop melodies, which in turn had adapted Europe's post-war pop music's standards.

Student songs no doubt cannot be unequivocally recognised by the musical practices of mature persons. Nevertheless, they are powerful, old, and thus undeniably important reflections of the

cultural community's collective experience. Student groups are a social entity born of urban civilisation. Although historically they reach as far back as the Middle Ages, they are an unstable, constantly changing community. Such a construct seems to be almost in of itself the opposite of both the understanding of a sustainable, long-term traditional, closely linked rural cultural community, and the understanding of a community coming together in the search for (and attempting to subconsciously retain), in a modern fragmented society, its lost feeling of emotional security, informal trust relationships, or just the need to belong, to be a part of something.

Nevertheless, student songs reflect nearly the entire arsenal of the forms of song creation, including folkloric. In this subsection we examined the stories of three songs that have existed for a particularly long time, travelling over epochs, countries, and various universities. In conclusion, it is noted that they are men's songs, and such a tendency is visible in the entirety of student songs even today, although student organisations are no longer entirely oriented towards men. Masculinity, nonchalance, beer, youth, love, fun - these are the most important topics and were the reason for the longevity of these songs. A lot of relevant, hot topics, such as various changes, revolutions, uprisings, wars, battles for the nation's freedom are reflected in student songs (not only in Lithuania), yet do not remain longer in living tradition. However, the stories of the discussed songs are testament of the longevity of the masculine idea of carpe diem and the more or less ribald, ambiguous, even obscene, rude texts in the student environment.

The examined student songs are related not only through their themes. They constantly balance on the border between the layers of culture: they arise from a professionally created piece, thus can be heard on the stage of concert halls, perfectly arranged, and flawlessly intonated by a chorus of equal voices. At other times, the same song can be completely in line with the requirements of the pop scene, it is flexible in adapting to popular tastes by changing its form, while after some time it echoes the needs of

even the lowest levels of society. But most important of all is that in the histories of these songs we can see the main factors for the existence of folklore, which in essence are that same as in the old community of oral culture. Songs are continuously sung, necessary, because their texts are understood by most of the members of the community, they reflect the typical understanding of the world surrounding them, while melodies, travelling across different countries, regions, change, adapt, or are even created anew, as they constantly encounter local filters that censor the song's expression – a certain "dictionary" of musical forms, intonations, complex figures. Possibly, its power can be explained through the spread of certain forms of musical expression in some places, with their complete non-existence or significant change elsewhere. The criteria of variability, collectivity, instability of authorship, the song's acquired symbolic meaning in student customs and rituals - they are no doubt all of the most important principles of folklore, noticed in the hybrid student song. A student song forms, can be heard in, and withdraws from living tradition, led by the principles of the model of oral culture, it "acts" in accordance with its norms. Therefore, even though today we no longer live in only the conditions of written, but also media culture, the modern community, if it is truly viable, constantly being renewed, cannot survive without the model of oral-singing culture, of which one of the most important building blocks is the song itself – companion to rituals, customs, and tool for creating and giving meaning to a more fun daily life.

In the sub-section, dedicated to Catholic funeral hymns as a part of folk piety in Lithuania, the goal is to explain specific directions and reasons for the appearance of new songs, to show the road taken by the spontaneous evolution of hymnal music, leading to religious pop music. Nevertheless, Catholic funeral hymns in Lithuania are at the same time one of the most conservative areas of religious music, while the culture of funerary pop-music and sound recordings still do not occupy a more

important role. Rather, it is the opposite – traditional groups, or groups of commercial singers forming on the basis of traditional ones, which perform live traditional, albeit modified, examples of the hymns and prayers complex, are among the most sought after musical services offered for funerals.

Ecclesiastical high music's artistic canon, since the beginning of the coming of Christianity to Lithuania, is constantly pushed towards the norms of traditional music. The essence of folk Catholic (as well as funerary) hymns is literally made up of this junction, amalgamation. Having analysed the repertoire of this cycle, a magnificent view of musical styles opens up – a kind of historical ledge. At the same funeral one might hear melodies or fragments of Gregorian chants, various modifications of hymns from the Renaissance and Baroque periods, echoes of music from the 19th c. period of the national rebirth of Lithuania and Poland, professionally written hymns, as well as numerous adaptations of popular music - including Soviet pop music, American religious and secular pieces, melodies of folk songs – including romances. Musical ideas constantly "drag behind", are "delayed", very slowly spreading from upper levels of society towards the lower ones. Now this principle has significantly accelerated and gained a slightly different direction: adapted by regular people and spreading spontaneously in various communities, we no longer see musical ideas of the upper levels of society, but of popular culture's public spaces (stage, music industry, media). The melodies of hymns are "put together" from fragments of the musical material circulating in the creator's environment.

In Lithuania, the spread of funeral pop-songs is still halted by the barrier of strong traditionalism and conservatism. New songs replace old songs for a reason. They adjoin conventional traditional funeral songs, pass folkloric (or simply local) "censure" and this way become part of a long-lived, albeit changed and transformed, ritual.

In the last sub-section of the fourth chapter, more attention is paid to the soundscape of the modern city and explores what

preconditions determine the chances of survival of the living song tradition.

The most favourable, important medium where modern singing practices are supported, constantly thrive, change, and live on, are communities, groups, collectives, or companies.

There are quite a few factors that determine the form of the soundscape of modern spontaneous songs. One of these is the well-established needs of the family. If it used to be common to sing at family gatherings, where several generations celebrate at the same time, such habits do not suddenly disappear – they can change, but they remain for quite some time. With the seed of singing sown in a family, it grows anew, and the inclination of children to learn through imitation and their innate creativity imperceptibly sets the way for the continuation of tradition.

The spontaneous, unarticulated, unnamed idea of piety also might be a factor for continuation of tradition. To sing is to rise above daily life, break free from routine. "Going" somewhere to sing, to gather for the purpose of creative self-expression, does not necessarily mean that cultural heritage is cherished.

The continuation of spontaneous song culture could be influenced by many things, such as the need for various expressions of religiousness, piety. The search for so-called modern spirituality is encouraged by certain guiding ideas, such as the Eastern World being the homeland of their ancestors, or the old Baltic culture, its ancient times, as the source of spirituality. The continuation of spontaneous culture could be a result of not only the cultural, but also the ideological environment, constantly giving birth to coups and revolutions, which are all "singing".

For studies of the urban soundscape, autoethnography is used: the book's author analyses the repertoire of songs from her childhood in the yard of the apartment building her family lived in, the songs she heard as a student. She describes herself as a "carrier" of songs, since songs, as if they were separate organisms, almost like viruses, use the singers' bodies so they could spread

and evolve as they see fit. However, singers often give them something – not every song is accepted and shared. During each period of one's life, the singer become connected with different communities, some of them necessary for a longer time, some for less, some are "outgrown", others are "matured into", and in each environment the song repertoire differs. The author notes that she doesn't have songs from her own life (except those songs from her early childhood that are particularly dear) that would be irreplaceable – they change together with her constantly changing identity. Nevertheless, songs, using "bodies", live their own, sometimes very long and colourful lives.

Conclusion. This book reveals a process that can be defined as follows: local tradition continuously absorbs and adapts the musical ideas, transposing or even drastically reversing former musical meanings and values, while at the same time adapting by itself as well. Great cultural shifts brought with them also changes in traditional song culture, but their continuity is marked by the incredible stability of the structure of traditional songs and their smart adaptation to changing song conditions. A song from the traditional peasant culture can be examined as part of one value system. Today, the existence of a song has to be observed through comparison of various layers of culture and human groups (communities, collectives, gatherings), differing in values, symbolic meaning and value systems, ritual significance, musical behaviour. One single person today usually belongs to several groups at a time, thus their musical behaviour becomes flexible, diverse, multi-faceted.

In an increasingly modern society, different ways for the presence of songs can be found. This book limits itself to that which isn't new – it is directly related to the impulses provided by the traditional peasant song culture, it arises from it, but to this day is still barely noticed. We can see here features of the entirety of self-evolving, institutionally unmanaged, unregulated songs. They are the one that creates the modus for *spontaneous* songs. With the aim of defining the social borders of this modus,

the *marginal* state was the limit set – songs that do not belong to the market world, fields of music industry, commerce, marketing, mass production, public relations.

Today, songs are also cultural hybrids. Nevertheless, there still exist local cultural norms that regulate the song's place and its form, ignoring the aspect of the clear influence of global music culture. This is exactly why we can talk about seemingly opposite things – the marginal state of spontaneous songs, traditional structures, local meanings, and global expression.

The entirety of spontaneous marginal songs can be defined through the processes of song creation and the impact of the normativity of songs. This is **spontaneous songwriting**, which is characterised by a rather declarative eruption of the individual beginning into the forefront (such creative work is in part managed by the factors of folkloric nature and **folklorisation of spontaneous song**, their existence in the world of folklore law, e.g. the transformation of an original work into a set of variants, its fragmentation and using such fragments in other anonymous works, song creation by known melody, which itself is varied, songs becoming part of community rituals, etc.

Spontaneously created songs, which nowadays are extremely intensively produced by various authors, can be heard and sung, yet they are charged with a special meaning, which they emit and convey.

The sample for the study of spontaneous song writing is the 19th–21st c., although the focus is the present day, attempting to highlight the significance of the living process. Today we can notice a particular situation in the border between two generations – the generation that no longer has any direct connections to traditional culture, the rural peasant way of life and mentality. Spontaneous song creation by the younger generation adapts different values. With this transformation, the book stops. Culture changes, as do the impulses that it sends, thus the treasure trove of creativity constantly changes as well.

The circulating song melodies, constantly serving as creative raw material, migrate in various ways; sometimes it is possible to trace their impressive "journeys" across epochs, countries, and cultural levels. The clearest leitmotif of the stories of the songs described in the book – the connections between epochs, cultures, social strata, styles, and the constant "switching" of meanings, and the creation of new ones, which, however, is rather slow. In essence, in living song culture today we can observe the spontaneously formed, absolutely peaceful, non-contradictory in terms of value, musical coexistence.

We can define two key principles for the formation of the musical material of songs, which are characteristic of the entire modus of spontaneous songs. One of these principles is the use of "old", well-established material. Songs are given melodies that are well known, that have been established, adapted from older generations, normalised by local culture. In the book they are called "delayed" or "late". However, at the same time they are compiled and are interesting, enjoyable, fashionable melodies that young people use for their songs. Often they slowly become "delayed", "late", and then they "earn" the right to become a symbolic part of modern rituals; new, modern, avant-garde, fresh melodies are the ones that usually don't become ritualistic.

However, even if a song is of mixed origin, multifaceted, multilayered and multidimensional, it cannot be born and survive without being a representative of some sort of local tradition. Tradition is innate: when we are born we are instantly immersed in the world of musical sounds and their meanings, a world that surrounds us. Tradition surrounds us and draws us in with a powerful force. In the beginning, as we master the basics of musical language, a certain kind of native musical dictionary, which as adults we will always recognise (even subconsciously) as our own, similar music will always appeal to us, remind us of our childhood, pleasant memories with our loved ones, our own place, native country, etc. All of this, together with other things, forms a certain feeling of cultural security, which, with changing

life conditions, will nostalgically be brought back, experienced once more. The dynamic period of the teenage years, when rules are broken, and the youthful years when everything new has to be tried, independent life begins, also eventually comes. Then there will arise the need to sing differently, to listen to the same music as one's peers, attempts are made to create songs of one's own. Nevertheless, it is not possible for there to not be representatives of own culture that forms personalities. Over time, tradition always takes over and draws in breakthroughs of free creativity. New, different songs by an adult, mature person nevertheless reveal what musical dictionary formed their creator. As we grow and mature, having adapted from previous generations the tradition, through imitating and repeating it, we begin to update and change it, thus allowing it to live on.

Today, the song tradition is colourful, scattered, separated into many different layers. Spontaneous songs are for your *own* people, they don't attempt to say or announce anything to *others*, to those who don't belong to the same circle (by generation, social strata, musical taste, region, community, mixed traits).

Perhaps the most important thing is to say that around us today there are so many songs, which are true descendants of the old traditional songs, regardless of how thin the connections are between the past and the present. The book reveals a different perspective for the culture of songs and singing, highlighting the slight presence of spontaneous songs, extends the image of this culture, adds another dimension, and deepens its volume. Nevertheless, in this perspective there aren't any visible walls: the goal wasn't to find out where (or whether) folklore ends and where or when the history of spontaneous songs begins, what landmarks separate the layers, styles, groups, and categories of song culture. The key goal was to reveal the process of song culture dynamics by discovering connections, while a marginal spontaneous song integrates song culture into a seamless whole. Without it, the layers of culture do not tie together – there is deep gap between them.

Such a song absorbs most, if not all, creative ideas in the public domain. Some of them are rejected, left to the field of high art or pop culture, others are immediately mimicked, parodied, copied, or assimilated, adapted, transformed over time. This is how tradition is maintained – through change and renewal.

Translated by Gabriella Žičkienė