

*SVADOBNÉ NÔTY: CEREMONIAL WEDDING TUNES IN THE
CONTEXT OF SLOVAK TRADITIONAL CULTURE*

by

JADRANKA VAŽANOVÁ

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Music in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,
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Abstract

SVADOBNÉ NÔTY: CEREMONIAL WEDDING TUNES IN THE CONTEXT OF SLOVAK TRADITIONAL CULTURE

by

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Within the varied repertoire of songs sung in the course of the traditional wedding ceremony in Slovakia specific songs were performed—usually by women without instrumental accompaniment—at particular, mostly ritual moments with context-appropriate texts to one or two recurring, locally identified wedding tune(s), called *svadobné nôty*. This phenomenon of a common local wedding melody seems to be central to the whole genre of wedding songs and is spread among the wedding traditions of central, southern, and eastern Europe, sharing the name (*svadobný hlas*, *svadbarski glas*, *svatovski glas*) and similar features.

As one of the most stable elements of the wedding ceremony, recognized as such by village performers and remaining a part of the traditional repertoire even after the disappearance of the ceremonial moments they were formerly associated with, *svadobné nôty* trigger a number of questions that have not been addressed in previous studies of wedding songs. Socio-cultural, musical, poetical, and melodic-typological aspects of *svadobné nôty* are explored in order to hypothesize on the functions these melodies may have played in the traditional wedding ceremony and in the context of patriarchal village culture, the principles and values of which were, in turn, embodied in and articulated

through that ceremony as the most crucial family and community event.

Several functions of *svadobné nôty* can be identified: (1) they are ritual means of confirmation of the matrimony; (2) they communicate meanings and messages accumulated in the semantic field of the traditional village wedding ceremony; (3) they symbolize the bride's personal identity during the process of her change in status; (4) they manifest a local/regional identity of the community; (5) as melodic symbols of stability, they complement the transitional character of the wedding ceremony as a rite of passage; and 6) as the wedding ceremony was an arena for symbolic articulation of the principles of the patriarchal system, *svadobné nôty* may have alleviated contradictions of the patriarchy.

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PREFACE

This is a study of a specific genre of wedding songs as remembered by village women to have once been an integral part of the traditional village wedding ceremony in Slovakia. The past tense indicates the period preceding the rapid industrialization and urbanization of the country, which caused the gradual transformation of many customs and musical practices directly linked to the traditional peasant economy, social organization, and culture. While some of the village traditions disappeared, many of them continued to be performed in new contexts of organized stage presentation. Although the transition was gradual and it is impossible to delineate it exactly, the dividing line can be roughly drawn around World War II. Thus, the memories of village women I interviewed between 2000 and 2002 reflect the wedding traditions of the first half of the twentieth century.

The impact of socio-economic and cultural changes during the second half of the twentieth century on performance practices and singing occasions in Slovakia differed from one genre (and region) to another. For instance, the loss of private lands and collectivization in Slovakia in 1948 had a very immediate effect on such a genre as *trávnice*, haymaking songs, as in people's minds the songs were stolen away along with their land (Urbancová 2005). Women stopped singing them, and in many areas did not even accept their transition into the domain of folklorism. The impact of these changes on wedding songs, however, was less immediate, as they were only gradually disappearing from the active performance situations of actual weddings and becoming the part of other

informal singing occasions and, at last, of the staged folklore presentations. As the genuine village traditions were slowly declining in their “authentic” context, the newly formed folk ensembles—both in the cities and in villages—took them over and initiated their revival. If performance of such genres as haymaking songs, lullabies, and harvest songs has been limited during the last forty years mostly to stage presentation by folk ensembles, wedding songs continued to be performed at weddings as well as on stage, especially in the villages with a strong consciousness of their local traditional cultures. In many such villages, people have founded local folk groups. Their older members, accomplished village singers and dancers with deep knowledge of local traditions, were handing their experience and knowledge over to younger generations, while at the same time they were invited to sing at weddings and other family celebrations. Thus, different forms and levels of existence of traditional music today are intertwined, and their boundaries rather blurred.

Although I address the issue of transformation of the traditional wedding songs in the context of above-mentioned processes at several places of my dissertation, its deeper analysis remains open for further research. By examining this genre and its performing practice in the historical context of the wedding traditions as remembered by village women and as reflected in ethnological literature and folk song collections, I hope to lay a solid ground for further study of its more recent transformations and its new performance contexts.

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NOTE ON TRANSCRIPTION AND TRANSLITERATION

The melodic examples presented throughout the study, unless indicated otherwise, are based on transcriptions of songs recorded during my fieldwork. To each of the songs recorded during my fieldwork I assigned a symbol of the village it came from (see the list of villages in Appendix A for abbreviation symbols), and a number reflecting the order in which the song was recorded in that village. For instance, the *DBad-5* refers to the song (*svadobná nôta*) from Dolný Badín, recorded as the fifth among all other songs sung by women in that village during our session. Since this study includes only a selection of my fieldwork-based transcriptions, namely those identified as or related to *svadobné nôty*, the numerical order of songs from each village in the Transcriptions part is, obviously, not complete. I prefer to use this system of reference to specific songs in addition to numbering the music examples from 1 to 44, because this allows me to refer to both melody and text with one symbol, and it also indicates the relative position of a *svadobná nôta* in a particular village; when it is designated by a lower number, the song was sung at the very beginning of the interview as the one specifically associated with *svadobné nôty*.

For easier identification of melodic relations between individual tunes I transpose them to the finalis g^4 . Although performers take the liberty of singing each strophe with more or less recognizable melodic (pitch) and rhythmic variations (prolongation or shortening of some notes), the transcriptions do not reflect these variants. Thus, they are

representatives of the whole groups of songs (in terms of texts) sung to one melody rather than their individual renditions.

Figures 8.1 through 8.10 in chapter 8 represent melodic types abstracted from several different wedding tunes on the basis of their melodic and rhythmic similarities. As such, they are only comparative melodic outlines of the groups of specific melodies provided in Transcriptions. Longer rhythmic values in figures 8.1 through 8.10 represent structurally more important pitches and the bar lines designate melodic phrases, as they are indicated also in the analytical notations accompanying the transcriptions of each *svadobná nôta*. The number of syllables and beats corresponding with a specific melodic phrase is indicated below each melodic outline.

The transcriptions of song texts follow the phonetic rules for the transcription of Slovak dialects, which differ from the standard Slovak language.

The names and work titles in languages that use Cyrillic alphabet, such as Russian, Belorussian, Ukrainian, Bulgarian, Serbian, and Macedonian, are transliterated in accordance with the ISO standards for transliteration of Cyrillic characters into Latin characters. This system of transliteration corresponds with the transliteration practices in other Slavic languages, and is also used by RILM *Abstracts of Music Literature*.

Chapter 1

Introduction

In peasant cultures based on agrarian forms of livelihood, and dependent on land and family procreation, the wedding, symbolizing a confirmation of the continuity of life, is one of the most significant events for the entire community and in the life of each individual. As a rite of passage it is realized in a ritual sequence, specific forms and meanings of which vary from one culture to another. The traditional village wedding ceremony in Slovakia, as in other parts of central and eastern Europe, developed as a complex cultural act that incorporated aspects of social reality and rules of human coexistence necessary for the normal functioning of the peasant community. Music plays an indispensable part in this multifaceted event.

As the complicated structure of social relations in the patriarchal village society assigned unequal roles to its individual members, the wedding ceremony formerly represented an inner conflict between culturally determined principles and individual emotions, especially those of the bride. Because the bride's life was considered to be more strongly affected by marriage than the groom's, she was the focal point of most of the wedding rituals and the subject of most of the wedding songs. Women were the principal performers of both: the social and ethical values of the patriarchal rural society have been articulated and transmitted over generations through performing of the core rituals and songs by women.

Although many rituals and traditional beliefs became extinct after the large-scale economic and social changes that began to affect the former Czechoslovakia in 1918, and

after the communist takeover in 1948, the wedding ceremony retained its traditional character in some areas of the country, and today it remains the most important occasion for singing. Within the varied repertoire sung in the course of the traditional wedding ceremony in Slovakia specific songs were performed—usually by women without instrumental accompaniment—at particular (mostly ritual) moments with context-appropriate texts to one (or occasionally two) recurring, locally identified wedding tune(s), called *svadobné nôty* (sing., *svadobná nôta*). Today, these songs are still known by village people, and occasionally are also performed within or outside the wedding context.

Svadobné nôty seem to be central to the whole genre of wedding songs and are related to similar musical phenomena in other, mainly Slavic, cultures. In this study, through village women's recollections of the wedding repertoire and ceremonial wedding practices of the past, I will explore the functions *svadobné nôty* may have played in the traditional village life before and during the socio-economical and cultural transformations that took place in Slovakia in the course of the twentieth century.

1.1 Defining *svadobné nôty*

1.1.1 *Svadobná nôta* in scholarship: Cross-cultural perspective

My interest in *svadobné nôty* started with a theoretical study devoted to defining the genre of wedding songs in a cross-cultural context (Važanová-Horáková 1999). On the assumption that genre as a multidimensional category should be studied from multiple perspectives, I analyzed 160 Slovak and 65 Croatian ceremonial wedding songs with attention to three different aspects: functional, based on the connection of the song to the

specific ritual moment of the wedding; music-stylistic, based on tonal, melodic, rhythmic, formal, and poetic features; and typological, based on the distribution of certain melodic types within geographically restricted areas. In the last type of analysis I included wedding songs from Croatia, Belorussia, Ukraine, and Moravia. My comparative analysis confirmed that the genre of wedding songs is cross-culturally defined by the features previously delineated by other ethnomusicologists, such as the stable position of the song in the wedding ceremony; the relation of texts to specific ceremonial moments; the simple formal structure of texts, based on repetition of motifs; a short melodic strophe; and “archaic” musical features, which include a narrow ambitus, melody proceeding by small steps, and an open form built on short, often repetitive motifs.¹ Within the third, typological-geographical analytical level, it was the specific group of songs, *svadobné nôty*, which emerged as the prototype of these features. The idea that the *svadobné nôty* and their counterparts in other (mostly Slavic) cultures might represent the core of the genre of wedding songs opened a series of questions that led me to a further study of this phenomenon.

The term *svadobná nôta* was mentioned in Slovak ethnographic literature as early as the middle of the 19th century (Galko 1958: 34; Timko 1868). The Slovak ethnomusicologist Alica Elscheková (1989, 1997), who provided a detailed analysis of the genre of Slovak wedding songs with respect to their place in the context of the wedding ceremony and to the semantics of the particular ritual phases in which they were sung, drew attention to the frequent occurrence of the songs called *svadobné nôty*; she

¹ See Elscheková 1989, 1996, 1997a, and 1997b; Burlasová 1970; Kaufman 1968 and 1976; Krader 1955; Rüütel 2002; Mazo 1994; Možejko 1971; Popova 1955; P’jankova 1973; and most recently Urbancová 2005a, among others.

depicted their characteristic features, and discussed in detail some wedding tunes and their variants in cross-regional and cross-cultural contexts. Elscheková pointed out that, due to their strongly individualized melodies and a relatively stable position in the structure of the wedding ceremony, *svadobné nôty* determine musically the fundamental character of the local wedding repertoires and function in a way as musical emblems of local weddings (Elscheková 1997a: 43). In spite of their strong local and regional distinctiveness, Slovak *svadobné nôty* share some common features with similar wedding tunes in other central and eastern European cultures: they belong to women's repertoire and their tonal structures are based on the framework of the interval of a fifth (*ibid.*). Although the phenomenon of *svadobné nôty* and their recognition by village people was mentioned by all Slovak scholars who studied wedding songs, none of their writings goes more deeply into the phenomenon, or provides the perspectives of traditional performers in any detail.

Discussion of ritual tunes and their place in different vocal genres was initiated in Russian and Belorussian ethnomusicology. The point of departure for the concept of the so-called *napev-formula* (tune-pattern), developed by Eval'd and Gippius, was the idea that music phenomena with the same function and social meaning create intonation-semantic complexes valid and understandable in restricted geographic and social contexts (Eval'd 1979).² In the Belorussian traditional wedding, ritual wedding songs are sung to a few tunes, with different texts sung to one tune in particular ritual phases. Zinaida Možeiko characterizes ritual songs as brief tunes (*formuly*), which exist in a symbiosis with their emotional–iconic context and which in individual localities appear always in

²Based on Asaf'ev's theory of intonation articulated in his *Muzykal'naja forma kak process* (Moskva, 1930), and later developed by Zemcovskij (1975).

the same musical form. Variation of such a tune is possible only in so far as the tune is accepted by a given community as unchanged, while its involuntary variation can deprive it of its ritual function and make it an ordinary tune that can be sung on any occasion (Možejko 1971:70-79). Directly relevant to *svadobné nôty* seems to be the concept of *tipovyj napev obščej funkcii* (type of melody of the general function), outlined by N.A. Jančuk in his 1886 article as specifically related to the ritual moments of the wedding ceremony of a given locality, serving for many texts (Jakimenko 1989).

In western and northern Russia in the 1950s, each locality had two or three tunes, to which a number of wedding texts were sung (Popova 1955: 120-1; Vasil'eva 1987: 49-50). These tunes were usually melodic types that could be slightly varied. Each village also had individualized songs with one melody per text. In the Vologda region of northern Russia, where Margarita Mazo conducted fieldwork between 1969 and 1978, each village tradition has a particular tune-formula accepted by the community to be used in wedding lamenting, and people distinguish their own local tunes from those of other villages very precisely. Moreover, the fine nuances of the local performance practice can be crucial for locating the song (or the wedding lament). Margarita Mazo points out that only those laments that are common to a given area are accepted by the local listeners and cause them to respond with the appropriate emotional reaction (Mazo 1994: 25).

Singing in the Kihnu wedding (Estonia) has a firm structure and place. There are traditionally two wedding choirs, consisting exclusively of women, one from the bridal lineage and the other from the groom's lineage. Ingrid Rüütel points out that about 151 text types of the Kihnu wedding songs are sung to only one melody type, which is a polyfunctional tune whose three versions can be used in different alliterative song genres

as well as in narrative and lyrical songs (Rüütel 2002: 135-6). The Kihnu people distinguish only between two versions, referring to both of them as *pulmaviis* (wedding tune) despite their use in other genres. Interestingly, their local terminology for differentiating between these versions is based on the melodic motion, such as *madalam* (lower), indicating a smaller ambitus, and *järsem* (sharper), referring to the zig-zag type of melody (ibid.: 138). Rüütel characterizes the Kihnu wedding tune as belonging to the most “primitive” and the most ancient layer of the Balto-Finnic runotunes, characterized by a monophonic structure, one-line form (eight syllables), narrow ambitus, a rhythmic pattern based on the regular alteration of short and long notes, and no instrumental accompaniment.

The phenomenon of wedding tunes recurring with different texts during the wedding ceremony is widespread in southeastern Europe. In Bulgaria, they are called *svadbarski*, or *svatbenski glas* (literally, a wedding tune). In his monograph on Bulgarian wedding songs Nikolai Kaufman (1976) distinguishes between two groups of songs according to their place in the various moments of the ceremony: (1) those fulfilling the legal and religious aspects, the so-called *protokolni* (protocol songs), and (2) those sung during the entertainment and non-ritual phases. Analyzing a large number of wedding songs from various parts of Bulgaria, he concludes that the *protokolni* songs are most typical in western and central Bulgaria, and delineates their characteristic features, such as the close relationship of the song’s text with the particular ritual phase, a concise text, and a short melody with a narrow ambitus. Like their Slovak, Russian, Belorussian, and Estonian counterparts, these songs are sung by a chorus of girls and women without instrumental accompaniment.

Because one village usually has one melody for most of the wedding ritual songs, the firm position of the ritual song within the ceremony is given mostly by its text (Kaufman 1976: 76). Kaufman suggests that originally the most significant ritual phases were accompanied only by one recurring *svadbarski glas*, and that the individual songs (with one melody per text) accompanying particular rituals are a much later phenomenon (ibid.: 65). Although the melody alone (without the text) does not allow us to identify the place of the ritual song in the ceremony, it does enable us to distinguish the wedding ritual song from other genres. In this respect, the *svadbarski glas* serves the same role of musical symbol of the Bulgarian wedding as does the *svadobná nôta* in the Slovak traditional wedding. And even though the melodic and rhythmic characteristics of the Bulgarian wedding tunes are different from those of the Slovak tunes,³ similarities can be identified in some general features: in their tendency to be concise and melodically simple, and in their connection with the same ritual phases of the wedding ceremony.

Susanne Ziegler, who does not focus on the characteristics and function of wedding tunes, points out that all the ceremonial songs in the west-Macedonian villages she studied used the same melody or its variants (1979). Velika Stojkova (1998) points out that the Macedonian village people use the term *glas* (equivalent to Slovak *hlas*)⁴ for the melodies used in specific ceremonial contexts. Under the term *svadben glas* people understand the cycle of women's songs, which are sung during the wedding ceremony, using one melodic formula which is altered in accordance with specific text and

³ In his comparative study Kaufman identifies stylistic similarities mainly between Bulgarian and east-Slavic wedding songs (1968).

⁴ *Hlas* in Slovak literally means "voice," which can also refer to a part in music. However, in some regions of Slovakia people use it as a term for "melody," such as *svadobný hlas*. See chapter 7, part 7.3 (p. 213-14) for further discussion of the term "hlas."

interpretation context (ibidem: 82). In a functional analysis of the texts of Serbian wedding songs, Barbara Krader devotes only a little space to musical aspects. She distinguishes two vocal melodies in Serbian wedding. One is characterized by narrow ambitus and slow repetitive unison singing; the other type has a wider ambitus and is more heterogenous, as it includes more recent lyrical songs with no specific connection to the wedding. However, it is the performance of the first type that “produces a monotonous, rather hypnotic effect, since a very short melodic line is repeated for each new text line of a song, and usually a community sings all its ritual songs to one or possibly two melodies” (Krader 1955: 623).

Franjo Ksaver Kuhač devoted a portion of the fourth volume of his collection of South-Slavic folk songs (1881) to *svatovske pjesme*, wedding songs.⁵ Although he does not mention the phenomenon of one wedding tune recurring in various phases of the ceremony, his collection contains melodies which resemble *svadobné nôty* with their many texts and their connection to important moments of the wedding ceremony. They include such genres as *svatovske*, *popevky*, *koračnice*, *poputnice*—songs sung by the wedding guests “on their way” to the bride’s house, or during the wedding feast. Many songs designated by Kuhač as being sung when the bride leaves her mother’s house, or when she is parting from her friends and maidenhood, belong to one or a few melodic types, the variants of which can be also found in Žganec’s collection of songs from Hrvatsko Zagorje. A more recent collection from the region of Bilogora by Zvonko Lovrenčević also contains wedding tunes connected to several ritual moments of the

⁵ He published 78 wedding songs with piano harmonization from various parts of the former Yugoslavia and Burgenland, also providing information about the specific customs to which the particular songs were linked.

wedding ceremony (1994). The existence of a local ritual tune in Croatian folklore was discussed by Naila Ceribašić, who identified in the wedding repertoire of the village of Rakitovica (the region of Slavonska Podravina) a melody referred to as *na svatovski glas* (1991: 100). Until the 1960s, the tune was performed at various moments of the wedding sequence with appropriate texts. In the late 1980s, *na svatovski glas* was performed only by older women as a *poputnica*, a tune sung on the way to the bride's house, to the church, and to the groom's house, while the men simultaneously sang *bećarci* (sing. *bećarac*), humorous and lyrical songs.

In sum, the phenomenon of a *svadobná nôta* seems to be spread all over the wedding traditions of central, southern, and eastern Europe, having similar features. These include its recognition among village people as a local or regional melody connected exclusively with the wedding ceremony, recurring during specific moments with context-specific texts, being performed mostly by women or young girls (bridesmaids), and sharing its music-stylistic features with older layers of the particular folk song tradition. Most importantly, as one of the most stable elements of the wedding ceremony, in Slovakia it survived the rapid changes of the last fifty years and remained part of the traditional repertoire, even after the disappearance of the ceremonial moments it was formerly associated with.

The findings of preliminary research on *svadobné nôty* revealed a number of questions that had not been answered, or even addressed, in previous studies of wedding songs. Why is the same melody used at certain moments? Do those moments have something in common that is reflected in the use of that melody? Why is it sung mostly by women? What is its place in the wedding ceremony? What is its relation to other

songs of the wedding repertoire, to dance, instrumental music, and to the texts? And, most importantly, how do village people reflect on *svadobné nôty*? All these and further concerns can be subsumed under one issue, which is the primary objective of this thesis: to examine the functions of *svadobné nôty* in the traditional wedding ceremony and in the context of patriarchal village culture, the principles and values of which were, in turn, embodied in and articulated through the wedding ceremony as the most crucial family and community event, now as then.

The women interviewed were clear about when, by whom, and how the ceremonial wedding songs were performed, and were aware of the stylistic and local uniqueness of their musical features. Nevertheless, they did not explain why many of these songs were based on a single tune. Taking into consideration the musical richness and diversity of local song repertoires in Slovakia, this fact is particularly intriguing. Study of local terms used by village women to refer to *svadobné nôty* and other musical phenomena led me to preliminary hypotheses about the roles of these melodies in the traditional village culture in the past.

First, these locally recognizable wedding tunes could have functioned as a manifestation of local identities in villages that were mostly endogamous. Second, the use of one recurring melody provided space for communicating meanings and messages accumulated in the semantic field of the traditional village wedding ceremony. Third, addressing most directly the issues related to the bride, her social position, and her future life, *svadobné nôty* as one of a few stable elements accompanying the bride through her ritual transition may have reflected also her personal identity. Fourth, they were ritual means of confirmation of the matrimony. Fifth, the use of one local ritual melody

characterised by a simple archaic musical structure cyclically returning during the whole ceremony could have been perceived as a symbol of stability and security complementing the transitional character of the wedding ceremony as a rite of passage. Sixth, as the wedding ceremony was an arena for symbolic articulation and negotiation of the principles of the patriarchal social system, svadobné nôty may have been counterbalancing the tensions and contradictions of the patriarchy.

1.1.2 Recognition of svadobné nôty among the village people

Village people in Slovakia like to sing and they value their traditional songs very much, but they do not theorize about music. Therefore, the task of eliciting information about some abstract kind of melody required time and learning how to ask questions, and how to understand people's responses and remarks.

During my fieldwork, people rarely initiated discussion about the melodic aspect of songs and referred to the svadobné nôty only when I directed them to that topic. Often women just recited the text of the song and when asked about the tune, they usually responded either by singing it or with a comment that the song was sung to the same local wedding tune as the previous ones. It was quite exceptional to hear Alojzia Koňuchová, an elderly woman in Klubina—a small village near Stará Bystrica in the Kysuce region—initiate a discussion about nuoty.⁶ There had been no local folk ensemble collecting or cultivating the singing traditions, nor any ethnomusicological research done in the village (unlike in the neighboring villages, Stará Bystrica and Zborov nad Bystricou) that might have motivated people to reflect consciously on their traditions or externally instilled the

⁶ See Appendix E, map no. 1.

concept of svadobná nôta. Taking these facts into consideration makes Ms. Koňuchová's recognition of the phenomenon of svadobné nôty even more intriguing.

She referred to the term when describing one of the phases of the wedding sequence: after singing the song of the groomsmen (when the groom's group went to fetch the bride), she remarked, "so to this nuota all those svadebske songs were sung."⁷ Asked further whether this was the same melody that she had sung earlier with the song accompanying the previous phase, she replied that it was the same svadebska nuota, and a different tune was sung when a child was baptized. She referred to the tune once again after singing a strophe from another wedding song: "and that was again the same one."⁸ The women in another Kysuce village labeled the svadebske songs as being "all like one hoof,"⁹ which is a literal translation of a slightly derogatorily colored original indicating the women's notion of these songs as perhaps monotonous or less interesting. This ambivalence between recognition of significance and disinterest comes out more clearly when people compare the wedding songs in question with other song genres.

The *lúčne* [hay-making songs] were sung outside, you know, it resonated... The first voice started high, and the second and third drew it, it sounded beautiful. They were diverse, those nuoty. Only the svadebske and the *krstinové* were always sung on that one [nôta]. (Klubina, 20 July 2001)

On the one hand, the women's comments indicate that they enjoy diversity in the repertoire and like the melodically more elaborate songs. On the other hand, they

⁷ „...tak na tu nuotu, šetky tie svadebske pesničky sa spievavali“. Klubina, 20 July, 2001 (Transcr. 15, song text Klu3).

⁸ „...a to zas taka“ (Transcr. 15, song text Klu4).

⁹ “Svadebske su všetky na jedno kopyto” (Ochodnica, 19 July 2001).

understand that there must be something about these songs, almost a sacred rule of tradition, that strictly prescribes singing them to the same local melody. We can assume that the *svadobné nôty* were so important in the concept of the traditional wedding in the past that they could not have been, and still cannot be, easily substituted or eliminated from the wedding repertoire. Nevertheless, one must ask why these relatively simple melodies survived within the rich repertoire of other, melodically more elaborate wedding songs, and why the songs sung to one local wedding melody are the ones that people recognize as *svadebske* or *veselske*, i.e., the wedding songs proper.

Another example of women's recognition of *svadobné nôty* is from the area of lower Spiš (eastern Slovakia). Although the wedding repertoire in this region seems to be much more diverse than that of Kysuce, the songs sung to one local wedding tune (called *hlas* instead of *nôta*) occupy a similarly significant position among the wedding songs. An elderly woman in Jaklovce sang me the song to a melody that she "made up," which, as she commented, meant that she chose one that fit the text. It was not a wedding song and, in fact, the melody resembled a well-known eastern-Slovak tune. When asked whether she could make up or choose a tune she likes for the wedding song as well, the answer was definite:

In *svadobné*, it was not possible to change the tune. Only that one [*hlas*]¹⁰ was common. Here, in Jaklovce, we had our own. For instance, Jaklovce and Veľký Folkmár are only two kilometers apart. They had a similar [*hlas*], but a little bit different. Like, when they put the bonnet on the bride's head [during the cap ceremony], we sing:

¹⁰ Term *hlas* is used in eastern Slovakia for the tune instead of *nuota* or *nôta* (see 1.2.3 Issues of terminology).

Music ex. 1-1¹¹

Ket ce bu-du če - pit, ket ce bu-du če - pit, ku - kaj
ľem ti za pec, ku - kaj ľem ti za pec.

So is it here, and in Folkmár, they sing it similarly, but in a different way:

Music ex. 1-2

Ket ce bu-du če - pit, ket ce bu-du če - pit, ku - kaj
ľem ti za pec, ku - kaj ľem ti za pec.

And these were the only svadobné. Well, there were other songs sung at weddings as well, but those svadobné were only sung to the rituals, when they put the bonnet on her [the bride's] head, or to redoví [bridal dance], or when they walked from the church, and so on. When they went do kola [to dance], or when the Gypsies played in the courtyard, everyone sang what came to mind. (Jaklovce, 23 July 2001)

This elaborate comment shows that (1) contrary to other song genres, wedding song tunes could not be changed—or made up—freely, (2) people recognize their own local wedding melody even when it differs only slightly from its counterpart in the neighboring village, and (3) the svadobné were only sung to accompany ritual moments.

¹¹ English translation: When they put the bonnet on your head, look behind the stove/fireplace.

What people in two neighboring villages recognized as two different variants can be perceived by the outsider as the same melody. Indeed, knowing that it was a rather common practice to modify a melody from one performance to another even by the same singer, I wondered whether people in the other village were also aware of the difference between these two *svadobné hlasy*. To my surprise, they were. The woman interviewed in Veľký Folkmár provided me with the same precise distinction between the two variants, and the Folkmár version she sang for me corresponded exactly with the one sung by the woman in Jaklovce.

Elscheková's description of the *svadobné nôty* as "musical emblems" of weddings can be understood in this context: the locally distinct tune, without the text, communicated to everyone that the wedding in that particular village was in progress. Možejko's assumption that variation of such a ceremonial tune is possible only so far as the result is accepted as unchanged—fulfilling its role as a symbol—for a given community also fits with these findings (1971: 70).

While the first two points of the comment show that *svadobná nôta* functioned as an indicator of the particular local wedding tradition and as a symbol of local identity, the third point, an exclusive association of *svadobné nôty* with ritual moments of the wedding, is more intricate. The *svadobné nôty* may also appear during some non-ceremonial moments, such as the wedding feast, and their place in the wedding sequence has been undergoing significant changes that are related to the gradual reduction of wedding customs and ceremonial moments during the second half of the twentieth century. An analysis of these moments, with respect to their semantic links to the texts

sung with *svadobné nôty*, will lead to the discussion on some other functions these tunes may fulfill in the traditional wedding.

1.2 Methodology of selecting, collecting and interpreting data

1.2.1 Theory and methodology

More than once during the process of writing my dissertation, I was asked by a fellow student or a senior colleague whether I was going to apply an object-oriented or subject-oriented approach in my study. Every time I wanted to respond to that question, I found myself unable to give a simple answer. While I was going to focus on a genre of traditional songs, I never thought about it as an “object” more than a reflection, expression, and embodiment of values and practices of its bearers and performers, i.e., the “subjects.” Even if such a formulation of the question points to a final goal of the study, music itself or the culture that creates it, it narrows the complexity of ethnomusicological research by dichotomizing its two principal aspects that depend on each other and, I believe, can only be understood through each other. Even if focused on one or the other aspect—people as musical beings (their experiencing, making, listening to, and responding to music) or music they make (its history, structure, and functions)—they should be studied in mutual relationship.

Having been nurtured during my early studies by traditions of European ethnomusicology, which some have associated (often inadequately) with notions such as armchair, structuralist, nationalist, focused on collecting, analyzing, and classifying of the material at the expense of studying performance contexts or people’s musical interactions,

I felt (ever since I have come to the United States) a need to do justice also to those studies in ethnomusicology that focused on analysis and description of folk song material. Trying to see such a research approach in the context of Slovak traditional culture and from the perspective of its bearers, the village people, I gradually realized that by focusing on musical artifacts, scholars may have naturally reflected peoples' concepts of traditional music and songs. For instance, men and women in Slovakia often talk about their songs as about things, detachable objects, attributing them an almost material quality. I recall an interview with a woman in an eastern Slovak village, who used the phrase "give the song" in expressing her willingness to make me familiar with her repertoire. However, when it came to one specific song her grandfather taught her, she did not want to "give me" that song, because she was "saving it" for her grandson. She "only sang it" to me, but did not "give it" to me. What exactly was the difference between singing a song and giving it to someone, I did not dare to ask. But I suspect it expresses a conceptual distinction between handing it over as an almost material piece of tradition that belongs to the family and community, and merely showing or presenting it to the outsiders. It may also indicate a distinction between different forms of existence of traditional songs: their original contexts (traditional or spontaneous singing) versus new performance contexts related to folklorism. Slovak people treasure their repertoires, both individual and local, and complaints about another village "stealing" or "taking" their song(s) are a frequent part of their discourse. It seems that people's local identity and belongingness to the village community goes hand in hand with common "ownership" of specific pieces of the repertoire. People are aesthetically and emotionally attached to their songs.

Keeping the above in mind, I focus here on a traditional song genre, as a result of people's musical thinking, improvising, selecting, accepting and processing certain musical phenomena, which they usually link to specific performance contexts. I understand the term genre as not just a taxonomic category but rather as a concept facilitating a view of both the inner multilayered nature of Slovak traditional wedding songs (as represented in chapter 4), and their links to musical (chapters 6 and 7) as well as cultural and social phenomena (chapters 2 and 3). Genre generally designates a relatively homogenous group of works that share some common features in terms of subject, structure, form, and style.¹² There is no agreement among the various disciplines as to the meaning of the term, and each uses different criteria of genre distinction, usually based on the nature of the discipline's subject matter (a particular kind of literary or musical work, or folklore, etc.).

In Slovak ethnomusicology, the systematic study of the genre aspect of folk songs started in the 1950s, having been connected with attempts to identify contextual and structural links between the traditional song and the traditional socio-cultural environment that creates it (Urbancová 1993: 30).¹³ Thus the combination of three main criteria—function, text (subject-motivic aspect), and musical structure—served to identify traditional song genres in Slovak and central European ethnomusicology.¹⁴

¹² However, this is not to deny the dynamism of genre or its potential for change. As Harris-Lopez wrote, “genre has proven to be a stabilizing as well as flexible concept” (2005: 102).

¹³ This methodological development was partly due to the influence of the functional structuralism of the Prague Linguistic Circle (Roman Jakobson and Jan Mukařovský, among others), in Slovak ethnology represented by Petr Bogatyrev and Andrej Melicherčík, and in ethnomusicology by Jozef Kresánek.

¹⁴ See Urbancová (1993b) for a bibliography of genre-oriented studies in Czech, Slovak,

Studies that focused at first on a musical or textual aspect (subject, motif) of songs showed that both music-stylistic and subject-motivic elements penetrate into and fluctuate between various genres; therefore, it is mainly the function of the folk song—in terms of its relation to the particular singing occasion and socio-cultural context that gave rise to it—that is the central and unifying aspect in identifying the genre of a particular group of songs.

I understand function as a relational category, i.e., as a reflection of the quality of mutual relations within the structure of a specific practice (a traditional wedding ceremony, singing of ceremonial wedding songs, etc.) in its social and cultural environment.¹⁵ In a broader ethnological sense the function can be seen as a role, serving a purpose given by cultural and social beliefs, concepts, and needs of the community. If the functioning of traditional culture in general is understood as a complex, structured net of internal and external relations that exist on multiple levels, then also the individual phenomena of traditional culture should be viewed as dynamic and polyfunctional (Krekovičová 1991a: 193). The functional analysis of the traditional song material is also justified by the fact that the singers as well orient themselves in their repertoires according to singing occasions, functions, and subjects of songs. These aspects are reflected in the local terminology village people use for differentiating between the song genres, including the wedding songs and *svadobné nôty* as one specific category (see chapter 4). On the other hand, singing has such a significant place in certain traditional customs that many customary moments are named according to the performance occasion,

Russian, Belorussian, Romanian, Hungarian, and Polish ethnomusicology.

¹⁵ My use of the category of function draws upon ideas and concepts formulated by Bogatyrev (1976[1936]a and 1976[1936]b), Jakobson (1960), M. Shapiro (1983 and 1991), Krekovičová (1978 and 1991a), and Sychra (1949).

such as *spievanie popod obloky* (singing under the windows) at Christmas, *spievanie Jura* (“singing of George”, welcoming St. George—the messenger of Spring—by incantations), or the Moravian *spívání* (singing) designating a pre-wedding parting of the bride and the groom from their peers.

Considering the historically determined “social function” of traditional song as a principal constituent of genre, Izalij Zemcovskij saw the genre system as an open, dynamic organism that is dependent on its social context as it develops historically (Zemcovskij 1971: 24). According to Zemcovskij, the dynamism of genres and their functions is based on the “syncretic” nature of functions, i.e., each function has multiple levels, the hierarchy of which is flexible according to social and historical circumstances. If one function of the genre loses its actuality, it can be replaced by another functional aspect, thus assuring the genre continuity (*ibid.*: 28).¹⁶

Examining the hierarchy of the three criteria, function, text, and music, Zemcovskij hypothesized a historical development of a traditional song genre: its historical differentiation first occurs on the basis of function, then on the basis of poetic text, and only later is realized in terms of musical structure (*ibid.*). For instance, the magical incantations connected with the functionality of agrarian calendar rituals of eastern Slavs might have originally had the same or a similar music-poetical character based on recitative declamation. Later on, the incantations might have connected with particular kinds of rituals (spring-welcoming rites, fall harvesting ceremonies, winter-

¹⁶ The hierarchy of functions determining a musical genre can be viewed in terms of Jakobson’s scheme of verbal communication based on six aspects (functions) of language (1960): emotive, referential, poetic, phatic, metalingual, and conative function. It is their different hierarchical order, a predominance of one or another function that determines the specific type of communication of the message.

solstice rituals, etc.) and developed distinctive poetic subject-motivic features, while keeping the same musical structure. Lastly, the individual genres were differentiated musically. This theory of the evolution of genres may serve as one explanation of the fact that the traditional songs with a firm connection to a particular singing occasion (especially a ritual or ceremonial one) show less musical individuality and usually have features of older music-stylistic strata.¹⁷ It also sheds light on the recent and current tendencies of traditional song repertoires to become musically more diverse, as many of the original functions of particular song genres—linked to the specific performance contexts—have been gradually disappearing or have been replaced by other functions.

Besides music-stylistic, poetic, and functional determinants of genre, such aspects as performance style (solo or group, one-part or multi-part vocal interpretation, with or without accompaniment, dialogical antiphonal singing) or the gender and age of the performer need to be considered in differentiating genres. The fact that performance peculiarities are often determined more by specific local or regional style than by genre opens the issue of regional and inter-ethnic characteristics of genres (Burlasová 1981: 361). Oskár Elschek suggests that both the fact that the song is performed in a specific functional, temporal, and spatial context, and its content—its semantic and performance qualities—allow the song to become a part of that particular context (1989: 15). In sum, a traditional song genre is a category synthesizing several aspects: the singing occasion and functions related to the performance context, the subject-motivic aspect, poetics, musical structure, regional style, and music-historical stratum, with the functional aspect

¹⁷ The idea of using one melody in rituals linked by similar functions will be elaborated in a more detail in the discussion of *svadobné nôty* in chapters 4 and 5. The concept of music-stylistic strata in Slovak ethnomusicology is explained in chapter 6.

remaining central. The specific manner of interconnecting these parameters shapes the stylistic peculiarities of a particular genre (Elschek 1989: 15). Various genres show different levels of homogeneity; some are more open than others (Urbancová 1993b: 35). Therefore, the category of genre cannot provide the basis for systematic classification of traditional songs.¹⁸ However, as a concept, thanks to its multiple dimensions unified by the functional aspect, it can be instrumental in studying particular musical phenomena in their relation to the social, cultural, and historical context of which they are an outcome.

Functions of traditional musical phenomena are constantly changing; they alter in accordance with social and cultural circumstances (Bogatyrev 1976[1936]b: 30-31; Obrebski 1976: 44). Svadobné nôty and other ceremonial songs and dances performed now and then at today's weddings in Slovakia belong to the relicts of older rituals that survived major transformations of traditional culture. While the analysis of the process of this transformation and ethnography of current musical wedding practices, as exemplified in studies by American scholars, such as Gail Kligman (1988), Jane Sugarman (1997), Timothy Rice (1994), and Timothy Cooley (2005), could be, eventually, an ultimate goal of this research, it cannot be carried out without first characterizing svadobné nôty as a genre and trying to reconstruct their position (functions) on both syntagmatic (in the structure of the wedding ceremony) and paradigmatic levels (in the context of traditional village culture). If the traditional village wedding ceremony (including its song repertoire) is considered as a system of practices based on a hierarchy of multiple functions and their dynamic relationships, in which case the changes on one level of the system trigger and determine changes on another level, then the reconstruction of the functions of a genre in

¹⁸ Hana Urbancová points out that in this sense genre differentiation is closer to typology than to classification (1993b: 35).

its previous traditional contexts can shed light on the subsequent changes in both the wedding ceremony and the genre itself.

Such a reconstruction is carried out in this study by focusing on *svadobné nôty* primarily as they have been remembered by village people, typically women, who used to perform or experience them in the context of the traditional village wedding. The emotions, often nostalgic, triggered by the memories of the past, reflect not only the importance these songs had in lives of women I interviewed, but also the ways people conceive themselves as a community with respect to the past (Wrazen 2004: 145; Cooley 2005: 218-223). Although my study focuses on the memories of singing practice of a specific genre rather than the practice itself, and thus may be regarded along the lines of historically oriented European ethnomusicology (Cooley 2005: 16), my approach to the study of a genre was significantly inspired by recent American writings on European traditional music and dance practices, specifically by the idea elaborated by Jane Sugarman (1997), Timothy Rice (1994), Jane Cowan (1990), Timothy Cooley (2005), and Louise Wrazen (2004), among others, that music practices not only reflect on, but actually help to create, construct, challenge, or reify the existing social structures and cultural beliefs. My study of functions of *svadobné nôty* in the Slovak traditional village culture draws upon this approach, while trying to link it with a structural and historical analysis of a traditional musical genre as a result of both real (past) and imagined (remembered) musical practice.

1.2.2 Sources of material: Documentation and fieldwork

This study draws upon two kinds of data: fieldwork material recorded by myself between 1996 and 2002, and material collected by other scholars in a more or less recent past. The fieldwork material includes information received during meetings and interviews with village singers/informants, and the observation of an actual wedding. The secondary material consists of (a) published folk song collections and recordings, and (b) transcriptions, and audio/video recordings of actual weddings and staged performances deposited in the archive of the Ústav hudobnej vedy of the Slovenská akadémia vied in Bratislava. Although the published and archival material collected by other scholars represented a significant source of data, its abundance raised a question of selection criteria. In accordance with the purpose of this study as outlined above, the main criterion of material selection became the existence of information on function/occasion of the song given by the singer. Thus, the selection of song collections and recordings was limited to those in which such information was provided. These, however, served only as supplemental sources, mainly for two purposes: (1) the analysis of the relationship between melodies and texts of wedding songs (chapters 5 and 6), and (2) the typology of svadobné nôty with reference to regional distribution (chapter 8).

The primary source of wedding songs, including svadobné nôty, was the fieldwork, which I carried out during the summers of 2000 and 2001 in twenty villages in seven cultural and geographical regions of Slovakia: the regions of Záhorie and Nitra in western Slovakia, Trenčín in northwestern Slovakia, Kysuce in north-central Slovakia, the region of lower Spiš in eastern Slovakia, and Hont in the south-central part of the

country (Appendix E, map no. 1).¹⁹ The selection of different areas and localities of the country corresponds with the regional variety of traditional musical styles and provides the representative sample of material for a study of the function of the specific (sub)genre. The primary criterion of my choice of specific villages was the vitality of local traditional cultures and the importance of *svadobné nôty* in the local singing repertoires.²⁰ In addition, the contact information about particular singers or knowledgeable informants, gained from Slovak colleagues or informants themselves, also partly determined my selection of fieldwork localities. Besides the fieldwork in Slovakia, I gathered significant data during my previous research (1996 and 1998) in the Slovak enclave in eastern Slavonia (northern Croatia; see Appendix E, map no. 2), the population of which emigrated from Kysuce at the end of the 19th century. The wedding songs of Croatian Slovaks provide important information on the function, distribution, and transformation of one *svadobná nôta* in several Slovak-speaking villages in Slavonia. Thus, the Kysuce region was intentionally chosen for the comparison with Slavonian material.

My fieldwork consisted mainly of interviews and discussions with informants and singers, primarily women. Many of them were members of local village folk groups or involved in some ways in preserving local traditions and handing them over to younger generations, for example, by being invited to weddings and other spontaneous performing events, or being consulted by folklore activists in matters of traditional customs and repertoires. Our discussions were to a certain extent led by a set of my questions regarding the course of the traditional wedding ceremony as remembered from times it

¹⁹ See also the list of villages and regions with reference to the transcriptions of melodies and texts (Appendix A).

²⁰ *Svadobné nôty* that use one melody with different texts throughout the wedding ceremony, are in some areas of Slovakia more common than in others (see chapter 4).

was practiced as such in their villages, followed by a description (and singing) of other genres, customs, singing occasions, and issues of everyday life. The women interviewed usually spontaneously sang the songs to which they referred. However, as mentioned above, they often seemed to identify the song with its text only (reciting it first), and they referred to the phenomenon of *svadobné nôty* mostly indirectly, indicating that the respective text was sung to this or another wedding melody. The interviews revealed women singers' perspectives on several issues that are addressed in more detail in specific chapters, such as issues of terminology and genre distinction of *svadobné nôty* (chapter 4); women's recollections of past and current wedding practices and singing occasions (chapter 3 and 4); views on people's motivation to preserve their singing traditions, their selection of singing repertoire, and the ways they differentiate between the songs and musical practices of their own village from those of other villages; and how all these aspects have changed in the course of the twentieth century.

Besides interviews, I had a chance to observe a village wedding in Stará Bystrica and watched video recordings of two traditional weddings along with my informant in Selec, who directly commented upon them. Although both weddings were regarded as traditional according to the local standards, only certain traditional elements/rituals were included (see chapter 4). My observations from these three weddings were supplemented by memories of participating in several weddings in my father's family during the 1980s. Some were more traditional than others and I lost track of the exact sequence of customs performed or traditional songs sung. What I retained, however, was an admiration for the ceremony as a whole and a desire to understand its social, cultural, and musical contexts. Although I did not realize it back then, the traditional ideas and values of village culture

were being gradually infiltrated to my mind, and elucidated and sorted out with the help of my grandmother, my first and most valuable “informant.”

The recollections of past weddings, both those of the women interviewed and my own, especially of the traditional sequence of rituals and their relation to *svadobné nôty*, were supplemented by earlier ethnographies of traditional weddings,²¹ and by a video documentation of reconstructed village weddings from various locales of Slovakia, performed within the festival *Nositelia tradícií* (The bearers of traditions) organized by the *Národné osvetové centrum* (Bratislava).²² As folklorized, staged presentations of specific village weddings, they should be understood as idealized versions. Nevertheless, being interpreted by village folk groups and, therefore, presented from perspectives of village people, they provide a valuable survey of local and regional wedding traditions—including music, songs, and dances—and their stylistic variety.

1.2.3 Issues of terminology

The principal keyword of this thesis, *svadobná nôta*, can be understood in its literal meaning, i.e., as a wedding melody, and as a specific category of the genre of wedding songs. Whereas the first connotation reflects village people’s understanding and use of the term or its local variants (*svadobný hlas*, *svadobná nuota*, *svadebska nuota*, *veselárska nota*, etc.), the latter is derived (by scholars?) from the specific use of the phenomenon of *svadobná nôta* in practice, and from the ways people differentiate

²¹ For a survey of literature on Central and East European traditional wedding sequence, see the introductory paragraphs of chapter 3.

²² The local and regional presentations of village folk groups between 1982 and 2000 featured traditional weddings from ca. 50 different villages. I want to express my gratitude to the *Národné osvetové centrum*, particularly Dr. Mária Kyseľová, who kindly gave me access to these video documents.

between specific genres according to their melodic aspects (see chapter 4). Although the two meanings are interconnected and one implies the other, I differentiate between them, when necessary, by indicating whether I refer to a tune or a genre. In a theoretical discussion, I use the standard Slovak term *nôta* (pl. *nôty*); when referring to people's use of the term, I use the pertinent local dialectal version, such as *nuota*, *nota*, or *hlas*.²³

Non-generic Slovak and local dialectal terms are distinguished by *Italic script*, followed by a parenthetical English translation when used for the first time. A glossary of all Slovak terms is appended. The excerpts from interviews are translated into English in the text, with the Slovak original provided in a footnote.

Although Slovak ethnomusicologists and village people use the adjective *ľudový*(*á/é*)—such as *ľudová hudba* (folk music), *ľudová kultúra* (folk culture), *ľudová pieseň* (*ľudové piesne*=folk song/s), *ľudový tanec* (folk dance)—I use the term “traditional” in order to avoid a semantic ambiguity related to one connotation of the English term “folk.” By “traditional” (music, songs, dance, culture) I mean cultural and social phenomena originated and developed in the village milieu, and distinguished as such by village people. Nowadays singers and musicians in Slovakia often do not differentiate between “spontaneous” and “sponsored”²⁴ performance of traditional music—they may play it within or outside the authentic context of the village culture—

²³ The term *nôta* also has other connotations, which are discussed briefly in chapter 7. For instance, singers and dancers may order musicians to play their favorite *nuota*, to which one then sings and dances. Famous instrumental melodies known by their authors are referred to as a specific musician's *nuota*. See Cooley (2005), Noll (1986 and 1989), and Wrazen (1991) for similar uses of the term *nuta* in Polish traditional music.

²⁴ See Wrazen (1991) for distinction between spontaneous and sponsored performance of Polish traditional music.

therefore I refer to the latter only when specifically discussing transformations of traditional music in terms of “folklorism” (see chapter 2).

I use the terms “village” people and “village” culture, when referring to the contemporary rural milieu, which, although today socially mixed, has its social and cultural roots in the peasant past. The term “peasant” refers in this study to the phenomena linked with the traditional agrarian economy, “self-sufficient, multipurpose, and prosperous, dependent not only upon the varied use of the land, but also upon the family organization through which the multiple tasks of subsistence and production were performed” (Obrebski 1976: 42).²⁵ Since the efficiency of the peasant economy was dependent upon the “numerical strength of the family and the division of labor within the household,” the extended patriarchal family was the fundamental unit of the village community (ibid.). Despite the significant changes that occurred in the history of the peasant society since the nineteenth century—including the disintegration of the old family system and, for that matter, also the system of rituals—the remnants of the peasant world are still deeply embedded in the current village society in Slovakia.

Under the term “ritual” I understand a dramatized symbolic action in which its protagonists reenact the culturally defined roles that correspond with the structure and principles of the society (Turner 1982; Schechner 1982). According to Terence Turner (1977: 61), ritual is used as a means of regulating the social order, and as such can extol some principles that are otherwise being challenged by ongoing social and economic transformations (Kligman 1988: 265). I use the term “ceremony” as a system of rituals (see chapter 3), whether I refer to the traditional village wedding ceremony or its

²⁵ For studies on the concept and history of European peasantry, see also Wolf (2001), Blum (1978), Rösener (1994), and Kováč (1999), among others.

contemporary versions. I do not make a distinction between the “ceremony” as related to human social relations and “rite” as implying the supernatural concerns (Kligman 1988: 266). The traditional Slovak wedding ceremony, both past and contemporary, contains a mixture of both, although the meanings of most of the rituals and customs cannot be explained by their performers, or are interpreted in different ways.

Music examples provided throughout the study are based primarily on transcriptions of songs recorded during my fieldwork. Transcriptions of melodies start on p. 251 and are ordered according to regions (Nitra, Hont, Trenčín, Kysuce, Slavonia, Spiš) and according to alphabetically ordered villages within the respective region. The transcriptions of texts start on p. 297 and correspond with the order of melodies.²⁶ Each transcription is followed by analytical information about melodic and tonal material, and formal structure. Also, melodic variants of each *svadobná nôta* are indicated both within the presented repertoire and in archival and published collections. When I refer to written documents or transcriptions of songs previously established by other scholars as a kind of evidence of certain phenomena, I use the term *record(s)*.

1.2.4 Presentation of data

The interpretation of Slovak traditional wedding rituals and the study of social, cultural, musical, poetical, and melodic-typological aspects of *svadobné nôtty* led me to put forward six hypotheses about the roles of these wedding tunes in the wedding ceremony and in the local traditional culture in the past. These hypotheses (listed above

²⁶ See Appendix A for the cross-references between villages, melodies, and texts.

in part 1.1.1) are drawn from the discussion of individual aspects of *svadobné nôty* in the particular chapters.

Chapter 2 presents an overview of the political and cultural history of the Slovak people, focusing on village traditions and their position in the current cultural context. The second part of the chapter examines patriarchy as a leading aspect of the village social system, overriding the gender, age, and other social differences. The role of women in performing and preserving wedding traditions is also viewed in the context of a patriarchal system.

In chapter 3 I outline the social, cultural, and ritual aspects of the traditional wedding sequence in Slovakia, comparing the situation before and after World War II. Women's recollections of their own weddings, and their comparisons with the weddings of their children and grandchildren offer valuable insight into the changes in wedding practices, including the sequence of rituals and role of singing, that have been taking place gradually since the beginning of World War II.

In chapter 4 I explore the roles of music in the wedding ceremony as recognized by village performers, and delineate the genre structure of the wedding song repertoire, reflecting the ways village people distinguish between particular categories of songs. People clearly differentiate *svadobné nôty* from other genres of traditional songs as well as from other non-ritual wedding songs, and they are very explicit about the specific place and time when these songs used to be sung in the traditional wedding sequence. Drawing upon the interpretation of the wedding ceremony presented in chapter 3 in terms of van Gennep's concept of rite of passage, I examine the functional links between

svadobné nôty and the ritual moments of the wedding ceremony with which they were associated.

The next three chapters provide a style analysis of the svadobné nôty, focusing on their poetic and musical characteristics, as well as on their connection to dance and instrumental accompaniment. The examination of semantic links of the texts sung to svadobné nôty with the respective ritual moments, and the analysis of their poetic means and structure show that their poetic aspects both contribute to the ceremonial nature of svadobné nôty and correspond with their ability to fit to different melodies. Musical analysis (chapter 6) is preceded by an outline of the development of music-stylistic analysis of traditional songs in Slovak ethnomusicology, and built on the distinction of three historically determined styles distinguished by tonal criteria. Focusing on the role of dance in the wedding ceremony and the relation between dance and svadobné nôty, in chapter 7 I provide a historical excursion to the written music sources and records of wedding dance songs, and indicate a possible consequences of dance function and instrumental rendition of the melody on recent transformations of the genre of wedding songs.

Chapter 8 provides an outline of melodic types of svadobné nôty, and a discussion of their culture-geographic distribution with respect to particular regional musical styles in Slovakia and to village people's association of a certain melodic type with local svadobná nôta.

Chapter 2

Village traditions in Slovakia

2.1 Historical, social, and cultural context

Svadobné nôty should be seen in the context of three mutually related phenomena: (1) they are an inherent part of the Slovak village peasant culture and its development; (2) they represent and symbolize the most significant ceremony of this culture, the wedding; and (3) they belong—almost exclusively—to women’s vocal repertoire. As a contextual framework, these three aspects will be continuously addressed throughout my study. While the second aspect, the traditional wedding ceremony, will be explored in detail in the following chapter, village culture in Slovakia and the place of women in it will be briefly discussed at this point.

A country of 5.3 million people, Slovakia—established as an independent state on 1 January 1993—is situated in the geographical center of Europe, neighboring with Czech Republic, Poland, Ukraine, Hungary, and Austria.¹ From the dissolution of the first Slavonic state (Great Moravia) at the turn of the ninth and the tenth centuries until the end of World War I in 1918, the Slovak people shared a thousand-year history with Magyars and other peoples living in the multinational Hungarian kingdom (after 1867 the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy).² From its Slavic period in the ninth century the area

¹ According to the 2001 census, the country’s population consists of Slovaks (85.8%), Hungarians (9.7%), Roma people (1.7%), Rusyns/Ukrainians (1%), and other small ethnic groups (1.8% includes Croatian, Polish, Jewish, and German people).

² For history and historiography of Slovak people see Mannová (1995), Brock (1976), Seton-Watson (1965[1943]), Kirschbaum (1995), and Kováč (1999), among others. See Appendix B for the list of significant historical events in Slovakia.

developed its essentially rural character and the everyday life of Slovak peasants did not differ much from that of other European peoples. However, due to a firmly established feudal system in Hungary that lasted much longer there than in the western and northern parts of Europe, an agrarian economy and patriarchal social system remained relatively closed and less susceptible to change (see Blum 1978; Rösener 1994; and Wolf 2001: 252-9).

Geographical and natural features of the country were favorable to several migration waves which occurred from the beginning of the fourteenth century on, leaving a significant mark on the development of village traditions and their regional stylistic diversity. Whereas the area of Slovakia was entirely rural in the thirteenth century, the migration of German miners and the establishment of rich miners' towns in central and eastern Slovakia during the fourteenth century caused Upper Hungary to become the region with the most developed industry in the kingdom. However, the urban population mostly retained its German—and later Hungarian—character, while Slovak-speaking people represented a tiny minority having to struggle for their place and recognition in urban administrations. The strategic position of the region within the Hungarian state was strengthened in the sixteenth century due to the Turkish wars; from the early 1520s noblemen from the southern parts of the kingdom were gradually moving to the area of present-day Slovakia. After the Ottoman defeat of the Hungarian army near Mohács in 1526, all the financial and administrative institutions were moved from Buda to Bratislava (then Poszony, or Pressburg).³ From the sixteenth through the seventeenth century, two other migrations occurred in the area: that of Croatian people who were

³ Bratislava was the capital of the kingdom between 1520 and 1830. During this period, the coronations of Hungarian kings and queens took place in the city.

fleeing the Turks and resettling the western Slovak villages destroyed by Turkish and Habsburg soldiers, and that of Wallachian herdsmen from the eastern parts of Europe, who were founding new settlements on the southern slopes of the Carpathian mountains.⁴

Whereas the former two migrations had a major impact on the development of industry and cities in Slovakia, the latter two significantly influenced existing peasant traditions. The Croatian migration helped to strengthen the Slavic and Slovak character of western Slovakia against the German- and Hungarian-speaking area of Bratislava (Važanová-Horáková 1993), and the Wallachian colonization gave rise to the development of a specific layer of traditional culture (see chapter 6). The last important internal migration occurred from the end of the eighteenth and during the nineteenth century, when people were moving from the overpopulated, poor areas of northern Slovakia to the southern parts of the Hungarian kingdom (today southeastern Hungary, western Romania, Vojvodina in northern Serbia, and eastern Slavonia in Croatia), creating Slovak-speaking enclaves in the regions that were devastated and had remained empty after the Turkish wars.⁵ All these migration movements contributed to the

⁴ The term *valašská kolonizácia* (Wallachian colonization) is used to designate the migration and settlement of herdsmen from Romania (13th-15th c.), Ukraine (15th-16th c.), and the northern parts of the Tatra mountains (17th-18th c.). The term designates the social and cultural aspects of the pastoral way of life of these people rather than their ethnic origin. Their relationship to the Vlach people settled in other parts of eastern Europe is not certain. About 200 new villages were established on the basis of *valašská kolonizácia* between the 16th and 18th c. in the area of central and northern Slovakia (Apáthyová-Rusnáková and Stoličná 1997: 173).

⁵ It was during this period that many people left the country for western Europe and the Americas.

development of music traditions in the area of Slovakia, particularly to a great diversity of its local and regional styles.⁶

The Roma people, *Cigáni*, who settled or lived in a nomadic way in Hungary since the 15th c., also played a significant role in the development of traditional music in this area. They rarely made their living in agriculture and often had service supplying occupations, including music making and entertainment. As professional musicians, they provided instrumental and dance music to those who hired them, whether it was nobility, town people, or villagers. Thus, they were flexible to play many different musical styles to satisfy their audience and were a significant mediator between the musical styles of different social and cultural strata (Sárosi 1978). Although Roma musicians probably did not have an impact on vocal peasant genres of calendar and family ceremonies in Slovak villages, they played an important role in providing an instrumental dance accompaniment, even though abided by local traditional styles.⁷

A village community was subordinated to the authority of the landlord (until the fall of serfdom in 1785) and the church,⁸ and was based on the family as the principal human (biological), economical, and ethical building unit of the village society (Apáthyová-Rusnáková and Stoličná 1997: 180; Obrebski 1976). Although the institution of the family was changing during the centuries, its patriarchal character, with the basic role of assuring biological and cultural reproduction of a society, was strictly maintained

⁶ For characteristics of Slovak regional musical styles, see Elscheková and Elschek (2005[1962] and 1982), Elscheková (1978), Elschek (2001b).

⁷ Music of Roma people, both in historical perspective and their present musical activities, has been marginalized in Slovak scholarship until the 1990s (see Belišová 2000).

⁸ The majority of Slovak people are Roman Catholics (70%). The other religions include the Evangelic Church of Augsburg Affiliation (7%), Greek-Catholic Church (4%), Reformed Christian Church (2%), and Orthodox Church (1%).

until the first half of the twentieth century. Its social stratification based mainly on a person's age and sex was reflected in all aspects of family life and the life of the whole community, from the seating order at the family and wedding table, as well as in the church, through the distribution of duties and responsibilities, to the granting of rights and privileges. Alongside and interwoven with the patriarchal order, a highly organized system of calendar and family rituals seemed to be a necessary instrument for assuring the stability and security of the village people.⁹ Thus, the various expressions of traditional culture, such as music, songs, dance, proverbs, and beliefs, were highly functional; they were often linked to specific occasions given by particular needs—a ceremony, type of work or activity, or social event.

In sum, in the past the peasant community represented a relatively closed sociocultural system based on a specific hierarchy of ethical and social values, forms of communication, and distribution and transmission of traditions. This can be understood as a significant determinant of the origin, existence and development of the majority of peasant musical genres. William Noll's suggestion that peasant music practices should be regarded as "aspects of longstanding social forces," therefore distinctive of aspects of local and regional (instead of ethnic or national) culture, seems to be crucial for understanding the history and transformations of folk music traditions in Poland and east-central Europe (1986: 3). The peasant music practices, he says, developed in music-cultural layers related to the social forces dominating in the period of origin of the

⁹ Peasants' dependence on nature and their "ecosystem" that determined what could be grown and raised made them highly vulnerable to variation or change (Wolf 2001: 256).

respective layer, and therefore are specific with regard to region, social group, and time of origin (1989: 2).¹⁰

This is not to assert that the peasant traditions were developed in isolation from urban and other ethnic traditions, religious and art music, especially not in an area like Slovakia, which has been a crossroads of migrations and ethnic movements. Besides, there was always a “two-way traffic” between the “great tradition” of the noblemen and the “little tradition” of the people (Burke 1978: 32). There was undoubtedly a constant interaction between the two in some musical genres and dances. However, in Slovakia and central-eastern Europe, certain musical practices were limited only to the private domains, or functionally linked to the events—ritual or purely social—restricted to the members of a village community. Moreover, there was a significant linguistic gap between the Slovak peasants and mostly Hungarian- and German-speaking nobility and town people. In spite of Hungarian nationalistic tendencies and attempts to establish Hungarian as the national language (according to the motto “One king, one religion, one language”), the Slovak peasants resisted the pressure. When according to Apponyi’s decree in 1907 the Slovak language was abolished from all elementary schools in Upper Hungary, instead of achieving the assimilation of Slovaks, this led to increased illiteracy among many Slovak peasants who preferred not to send their children to school rather than to let them become “Hungarians.” Thus, the social links (i.e., functionality) of Slovak traditional music, dance, and songs along with the cultural (linguistic and social) distinction helped to preserve them until the twentieth century.

¹⁰This concept seems to be analogous to that of music-stylistic strata of Slovak folk music discussed by the Elscheks (1982) and referred to in chapter 6.

In 1918, when Czechoslovakia was established as an independent state, large-scale economic and social changes considerably affected the lifestyle of village people. First and foremost, the industrialization of primarily agrarian Slovakia, accelerated after 1945, led to a series of demographic, economic, social, and cultural processes that considerably transformed lifestyles, particularly those of village people. Industrial progress created working opportunities for village people who suffered from the loss of a male working force, poverty, and hunger after World War I. Therefore, temporary or permanent migration to cities with a promise of work and an improved economic situation was for many a matter of survival. The migration of people to urban milieus led to a lively exchange of ideas and values between the city and the village. Economic progress resulting from industrialization and urbanization led further to occupational differentiation, a greater variety of jobs with equal opportunities for both men and women, and lesser gender specialization. Although not directly linked to industrialization, general access to all levels of education in the mother tongue was also a significant aspect of cultural development in Slovakia, especially when compared with the situation before 1918.¹¹

Since 1948, hand-in-hand with industrialization went forced collectivization of small farms, which disrupted the economic as well as the cultural continuity of traditional village life. This development led to the extinction of the peasantry as a social class (Kováč 1999: 331), to the diminishing of collective traditional values—once inevitable

¹¹ Joseph Obrebski (1976) examines three stages of economic and social transformations in eastern European, namely the Polish peasantry, focusing on the integration of rural peoples with emerging nation-states. According to Obrebski, the process of disintegration of the peasantry started shortly after its emancipation (1785 in Hungary), accelerating during the development of nation-states in the 19th century, and industrialization in the late 19th and early 20th century.

for the normal existence of the village community—in favor of individual ones, and to the replacement of the traditional social links, which were based primarily on relations with family and neighbors, by relationships and friendships made at work. The social status of women changed radically, as did the structure and functions of the traditional family and family relations. Naturally, many customs and rituals that were previously directed toward ensuring the smooth functioning of the complicated hierarchy of relations in the large multigenerational family (for example, incorporation rituals accompanying the bride's arrival at the groom's household) lost their significance, and the music traditions associated with them were gradually transferred to the domain of organized and institutionalized stage presentation.

Although the “second existence” of folk music, or “folklorism”—as the phenomenon of imitation, adoption, and transfer of traditional music from its original environment is usually called¹²—was supported by the communist regime and used as its instrument to serve various kinds of ideological proclamations, the roots of Slovak folklorism can be traced back to the nineteenth century. During that period, Slovak-oriented intellectuals, many of whom studied in Germany and were directly influenced by Herder's views on folk poetry, started to collect and promote various aspects of peasant traditions in order to prove that Slovak language and culture are indeed distinctive and equal to those of other nations (Brock 1976). These attempts should be viewed in the context of European Romanticism, ethnic and national awakening movements—especially among those who were subordinate to larger nations—as well as a general interest of upper classes of the period in peasant, folk, and ethnic phenomena. Thus, the

¹² See Krekovičová 1989, Leščák 1992, and Kysel' 2000, among others.

first staged performances of Slovak traditional music, customs, and dance were given in Vienna (at the Slavic Ball in 1850) and Prague (at the Czechoslovak Ethnographic Exhibition in 1895) (Kováč 1999, Zálešák 1982). From the late nineteenth century urban people started to imitate folk music and incorporated certain features into their suites of social dances. With the gradual extinction of some traditional customs due to the growing industrialization between the two World Wars, village people themselves—usually encouraged by local teachers—started to found traditional dancing and singing groups. After World War II, and especially after 1948, the creation of folk music ensembles in villages, towns, factories, and schools under the supervision of the Communist Party was almost mandatory; folk music was being manipulated as a symbol of the “working masses,” the “domestic,” and the “progressive,” and placed in opposition to the urban values associated with bourgeoisie, whose fondness for classical ballet and social dances of “foreign” roots was criticized as stagnant, non-developing, and conservative.

Although many parallels can be drawn with the situation in other communist countries, for instance, Bulgaria as outlined by Rice (1994) and Buchanan (1995), the tension between the traditional and staged presentation, and between local/regional folk culture and its globalized/national construction was less obvious in Slovakia. One of the reasons may have been a different understanding of professionalism, as there was only one professional folk ensemble in Slovakia, Slovenský ľudový umelecký kolektív (SLUK), whose first members and choreographers actually came from village traditions, and therefore the difference between staged performance and real practice was not as striking at first. In addition, many amateur folk ensembles were created who aspired

toward professionalism, not in the sense of occupation but in that of high quality and perfectionism (Važanová 2001: 259).

The urban folk ensembles in the 1950s consisted mostly of village people who moved to the cities and brought with them traditions from various regions.¹³ These, transplanted to new conditions, underwent significant changes in terms of their function (aesthetic, serving as entertainment and, eventually, becoming an instrument of communist ideology), performance contexts (public, stage, artificially and intentionally created performance occasions), manner of performance (vocal genres arranged into vocal-instrumental versions; variability, improvisation, and spontaneity replaced by uniformity, imitation and stylization), as well as criteria of selection of the repertoire (confrontation with urban taste and ideological appropriateness, focus on archaic phenomena in folk culture) (Leščák 1992: 5, Ceribašić 2003). As the genuine village traditions were slowly declining, the folk ensembles became involved in collection and revival, mainly of the archaic phenomena. This had an ambivalent effect, because in the process of searching for old, forgotten music material, the folk ensembles transformed it to uniform, more or less stylized versions, which returned back to the village via public performances of these ensembles, folk music festivals, and mass media (Elschek 2001a; Cooley 2005; Važanová-Horáková 1996). Thus the differences between the natural and organized forms of traditional music making were less and less obvious, especially in the villages with a strong consciousness of their traditional culture and an existing village

¹³ There is a difference between the folk ensembles originating in an urban milieu and those created in villages. Although both types are the results of the large-scale folklore movement in Slovakia, the social and cultural backgrounds of their members differ significantly, and so do the repertoire and its representation. Since the urban ensembles consist of people from all over the country, their programs reflect the stylistic diversity, whereas the local village groups focus on presentation of their own traditions and styles.

folk group. There the folk ensembles have become the principal mediators between traditional and contemporary culture, and their members have been invited to carry out the customs and sing at weddings.¹⁴

Today the difference between the two forms of existence of traditional music exists more in the consciousness and cultural memory of village people than in reality. For instance, when village women (my informants) commented on their singing skills as not learned or studied intentionally but rather as acquiring them naturally by listening and imitating other women, they showed pride in “learning it just like that” without writing the lyrics down or without any real practice. This can be understood as an implicit—and sometimes quite open—criticism of contemporary folk ensembles who do a lot of practice with the same (or even less successful) results the women achieve without any practicing. One of the most important platforms for the natural transmission of folk traditions has been the wedding ceremony. Ms. Ondříšková in Selec recollected that as a young girl, she attended all the weddings, so she observed and imitated the songs and ritual speeches. Today she is an honored member of the local folk group and it is through her and other older women that the local traditions are revived, presented, and thus handed over to younger generations.

2.2 Women’s roles in Slovak village traditions

As we have seen, *svadobné nôty* are mostly associated with female performers.¹⁵ Gender differences, while recognized, are not discussed by the Slovak village people

¹⁴ Rüütel describes a similar situation on the Kihnu island, Estonia (2002).

either in social interactions of everyday life or in ceremonial performance contexts. Both men and women consider gender differences—even inequalities—as natural and complementary.¹⁶ In the context of village traditions in Slovakia as well as elsewhere in rural East-Central Europe, gender cannot be understood solely in terms of the dichotomy of culturally defined images of manhood and womanhood; it comprises a complex stratification of social identities and age affiliations, subsumed under the umbrella of a patriarchal system.¹⁷ Both male and female members of the village society take on new roles and identities at marriage: wife/husband, daughter-in-law/son-in-law, sister-in-law/brother-in-law, mother-in-law/father-in-law. The traditional wedding ceremony reflects and confirms this structure of roles and identities, and validates and celebrates the process of their transformation.

According to Slovak ethnology patriarchy—as a hypothetical form of social order characterized by the dominant position of a father and his lineage—was a crucial force of organization of family and social relations in the village society up to the early twentieth century (Apáthyová-Rusnáková and Stoličná 1997; *Encyklopédia ľudovej kultúry Slovenska* 1995). However, its values and ideology have remained strongly embedded in, and even have expanded beyond, the social and cultural life of the Slovak village. A

¹⁵ The conference proceedings *Žena z pohľadu etnológie* [Woman from the ethnological perspective] (Hlôšková and Leščák 1998) contain articles on various aspects of gender and women's roles in Slovak traditional village culture.

¹⁶ See Jakubíková (1990) and Wrazen (2004). The interviews conducted during my fieldwork confirm Jakubíková's findings. See also Pine (1993 and 1998) for the socialist and post-socialist situation in village women's lives.

¹⁷ For a definition and characteristics of patriarchy as a system of specific social structures and practices, in which “men dominate, oppress, and exploit women” see Walby (1990). She argues that the gender inequality and its different aspects are “sufficiently interrelated to be understood in terms of a system of patriarchy” (ibid.: 177).

prototype of the Slovak patriarchal family was the extended family consisting of father and mother, their married sons and their wives, and unmarried children. As the existence of an extended family was determined mostly by economic reasons, so was the preference for sons, who would stay in the father's house and eventually bring in another working force through marriage. In Slovakia, the father was the head of the household, but not an exclusive owner of the family property. According to the customary law, he was only its keeper for the benefit of the whole family and its future generations. Despotic features of the father's rule were linked to his responsibilities of assuring living for the whole family, organizing the work, and supervising the spending of the family members.¹⁸

Although the father was the main authority and the head of the household in the public realm, it was the mother (and mother-in-law) who dominated in the private realm of the home (Kligman 1988: 198).¹⁹ The private domestic world was the realm of women, and in an extended household they interacted with each other and dominated each other (ibid.: 75). The hierarchy from the highest to the lowest status of women in the Slovak patriarchal family consisted of a mother, her unmarried daughters, the daughter-in-law and wife of her oldest son, down to the newest daughter-in-law, or the one with no children yet. The relationship between the mother and the newest daughter-in-law was the most troublesome. It was the bride's mother, not her father, who was responsible for the daughter's upbringing and readiness for the role of a wife and a daughter-in-law, and it was the mother-in-law, not the father-in-law, whom the bride feared most. Thus,

¹⁸ See Botík and Slavkovský (1995), headword *patriarchálna rodina* (patriarchal family).

¹⁹ Kligman's characteristics of the village social organization in Maramureş (Romania) pertain to social situation in Slovak villages up to the mid-twentieth century.

whereas the father's power can be understood as canonical, formal, symbolical, imagined, the mother's control was immediate, practical, and real. As an old Slovak proverb says, the man is a head and the woman is a neck by which the head is manipulated. Since the mother was subordinate to her husband, the father, her role can be understood as an instrument of patriarchy. The wedding ceremony, which represented and reflected the patriarchal system and patrilineality in most of its rituals and acts, provides ample evidence of this aspect.

In his ethnographic description of the nineteenth-century Slovak wedding traditions, Krištof Chorvát (1895-6) observed that in many respects women played the major role in organizing, preparing, and negotiating the social, economical, and cultural aspects of marriage in Slovakia. Recent studies on east-European women's musical genres, such as those by Shehan (1987), Petrović (1990), Rūütel (2002), Mazo (1990), Czekanowska (1990), Elscheková (1987ab, 1989, 1996, and 1997ab), and Urbancová (1993a and 1998), confirm the roles of women in performing life-cycle rituals as crucial for preserving traditions.

The involvement of women in performance of most of the wedding rituals is related to the essential function of the wedding, which in the patriarchal context was the incorporation of the bride into her husband's lineage.

Because of the patriarchal social organization (including preferential patrilocal residence), the life of the bride is perceived to be the most disrupted by marriage. Accordingly, the wedding rite focuses on the bride and the public reconstruction of her social persona within a male-biased sociocultural milieu. The wedding emphasizes normative behavior... [and therefore] has everything to do with the collective identity of women. It provides an occasion for women to reflect publicly on being women while the bride is introduced to her new subordinate status and role. (Kligman 1988: 75)

The contradictory character of the bride's position, simultaneously significant (in the wedding ceremony) and inferior (in the context of the patriarchal family), can be understood in terms of the concept of patrilineal paradox (Denich 1974: 251; Kligman 1988: 42). On the one hand, the social system of the group denies the formal existence of women (who are *in* but not *of* the patriline), on the other hand it depends upon them. Therefore it is crucial that the newcomer does not cause trouble in the organization, solidarity, continuation, and growth of the household. The bride, giving her reproductive abilities, her "blood," to her husband's patriline, actually carries on the honor of her patriline to the new one she is joining. "Upon her honor—as virtuous daughter, virgin bride, wife, and daughter-in-law—rests that of others" (Kligman 1988: 76), and eventually that of the whole community and nation (Tsitsishvili 2006: 488).²⁰

Ceremonial wedding songs, which in the past used to be sung almost exclusively by women, articulated and reiterated these notions. Why was it women, not men, who were associated with performance of life-cycle rituals? Kligman points out that "ritual as symbolic action is part of a contradictory reality." Because it addresses the rules and norms of society, its prescribed and exemplary models, ritual "imposes a dominant worldview on the paradoxical realities of life" (Kligman 1988: 10). Women were underprivileged in the patriarchal system but at the same time obliged to carry on its values. This may have brought about a special quality to women's performance. When men and women sang together humorous teasing songs, *prekáračky*, during the wedding feast, the same texts, melodies, and singing style were probably interpreted differently

²⁰ See also Sugarman (1997: 242-3). The concept of honor and shame, significant in the Mediterranean area, has less relevance in Slovakia. Denich's distinction between pastoralists' and agriculturists' social systems indicates that the shame-and-honor phenomenon is typical for the former (1974).

depending on performer's gender and performance situation. Hence, the message of the song can be "engendered" by the same culturally and socially established package of roles and expectations that the patriarchal village society ascribes to a particular gender. So, as the women in Slovak villages were expected to take care of household and family matters, bring up the children, carry out life-cycle rituals, and hand down tradition, the patriarchal image of womanhood they embodied emanated from most of their activities, including singing. Men were not expected to carry out or have knowledge of rituals, and were associated with different repertoires, genres (robbers' songs, ballads, shepherds' songs, drinking songs, etc.), gestures and singing styles. Although they were involved in performing some calendar rituals, such as Christmas, Shrovetide, and Easter customs, when I asked men about local ceremonial practices or repertoires, they always referred to a woman performer as a "better" source of information. The comments made by the men and women I interviewed indicate that men's singing cannot be taken too seriously. Music making, singing and dancing were not viewed as activities which would make that person more respectable in the society, and men's singing at the wedding feast was most likely associated with doing so under the influence of alcohol ("When men were drinking, they sang whatever").²¹

Although the position of the bride and the structure of roles within the family changed as the patriarchal extended family was being gradually replaced by a nuclear family (consisting of husband, wife, and their unmarried children), patriarchal values and behavior patterns did not vanish during the communist and post-communist era. As in

²¹ Rice points out that Bulgarian men's singing has been traditionally restricted to singing around the table, and those men who participated in singing, were usually drunk, and thus "more commonly called drunks, pianici, than singers, pevci." (Rice 1980:48).

other post-communist countries, their remnants still exist in many aspects of life in present-day Slovakia.²² Patriarchal values have been transferred from the private to the public realm (Walby 1990). For instance, a woman's surname in the Slovak language (as in Czech, Russian, and Bulgarian) has an additional suffix, usually *-ová*, indicating that she belongs to her closest male relative's lineage; to her father before she gets married, and to her husband afterwards.²³ When someone inquires about the name of a younger person or a child, especially in villages, the question is formulated as "whose" he or she is (*Či si? Čia si?*), instead of "what's your name" (*Ako sa voláš?*).²⁴ The family history and perception of the self is also perceived through reference to the patriline. One's sense of belongingness to both *rod* (lineage) and *národ* (nation) may be relevant to the etymological link between the two notions.

When the women I interviewed talked about their youth or the life of their parents and grandparents, it was usually in positive ways, expressing how life was harder but more joyful than today. Even when complaining about specific aspects of their lives, they never questioned the patriarchal system that marginalized them. In fact, they seem to be reluctant to view themselves as victims of patriarchy, or to feel inferior and subordinate. When turned to the topic of gender relations and roles, our discussions often revealed that women were aware and proud of their own capabilities manifested in extreme situations.

²² Rice suggested that the patriarchal values in Bulgaria remained strong during the communist era, and were even extended to and used by the state; the role of the father was replaced by the Communist party as the locus of authority (1994: 184).

²³ A similar practice in Romania is discussed by Kligman (1988: 40). Although today women can choose to keep their maiden name, the standard Slovak language imposes the rule of the patronymic suffix even on a translation of foreign female names (such as Sugarmanová, Kligmanová, etc.).

²⁴ Sugarman refers to the same phenomenon in Albanian traditions in Prespa (1997: 170).

For instance, in the poor areas where men were often leaving for seasonal work or during world wars when men were not around, temporarily or permanently, women had to carry out all the male activities in addition to their usual ones, and take all the responsibilities for the household and family. While they might have been winning respect from the community, their achievements in “male” domains were generally measured by comparison with men (“*Tá robí za troch chlapov*”=She works like/is worth three men).

In some respects, the traditional wedding ceremony could be viewed as a space that allowed women to challenge the principles of patriarchy. However, it can also be understood as a spatially and temporally defined context, in and through which the stereotypical notions of patriarchal order have been shaped, negotiated, sometimes transformed, even transgressed, but simultaneously extolled and reiterated. For women to subvert traditionally prescribed symbolic values of patriarchy and so to challenge its concept of male supremacy, would have resulted in weakening the established social order and cultural practice of which they were part, and hence, the stability and security of their position within that order (Tsitsishvili 2006: 487). According to Bourdieu (1977: 164), social categories disadvantaged by the symbolic order (such as women and the young), in order to alleviate the tensions in this system of asymmetric relations and actually make use of it, have to recognize its legitimacy and submit to it. Accordingly, the village women in Slovakia (and maybe in other East-European cultures as well) should not be viewed as “passive victims of patriarchy” (Walby 1990), but as co-creators and eventually even preservers of its values and structures, both practical and symbolic (Tsitsishvili 2006). In this respect, the *svadobné nôty* performed by women can be understood as a ritual genre through which the patriarchal system was reflected and

reproduced—both explicitly, through the texts, and symbolically, through the use of melodic material with ritual attributes (such as recurrence, archaic structure, and specific place in the ritual sequence). As such, it may have “neutralized” the tensions and contradictions of the patriarchal system.

Chapter 3

The traditional wedding ceremony: Social, cultural and ritual aspects

3.1 Basic concepts

The traditional Slovak wedding consists of a sequence of rituals and traditional customs whose basic elements and meanings show similarities and common features with other Slavic and European cultures. Although it cannot be defined in terms of a uniform model, the Slovak traditional wedding exists in and through a variety of local and regional variants that share a common basic structure and set of meanings. In this chapter the basic categories and meanings of the wedding ritual and customary elements are outlined (section 3.1) as a contextual framework for the description of the traditional wedding sequence in Slovakia before 1945 (section 3.2) and today (section 3.3).

The traditional wedding sequence in general has received a lot of scholarly attention. As a complex traditional act accumulating religious and cultural beliefs of a particular community, and thus providing material for the study of diverse aspects of the traditional way of life, it has become a frequent object of ethnographic and cultural-anthropological research. Several studies of individual Slavic and non-Slavic wedding traditions provided a valuable comparative framework for this chapter, including Rüütel 2002, Sugarman 1997, Kligman 1986, Krader 1955, Popova 1955, Sokolov 1950 [1941], Kagarov 1929, and van Gennep (1960 [1909]). The comparative study of the traditional wedding of Slavs by Ján Komorovský (1976) particularly directed me to look at the Slovak traditional wedding in the context of other Slavic and non-Slavic wedding traditions. Drawing on extensive historical and scholarly sources, Komorovský made a comparative account of rituals and customs of the traditional Slavic wedding or, more

precisely, of its local and regional manifestations. The first section of this chapter is based mainly on Komorovský's interpretation of basic concepts and meanings of the traditional wedding.

The description of the traditional wedding in Slovakia that follows in sections 3.2 and 3.3 is based on two kinds of data: the recollections of wedding practices by people interviewed during my fieldwork, and the ethnological data collected and interpreted by Slovak ethnologists since the end of the nineteenth, but mainly in the course of the twentieth century (Horváthová 1970, 1972; Jakubíková 1983, 1996, and 1997; Frolec 1983; Bednárik 1943; Chorvát 1896-7; Timko 1868). A significant source of information on local and regional peculiarities of the ritual wedding sequence is the publication of questionnaires organized in 1942 by Matica slovenská (see Leščák 1996), and distributed to and elaborated by village teachers throughout Slovakia. The results of the questionnaires from several areas of folk culture showed that the answers elucidating the wedding sequence appeared to be the most complex. This may serve as evidence of the fact that the wedding was then, as now, the most complex ceremonial occasion. The answers indicate that significant changes and innovations in the wedding sequence were already in effect in the inter-war period, but many archaic phenomena were clearly still alive. The teachers' questionnaires shed light particularly on the native—local and regional—terms for the wedding, its phases, and the wedding functionaries.

The Slovak wedding is linked to other Slavic wedding traditions in its conceptual sources: the peasant world with its village economy and patriarchal social system, its agrarian and cult traditions, and its continuous efforts to maintain the standard of living and economic prosperity. All the rituals, customs, and wedding folklore (songs and

dances, ritual speeches, wishing rhymes) were subject to these central ideas (Komorovský 1976: 279; Sokolov 1950 [1941]: 203).

Several categories of customs and ritual acts can be distinguished in the system of practices constituting the peasant wedding ceremony (Komorovský 1976: 279). First and foremost are the symbols and acts of the so-called *obyčajové právo*, customary law, dominating in those moments of the wedding ceremony that required a legal certification of the marriage agreement. Based on the collective maintenance of certain persistent, continuously recurring acts, customary law is understood as a predecessor of the modern law of stratified societies. It is realized through symbols (material objects or actions, such as shaking hands or accepting gifts) and norms (often explicitly expressed by procedures, acts and verbal formulas) performed publicly in front of witnesses, whose participation in the wedding fulfilled the function of drawing up a legal document (ibid: 14). The primary legal goal of the Slavic wedding consisted in the alignment of two different lineages by means of the wedding feast and the exchange of gifts. The legal confirmation of new social relations and of changed social and biological statuses of the bride and groom (such as shaking hands during the betrothal, ceremonial farewell to the parents, taking off the bridal wreath and putting on the bonnet as a symbol of married woman, and bridal dance with all the participants; see Table 1) can also be understood in terms of customary law, while overlapping with the concept of the wedding as rite of passage and with folk magical-mythological ideas. Komorovský points out that the symbolic acts of the customary law are the most persistent, and are typical of all Slavic areas (ibid: 279).

The second group, a category of rituals demarcating changes of social and biological status, corresponds with the rites of passage and their three stages—separation,

transition, and incorporation—as defined by Arnold van Gennep (1960 [1909]). Additionally, in the Slavic wedding these rituals are allegedly connected with the ancient cult of ancestors, who were believed to have a protective or harmful power over the households (Komorovský 1976: 152). Therefore, the bride was supposed to separate ceremonially not only from her immediate family but also from her lineage, and subsequently to pass to and be integrated in the family and the cult of ancestors of her husband. Thus, the bride's and the groom's breaking of their present social and cultural connections—departing from a peer group and the bride's leaving her parents' house—were accompanied by separation rituals: ceremonial parting from her peers in the bride's house the night before the wedding, the bachelor's party of the groom, the ceremonial farewell of the bride before leaving for the church, her ceremonial lamenting, her change of clothes, throwing objects behind one's back, cutting hair, etc. The new social links and relations were established and confirmed by reception and incorporation rituals, such as an acceptance of the young couple as adult members of the community through a symbolic ritual dance with all wedding guests; a confirmation of a new relationship between the parents' two families by multiple encounters culminating in the wedding feast; and the bride's acceptance into the family of her husband realized through a number of customs with her mother-in-law in front of and inside the groom's house. Whereas the rites of separation were dominant in the pre-wedding and early wedding period (usually up to the moment of the church ceremony or up to the point of the groom's taking the bride from her native house), the second half of the ceremony was shaped by reception and incorporation rituals (Kligman 1986: 78).¹ A whole series of

¹ In Russia, the terms for two groups of wedding songs, *do venca* and *posle venca* (before,

liminal or transitional rituals was performed at different points throughout the wedding. Two especially significant transitional rites in the Slovak wedding remain the taking-off of the bridal headdress (*parta*), and the cap ceremony (or, putting on the bonnet) by means of which the change in status from single girl to married woman is confirmed. It was especially during these transitional moments that ceremonial wedding songs, including *svadobné nôty* were sung.

The third large category of rituals and customs is based on magical images and mythological concepts of the ancient peasant world. The Russian scholar E. Kagarov defines two broader groups of magical elements within the wedding ceremony: (1) the prophylactic, directed to the protection of the bride and the groom against harmful powers (consisting of apotropaic, deceptive, hiding, and evasive rituals), and (2) the protreptic, ensuring the positive things and values (consisting of carpogonic or fertility rites, rites of connection, separation, and initiation, conciliatory, purgatory, and mantic, i.e., divinatory customs) (Kagarov 1929; Krader 1955: chapter 7). The underlying idea of all these magical acts is an effort to preserve the continuity of life. According to the traditional belief that a good beginning was the prerequisite of future prosperity and health, the wedding as a kind of inaugural ceremony was supposed to be abundant and merry, and was accompanied by many magical acts ensuring the health, wealth, and fertility of a new biological and social unit: the pouring of fruits, grains or money on a young couple as symbols of prosperity; magical acts with the bride ensuring her fertility

and after departure for the church ceremony) refer to these two different phases in the wedding ceremony: the first sad and serious, the second joyful and merry (Sokolov 1950 [1929]: 203-224; Popova 1955: 102-126). Correspondingly, Jan Ling refers to a “weeping wedding” and a “singing wedding” in Finland and eastern Slavic areas (Ling 1992: 194-6; 1997: 50-53).

and the sex of her firstborn child (putting a little boy into her lap). The wedding also symbolized the beginning of the sexual life of the newlyweds, which was publicly displayed and signified by the custom of putting the young couple to bed accompanied by various acts of apotropaic and protreptic magic, erotic songs, and jokes. The rituals with a protective function were focused on changes and transitions so that they would occur with no negative impact of “evil” forces (Sokolov 1950 [1929]: 204-5). Since it was the woman who symbolized biological continuity and who underwent the most significant changes during the wedding, most of the rites were focused on the bride (Jakubíková 1996: 10-11; Kligman 1986: 75). In charge of protection of the bride was usually the *starejšia*, also called *široká* (elderly woman, sometimes her godmother), who made sure that the bride did not walk first in a procession, did not talk or sing, or sometimes even eat (so that the harmful powers could not enter through her open mouth), and always had garlic or other protective herbs with her.

Acts in my fourth category are those characterized by Komorovský as preserving the village etiquette and reflecting the social structure of the village community. They marked such moments as the ceremonial invitation of wedding guests, a prescribed order in the wedding procession, order of seating at the wedding table, and making honors and toasts (Komorovský 1976: 280).

Some wedding rituals are considered to be remnants of the ancient forms of marriage contract. For example, the acts of a fictive display of mutual hostility between the two families, and the constraints the groom needed to go through in order to get the bride (such as closing the doors, refuge and hiding of the bride, and stopping the wedding procession) were explained by some scholars as a residue of the allegedly oldest form of

marriage arrangement, abduction of the bride. Some authors explain these acts in more general terms as an expression of the active, aggressive male principle as opposed to female passivity and defense, which corresponds to the interpretation of rituals as passages between the natural processes of uniting and separating such oppositions as male and female (Jakubíková 1997: 9; Bourdieu 1977: 125). On the other hand, Komorovský suggests that the fictive play of a violent bride taking and the obstacles arranged for the groom—found in all Slavic areas—might be connected with the abovementioned cult of ancestors, as a form of tricking the forefathers who would disapprove any changes in the family (Komorovský 1976: 152-8).

Another old form of marriage arrangement was a marriage by purchase of the bride. The traces of this form of the marriage contract are found in many ritual acts—during the betrothal, during the bride’s departure from her home—as well as in various kinds of ceremonial bargaining—the groom’s paying for the bride’s wreath, for her trousseau, for the dance with the bride—at different points of the wedding ceremony (Kligman 1986: 92; Komorovský 1976). Symbolic acts of customary law, such as handshakes, kissing, exchange of presents, and toasts, were all intended to confirm the agreement between two families. The traditional terms for the ritual acts and their order explicitly refer to the marriage contract as an exchange: the *pytačky* (asking for the bride) and the *zásnuby* (betrothal) or *rukoviny* (a term referring to the handshake confirming an agreement) were followed by the ritual “giving over” of the bride (*vydanie* in Slovak), and hence the term *vydaj* for the bride’s getting married.²

² The Slovak term for a “married” woman is *vydatá*, which literally means “given over,” whereas a married man is *ženatý* or *oženený*, which means something like connected or coupled with a woman.

These are the underlying meanings and concepts that the Slovak wedding shares with what is ambiguously called the Slavic wedding. In the following section, an ideal model of the traditional wedding ceremonial sequence of the first half of the twentieth century is presented, based on a summary of wedding practices from various parts of present-day Slovakia (see Table 1). The end of World War II is loosely set as an orientation point for tracing the processes of transformation in traditional wedding practices. Even though the year 1945 marks the end of one historical-political and social era and the beginning of another, its use as a milestone should not suggest abrupt changes in the development of folk traditions. It may rather help us to distinguish two periods characterized by a different pace of cultural transformations, which have been occurring gradually since the end of the nineteenth century.³

Table 1
Basic structure of the traditional village wedding in Slovakia

before 1945	1945-today
Pre-wedding period	
preliminary negotiations between two families (<i>priezvedy, priepačky</i>)	only unofficial visits, optional
asking for the bride (<i>pytačky</i>)	practiced, but the groom's parents' presence is not required
betrothal (numerous local terms)	practiced, but gradually lost its ceremonial character (i.e., poetic speeches, singing, symbolic exchange of gifts, etc.)
banns in the church	practiced
ceremonial inviting of guests (performed by an assigned person)	gradually replaced by written invitations distributed by mail

³ See Appendix B for the list of significant historical events in Slovakia.

Actual wedding ceremony	
preparation of the bride's headdress (wreath) and the plume for the groom, accompanied by the parting songs sung by the bride's girlfriends the evening before	gradually shifted to the wedding day; today not practiced; sporadic singing of parting songs during the wedding
groom's parting with his friends the evening before	practiced
ceremonial dressing of the bride	less ceremonial, no protective magical objects put into the wedding outfit
<i>starejší</i> on behalf of the bride and the groom asks their parents for forgiveness and blessing	practiced
arrival of the groom's party at the bride's house, closed door, ceremonial negotiations in front of the house	practiced, gradual disappearing of ceremonial elements
ceremonial asking for the bride (performed by <i>starejší</i>)	practiced
walking to the church	walking gradually replaced by the transportation by cars
church ceremony	after 1945 replaced by the civil ceremony at the municipal house, after 1992 most young couples returned back to the church ceremony
----	NEW: taking pictures in the professional photo salon
walk from the church to individual wedding houses or to the pub	transportation to the place of the wedding feast (a restaurant or cultural house)
customs in front of the groom's house, mother-in-law welcoming the bride	not practiced once the wedding feast moved to the restaurant; NEW: the restaurant's staff welcomes the young couple; accompanied by various newly invented customs
incorporation rituals performed on and by the bride in the groom's house	not practiced

wedding feast with dancing, singing of various songs by all the wedding guests	practiced, but gradually changed its character; singing mostly replaced by instrumental folk and popular dance music; amount of singing depends on individual wedding
cap ceremony at midnight, practiced by married women singing specific ceremonial songs	practiced sporadically with or without singing, but mostly replaced by bride's merely changing to casual clothes
dance with the bride (many local and regional variants with various names: <i>sviečkovi, redoví, bral'tovski</i> , etc.)	practiced, in some areas, especially in eastern Slovakia, in a traditional manner, in others danced to any kind of music
the wedding entertainment continues during the third, sometimes the fourth day	only the wedding brunch or lunch the day after the ceremony (Sunday) with no more music or dancing; sporadic singing depending on individual circumstances
ceremonial cutting of the wedding cake and distribution of the <i>výslužka</i> to the wedding guests	performed immediately after the end of the feast, before the previous phase
Post-wedding period	
post-wedding feast organized in either of the parental houses one week after the wedding	practiced in some areas
Ceremonial acts practiced in diverse moments of the ceremony	
ceremonial transportation of the bride's trousseau; usually performed either the day before the ceremony, or at certain point during the ceremony, or the day after	not practiced
ceremonial gift giving at various moments of the ceremony	performed usually the day before, or in the morning of the wedding day when the guests gather in the individual wedding houses; has completely lost its ceremonial character

3.2 The traditional wedding sequence before 1945

Until the sixteenth century, the only form of legitimate marriage was the traditional wedding ceremony with its complex sequence of rituals witnessed by the

whole community. In 1563 at the Council of Trent, the church marriage was established as the only legal form of marriage respected by the secular law as well. At the end of the nineteenth century (in 1894), the civil marriage—the signing of the marriage agreement at the notary’s office—became the only legal form until 1918, when both forms were made equal (Jakubíková 1996: 9-10). In Slovakia, this resulted in an almost universal choice of church marriage until in 1950 the Communist regime reestablished the civil state marriage as the only legitimate form. After the political changes in the country, in 1992 both forms were again allowed. Both the church and the state power, alternately or simultaneously, also tried to regulate other-than-legal aspects of the wedding, such as the period of year when weddings should or should not take place, a minimal age for marriage, the length of the wedding, the number and size of wedding feasts, number of guests, wedding gifts, etc. However, the continued magnificence of wedding ceremonies and the numbers of participating guests in the twentieth century shows that the tradition was stronger than these prohibitions. The power of pre-Christian village traditions is apparent from the fact that the differences between the Protestant, Roman-Catholic, Greek-Catholic, and Orthodox church weddings do not have any significant impact on the traditional wedding ceremony.⁴

The basic scheme of the traditional Slovak wedding consists of three major periods: the pre-wedding period, the marriage ceremony, and the post-wedding period. Weddings usually took place after the summer work in the fields, in fall and late winter during Shrovetide, and before Lent. Wedding ceremonies usually occurred on Mondays, the day following the last banns in the church.

⁴ Differences between denominations are more evident in calendar rituals.

The pre-wedding events were connected with the custom of involuntary choice of marriage partner, reflecting the will and decision of parents rather than children, and based primarily on economic considerations. Since it was usually the bride who was supposed to join the family of her husband as a worker herself and a producer of future workers for the household, it was particularly important to choose a strong and healthy daughter-in-law (see Sokolov 1950 [1929]: 203). Multiple acts of preparation and arrangement of the marriage agreement preceded the actual wedding. The preliminary negotiations between two families (*priezvedy*, *priepačky*) toward an agreement that was not yet obligatory were usually initiated by a third party, an elderly woman who represented the groom's side in the house of the prospective bride. The more obligatory agreement was achieved during the *pytačky* or wooing (literally, asking), where the groom-to-be and his parents were present to ask for the bride, and the agreement was confirmed by a symbolic exchange of gifts: a kerchief or money for the bride, a plume for the groom.

The following stage was an actual engagement, an act with different names in various parts of the country reflecting some aspects of this event: *zásnuby* or *zásľuby* (betrothal, *slub*=promise), *rukoviny* or *renkoviny* (*ruka*=hand, derived from the hand-shaking as the sign of agreement), or *zdavanky* (putting together). It took place in the bride's house, where both families officially met each other and planned all the formal details of the wedding ceremony. However, in the past (and even recently) the engagement party had a ceremonial character with many customs indicating the seriousness of the social and biological transition both families were about to go through. For example, even though the bride's family would expect the guests and knew about

their intentions, they would feign ignorance and would ask the visitors what brought them to their house. When entering the bride's house, the groom's father or godfather would not come up with the actual reason of their visit right away; instead, he would describe their purpose in a symbolic way, often in a naturalistic form: "we have a young bull, you have a young cow, how about getting them together" or, more poetically, "a beautiful rose has grown up in your garden, which our son fell in love with." The young people shook hands and exchanged the gifts as symbols of agreement, which was followed by the feast. This was also an occasion for singing wedding songs as well as other genres related to marriage, love, and social issues.

The same night, the families would announce the date of the wedding to their pastor, so that the banns—a public announcement of the planned marriage—could take place during the following three Sundays in the church. The engaged couple wore special signs on their clothes during this period: a girl wore the *parta*, an ornamented headband or bridal crown; a young man wore a plume, ribbon, or scarf. Each family engaged an older man with a good sense of humor and rhetorical talent to be the *starejší* or *starý svat* (literally, an elderly man).⁵ The one from the groom's family was called *pytač* (one who asks), the bride's *starejší* was called *oddavač* (one who gives over). In many respects, *starejší* played the most important role at the wedding ceremony. Before the church ceremony became a part of the traditional wedding, *starejší* fulfilled primarily a legal function. They talked and acted on behalf of the families as their arbitrators. Also, they regulated the smooth course of the wedding ceremony in accordance with the tradition.

⁵ As he was in charge of the whole ceremony, the *starejší* had to be a man with an excellent knowledge of local tradition. In the twentieth century, in many areas of Slovakia their function was taken by the *družba* (groomsman). In fact, both functions have always been close and have overlapped with each other (Komorovský 1976: 102).

Either the *starejší* or the groomsman would also function as *zváč*, whose responsibility was to invite the wedding guests. Invitations were performed according to traditional etiquette (presenting the inviting formulas, bringing the ceremonial cake and spirits), and required several repetitions. In some places, the inviting was done by parents or by the young couple. Often the bride herself would go from house to house not only to invite the guests to the wedding but also to “beg” for food or money for the wedding. It was an unwritten obligation for each guest to contribute to the wedding feast and to the new household. The participation and contribution of the whole community underlined the significance of the wedding as an act of founding a new social and biological unit, which was supposed to ensure the continuity of life and culture in the village.

The starting point of the actual ceremony varied from one area to the other. The ethnographies of traditional weddings in Slovakia describe weddings that lasted a whole week, but usually it took at least three days preceded by two or more days of preparations (cooking, baking, cleaning and preparing the wedding costumes, and sometimes the transportation of the bride’s trousseau). Most of the ethnographic descriptions and recollections of the people interviewed consider Sunday to be the first day of the wedding. That morning the third and final banns were announced in the church, and later in the afternoon the bride and the groom parted with their friends and their freedom. The bride’s girlfriends gathered in her parents’ house, where they prepared the special wedding *parta*, the wedding plume (usually a ribbon-embellished rosemary twig) for the groom, the wedding tree (in the eastern part of the country), and some other wedding symbols. The singing of ceremonial songs with motives of parting with friends, freedom, virginity, and youth was the essential part of this event. While the bride in Slovakia was supposed to

cry, she was not allowed to sing. Her girlfriends functioned as an interpreter of her emotions.⁶

After her friends sang the song *Žel'iem vas, žel'iem*,⁷ the bridesmaid took the wreath and said “stop, girls, stop singing, I want to give this wreath to our friend,” and I was crying so much when I was handing her over the wreath, I was crying instead of her. Some brides were crying from joy that they were getting married, and sometimes the bridesmaid cried because it was not her who was getting married [laugh]...” (Selec, 18 July 2001).⁸

The groom’s parting with his friends had a different character; it was an entertainment with singing and dancing, accompanied by instrumental music, that took place either in his house or in a local pub, and was organized by the groom for all young people in the village. After the parting with the bride-to-be, her friends joined the dancing party organized by the groom. In some parts of the country, and certainly later on with the gradual changes of wedding customs, the bride might have joined the dancing party, too.

On Monday morning, final preparations were underway in both wedding houses. The bride was getting dressed, while her godmother was bringing the wedding shirt and the plume to the groom. Various apotropaic objects and herbs were attached to the clothes of the bride and the groom; for instance, grain was put in the groom’s boots as a symbol of wealth and prosperity. Parsley, garlic, basil leaves, honey, or sugar were

⁶ The ritual lamenting of the bride known in northern Russia, Karelia, and partly in southeastern Europe has not been preserved in Slovakia (unlike funeral lamenting).

⁷ Song Sel47; *žel'iet'* = archaic term for “to grieve for someone.”

⁸ Ms. Katka Ondrišková (b. 1918).

hidden in various parts of the bride's dress to protect her from evil forces, or to ensure the love of her future husband. It was believed that the bride's dress should not be too narrow or she would have difficulty in delivering a baby. Putting a *parta* on the bride's head was an especially sad moment and another opportunity for singing ceremonial parting songs, at this point focused on saying good-bye to the parents and family. The bride took leave of her native house by means of various ritual activities, such as walking around or touching the table and the hearth, or kissing the table corners. When she was ready, she knelt on a kerchief in front of her parents and the *starejší* on her behalf asked her parents for forgiveness. The same occurred in the groom's house, after which the groom and his suite went for the bride.

When the groom's procession, led by musicians, arrived at the bride's house, the door was closed as if nobody expected them. The bride's *starejší* would eventually come out and ask who they were and what they wanted. The dialogue between the groom's *družba* or *starejší*, and the bride's *starejší* was highly stylized and ceremonial. Often the groom or his *družba* had to solve riddles testing their knowledge of the Bible before they were allowed to go in (Horváthová 1970: 70). The situation in front of the bride's house had a character of play between the two "strange" families, and reflected very clearly the notion of the wedding ceremony as a means of establishing new social relations. At this moment, the song with the text *Otvárajte bránu, novotná rodina, zďaleka ideme, veru nám je zima* (Open the gate, new family, we are coming from far away, and we are cold) is sung by the groom's guests to local wedding tunes everywhere in Slovakia.⁹ After the door opened, other obstacles awaited the groom before he could see the bride: he could

⁹ The place of this song in the wedding ceremony, with respect to its text, will be discussed in chapter 5.

be shown several “false” brides before the right one would come. Eventually, he would have to buy her out in various forms; for example, paying for her *parta* as a symbolic compensation for her virginity and freedom. At last, his *starejší* would present the ceremonial speech, asking the bride’s parents to give their daughter over to groom. After the young couple received blessings from their parents, both families left for the church.

The procession to the church was an important occasion for singing various kinds of songs along with the wedding songs. Since the musicians often went at the head of the long procession, several kinds of music and singing could have been heard as each group of people sang different songs simultaneously. The procession to the church was also the time for numerous ritual practices with communicative and protective functions. Loud singing and music, shouting, shooting, and carrying wedding signs (a little tree or a flag) announced to the village that the nuptials were to be held and people had been invited to it, and pastry and drinks were offered to the onlookers.¹⁰ Since this was a transitional phase, when things were fragile and unstable, the noise making, whistling, and shooting were apotropaic practices with the aim of threatening evil powers. The bride was believed to be especially endangered; therefore, she could not walk first in the procession, she was not allowed to turn back (because if she did one of the young couple would die within a year), and she had protective objects with her (garlic, divine herbs). The transitional character of this moment was reflected in the obstacles on the road that the groom was supposed to surmount. Usually the local young men made the *brana* (a gate) by putting the large log of wood across the road, and stopped the procession, requesting the groom

¹⁰ Both signs, a tree and a flag, were generally widespread in weddings of all Slavic nations, and the tree was also known by Hungarians, Romanians and French (Kligman 1988: 82, Jakubíková 1997: 231, Komorovský 1976:118).

to pay out for “their” girl (Horváthová 1970:73). After some ceremonial dialogues accompanied by music and singing, the groom had to pay them (either with money or spirits) for the bride. This custom was carried out mostly when the groom was from another village, which made the establishment of relations more complicated, but in some areas it was practiced even when both partners were from the same village. The custom was an expression of the rights of local young men to girls of their village, and of the social and gender hierarchy in the community, which was also reflected in the arrangement of the wedding procession (Jakubíková 1997: 222).

The church ceremony was performed in accordance with the liturgy prescribed by the denomination. The ritual practices after the church ceremony were focused on prosperity, ensuring the health, love, and happiness of the young couple; the protective function seemed to step aside at this point. For example, grains, money and fruits were tossed on the newlyweds again; or a piece of clay pottery was dropped and broken in the belief that the more broken pieces there were, the more happiness they would have in their lives; or an apple was divided among the guests, so that the two will love each other, and so on.

The practices after the church ceremony were different throughout the country, and they underwent transformations as early as the beginning of the twentieth century. The wedding procession either returned to the house of the bride, where the wedding dinner took place until evening, or each family returned to its own house and the feasts were held separately until the groom went to pick up his wife later in the evening. Informants in some regions of Slovakia today still remember the practice from the first half of the twentieth century, when the young couple did not come to the church together,

but the two families first met in the church, then everybody went home for lunch, and in the evening the groom with his suite went for the bride.¹¹ These differences in time and place reflect the fact that the church nuptials were incorporated into the already existing integral ceremony (Fojtík 1965: 338). It seems that inserting the church ceremony as an additional element into the middle of the transitional phase of the wedding disrupted its integrity, resulting in the repetition of certain elements. Namely, when the wedding suites returned to the bride's house (or each to its own house), the same customs were repeated as before during the bridegroom's arrival (closed door, feigned unfriendliness). Similarly, in the evening, when the bride was leaving her house, many components of the separation phase were repeated (crying, singing the parting songs, parting from parents, the groom's paying for the bride, etc.). These repetitions show that in the Slovak traditional wedding the moment of actual and final change of status of the bride—from young girl to married woman—had little or nothing to do with the church nuptials, and came only later that night in the cap ceremony (*čepčenie*).

No matter how the order of events, or their repetitions, differed from village to village, the bride's arrival at the groom's house was one of the most significant ceremonial moments of the traditional wedding, and fully focused on the aspect of incorporation, the acceptance of the bride into the bridegroom's family, and the connection of the two families. Many customs were concentrated around this event, and despite local and regional peculiarities the basic elements were the same all over the country. First, either in front of the house or inside, the groom's mother welcomed the bride, who was carrying bread or the ceremonial cake, with the words: "Welcome, young

¹¹ Separate wedding feasts after the church ceremony were also common in other European cultures, e.g. Romanian (Kligman 1988: 97), and Estonian (Rüütel 2002: 134).

bride, what did you bring me?” The bride would reply: “I have brought health, happiness and God’s blessings for you as well as for me.” Then they kissed each other and the bride entered the house to perform the ritual reception practices inside the house.¹²

In the memories of many interviewed women, a young bride used to anticipate this moment with fear and frustration, because the unequal relationship between the mother-in-law and the bride did not have a good reputation, and this first ceremonial meeting between the two women indicated what the relationship would be. The recollections of personal stories show that the mother-in-law often at the very beginning manifested her superior position by not kissing the bride or not welcoming her nicely. The distance was even stronger when the bride came from an economically and socially weaker family:

The mother-in-law laid an apron on the ground, the bride knelt down on it, they kissed each other and she said like “Welcome, my young bride when you came to our house; you will be as welcome to me as my own daughter.” But my mother-in-law did not like me; when I came she told me: “Well, since you are here now, kneel down but do not kiss me, I do not need any kissing.” So I went in, and there were about twenty people in their house, and I did not have anybody from my family there, nor my godmother, they only wanted their own family at the wedding. Well, they were wealthier, had horses, and we had only cows... But it was hard for me, I did cry. (Selec, 18 July, 2001)¹³

¹² The life of the bride in her new house was mainly determined by her relationship with her mother-in-law, but in multi-family houses the status of the newest daughter-in-law was very difficult. She had the lowest position in the house, and she was not fully accepted by other members of the household until she gave birth to her first child (preferably male). That moment confirmed her social and legal status as a woman and a mother and her connection to the husband’s family (Horváthová 1972: 202).

¹³ Ms. Katka Ondříšková (b. 1918)

Among the practices the bride had to go through after she entered the house, those with the hearth, table and threshold of the house are considered the most archaic, reaching back to the old Slavic and even Indo-European foundations.¹⁴ In the ancient Slavic cult of ancestors, patrons of the household, who were believed to reside in these places, were worshipped in order to ensure their protection of households. The bride's role as a new member of the family was to show her respect to the forefathers' spirits and to earn their affection through ritual acts similar to those she performed when separating from her own family, such as walking around the kitchen table, kissing of the corners of the table, walking around the hearth or touching it, taking care not to step on the threshold, and tossing fruits or money into the corners (Jakubíková 1997: 224; Komorovský 1976: 231).¹⁵ There are, however, other explanations of these rites. Respect for fire and its magical purgative and protective power is known worldwide, as are woman's traditional place in the house by the fireplace and her duties around it. The bride's walking three times around the kitchen table and kissing it belonged to one of the common acceptance rites known in all Slavic wedding traditions and had multiple meanings: beside demonstrating respect to the family ancestors, it also symbolized the bride's connection to the family's center and establishment of close family relations

¹⁴ Bourdieu devotes special attention to the threshold—to which he likens the transitional periods—as being a “sort of sacred boundary between two spaces, where the antagonistic principles confront one another and the world is reversed. The rites of these moments also obey the principle, ...of the maximization of magical profit” (Bourdieu 1977: 130).

¹⁵ As archaeological findings from the eighth to tenth centuries indicated, the fireplaces had been originally built in the center of the room. Their moving to the corner and the origin of a new oven gave rise to supplementary forms of ceremonial acts, like touching the oven, stirring the meal, warming the bride's hands, looking into the oven or to the chimney, etc., many of which are known to both European and Asian nations (Jakubíková 1997: 229).

(Jakubíková 1997: 229-30). Other acts, such as bringing, throwing around, eating and dividing the cake or bread, tossing fruits, and entering the stable, were believed to ensure future prosperity for the new household. Besides the protreptic rites, those ensuring the bride's fertility and the gender of the family's first offspring were carried out, e.g. touching a child (preferably a boy), putting a little boy on her lap, or stepping over the child who was put on the threshold (Jakubíková 1997: 230).

The wedding feast and entertainment following the bride's arrival at the groom's house were designed to confirm the newly established social relations between the two families. Singing and dancing were, and still are, part and parcel of the feast, which was supposed to be plentiful and joyful. Abundance of food and drink was essential to the "fostering and maintaining of social relationships" (Kligman 1988: 78). The ritual and entertaining components in this phase were mutually intertwined and hardly distinguishable from each other. For example, the young couple had to eat from one plate and was prohibited from eating meat; certain meals were offered for dinner that represented images of fertility (like cock or hen); songs with erotic texts were sung; lascivious jokes were told, and erotically colored dramatic scenes were performed not only to entertain the guests but also to ensure the fertility of the young couple. Erotic elements were thus not only allowed, but desired and encouraged during the wedding feast. As during other moments of the ceremony, it was the principal role of the *starejší* or *starý svat* to provide the entertainment.

At a certain moment, usually around midnight, one of the most important ritual moments took place: the removal of the bride's *parta*, the bridal headdress symbolizing the parting with her freedom and virginity. The *parta* was removed either by her

godmother (or *široká*) or, in eastern parts of the country, by the groom's *družba*, who would ceremonially ask the bride whether she wanted to get her head cut off or would rather give up her wreath. After she twice refused to give up her *parta*, by the third repetition of the dialogue she would agree and the *družba* would remove her wreath by sticking his sword through it, showing it to the wedding guests, and hanging it above the door. Afterwards, he danced with the bride the so-called *družbovský* dance.¹⁶ In the distant past, the young couple was ceremonially put into bed. On the next morning, the sheets were inspected, and in many areas publicly displayed, for evidence of the bride's virginity. The confirmation of her virginity was an opportunity for the community to continue feasting. An opposite case was cause for shame, shattering the newly established relationship between the families, and provoking general disappointment and distress in the community.

The removal of the *parta* was in some areas, and recently in the whole country, conjoined with the cap ceremony or in other words, ceremonially putting the bonnet (*čepiec, čepčenie*)—a symbol of married woman—on the bride's head. In the past, this ceremony was done in the morning, after the first wedding night, which de facto confirmed the legitimacy of the marriage. Whether done before or after the first night, it was probably the most serious moment for the bride, because it symbolized the definitive change in her social and biological status. The seriousness of the moment was reflected in the way the ritual was realized. It was never done in public; the bride was taken away to a quiet room by her mother or godmother, and her hair was ceremonially cut and arranged

¹⁶ This dance, along with the ritual removal of the bride's *parta*, is interpreted by some authors as symbolizing residuals of the ancient custom, the *družba*'s right to spend the first night with the bride (Jakubíková 1997: 226). A more detailed description of this dance is given in chapter 7.

into the bonnet. This ritual belonged exclusively to the married women, who accompanied it with context-specific ceremonial songs. Afterwards, the bride in the bonnet, now a young woman, was presented to the wedding guests and danced the ceremonial dance with all the participants.

Generally widespread in Slovakia and having different forms in various parts of the country, this dance had a clear basic meaning: it occurred either as a dance of parting with youth, with the bride's crown, or as a dance of accepting the young woman into her new social position in the group of adult members of the community.¹⁷ The social hierarchy and reestablishment of relations within the community was clearly reflected in a prescribed order for guests to dance with the bride. In southern and eastern Slovakia, each guest paid for the dance, which culminated with the bridegroom's paying for the bride in the bonnet and dancing with her.

In the past, the wedding feast with eating, drinking, singing, dancing, and playing various games continued through the third day (Wednesday), sometimes expanding to a fourth. Originally, many of the games had a ritual and erotic meaning (for example, an "execution" of the cock), and many forms of the post-wedding entertainment showed similarities with the Shrovetide customs. The wedding officially ended with the bride's ceremonial cutting and dividing of the wedding cake (*radostník* = the cake of joy) to all the wedding guests. By accepting this *výslužka* (literally, a compensation for service), they confirmed their participation in the wedding and the legal validity of the marriage (Jakubíková 1997: 226).

¹⁷ The tradition of a ceremonial bridal dance is known from other parts of Northern, Central and Eastern Europe, as well. See Jakubíková (1997: 228), Komorovský (1976: 220), Rüütel (2002: 146), Sugarman (1997: 238-9), among others. The bridal dance is discussed in a more detail in chapter 7.

As the marriage negotiations and the arrangement of the wedding were initiated with multiple visits and common feasts of the two families, the sequence also concluded with a visit of the newlyweds to the young woman's parents several days after the wedding (usually on the first Sunday), or with a post-wedding feast organized in either of the parental houses.¹⁸ These postnuptial celebrations had various functions. They facilitated visits of the newly related families, especially the first visit of the bride—now as a married woman—to her parents' house, and they provided an opportunity to invite those who did not participate in the actual wedding dinner (e.g. cooks, some neighbors) and to evaluate the overall outcome of the wedding. The meaning and character of these feasts are reflected in their names: *opáčky* (plural from checking, trying, visiting), *otrusky* (bread crumbs or, more generally, left-overs), *poprávky* (“alignings”).

There are two significant components of the wedding ceremony that cannot be exactly placed in the sequence: the transportation of the bride's trousseau and the exchange of the wedding gifts. The bride's trousseau and dowry, called *výbava* or *ričo*, traditionally consisted of moveable assets like furniture (such as a chest with clothes and linens), feather eiderdowns, bedclothes, and other household equipment. It was moved from the house of her parents to the bridegroom's house by married women either a day before the wedding ceremony, during the ceremony, usually simultaneously with the bride's departure for the groom's house, during the wedding feast, or a day after. No matter when it occurred, the public transportation of eiderdowns was a mandatory custom

¹⁸ Kligman states that traditional weddings in Romania are similarly preceded by betrothal and succeeded by a postnuptial celebration between the two families (Kligman 1988: 79).

all over the country and an occasion for women's singing ceremonial wedding songs appropriate for this moment. When the trousseau was transported by wagon (as in Kubra), it traveled around the village, even if the groom's house was close-by. In many areas, this custom had individualized forms with specific humorous designations for women who carried out the custom (*kočky* = "cats", *perinárky* = lit. "eiderdown women", *suky* = "bitches", *škriňárky* = "wardrobe-women", etc.).

Various forms of gift-giving accompanied most of the important wedding moments and concerned all the participants. While an exchange of gifts between the groom and the bride had a symbolic function, to confirm the validity of their marriage agreement, the bride's gifts to members of bridegroom's family were related to the patriarchal system, where a new member of the family was expected to achieve the favor of her new relatives. The bridegroom's gifts to the bride's parents, usually in a monetary form, were less obligatory and were considered a symbolic payment for the bride (a remnant of older marriages by trade). At various moments before and during the wedding ceremony, the wedding guests gave money, food or other material things to the bride or the wedding households as an expression of social help and their participation in the wedding, and sometimes as an occasion to express social prestige (Jakubíková 1997: 227). In certain villages, one or several days before the wedding the bride walked from house to house to receive blessings and at the same time to invite people to the wedding, while everywhere she received something: food, flour and grains for the feast, or a piece of clothing.¹⁹ The time and ways of giving, as well as character of the gifts, were determined by local traditions.

¹⁹ The bride's walking around is known from other parts of Europe, mainly among

After the dinner they went to give *do podolka* [i.e., a lower part of the traditional skirt] or into an apron, here [in Ochodnica] they did not give on a plate... Everybody who came gave something, ten or twenty, well, fifty crowns was already very much back then.²⁰ And the bride gave gifts to the bridegroom's family; a shirt to the father, a kerchief to the mother, and the same to his sisters and brothers. And then the *stary* [svat] said: 'Gifts, gifts, I only wish the bride would turn out well.'²¹ And there were many diverse sayings like this. (Ochodnica, 19 July 2001)

... and then [between the meals] were the gifts to the bride. First the parents and the godparents and everyone came to her and gave her that gift, so that everybody would see. And there was this song *Šetko sa mi, šetko zdá* each time when the person gave her the gift. (Selec, 18 July 2001).²²

In conclusion, the traditional peasant wedding ceremony as a complex social and cultural act incorporated the principles of social reality and the rules of human coexistence that were necessary to the healthy functioning of the village society. The social, biological, legal, and ethical meanings of the wedding ceremony were realized through a coherent system of rituals, customary acts, musical and verbal folklore, and various aspects of the material culture (such as costumes, festive setting of the house, ritual food, and ritual wedding procession). The aesthetic aspect of the wedding

Eastern Slavs. In Russia, this custom was connected with the ceremonial lamenting of brides (Jakubíková 1997: 231).

²⁰ Fifty years ago fifty crowns were enough to feed the family for about two or more weeks.

²¹ Slovak original: "Dary jako dary, nech sa nám len tá nevesta vydarí."

²² Translation: "it seems to me that also the godmother (godfather, sister, uncle, and so on) will give something." In each strophe, the name of a donor is actualized.

ceremony was to confirm the marriage as a legal act, the primary function of which was to preserve the biological and social continuity of life. While the latter two are universal aspects of the wedding ceremony, its cultural factors are variable in both synchronic (ethnic) and diachronic aspects. No wonder that the penetration of modern civilization into the village in the twentieth century, with its rapid acceleration after World War II, led to significant socio-economic and cultural transformations in all aspects of village life, including the life-cycle ceremonies.

3.3 The traditional wedding sequence today

The transformations of the traditional wedding ceremony (along with the customs of other life-cycle and calendar rituals) can be seen in light of the large-scale economic and social changes in the former Czechoslovakia since 1918 and mainly after World War II.²³ In particular, the urbanization, economic improvement, occupational differentiation, lesser gender specialization, along with the social and cultural consequences of forced collectivization had a more or less direct impact on gradual destruction of peasantry, traditional ways of life, and on cultural values. As a result of the interaction of these processes, young people soon became economically and socially independent and made every effort to live on their own even before getting married.

The first and probably the most significant consequence of the economic improvement of life, and of the social changes affecting the disintegration of the traditional family and changes in the traditional wedding ceremony, was the choice of a marriage partner. The parents' decision was replaced by the mutual affection of two

²³ See Appendix B for a list of the relevant historical events in Slovakia.

young people, and economic criteria for choosing a marriage partner were replaced by such qualities as diligence, kindness, and good health.²⁴ As a natural result, the barrier caused by the strangeness and unfriendliness between the two young people and their families that needed to be overcome by a number of rituals lost its significance. Similarly, the ritually feigned hostility between the two sides, whether as a result of an external arrangement or as a remnant of older forms of marriage by abduction or by trade, was eliminated along with a number of ritual negotiations before and during the wedding ceremony. As a corollary, the roles of the *starý svat* (or *starejší*) and such occasions as *priezvedy* and *pytačky*, where economic matters were discussed and the marriage contract was arranged by the parents often without their children's approval, were already gradually disappearing in the interwar period (Komorovský 1976: 276; Turzová 1983: 128).

The modernization and urbanization of the rural areas of Slovakia significantly touched some specific aspects of life that had a more or less direct impact on wedding traditions. In particular, the replacement during the first half of the twentieth century of the traditional costume (*kroj*) with modern urban clothes caused a gradual elimination of certain customs based on changing clothes or parts of the wedding outfit (e.g., the ceremonial dressing of the bride, taking-off the wedding wreath, and the cap ceremony). Folk costumes had a number of functions in traditional village life: apart from their practical, aesthetic, and magical functions, they served as important indicators of social status, age, class, region, and religion, and were distinguishing markers between

²⁴ V. Frolec refers to the ethno-sociological study carried out in south-Moravian villages in the 1980s, in which men were asked what qualities would they prefer their bride-to-be to have. Diligence was ranked the most highly, followed by good health. Only a few mentioned beauty and wealth as relatively insignificant criteria (Frolec 1983: 41).

particular groups of people (e.g., married and unmarried) (Bogatyrev 1976 [1936]: 13). During the wedding, the folk costume and its changes precisely indicated the whole transition process of the bride. For example, the bride's wedding dress did not differ very much from the dress of other unmarried girls. On the one hand, this had a magical and protective purpose (the bride was not supposed to stand out from the others so that she would not get hurt by harmful forces), and on the other hand, it communicated the bride's status as an unmarried maid, up to the moment of the cap ceremony, when her headdress and sometimes the whole costume was changed in order to correspond with her new status as a married woman.

It is not a coincidence that women kept their traditional costume much longer than men. Women are generally considered more conservative and stable in respect to the preserving of traditions, and in Slovakia, especially around the time of their weddings, were subject to a much stricter social control than men.²⁵ During the first half of the twentieth century, it was men seeking jobs in cities who became transmitters of the ideas and values between the urban milieu and their villages. The replacement of the traditional costume by urban clothes among men thus already occurred in the interwar period. Women continued to wear their *kroj* generally until the end of World War II. Older and middle-aged women in some areas wore a traditional costume (or a blend of traditional and urban clothes) either in everyday life or just on Sundays and festive occasions until the 1960s-1970s, whereas today the *kroj* is worn only by the oldest generation of village women (Kováč 1999: 54-5, 445).

²⁵ See the studies on women in music and ritual by Petrović (1990), Kligman (1988), Rützel (2000), and others.

Since 1945 the folk costume, along with other traditional customs, ceremonies, singing, and music, has been gradually transferred from real life to the domain of folklore activities. The wedding ceremony became a particularly popular object of folklore reconstructions in stage performances.²⁶ The village folk groups reconstructing traditional weddings for stage purposes influenced the creation of static, fixed versions of the wedding play and of local song repertoires; but they also helped to preserve and revive old local traditional phenomena (Elschek 2001a). As a rule, today it is mainly villages with a strong awareness of their local traditional cultures and with active village folk groups that continue to practice the wedding ceremonies in a traditional way. The data from my fieldwork correspond with the findings of authors who point out that in such villages even the members of the youngest generation (usually those involved in folklore activities) still know and sing traditional songs in authentic, i.e. non-folkloric contexts (Krekovičová 1989: 269; Mušinka 1983: 169).

If it is difficult to define a universal model of the old traditional wedding, it is almost impossible to describe an ideal picture of the contemporary wedding sequence, considering the changes it has undergone during the last fifty years. In order to understand the processes of transformation of wedding customs and rituals, it is helpful to distinguish between the universal and the specific factors of their development. The abovementioned circumstances—industrialization, urbanization, collectivization, social and economic improvement, and work-related migration—can be regarded as universal

²⁶ This statement is based on the study of video-documentation of weddings from the annual regional festival “Nositelia tradícií” (Tradition bearers) made by Národné Osvetové Centrum. From 1982 to 2000, 49 wedding traditions from various regions of Slovakia were presented as twenty-minute stage programs. The folkloristic presentation of the traditional wedding on stage would be a topic for a separate study.

and accelerating factors with nationwide effects (Krekovičová 1989: 73). However, the speed and character of their impact on the development of particular local traditions vary according to the interaction of these universal factors with specific local and regional ones: the openness or closure of the local traditional culture; the level of collective awareness of traditional culture and the relationship of people to their traditions; the forms of coexistence between authentic and folkloric manifestations of traditional culture; the religious denomination (Catholic villages are more likely to preserve traditions, while the Protestant ones are more open to change); and geographical (distance from the city), cultural (collective taste, the impact of mass media), and historical circumstances.

Based on my fieldwork and on previous scholarly research (Krekovičová 1989: 167-8), we can observe three kinds of wedding today: (1) the modern urban-like wedding resembling its Western-European and American counterparts; (2) the wedding with traditional elements that may or may not be strictly followed (there is a considerable range in this category); and (3) reconstructions of the traditional village wedding, usually in the families of the folk group's members, with an attempt to follow the traditional sequence of events and customs according to an ideal based on the collective memory. I will focus on the second and the third type of wedding, without drawing a line between them. Considering the local and regional diversity of contemporary wedding practices and the possibility of a free choice with no threat of sanctions imposed by the community, these kinds of wedding can be understood as the poles of a continuum rather than as two distinct types.

The following account of changes in the traditional wedding sequence after 1945 is based on recollections of village people I interviewed during my fieldwork, and on the

results of the ethnographic research carried out in the former Czechoslovakia since the 1960s.²⁷ Even though people usually talk about the songs and customs of the wedding sequence in the present tense, their descriptions reflect traditional wedding practices from the 1960s and earlier. A comparison of women's recollections of their own weddings (most of which occurred around 1940-1950) with the contemporary weddings of their children and grandchildren offers a valuable view of the changes in wedding singing practices that have been occurring gradually since the beginning of World War II.

From the pre-wedding negotiations (*priezvedy*, *pytačky*), only the *zásnuby* (betrothal) still takes place as an opportunity for the meeting of two families (which usually do not know each other, since intra-village marriages are rather exceptional today) and for planning the details of the wedding day. The traditional personal inviting of guests by the *zváč* was replaced by mailing printed invitations. Sometimes the bride and groom personally invite some close family members, but this is not a rule. Similarly, the bans in the church are no longer compulsory and are practiced only in some families.

Organizing the farewell parties of the groom and the bride also depends on local and regional practice. While Moravian ethnographers refer to an increasing popularity and abundance of farewell parties (called *svíca*, lit. candle, or *zpívání*, singing) in Moravia after 1945, their occurrence in Slovakia differs from one area to another. As in the past, they occur the night before the wedding, which has been shifted from Monday (or Tuesday) to Saturday. However, the function of the farewell party, especially the bride's, where the wedding wreath and the plume for the groom were originally prepared,

²⁷ In particular, see the monograph on contemporary folklore in Slovakia by Krekovičová (1989), and the collection of ethnographic studies on contemporary transformations of wedding practices in former Czechoslovakia edited by Frolec (1983).

changed radically once the wreath was no longer a part of the ceremonial wedding costume. The bride's party is sometimes still used for preparing the rosemary plumes for the wedding guests, but its main purpose is the entertainment of peers and friends who are not invited to the wedding feast. In some areas, the *vitie venca* (weaving of the bridal wreath) was originally connected with collecting money for the bride. In Selec and the greater Trenčín region, this custom was accompanied by specific *vencové* songs (Urbancová 1998 and 2005a) and was still practiced in the bride's house twenty years ago. As a result of the shortening of the wedding ceremony, the custom was shifted from Friday to Saturday after the church ceremony. Many brides have recently refused it, considering it as "begging" for money. Such reasoning can be explained by the fact that wedding gifts are much larger and more expensive today than in the past (a car or an apartment as present-day parents' gifts compared with one or more pieces of furniture or household utensils in the past), so that all other forms of donating or further increasing the guests' expenses seem inappropriate.

Though the above-mentioned events became variable and are no longer mandatory today, the following customs remain invariant parts of the contemporary traditional wedding: the bride and the groom (or the *starejší* or godfather on their behalf) ask their parents for forgiveness and express thanks for their upbringing; the groom with his guests arrives at the bride's house and the *starejší* on his behalf asks for the bride; and the young couple receives the parents' blessings. Even though these moments reflecting the seriousness of the occasion have partly maintained their ceremonial character, the customs that accompanied them in the past (closed doors and protracted negotiations between the two families in front of the house, various obstacles for the groom,

apotropaic objects inserted in parts of the wedding outfit, etc.) became optional and in many areas completely disappeared.

The procession to the church varies and largely depends on local practices. The traditional wedding procession to the church (to the municipal house under communism) was mostly replaced by car or bus transportation, eliminating one of the most important occasions for singing *svadobné nôty* along with other wedding songs. Today this traditional singing is usually replaced with amplified music broadcast from the village radio.²⁸

The abundant and joyful wedding feast remains the most essential part of the wedding, keeping (or modifying) many older customs and introducing new ones. One of the crucial moments of the traditional wedding in the past, preceding the feast in the groom's house, was the mother-in-law's welcome to the arriving bride. Since the wedding feast has been transferred from the parents' houses to the restaurant or the local *kultúrny dom* (hall of culture), the cook and the restaurant staff there, instead of the groom's mother, welcome the newlyweds by offering them honey (Selec), wine, or spirits. One of the newer customs is the breaking of a glass or plate which the young couple is supposed to clean up. This new custom has two meanings: (1) the broken splinters are believed to bring good luck, and (2) the way of cleaning up the splinters foretells the bride's and the groom's future position in the household (depending on who first picks up a broom). Another custom is carrying the bride over a ribbon stretched in the door-frame (Selec), probably as a remnant of carrying the bride over the threshold of the house.

²⁸ The broadcast music usually includes commercial recordings of nationally known wedding songs interpreted by professional singers or folk ensembles.

However, the older association with a traditional prohibition to step on the threshold is largely forgotten.

There is still a prescribed order of seating in contemporary weddings, although it differs significantly from the original one. While in the past the parents and siblings of the young couple did not sit at the table because they had duties as hosts, today the wedding parents sit directly alongside their son or daughter, and next to them sit the godparents, then sisters, brothers and other family. The feast starts with a toast by the *starejší* or godfather. The custom that the bride and groom eat the soup from one plate and feed each other is kept throughout the country. In some areas, it is a remnant of the prewar custom when the meals were served in common large bowls and several guests ate from one bowl (Selec).

The entertainment during the wedding feast depends very much on the abilities of *starejší* or *starý svat*, and on the presence of several good singers among the wedding guests. Several older customs and practices have been retained throughout the country, but their presence is optional and their previous functions have been reduced to the sole function of entertainment. These include dancing by the young couple alone, after which all the guests dance with the bride and the groom (the moment of performing this dance varies from place to place); singing various short humorous songs (*prekáračky*), usually ordered by guests who sing the first strophe or phrase of a tune which is then played by the musicians,²⁹ and bringing the false brides to the groom (performed either when he comes to ask for the bride before the church ceremony or after the cap ceremony). The

²⁹ In Skalica, the wedding guests are still obliged to participate in this singing game, while keeping a specific order of guests. Similarly, in Žakarovce such a singing game is performed after the cap ceremony (interviews in Skalica, 19 July 2000, and Žakarovce, 22 July 2001).

scene of the so-called *škaredá nevesta* (ugly bride), especially popular in the western Slovakia, is performed by a person masked as an elderly ugly woman (often as a Gypsy woman) carrying a doll or accompanied by a child, and pretending to be an old abandoned lover of the groom. Among the customs referred to by village people as new and non-traditional, the most popular are an abduction of the bride by male members of her family and a public reading of the congratulation cards, the humorous content of which has become a new kind of contemporary folklore or, to borrow Hobsbawm's term, an invented tradition (Hobsbawm 1984).

The *čepčenie* (cap ceremony), once a culmination of the wedding ceremony, naturally lost its original function as an act of confirmation of the marriage's legitimacy and became part of the wedding entertainment. However, the meaning of the custom as a symbolic social and biological transition of the bride remains clear, as can be seen from its current modifications. It exists in many forms, ranging from taking off the wreath and putting on a bonnet (in the rare situations where the bride still wears the *kroj* for a wedding) to merely putting a symbolic kerchief on her head or just changing from the white wedding dress to a casual one as a symbolic transition from unmarried girl to married woman.³⁰ This can be found as a universal phenomenon throughout the country. The custom is performed at midnight, after the wedding cake is cut and distributed to the guests. In the villages with a rich traditional background, it is usually accompanied by specific ritual songs, among which two are widespread and known throughout the whole country: *Parta moja, parta* (exx. 7-1 and 7-5 a-c) and *Na zelenej lúke kopa sena* (with

³⁰ While the cap ceremony and its equivalents have disappeared in most of European cultures (Možejko 1971: 71), it still exists as the most important ritual (called "adorning of the bride") in Kihnu island in Estonia (Rüütel 2002: 144), and among Górale in the Polish Tatras (Cooley 2005).

different text, ex. 7-6). While in the past the *čepčenie* was exclusively the domain of married women, today it could be done by unmarried friends of the bride as well. In Selec, as in many other parts of the country, where neither the bride nor her friends wear traditional costume anymore, they use the *kroj* just for this ritual.

The custom of the Sunday lunch organized in either of the wedding houses (*poprávky* in Selec) is still common in the traditional wedding as an opportunity to invite those who were not invited to the wedding but gave gifts, or those who in any way helped but could not participate in the feast. In Selec, the young couple, along with their parents and siblings, now serve the guests. In some areas, one week after the wedding a dinner is organized in the young couple's house, to which both the parents and the siblings are invited. Here, expenses connected with the wedding are straightened out, and the whole event is evaluated in the close circle of the newly expanded family.

The traditional exchange of gifts at various moments of the wedding ceremony has been replaced by a single gift given by each guest either the night before or in the morning before the church nuptials. For example, in Selec the custom of giving a gift to the young couple ceremonially in the middle of the wedding feast on Saturday night, which was accompanied by a specific song (see p. 78), was replaced by the so-called *pocta* (honor), bringing gifts along with pastry and drinks to the wedding houses on Friday evening.³¹ The traditional ways of collecting money from the guests during various moments of the ceremony (e.g., for the cook, for the musicians, paying for the dance with the bride, etc.), if performed, differ from one family to another. At the end of the wedding, each guest receives a generous *výslužka* (usually a mix of cookies and cakes,

³¹ Interview with Júlia Vlková in Selec.

a bottle of wine, eventually some food from the wedding dinner) as compensation for the guest's gift and his/her participation in the ceremony.

An account of the transformations in the traditional wedding sequence would not be complete without noting how the village people today reflect upon these changes and how they evaluate them. One common feature can be observed in all my fieldwork interviews: older people explicitly express nostalgia for the "old-time" weddings. Describing the past wedding events, rituals and songs, they often conclude with comments about how nice it was at their "young times," so joyful and beautiful; everybody was singing and dancing; although the life was much harder, and weddings were not so rich and abundant as today, they were more collective, spontaneous, and joyful.³² Very often it is a particular "nice old" song that triggers nostalgic memories about some aspects of the old traditional way of life:

This one was the song of old women; everything was sung in the fields but this one was sung at weddings, too. Well, it was a joy to live in the village! And in the evenings, when young girls got together in front of cottages and sang, or when we were plucking feathers for eiderdowns. Today, they use those artificial quilts. One is sorry, all those geese we fed, I made nine feather quilts, and they are put away somewhere in the closet... (Ochodnica, 19 July 2001)

Today, they invite the band, and even if some women and men start to sing, those songs are not those old-time wedding songs. It was beautiful then, really. (Bzovík, 9 August 2000)

³² These responses correspond with the results of the research on people's evaluations of traditional weddings and its transformations carried out in the late 1970s (Jakubíková 1983: 153).

Informants in all villages studied claimed that the success of the particular wedding depends largely on what kinds of people get together, and especially on how good they are as singers, and whether they are fond of singing. The informants in Selec pointed out that when both bride and groom are from Selec the wedding is always a “singing” wedding and more abundant in customs. Particularly “good” and “cheerful” weddings are those in which one or both of the couple are members of the village folk group.³³ Selec is not an isolated case. Therefore, we can generalize that families involved in folklore activities are more likely to prepare a traditional wedding. Generally, when people evaluate weddings, those with traditional customs, singing, and music always rank higher.

Recently I was at a wedding in Dudince. It was such a good wedding! They had both a modern band and folk music, and they took turns, people were dancing all the time, children took off their shoes, it was so much fun. (Dolný Badín, 9 August 2000)

One consequence of the changes in wedding practices referred to by informants as having a negative impact on singing and dancing involves participation. While in the past the wedding ceremony was public and open to the whole village community, today it is restricted only to the invited guests. Comparing the forms of participation in the Górale

³³ This was evident from two video recordings of recent weddings in Selec, where several older ceremonial customs were practiced, accompanied by a lot of spontaneous singing of ritual and non-ritual wedding songs. Both weddings were evaluated as very good among the local people, and were often referred to in our discussions of wedding practices. Even though the two weddings were not the most recent ones, they obviously left strong impressions in people’s memories.

traditional wedding in the 1920s and 1970s, Jakubíková pointed out that in the past the number of guests invited to the wedding feast was far exceeded by the number of people otherwise engaged in numerous traditional forms of participation (e.g. pre-wedding rituals, on the way to and from the church, the wedding dance party following the dinner, and post-nuptial ceremonies). On the contrary, current weddings are characterized by stable participation of a much larger number of invited guests, and by the disappearance of the abovementioned traditional forms of participation (Jakubíková 1983: 151). The only possibility for other people to take part is the church ceremony, which remains open and public. Although it was an inevitable part of the legal aspect of the wedding in the past, today the participation of people other than those invited to the wedding is felt to disrupt the privacy of the young couple and their families:

Now, the *veselie* [wedding] is sometimes almost a secret event; we have no access to it anymore. Slowly, we older women will forget all those songs. Sometimes, people still sing when they sit down at the table...It is usually those *pohárkové* songs (“glass songs”), when there are some older women, but those rarely get to such a wedding. An old grandma has to sit at home and care for...[younger children and the household]. It was a long time, since I was at a wedding, when my daughter got married... Sometimes we still go to have a look in front of the church, or the House of Culture, the hosts would come out to offer some sweets and wine, but who is not invited does not go inside... (Selec, 18 July, 2001).

I had a chance to experience this very same distanced participation in Stará Bystrica in the Kysuce region. It was the wedding of a granddaughter of a woman I had met the day before in Klubina. Since the old lady was supposedly a very good singer, her presence at the wedding promised some traditional singing in an otherwise rather modern

type of wedding. Since the church ceremony was scheduled for 3 pm, the groom's suite was expected in the bride's house about an hour earlier. Because I did not announce my presence at the wedding in advance, I thought it would not be appropriate to go into the house and watch preparations. I chose to wait outside in front of the open door chatting with several young people and hoping to hear some singing from inside. Instead, the bride's grandmother—who had invited me—came out and greeted me with disappointment: “You see, I told you to come and now there are no older women here, I cannot sing alone...”

Around 2:15 pm, the village women of all ages with younger and older children started to gather on the street in front of the wedding house's court. Since there was nothing “interesting” going on in the house, I decided to join the onlooking women outside and to listen to their discussion and comments without interrupting them with my questions.

“Well, they [the groom and his suite] were supposed to be here at this point, it is half-past-two already, how do they want to be in the church on time?” “it is getting really late...” “...there are just a few people here...” “well, they [people, neighbors] are still coming, it is always like this that people come to watch...” “Are they having live music?” “there is no music there, so far, but the groom should bring the music, where are they? “will they have *drevená muzika* [“wooden music”, i.e., two fiddles and a small bass, the traditional ensemble of this region]?” (Stará Bystrica, 21 July 2001)

Their concerns ranged from whether the time schedule of the upcoming events would be kept, through the anticipated number of wedding guests, to expectations of how

would the bride look. Listening to those comments I realized that what was going on beyond the center of an ethnographic event (here outside the wedding house) was equally informative, if not more so, than the event itself, and that an ethnographer would need to be present at several places simultaneously in order to grasp the event's complexity in its various contexts.

The groom's suite arrived by bus at 2:45 pm. Their arrival at the house was accompanied by a live trio consisting of saxophone, accordion and drum instead of the anticipated *drevená muzika*, playing melodies typical of the brass ensembles of the neighboring Trenčín region (even though both bride and groom were from Stará Bystrica, which has its own abundant traditional vocal repertoire). While the groom with his family and guests went inside, the musicians stayed in front of the house and played. At a certain point they stopped playing so as not to disturb the ceremonial asking for the bride, as the women told me. Meanwhile, the local young men were preparing the *brana*—a wooden log about one-and-a-half meters long, ornamented with ribbons—in front of the courtyard, waiting for the groom and the bride with an accordion, but not singing. They started to sing local folk songs accompanied by the accordion at the same point as the groom's music started to play in order to accompany the young couple to the bus and the church. Thus two different kinds of music were to be heard simultaneously, until the groom and the bride came to the *brana*, where they were stopped by the local young men and offered drinks. Afterwards the groom was asked to cut the log with a saw, obviously as blunt and old as possible so that his work would not be easy. After he successfully overcame the obstacle, the wedding procession boarded the bus, the young couple got into the car decorated by white ribbons and flowers, and they left for the church, watched by the

village women and accompanied by the groom's trio (without singing). The women, who in the past participated by singing, today only watched, and then dispersed to their homes. I followed the bus to the church in the central part of the village, where several other women were already waiting for the wedding procession. The young couple entered the church while accompanied by the trio, something impossible in the past, when instrumental music was not allowed in front of the church, as commented on by the onlooking women whom I joined again to learn something about how it was during their "young times."

3.4 Summary

The tendencies of development of the wedding sequence—which should be understood in light of the socio-political and culture-historical factors mentioned at the beginning—and the effects of these changes on singing situations and practices can be summarized in seven points:

(1) The basic aspects of the traditional way of village life—agrarian economy, patriarchal family system, and collective cultural concepts and values—became destabilized or lost along with the traditional social control of behavior (particularly that of the bride) and the sanctions for offending its collectively accepted rules (e.g., the bride's obligation to grieve, or the prohibition for her to sing) lost their significance.

(2) The traditional time rule for organizing the wedding lost its strictness; today it can occur almost any time during the year, and the whole ceremony has been shifted to the weekend, culminating on Saturday.

(3) The wedding sequence has been reduced from several days to only one or two, causing the compression of ritual events along with singing occasions to a single evening; this led to the reduction of customary and ritual moments.

(4) As a result, the number of ritual songs accompanying the ceremonial moments declined in favor of non-ritual lyrical or humorous songs and other genres.

(5) The functional connection of a particular song genre with the respective ritual moment became loose.

(6) The meaning and form of certain retained customs (like *čepčenie*) and ritual songs have been considerably changed and have become more variable.

(7) Differences between local and regional variants of weddings have become less evident and, similarly, the wedding song repertoire tends towards unification throughout the country (e.g., many locally individualized melodies have been replaced by the generally known songs spread through media or folk music festivals).

Despite significant transformations, the village wedding has kept its traditional elements longer than any other life cycle or calendar ceremony in Slovakia (see Table 1). One of the reasons may be sought in its polyfunctional character, which allows people to innovate, modify, and accommodate meanings of the particular acts of the wedding to their new needs in changing social and cultural circumstances. The customs and ritual acts, which originally fulfilled primarily legal, communicative, and magic functions, were modified to or replaced by those with dominating aesthetic, emotional, entertaining, and

representative functions (Jakubíková 1983: 151). In the following chapter I will show how this dynamic polysemantic structure of the traditional wedding is reflected in its musical aspect, in the genre structure of its musical repertoire.

Chapter 4

The wedding as folk musical theater

After the dinner, the women took the bride aside, she sat down, her friends started to walk around her and sing sad parting songs, as her parta was just about being taken off. Then the older družba came and asked starejší: ‘Mr. Starejší, I am asking for the first time, whether you allow me to take off the wreath from Mrs. Brařta’s (bride’s) head?’ And the starejší replied: ‘No, I will not allow it.’ And so the družba ordered musicians: ‘You, musicians, wake up from your sleep and play for me,’ and went around the bride, dancing the hajducky dance.¹ Then he stopped the music and asked the starejší: ‘Mr. Starejší, I am asking for the second time, whether you allow me to take off the wreath from Mrs. Brařta’s head? And the starejší replied again that he would not allow it, and the groomsman danced around her again. Then he asked for the third time and the starejší replied: ‘If the brařta allows it, I will also allow it.’ So the družba danced his fourth round and then asked the bride: ‘Mrs. Brařta, will you allow me to take off your bridal wreath?’ and after she agreed, he took her parta with his sword, and danced his solo dance with the bride. And then the women took her into a small chamber and singing the ceremonial songs, put the bonnet on her head... (Kojřov, 23 July 2001)

This episode from a typical eastern-Slovak wedding ceremony is just one of many scenes of the “folk musical theater,” as the traditional wedding is often called by both scholars and the wedding participants.² From the very first negotiations of the wedding

¹ A typical men’s dance with a sword or a scythe in one hand, based on leaps from a deep squat while slapping the ground with hands or bumping the sword (or scythe) against the ground. In this context it is a warrior dance, by means of which the bride’s head is symbolically cut off (Důžek and Garaj 2001: 398). See chapter 7, section 7.3 for a more detailed description of this and other dances performed during the wedding ceremony.

² See Elscheková (1987a: 16-18; 1989: 80 ff.) and Schechner (1982). William Noll quotes the Polish ethnographer Jan S. Bystroń who refers to a peasant wedding as a

agreement through the ceremonial preparations, guest invitations, the arrival of the groom to the bridal house and a pretended alienation of the two families, and the bride's "first" encounter with her mother-in-law to the ceremonial removal of the bridal wreath and *čepčenie*, the elaborate rhetorical speeches and stylized acting of the principal characters fulfilling their prescribed roles are typical of the traditional wedding ceremony in eastern and central Europe. Music, singing, and dancing in this spectacle do not provide a mere background or accompaniment; they are a constituent part of the particular acts and of the transitions from one scene to another. Music permeates all the fundamental phases, gives them their characteristic shape, and provides the temporal framework for the wedding ceremony (Elschek 1989: 13).

Specific kinds of songs, instrumental music, and dance have been carefully chosen to fulfill various roles in the particular moments of the wedding ceremony. These multifaceted roles of music in general, and songs in particular, will be discussed in the first part of this chapter; the second part is devoted to the genre structure of the wedding song repertoire.

4.1 The role of music in the wedding ceremony

Discussing the functional character of folk song, Petr Bogatyrev lists and analyzes various functions traditional songs may fulfill, often simultaneously (Bogatyrev 1975 [1936]). He emphasizes that in order to identify the functions of a given folk song one has to determine the position that it occupies in the whole repertoire of the performer and

"grand opera", a great spectacle lasting several days, where its actors have a specifically assigned roles in the prescribed moments (Noll 1989). Russian villagers used the terms *svadebnaja igra* (wedding play) and *igrat'svad'bu* (to play a wedding) for the wedding ceremony and its performing (Mazo 1990: 116; Sokolov 1950 [1929]: 212).

within the totality of the particular social milieu, because “when we have a thorough knowledge of all structures of cultural, political, and economic life of the milieu in question we are able to comprehend all song functions and the structure of the functions. On the other hand, songs explain many things about the cultural, political, and economic structure of this milieu” (ibidem: 28). Moreover, the functions of folk song do not remain fixed, but they are constantly changing, as are the functions of other social activities.

Two mutually related functions of folk songs mentioned by Bogatyrev are especially relevant for the contemporary performance of wedding songs: the function of fitting to the ceremony and the function of solemnity. Traditional songs not only render the rites of the wedding ceremony more solemn but without the proper execution of rites and ritual songs, the wedding would not fit the village tradition (Bogatyrev 1976 [1936]: 24).

The connection between music (instrumental as well as vocal) and the wedding ceremony is realized on several mutually overlapping levels (Elschek 1989: 13-14). Many central ideas and motifs of the ceremony are set to song or dance and thus underlined by music; music, with its expressive means—melodic, tonal, metric and rhythmic—enhances the basic meanings of the ceremony. Some remnants of magical and ritual meanings and messages can only be expressed indirectly, implicitly, or via music in a poetic, symbolic way; in this sense, music may function as a crucial communication medium. Music shapes the basic ambiance of the whole ceremony and provides smooth transitions between contrasting atmospheres. Music provides a time continuum, a temporal framework for the ceremony. Finally, as a part of entertainment, it reflects the individual and collective taste of the community’s members.

In the following paragraphs I will explore how these and other functions of music and singing are recognized by village performers, and how people articulate their ideas about these roles.

One of the functions of wedding songs that performers clearly identify is the communication of specific meanings. For instance, women prepared the bride for her new social position and reproductive role through special ceremonial wedding songs. The informants in Žakarovce explained how married women, when putting the bonnet on the bride's head, prepared her for intimate life with her husband through the piquant texts of some songs sung *pri čepení*.³ Corresponding to the scholarly understanding of the semiotic function of songs—their capacity to express in a symbolic way what could not be said aloud or explicitly—people remark that via the songs it was often possible to convey messages intended to be understood within a restricted group of peers or close friends. Women in Veľký Folkmár recollected how as young girls they used to sing to their sweethearts at dancing parties, and how they communicated their feelings to each other and to their loved ones through these songs.

As we danced to the circle, each of us sang to her loved one. Like, I had a painter, so I started *Kebi ja še z ma'arami znala*⁴ (If I knew the painters...) and everyone knew who I meant. Or, one friend of mine had a boyfriend who was a Lutheran, and her parents did not allow her to date him, she was so desperate, so she sang the song *Ej, Jaňičko, luterán...*⁵ (Veľký Folkmár, 23 July 2001)

³ See song texts Ž16-Ž19.

⁴ See the song text VFol20 (transcr. 42).

⁵ See the song text VFol21.

Music may also guide people to the specific psychological condition required by the particular ritual context. In the wedding ceremony, an event filled with contradictory emotions and relationships between individuals and groups, music reflects the change of situation or the new ceremonial phase, and immediately creates a new ambiance. The cap ceremony (čepčenie)—a serious moment accompanied by sad parlando songs in a slow tempo, followed by a joyous, playful scene of the bridal dance—is just one of many examples of a change of mood via music (Elschek 1989: 15).

During interviews people often referred to the emotional, even therapeutic or cathartic aspect of the singing of certain songs. In Čičmany, during our sessions where various songs from the local repertoire were sung, one woman suddenly realized that except for the wedding songs, all their songs are *t'ahavé*, *smutné*, i.e. drawn-out, sad songs with many verses, “because people wanted to sing out everything they had in their hearts, whether good or bad. And someone added yet another verse, and the song grew longer.”⁶ Moreover, a mere recollection of the specific song often revokes a memory of an emotionally tinged situation from the past. For example, a woman in Veľký Folkmár recollected how the song sung by her mother-in-law—with a text asking the bride why she came to the in-laws’ house when she did not work there and therefore had no right to sit down and eat there⁷—made her cry, when she as the bride was brought to her groom’s house. Although she had a good relationship with her mother-in-law and knew the song was just a teasing one, the association with the disgraceful treatment of a new bride in the

⁶ An interview in Čičmany, 9 July, 2001. In fact, the folk song repertoire in Čičmany does contain a significant number of drawn-out, parlando songs in minor mode and slow tempo. See the collection of folk songs from Čičmany in Poloczek (1964).

⁷ „Načo ti tu prišla, načo ti tu šedla, ti tu ňerobela, ňebudzeš tu jedla.“ This song is sung to the *svadobná nôta VFol-5* (transcr. 41).

in-laws' house in the past, known from the narrations of older women, made her respond emotionally.⁸ This example also demonstrates how the performance of a specific teasing song at a woman's own wedding triggered emotions about culturally inherited notions of the intra-gender relationship, which are produced and ruled by a patriarchal concept of social and gender hierarchy. In songs as well as in reality, the mother of a son becomes the means through which the patriarchy is reproduced, conceptualized, taught, and manifested.

The wedding is a place where various kinds of identities meet in a mutual confrontation, and membership in a particular local, social, gender, or age group is reflected in wedding songs. Also, the songs can function as the platform of an encounter of identities, triggering emotions and appropriate kinds of behavior. The rule of endogamy—the requirement of finding a marriage partner within one's own village—is generally not followed anymore, but the recollections of informants show that local identity and the endogamy rule were still strongly ensconced in people's minds some twenty years ago. Rather extreme is an example from the northern-Slovak village Stará Bystrica, where a woman recalled how a wedding between villages often ended in a fight among the local young men. Merely singing such a song as “Nerozkazuj sebe na druhej dedine, abi si nedostal kijom po plešine” (Do not be bossy in another village so that your bald head won't get beaten with a cudgel) instigated a violent encounter between two groups of young men.⁹ The fact that the song induced a fight is a significant indicator of how the weight of the message can be reinforced by its musical rendition. Moreover, the

⁸ An interview with Margita Ledvákova in Veľký Folkmar, 23 July, 2001.

⁹ A woman in Stará Bystrica (on 20 July 2001) informed me that her brother suffered his whole life from an injury that happened during such an inter-village wedding fight.

song and dance can sometimes serve as an invitation to or, at least, a welcome excuse “for open confrontation between men harbouring unspoken animosities” (Wrazen 2004: 149).

More typical manifestations of various kinds of identities, mainly those of specific gender, age, and social groups, appear at various moments of the wedding in teasing and humorous songs such as *prekáračky*,¹⁰ when individual participants or groups exchange their vocal utterances in order to tease, compete, or just to show their distinctiveness. In Žakarovce, two female groups, each representing one of the wedding families, were walking through the village from one end to another singing various wedding songs not only to announce to the community that the wedding was occurring that day, but also to show their ability to sing as many songs as possible:

The two groups were visiting each other all day; we were curious what they were doing and vice versa and, meanwhile, sang various songs, so that they would not shout us down as if we were not able to sing. And when we met each other somewhere in the middle of the village, we would go ‘ujujuju’ and tease one another... (Žakarovce, 22 July 2001)

Similarly, both men and women often display their individuality and competence through specific manners of performance. An informant in Čičmany (one of the few men interviewed during my fieldwork) recalled how older women used to uniquely draw out the ends of the phrases, “as if they forgot to finish... When they sang together, one of

¹⁰ See section 4.2 and 4.3 for a more detailed discussion of *prekáračky*. An analogy can be made with Russian *popevky* and *veliçal'nye* songs, Polish *przyśpiewki*, or Romanian *strigături*.

them always had to hold it [a final tone] longer, as if she wanted to boast of her voice.”¹¹ There are numerous examples of expressing one’s subjectivity through music or, more specifically, through the culturally appropriate music performance.¹² Usually a group with lower rank in the social hierarchy of the community strives to display its individuality and competence in order to earn more respect, but in Čičmany the extraordinary nature of old women’s performance can be understood in an opposite way: Through their singing they seem to manifest and confirm their control over the ethical and aesthetic norms of the community.

With respect to aesthetic norms and preferences, it bears repeating that the village people in Slovakia consider as a good wedding the one that is rich in singing, music, and dance entertainment. The aesthetic factor in both the singing as an activity and songs as a product of that activity is an important aspect of people’s discussions of their musical traditions in general, and wedding songs in particular. Their aesthetic evaluation of songs and music performed during the wedding ceremony by far exceeds comments made on social and other cultural issues. This is particularly evident when people compare contemporary weddings with those in their “young days,” and with some nostalgia remember the latter as “nice,” “beautiful,” “joyous,” “more festive,” and “more ceremonial” than today. I suggest that the aesthetic function, which according to Bogatyrev is in “structural accord” with all other mentioned functions,¹³ is the most

¹¹ Jaroslav Kamas, an interview in Čičmany, 9 July, 2001.

¹² See Sugarman (1997), Wrazen (2004), and Petrović (1990), among others. For instance, by means of their singing in an accurate performing manner according to the culturally accepted aesthetic norms, the young girls in Hercegovina show off their competence and manifest their readiness for courtship and marriage (Petrović 1990: 76).

¹³ Bogatyrev (1976 [1936]: 24).

significant with respect to the process of selecting what to preserve within the particular tradition.

Another aspect of music, which is not necessarily recognized by village people but pointed out by scholars (Elschek 1989: 13-14), is worth mentioning. Embodying attitudes, opinions, and emotions of the rural population within a specific geographical area, folk songs—particularly those connected with rituals—preserve and accumulate mental images and cultural stereotypes of the community through longer periods of time (Krekovičová 1998: 148). Therefore, it is possible to reconstruct from the texts of the ceremonial wedding songs some of the previous symbols and meanings of the wedding ceremony that have been forgotten. For instance, the symbols of transition rituals, a threshold and a fireplace, appear in many wedding songs addressed to the bride when she takes leave of her parents' house (Sbohom ostávajúťe, maťerine prahi, čo vas prekročali moje biele nohi – Goodbye, my mother's thresholds, which I used to cross with my white feet), or when she arrives at the groom's house (Pozri sa Aňička, hore do povali, abi tvoje deti čierne oči mali – Look, Anička, up at the ceiling, so that your children get black eyes; or Pozri sa Hanička, do kuťika za pec, abi sa ťi držel, ten najprvší chlapec – Look, Anička, to the corner behind the fireplace, so that your first child is a boy). The allusions to some historical customs and practices, such as an ancient right of the groomsman (družba) to spend the first night with the bride, can be found in songs addressed to him before and during the čepčenie, bonnet ceremony (Strat'ela som partu, ňemožem hu nájsť, našuol mi hu družba, ňechce mihu dať – I lost my bridal wreath, I cannot find it, the groomsman found it, he refuses to give it back to me).¹⁴ As the magic-ritual elements of

¹⁴ For poetic analysis of texts, see chapter 5.

the ceremonies became modernized and lost their original meanings, they survived in the musical representation of the respective ritual moments, even though their functional context today involves mainly aesthetic aspects and entertainment (Elschek 1989: 13).

By way of contrast, the role of singing and music at a Slovak traditional wedding may be compared with singing at Prespa-Albanian weddings, where singing reflects social practice and represents the primary means of social interaction within the community: “as they interpret their song structure, each individual may articulate his or her participation in a wedding gathering at specific points by performing the first solo line of a song” (Sugarman 1997: 222). Whereas singing at an Albanian wedding is an important means to articulate one’s own subjectivity and social position, at a Slovak wedding singing has more to do with purely aesthetic, recreational, and ritual functions (at least with a reminiscence of the latter) than with the direct reflection of actual social relations among the participants. In this sense the Slovak wedding represents a kind of folk drama with prescribed roles, dialogues, and dramaturgy, where participants act more like the actors in a drama than as persons with particular social relations in an actual social situation. On the one hand, there is probably greater freedom in singing as a part of spontaneous entertainment during the wedding feast at the Slovak wedding; participants are not obliged, but are welcome to sing at particular moments (most frequently between the dance cycles, when musicians are resting) without respect to their age, gender, or relationship to the host families. On the other hand, the complex structure of elements, such as the ceremonial sequence of rituals, texts of the ritual songs, gender of their performers, and the genre structure of the musical part of the wedding, represents a social order. It is a kind of generalized and symbolic social order, presented in a stylized

manner and reflecting the past traditional values of the patriarchal rural society rather than current reality.

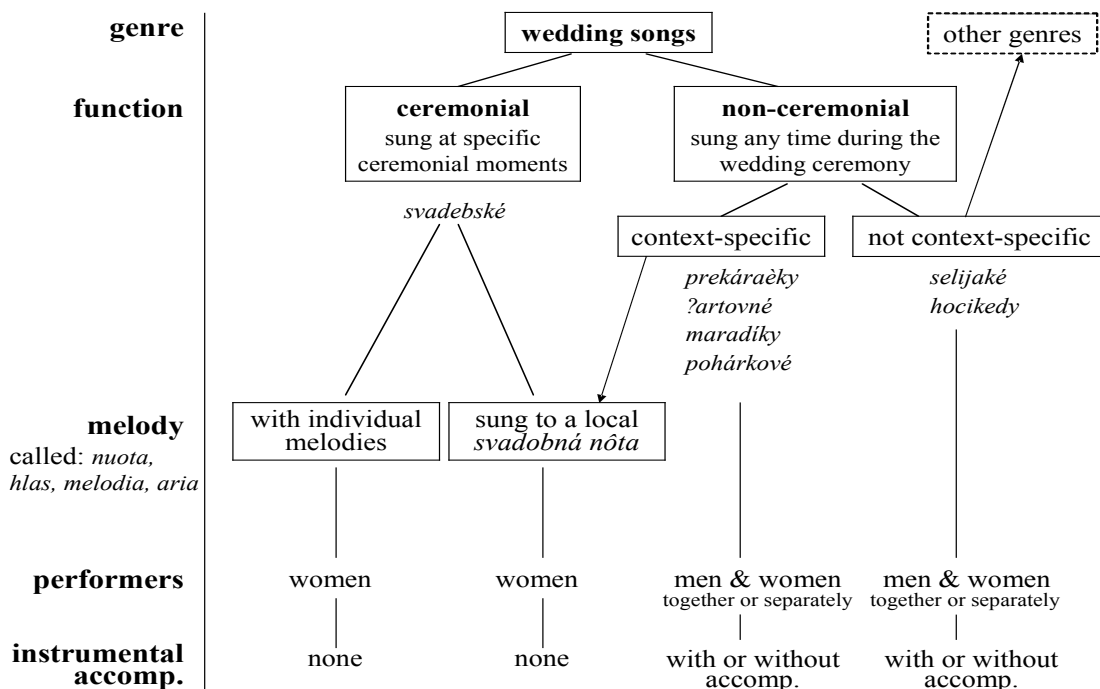
4.2 Genre structure of the wedding song repertoire

The semantic complexity of the wedding ceremony is clearly reflected in the diversity of its musical repertoire. This diversity can be discussed in terms of genre structure: when, how, by whom, and for what purpose a specific kind of music is performed within the wedding sequence. I will discuss individual categories of the wedding song repertoire as recognized by both scholars/ethnomusicologists and performers/village people.

Although the term “wedding songs” clearly indicates the singing occasion, this genre category is extremely broad and heterogeneous in all respects: functional, musical, and poetical. Even when talking about the wedding songs of one locality, no coherent discussion on musical and poetic style can be pursued without referring to the specific moment and performance context of the songs in question. Slovak ethnomusicologists distinguish between two large groups of songs: (1) the songs that constitute an inevitable part of a particular ritual or of customary moments of the wedding ceremony (as described in chapter 3), and (2) the songs sung at various, non-ceremonial moments of the wedding as a part of entertainment (Elscheková 1997: 382). Whereas the first group of songs is music-stylistically relatively homogenous and may be considered a distinct genre, the second group includes all the song genres of the local and regional repertoire, such as ballads, parting songs, love songs, wooing songs, table songs, teasing, humorous songs, dance songs, instrumental tunes, and so forth. Each of these genres has its own

characteristics in terms of specific local/regional music-stylistic features, poetic structure, the historical period of origin, and performance peculiarities. While songs of the first group are strictly linked to the wedding and are rarely performed on other occasions, songs of the second group have a very loose connection with any specific performance context. This scholarly distinction actually reflects the folk differentiation between the “wedding songs” proper (in different regional dialects called *svad’ebške*, *veselárske*, *vesel’ské* songs referring to the occasion when they are exclusively performed, i.e. *vesel’ie*, *svad’ba*) and other songs that can be sung *hocikedy* (anytime). The differentiation of the wedding song repertoire, reflecting the criteria used by both scholars and village people (left column), are indicated in Table 2. The individual categories of songs and their interrelationships, with a focus on the group of ceremonial wedding songs, are the subject of our further discussion.

Table 2
Genre differentiation of wedding songs based on singers’ terminology (*italics*)



The most determinative aspect of the ceremonial wedding songs is the close relationship between the particular moment of which the song is a part and the semantics of the song's text.¹⁵ This prevents the song from being performed in any other context, either within or outside the wedding. On the other hand, the link of the functional-textual aspect to the musical one is more open. It is primarily realized in the local awareness of people in terms of their recognition of certain melodic types as typical wedding melodies. These melodies, called *svadobné nôtý*, function as universal wedding tunes, to which various texts of wedding songs are sung. Alica Elscheková suggests that in this case the musical aspect dominates, and often the melody of the song itself (even without the text, as when it is played instrumentally by musicians) indicates the song genre (1987a: 101). Wedding songs sung to one or two *svadobné nôtý* form one group of the ceremonial

¹⁵ For a detailed characteristics of the textual and poetic features of wedding songs see chapter 5.

wedding songs. Another group of ceremonial wedding songs has individual melodies, which share common music-stylistic features with the *svadobné nôty* as well as with other genres of the traditional agrarian culture, namely the harvest songs and the ceremonial Carnival/Shrovetide songs. Like other folk song genres that originated in the social context of agrarian traditional culture, the ceremonial wedding songs belong to older music-stylistic strata.¹⁶ The number of songs in one or another group differs from region to region: in some villages all the ceremonial wedding songs are sung to one *svadobná nôta* (e.g., Ochodnica, Stará Bystrica, and other villages of the Kysuce region), whereas in other areas of the country every song sung at the wedding has its own individual melody (e.g., Skalica in the Záhorie region, or some areas of the central Slovakia). In most of the villages studied, both groups were present in various proportions.

Leaving further analytical discussion and the genre characteristics of the ceremonial songs, particularly those using one recurring *nôta*, for the following part, I will briefly introduce some terms village people use to distinguish individual categories of songs within the wedding repertoire. People usually talk about what they are doing in terms of specific genres and roles, and their taxonomies are not based on generalizations about music or performance style (Blum 2000: 112). Nevertheless, we can identify certain aspects that people more or less explicitly employ in their categorizations: the particular occasion or ceremonial moment; melody; manner of performance, with or without accompaniment; and the gender, social group, or age of the performers.

¹⁶ See Elscheková 1989: 103 ff., Elscheková-Elschek 1980: 112 ff., Važanová-Horáková 1999: 66-7, among others. A detailed analysis of musical aspects is given in chapter 6.

As mentioned above, a clear distinction is made between the *svaďebske* or *veseľské*, i.e. wedding songs proper, and those sung *hocikedy*, anytime. The *svaďebske* are further distinguished according to the moment when the song is or used to be sung. *Rukovinské* songs were sung at the *rukoviny* (betrothal). *Vencové* (wreath songs) is a category of songs sung by the girls and bridesmaids the evening before the wedding, when preparing the bride's *parta*, the ceremonial wreath or headdress, while singing specific parting songs.¹⁷ In the area of Trenčín in western Slovakia, these songs had a special term, *na ťelení* (grieving, lamenting songs).¹⁸ In some areas, the term *rozlúčkové* or *na rozlúčku*, is generally used for the songs sung at the same and other moments of the bride's parting (with her friends, friends, her parents and family, with her house, etc.). The *perinárske* or *duchnárske* (quilt, eiderdown songs) were special songs sung by married women when transporting the bride's trousseau to her new home.¹⁹ Among the songs sung *keď sa išlo k neveste* (when they went to take the bride), the songs with text motives referring to the long way to the strangers' house without knowing how to get there, or to asking the bridal family to open the door for the guests coming from far away (e.g., song texts Sel4, SB2, Kojl6,Ž3), are spread throughout the whole country. The songs sung *keď sa vibierali* (when leaving the house) and *keď sa odbierala k mlademu* (when the bride prepared for her leaving for the groom's house) overlap textually and musically with the parting songs. The songs on the way to and from the church ceremony, called *k sobášu* and *ze sobáša*, are usually mentioned as a specific category, although this occasion also allowed for interpolation of diverse non-ceremonial songs that were usually

¹⁷ For example, song texts Sel2-Sel4 (transcr. 11 and 12) and NB1 (transcr. 16).

¹⁸ See chapter 3, page 66.

¹⁹ See chapter 3, page 76-77.

sung simultaneously by individual groups of wedding guests. The songs sung *ked' sa prišlo ke svokre* (when they came to the mother-in-law) all share common textual motifs commenting upon the relationship between the bride and her mother-in-law (e.g., song texts SB6, VFol5, and VFol25). A distinct category of songs in all regions of Slovakia represent those *pri vipletaní, pri zavijaní, pri čepení*—connected with the culminating moment of the wedding ceremony, the custom of the removal of the bridal ceremonial headdress, and its replacement with the *čepiec* (bonnet) (e.g., song texts SB7, O15-16, Ž12,17,18).

Performers usually distinguish ceremonial wedding songs from non-ceremonial songs in terms of melody and manner of interpretation, as well as by the characteristic texts connected with the appropriate moments. First, the ceremonial songs are usually perceived as being all sung *na tu istu nuotu* (to the same tune) or *po svadebsky* (in a wedding-like manner): *pri muzike sa hocijaké pospievali, ale doma nie, to len svadebské boli, na tu jednu nuotu* (when music was played for dance, all kinds of songs were sung; but at home, there were only wedding songs sung to that one melody)²⁰. Second, in contrast to other songs, the ceremonial ones were sung *a cappella*:

The musicians accompanied those songs sung at the table but *obradné* (ceremonial) songs were sung just quietly, without instruments... (Selec, 18 July 2001)²¹

²⁰ An interview in Klubina, 20 July, 2001.

²¹ “Muzikanti sprevádzali tieto pesničky, ale to pred tým také *obradné*, to tak len ticho bez muziky...”

Svadebske were rarely accompanied by instruments. When they played, it was to accompany dance, or they took turns in singing and dancing... (Klubina, 20 July 2001)²²

Third, ceremonial wedding songs are distinguished from non-ceremonial ones also by their performance specifics. The former were usually sung by girls (bridesmaids and groomsmen) and women in an antiphonal manner. As a rule, the bride did not sing. Women use a loud chest-voice, often creating a circle or a semicircle around the bride or a young couple (which originally might have had a prophylactic function).

In contrast, the repertoire of non-ceremonial songs is (and was in the past) sung by all wedding participants. It reflects the individual tastes and preferences of the wedding guests on the one hand, and the collective taste and aesthetic values on the other hand. Especially in the past the traditional wedding ritual—which lasted several days—served as a “reservoir” of the village folk song repertoire. As is still evident in the song material from recent and, exceptionally, also from current weddings, the older songs were not being replaced by new ones, but existed side by side with them. In this sense, the traditional wedding became a mirror of the development of the Slovak folk song, with its fundamental tonal structures, melodic types, poetic and expressive means (Elscheková 1997: 390).

The local terms for non-ceremonial songs without connection to a particular moment indicate the lack of any specificity. They are not said to be linked exclusively to weddings, but can be sung on any other occasion. Performers do not distinguish them further as love songs, ballads, marriage songs, or drinking songs but describe them as *šelijaké* (various, diverse), *gdo jaku vedel* (based on who knew which), *normalne*

²² “Tieto [svadebské] muzika málo sprevádzala. To keď hrali, to muzika hrala k tancu, a zas sa dali spievať, striedali sa.”

(normal). Those sung at the wedding feast are often referred to as *žartovné* (humorous), *zabavne* (for entertainment), *prekáravé* (teasing songs), or *pred muziku* (for/to music). An informant in Klubina spontaneously commented that “those songs were not called *svadebske*, though, because they were sung just *barsako* (in any way).”

A specific category of context-specific non-ceremonial songs sung by both men and women during the wedding feast, or as a part of the wedding entertainment in general, can be placed somewhere between the two groups of ceremonial and non-ceremonial wedding songs (see Table 2). Musical and poetic features indicate their resemblance to the ceremonial wedding songs, since they represent a stylistically homogenous musical phenomenon. Moreover, their interpretation is connected with weddings, as their texts comment in a humorous way upon specific wedding roles and situations. On the other hand, they are not a part of any ceremonial context, even though in the past the wedding feast with all of its components, singing and dancing included, might have had a ritual character (Važanová-Horáková 1999: 72). Local people usually distinguish these humorous, teasing songs from the ceremonial ones, but a close look at the repertoire shows that the melodies of this song category are used in various singing occasions within, and exceptionally even outside, the wedding.

In the western Slovak village of Kšinná, the specific term *maradiky* (derived from *mať rád*, i.e. to like, to be fond of), is used for teasing songs, sung to one or two local melodies during the wedding feast but also on other occasions during the wedding. Similarly, in Selec there are two melodies sung with songs about wine and drinking, called *pohárkové* (glass) songs, which are performed by two social or age groups in alternation. One well-known melody enables the participants to improvise new texts to

address a person or specific group of guests in a ludicrous way, and to keep guests in a good, jovial mood. Although these teasing songs are often sung to tunes that overlap with those used in the ceremonial wedding context, including *svadobné nôty*, people's responses when asked whether they recognize them as wedding songs proper or not are ambiguous and different in each village.

In sum, from among the heterogeneous wedding song repertoire discussed in this chapter, the category of songs sung to one or two local melodies, *svadobné nôty*, emerged as a significant integrating element of the genre of wedding songs. These local melodies serve as a main criterion for distinguishing between the *svadebske* (songs sung exclusively at weddings) and other songs, and also between the local wedding songs and those of other villages. When people want to distinguish the *svadebske* songs from those sung on other customary occasions, they explicitly talk about the specific *nuota* (or *hlas*) they use for a given song genre. People whom I interviewed claimed to have specific *nuoty* to these traditional genres of songs: *durské* (St. George songs); *svatojanské, jánske, na vojanki* (St. Johannes songs or summer-solstice songs); *ku kravám* (cow-herding songs); *ked sa na lukach kosí* (when mowing on the meadows); *trávnícové, pri hrabaní, lúčne* (hay-making, meadow songs) in the Spiš region referred to as sung *na dlhý hlas* (in a long voice, on a drawn-out melody); *krstinove, kmoterske* (christening songs, god-parents songs); *májové* (May songs); *po koľade, vianočné* (Christmas carols); *na Fašianki, fašiangovske* (shrovetide songs); *na driapačky, pri priadkach* (feather-scratching and spinning songs).

This was our *svadebska nuota* (wedding tune) and we had another *nuota ku kravám* (cow-herding), or *na krštini* (when a child was baptized). And the neighboring villages had their own melodies. (Radôstka, 21 July 2001)

The role of *svadobné nôty* as a core of the genre of wedding songs is also supported by the fact that, as it was discussed above, the same musical phenomenon—locally or regionally recognizable tunes associated with particular ceremonial moments of family and calendar rituals—can be found in other traditional cultures of eastern, south-eastern, and north-eastern Europe (see chapter 1, part 1.1.1). Those associated with weddings are everywhere sung by girls and women, and usually belong to an older music-stylistic layer of the particular traditional song repertoire.

4.3 Ritual moments associated with *svadobné nôty*

The interviews and song material gained during my fieldwork, as well as published folk song collections, ethnomusicological, and historical accounts of traditional weddings in Slovakia (Chorvát 1895; Timko 1868; Niederle 1911), provide ample evidence that *svadobné nôty* were essential and inevitable parts of the wedding song repertoires, especially in the past. However, none of the published sources examines the function of *svadobné nôty* in greater depth. Elscheková's remark that, as a sequence of fixed and distinctive customs and rituals to which specific songs were linked, the traditional wedding did not allow changes or many different songs for one ceremonial moment (1989: 89), offers a starting point for further discussion. So does the idea proposed by some scholars that originally one melody may have accompanied all the ceremonial moments of the Slavic wedding (and perhaps other rituals of the Slavic people as well).²³ The reasons for these phenomena remain to be explored.

²³ See Kaufman (1968) and Zemcovskij (1971, 1975).

I examined the occurrence of *svadobné nôty* at given moments of the wedding in selected villages from different regions of Slovakia (Table 3). The selection of regions and villages to be represented in a comparative table was based primarily on the results of my fieldwork and secondarily on a sample from the published collections. To the areas covered in my fieldwork I added villages in the Nitra region, which has been studied in detail and treated in recent song collections of local repertoires, showing a significant frequency of *svadobné nôty*.²⁴ This is evident particularly in the regional collection of wedding songs and customs (Járek and Luther 1989) in which 25 wedding songs (16%) out of 157 are sung to one of two regional types of *svadobná nôta*. This is a high number, considering that as many as 74 songs (47%) from the same collection are designated as being sung *za stolom* (at the wedding table during the feast) and as such represent a variety of wedding songs as well as other genres.

Table 3
Distribution of *svadobné nôty* at the specific moments in selected villages

- I. pre-wedding evening when bridal wreath was prepared
- II. on the way to the bride
- III. in front of the bride's house
- IV. when the bride leaves her parent's house
- V. on the way to the church
- VI. after the church ceremony, on the way to either of the wedding houses
- VII. in front of the mother-in-law's house
- VIII. the wedding feast
- IX. taking off the bridal wreath
- X. cap ceremony
- XI. bridal dance
- XII. at the end of the wedding, when the wedding guests were leaving
- XIII. when the bride's dowry was transported to her new house

²⁴ Járek and Luther 1989; Járek 1991, 1996, 1997a, 1997b, 1998a, 1998b; Milo and Korček 1968. The abbreviations of the villages in Nitra region in table 3 should be read as follows: VL=Veľký Lapáš, Go=Golianovo, Bran=Braníkovce, VJan=Veľké Janíkovce, VZál=Veľké Zálužie, ZIMo=Greater Zlaté Moravce, Háj=Hájske.

		Phase												
		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII
Trenčín region	Sel	<i>I</i>	<i>SNx</i>	<i>SNx</i>	<i>SNx,I</i>	<i>SNx</i>	<i>SNx</i>	<i>SNx</i> <i>,I</i>	<i>I</i>					
	Fač		<i>SNx</i>	<i>SNx</i>			<i>SNx</i>		<i>I</i>	<i>I</i>				
	Čič		<i>SNx</i>		<i>I</i>	<i>SNxy</i>	<i>SNxyz</i>		<i>SNx,I</i>	<i>I</i>				
Kysuce region	Och	<i>SNx</i>				<i>I</i>			<i>SNx,I</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>I</i>			
	Klu		<i>SNx</i>	<i>SNx</i>					<i>SNx</i>					
	StB	<i>SNx</i>	<i>SNy</i>		<i>I</i>			<i>SNy</i>		<i>SNx</i>				
	NB	<i>SNx</i>	<i>SNx</i>		<i>SNy</i>	<i>SNx</i>	<i>SNx</i>	<i>SNx</i>	<i>SNx</i>	<i>SNx</i>				
	ZnB	<i>SNx</i>	<i>SNy</i>		<i>SNx</i>	<i>SNx</i>		<i>I</i>	<i>I</i>					
	Rad	<i>I</i>		<i>SNx</i>				<i>I</i>						
Spiš region	Žak	<i>SNx</i>		<i>SNx</i>	<i>SNx,I</i>	<i>SNx</i>	<i>SNx</i>	<i>SNx</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>SNy</i>	<i>SNz</i>	<i>SNy</i>		
	Jakl						<i>SNx</i>		<i>I</i>	<i>SNy</i>	<i>SNy</i>			
	VFol		<i>SNx</i>	<i>SNx</i>				<i>SNx</i>	<i>I</i>		<i>SNy</i>	<i>SNx</i>		
	Koj	<i>I</i>			<i>SNx</i>		<i>SNx</i>	<i>SNy</i>	<i>SNy</i>	<i>SNz</i>				
Hont	Bzov	<i>I</i>		<i>I</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>I</i>		<i>I</i>		<i>SNr</i>			
	DBad				<i>SNx,I</i>	<i>SNx,I</i>	<i>SNx,I</i>		<i>SNy,I</i>			<i>SNr</i>		
Nitra region	VL/Go			<i>SNx</i>	<i>SNx,Ir</i>		<i>SNx</i>		<i>SNy,I</i>	<i>SNr</i>	<i>SNx</i>			
	Bran			<i>SNx</i>	<i>SNx</i>		<i>SNx</i>	<i>SNy</i>	<i>SNy,I</i>	<i>SNr</i>	<i>I</i>		<i>SNx</i>	
	VJan			<i>SNxy</i>					<i>I</i>	<i>SNr</i>	<i>SNr</i>			
	VZál			<i>SNx</i>	<i>Ir</i>	<i>SNx</i>	<i>SNy</i>		<i>I</i>	<i>SNx</i> <i>r</i>			<i>SNx</i>	
	ZIMo		<i>SNx</i>	<i>SNx</i>	<i>SNy,I</i>	<i>SNx</i>	<i>SNx</i>	<i>SNx</i>	<i>SNx,I</i>		<i>SNxr</i>			
	Háj		<i>SNx</i>	<i>SNy</i>		<i>SNy</i>			<i>I</i>		<i>I</i>			
	MZál		<i>SNx</i>	<i>SNy</i>	<i>SNy</i>	<i>SNx</i>		<i>SNx</i>	<i>SNx,I</i>	<i>SNz</i>	<i>SNr</i>		<i>SNx</i>	
	as a whole			<i>SNx/y</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>SNx/y</i>	<i>SNx/y</i>	<i>SNx</i> <i>/y</i>	<i>SNx/y,</i> <i>I</i>	<i>SNx</i> <i>/y</i>	<i>SNx/y,</i> <i>r</i>	<i>SNx</i> <i>/y</i>	<i>SNx</i> <i>/y</i>	<i>SNx</i> <i>/y</i>
Eastern Slavonia (Croatia)	Jel			<i>SNx</i>	<i>SNx</i>				<i>SNx,y,</i> <i>I</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>SNr</i>	<i>SNx</i>		
	Josip			<i>SNxy</i>	<i>SNx</i>		<i>I</i>				<i>SNxr</i>			
	Led		<i>SNx</i>				<i>I</i>		<i>SNy,I</i>		<i>SNr</i>			
	ZGaj		<i>I</i>	<i>SNx</i>					<i>SNx,I</i>		<i>SNr</i>			
	Milj		<i>SNx</i>						<i>SNx,I</i>					
Frequency of SN (%)		18	39	68	43	39	43	36	54	39	46	18	14	4

The roman numerals I to XIII designate the phases of the traditional wedding accompanied by svadobné nôty. SNx (dark-shaded) stands for one svadobná nôta recurring in a given village at the respective moments. If there is a second or third tune in

a given village that also functions as *svadobná nôta* (by appearing at more than one ceremonial moment and/or with more than one text), it is designated as SN_y (light-shaded) or SN_z, respectively. The songs sung to a tune that is connected exclusively with a specific moment—usually removal of the bridal wreath, subsequent *čepčenie*, and/or the bridal dance—but that occurs in a broader geographical area (i.e., in the regional or national spread) are designated with SN_r. Letter I stands for individual songs with one melody per text (i.e., ceremonial or non-ceremonial wedding songs with their own individual tunes). The designation SN_{x(y,z)} does not necessarily mean that other songs are excluded from singing at that particular moment; it only indicates that *svadobné nôty* occur and, eventually, prevail. If they are sung along with other songs with individual melodies and appear to be less significant at the particular phase, the symbol SN_I is used. Blank boxes in the table indicate the lack of information about singing at the respective moments. Although the roman numerals here reflect an ideal chronological order of the wedding events, the individual wedding sequences throughout Slovakia vary, allowing for the shifting of certain moments or for not celebrating them at all. The table provides a comparative scheme of distribution of *svadobné nôty* over the time span of the wedding ceremony in different villages and regions of Slovakia, as well as in Slovak-speaking villages of eastern Slavonia, and it allows us to speculate on possible reasons for using one tune specifically at these moments and to reflect on what these moments have in common.

In quantitative terms, the phenomenon of the local *svadobná nôta* (SN_x) appears as most significant in moments II, III, IV, V, and VI, with the phase VII only slightly behind. Phases IX and X show greater occurrence of SN_r, known nationwide. The

singing of *svadobné nôty* during the wedding feast (phase VIII), a non-ceremonial moment, cannot be evaluated objectively, because the repertoire for that phase is diverse and dynamic. Except for phases III, IV, and VII, all the most significant moments with respect to the occurrence of *svadobné nôty* are the “on-the-way” moments: on the way to the bride, to and from the church, to the groom’s house. Together with the most strongly represented phase III, in front of the bride’s house, the singing of *svadobné nôty* primarily covers the first part of the wedding, up to the moment of the bride’s final departure from the parents’ house and her meeting with the mother-in-law. While the proportions of *svadobné nôty* and other songs differ in individual villages, internal statistics in the Nitra collection (Járek 1989) show that about 70% of the songs designated as sung on the way from the church and in front of the wedding house (corresponding with our phases III, VI, and VII) use one of two types of *svadobná nôta* that are characteristic for the Nitra region.

The practice of accompanying the on-the-way moments (i.e., the procession to and from either of the wedding houses, to and from the church ceremony, and the transportation of the dowry) by singing the songs to one local tune can be observed in historical ethnographies of village weddings from the nineteenth century (Chorvát 1895-6). Singing during these moments can be interpreted simply as filling out the time periods between the legal ritual and the customary acts, when the wedding procession moved from one place to another. The rhythmic and metric features of *svadobné nôty*—usually consisting of regular meter in a moderate tempo, or in a *parlando* style—make them suitable for accompanying walking. In fact, the texts of the songs associated with these moments explicitly comment upon them, describing the motion, as in “We are walking,

walking, without knowing a path,” “We are coming from the lower end (of the village), start covering the tables (with tablecloths),” “Saint Nicolas, bless our journey, since we are coming to the holy nuptials,” or “Open the door, new family, because we are coming from far away and we are cold.”²⁵ Interestingly, these texts are spread throughout the whole country, each village or region singing them to a local *svadobná nôta*.

If we understand the function of songs sung during these on-the-way moments to be nothing more than filling the gaps, why do people designate them as *obradné* (ritual, customary) songs? What makes the moments they accompany ceremonial? I believe that *svadobné nôty* in their position of accompanying these moments as leitmotifs—associated in everybody’s mind with the local wedding tradition—have actually contributed to their rituality, or at least to the perception of these moments as ceremonial. Besides its role as a musical symbol of the local wedding tradition, I propose that the function of a local *svadobná nôta* was to link individual events of the wedding sequence into a meaningful whole by assuring continuity and smooth passage from one moment to another.

This aspect can be better understood in the context of van Gennep’s theory of the rites of passage. The first part of the traditional wedding, although focusing on separation rites, has a transitional character. The young couple, especially the bride, goes through the liminal stage, in which her forthcoming marriage and her new social position in the community is unstable and vulnerable. The numerous acts of customary law used in the past for the legalization of marriage, such as asking for the bride in her house, the

²⁵ *Ideme, ideme, chodníčka nevieme; Už ideme z doli, pokrývajte stoli; Svetí Mikulášu, žehnaj cestu našu, bo mi už ideme k svetému sobášu; Otvárajte dvere, novotná rodina, z ďaleka ideme, veru nám je zima.*

ceremonial parting of the bride, and all kinds of well-wishing and protective rituals (as discussed in chapter 3), were supposed to promise a smooth transition from the separation of the bride from her old family to her incorporation into a new one and to her new sociobiological position. The on-the-way moments accompanied by singing (along with shouting, shooting, music playing, and tossing fruits and grains) functioned as temporal bridges between these ritual acts, and as such they were significant segments of the transitional first part of the wedding. While the repetitiveness itself evokes the ritual ambiance, I suggest that *svadobné nôty* with their melodic persistence functioned as a symbol of stability in the context of transition, a process itself perceived as unstable and fragile. The *svadobné nôty* may symbolize stability against the dynamic character of the moments they are part of: singing while walking.

Table 3 provides partial support for this argument by showing that the first half of the wedding, characterized by rites of separation and transition—roughly from the procession of the groom’s suite toward the bride’s house (II) up to the point of the bride’s final departure (VII)—is accompanied in most of the villages by one central local tune (SNx, dark-shaded). Also, while the occurrence of the *svadobné nôty* and their distribution throughout the country is relatively uniform within the first part of the wedding, their position in the second part, beginning with the wedding feast and ending with the wedding dismissal, is rather unbalanced and less clear. Various songs, each with its own melody and in several genres (such as lyrical songs, humorous songs, etc.) are sung during the wedding feast, along with dancing, joking, and storytelling. Although the *svadobné nôty* may appear in this phase in the form of the *prekáračky* (teasing songs), their ceremonial role is fully evoked again during the taking off of the bridal wreath, the

cap ceremony, and the bridal dance. The table indicates that one or more other local tunes (SNy or even z, as in the villages in lower Spiš) or regionally or nationally known melodies (SNr as in Nitra region) usually appears during these final moments of the wedding. However, in the villages of the Kysuce region—with one *svadobná nôta* accompanying almost the whole wedding sequence—as well as in the western Slovak villages of Selec and Čičmany, people often did not recall any specific songs for phases IX through XII, although the ritual of taking off the wreath and the cap ceremony are remembered as having been practiced in both areas.

The role of *svadobné nôty* to facilitate the transition during the first part of the wedding ceremony can be underlined with another example. In many areas of Slovakia, especially before the wedding feast ceased to be held in individual homes and moved into restaurants or other public places, after the church ceremony the bride and groom returned with their companies to their parents' houses (as discussed in chapter 3). The ceremonial customs and singing during moments II, III and IV were therefore often repeated again later in the evening. One might suppose that the song repertoire sung after the church ceremony should reflect the new social status of the young couple, but this is not the case. In many places the songs sung to the same *svadobná nôta* are often designated as *cestou na sobáš i zo sobáša* (on the way to and from the church ceremony) and are sung interchangeably before and after the ceremony, using the same texts. This phenomenon supports the idea that the church ceremony was inserted into the traditional wedding sequence. As this disrupted the established progression of the traditional wedding, the necessity of keeping the integrity of the sequence and the meanings of the original peasant ceremony may have become even more important. The use of a

svadobná nôta to accompany the procession to and from the church may have helped to keep that integrity.

In the following discussion I will delineate some phases connected with the svadobné nôty using as an example the eastern Slovak village Žakarovce, focusing on semantic links between their texts and the respective moments of the wedding sequence. Žakarovce is a mining village with strong farming and shepherding traditions. Since mining was not conducive to singing, the rich repertoire of songs was developed particularly within the latter two traditions, and was preserved by women who worked in farming instead of by men. In 1953 and 1954, ethnographic research on all aspects of traditional life, including music traditions, was carried out by institutes of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, resulting in a monograph about the village (Mjartan 1956). The data from my fieldwork can therefore be compared with the material collected in Žakarovce in the 1950s and archived in the Institute of Musicology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences.²⁶ The collection includes 28 wedding songs sung to 16 melodies. The women I interviewed in 2001 sang 27 wedding songs to 13 melodies.

In the 1950s, singing accompanied almost every sphere of life. The ceremonial songs were still alive, with the wedding songs being the most important. In her account of singing traditions in the village, Burlasová wrote that all the wedding rituals were accompanied by ceremonial songs, with two melodies prevailing (1956: 31). These two melodies correspond with Ž-1 (transcr. 43) and Ž-17 (transcr. 44) which I recorded from the women in Žakarovce during my fieldwork in 2001. My informants commented upon

²⁶ Transcriptions of 182 songs are deposited in the Manuscript Archive of the Institute of Musicology under the numbers 14955-15137.

the melody of Ž-1 (the first wedding song they sang for me) that people used to sing various songs to this hlas (tune) during the entire wedding.²⁷

This melody was sung with 16 text-strophes (identified by women as 9 different song texts),²⁸ allegedly accompanying moments I, II, III, IV, V and VI (i.e., the first half of the wedding). The second melody Ž-17 was used, according to my informants, at moments IX and XI. In the transcriptions of the song archive of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, the same melody as my Ž-1 (deposited under the nos. 15041 and 14956) is connected with 39 strophes (each consisting of four 6-syllable lines) with the occasion generally designated as cestou na sobáš (on the way to the nuptials) and four other strophes identified as pri čepčení (during the cap ceremony). While it is possible that all 39 strophes used to be sung on the way to and, eventually, from the church, the individual texts refer to other moments as well, such as strophes 7 and 8 to moments II, VI, and VII (on the way to either of the wedding houses, the wedding guests request the hosts to prepare the tables for the feast); strophes 12 through 16 to the parting of the bride from her mother, referring to the long journey beyond the deep water, from whence she cannot come back to complain, and where she has to go to find the lily flowers she lost. Strophes 17, 18, 25 through 27, and 29 through 35 talk about the relationship between the bride and her mother-in-law and refer to moments II and VII. Interestingly, comparing the materials from the two collections, only four strophes were recorded in both, and two

²⁷The women whom I interviewed still knew most of the wedding songs recorded in 1953 and precisely identified all the moments accompanied by specific wedding songs. This may relate to the fact that they were members of the local village folk group.

²⁸ The usual practice is to sing two to four strophes together as a song unit, elaborating one textual motive. Since the songs to one melody are often sung one after another, it is sometimes difficult to determine their exact number. Therefore, I will refer to the strophes.

strophes were the same but sung to a different *hlas*. The fact that my informants were more specific about the moments the individual strophes were connected with than those interviewed 50 years ago may be explained by the different goals of the two research projects, reflected in different levels of specification of data.

Several observations can be made on the singing of *svadobné nôty* at particular moments of the wedding in Žakarovce, now and then.

(1) Four texts that are identical in both collections include one strophe from Ž9 sung on the way to the church, and three strophes from Ž2 and Ž3 (see Žakarovce song texts), both sung on the way to either of the wedding houses. The latter three strophes are widely sung throughout the country; they are found a couple of times with different local tunes in my fieldwork as well as in numerous folk song collections and accounts of the wedding practices (Chorvát 1895-6: 669). The reason why these texts are so popular may lie in their explicitness, as they directly comment upon the actual situation.

(2) A similar observation can be made about phases I and IV, during the bride's parting from her friends and family. The melodies of the parting songs associated with these moments in general differ stylistically from *svadobné nôty* and other ceremonial songs; they show elaborate, wide-range melodies, modal or minor tonality, and closed form. Moreover, emotionally colored, lyrical texts with implicit messages are characteristic of them (Važanová-Horáková 1999: 60). In contrast, two songs (6 strophes) sung to the Ž-1 tune that I recorded in 2001—designated by women as being sung at moments I and IV—directly address the respective situation; the song Ž7 refers to the green wreath the bride is preparing for the upcoming wedding, and the text of Ž8 tells the bride to kneel in front of her weeping father and to ask for his blessing. Looking at songs

sung at the parting moment in other villages and areas of Slovakia, we can observe that when a *svadobná nôta* is used, the texts are, again, very explicit and generally known throughout the region or country. Typical examples of texts occurring almost everywhere with a local *svadobná nôta* are “My girlfriends, help me to cry, because you won’t be able to let me join you anymore” and “So long, my mother’s thresholds, which were crossed over by my white feet.”²⁹

(3) Text motives addressing directly or implicitly the relationship between the bride and her mother-in-law are ample in the material from the 1950s, but missing in my material from 2001, which can be explained by the loss of the actuality of the conflict between the two women. Among the 39 strophes of the archival material from Žakarovce, there are 11 texts commenting upon the encounter of the bride with the mother-in-law, or indicating more or less directly their relationship. In these texts, the bride takes the position of a servant trying to please her mother-in-law in every respect (strophes 30 through 33). The mother-in-law rejects her daughter-in-law’s efforts, welcoming her only with insults and disrespect (strophes 25 through 27, 34, 35). The bride also confronts her own mother with the conviction that she is responsible for her daughter’s misery. In contrast to a highly negative, though humorous, depiction of that relationship in songs, in reality, the welcome of the bride had a ceremonial, festive character, and was one of the most important rituals of incorporation. How can this ambiguity of representation of the same phenomenon be explained? The ceremony of welcoming the bride was highly stylized and, considering the actual stories about brides’ miserable lives with mothers-in-

²⁹ Kamarátky moje, pomôžte mi plakať, už ma nebudete medzi sebou čakať (R4). Zbohom ostávajúte, macerine prahy, čo vás prekráčali moje biele nohi. An almost identical text motive exists among Croatian wedding songs, also connected with local tunes (Važanová-Horáková 1999: 61).

law, it probably represented an ideal relationship acted out in the belief that it could assure an effective incorporation of the bride into a new family. As such, the ceremony itself was controversial enough. I believe that this ambiguity in representations of the relationship between bride and mother-in-law as positive in the ritual and as negative in humorous songs serves several purposes: (1) the songs express the truth about something that cannot be addressed directly during the ritual, as it would run contrary to its intended effect; (2) the jocular aspect of the songs helps to unburden psychologically the moment feared by every bride-to-be; and (3) these contrasting representations reflect the conflicting character of the incorporation of the bride into a new family because, on the one hand, her presence assured the continuation of the family, but at the same time it threatened the solidarity of the household and the authority of the mother-in-law. In this respect, the song can be understood as a means that can effectively assist the ritual in resolving the social conflicts within the community through the power of humor and the power of verbal expression of objects of anxiety. The use of one *svadobná nôta* may have helped to balance the contradictory character of the whole situation and, at the same time, to provide the space for concentrating on verbal messages.

(4) The wedding song repertoire in Žakarovce is an example of introducing a new *svadobný hlas* (SNy, or SNz) in the second part of the wedding ceremony. Taking off the bridal wreath, the *čepčenie*, and the bridal dance were accompanied by several ceremonial songs, and one melody—Ž-17 (transcr. 44), which also corresponds to the previously discussed *svadobná nôta* in Veľký Folkmár (VFol-5, transcr. 41) and Jaklovce (Jakl-7, transcr. 35), sung during the same phases of the wedding—emerges as recurring at all three moments. With the songs *Kec ce budu čepit* (When they put the bonnet on

your head, Ž17) and Vlasi mojo, vlasi (Hair, my hair, Ž18), the married women prepared the bride for the actual moment and for her future life. After the bride was začepená (in the bonnet), the women brought her back to the wedding guests to let her dance the bridal dance. Each guest ordered the musicians to play his or her song. While the female guests sang songs to the svadobná nôta Ž-17 (transcr. 44), the male guests sang other dance songs with individual melodies.³⁰

While it is tempting to discuss the possibility that the two melodies are variants of the same melodic type, I will postpone this consideration for a later chapter.³¹ I want to mention, however, that comparison of my fieldwork material from 2001 with the archival material from 1953 shows that the two melodies were interchangeable: the texts sung to svadobná nôta Ž-17 (transcr. 44) during the cap ceremony in my material (such as Šúšeda, šúšeda, Ž26) were sung in 1953 with tune Ž-1 (transcr. 43). Such an alternation of two melodies is also common in other areas where two tunes—instead of just one—have functioned as svadobné nôty. Slovak women interviewed in Slavonia (northeastern Croatia) several times replied that a particular wedding song could be sung with either one or another aria (tune) that they recognized as being associated with weddings. This indicates once again that there was probably a lesser focus on melody at these moments than on texts. Significant verbal messages were to be transmitted via the simple, locally known, old tune perceived as their own.

Comparison of the two research projects also reflects the changes that have occurred in the wedding repertoire during the last 50 years, showing that the phenomenon of svadobná nôta (or hlas) still exists in Žakarovce, even though the number of texts

³⁰ See chapter 7 for the discussion of svadobné nôty and their relation to dance.

³¹ See chapter 8 for the discussion of melodic types.

connected with one hlas has declined in favour of individual melodies. On the other hand, a significant number of texts are sung to one hlas, and they differ from those sung 50 years ago. This means that the repertoire of song texts may be vast and hard to collect in full at one time. Furthermore, it proves that the repertoire of songs sung to one svadobná nôta is still quite dynamic, with new texts being created or improvised all the time.

While we defined svadobné nôty as being connected mostly with ceremonial moments of the wedding, that is true mainly of the pre-World War II ceremonies. There is no obligation at present to follow any rules or order of songs, even in the traditional wedding sequence, and most of the ceremonial moments were either eliminated or placed between the entertainment phases of the wedding feast. While we could easily imagine a complete disappearance of the svadobné nôty along with the disappearance of the ceremonial moments they were associated with, instead we observe an increased number of humorous songs sung to the local svadobná nôta—or to a short tune of a similar kind—with no ceremonial connotation, usually during the wedding feast. Today these prekáračky, maradíky, pohárkové, žartovné, or krátke, as people call them in different areas, overlap in informants' descriptions with the ceremonial wedding songs. In Dolný Badín, women referred to the songs sung to one svadobný hlas during the ceremonial introductory phases of the wedding as prekáračky (teasing songs). In Žakarovce, three strophes sung to the Ž-1 tune (transcr. 43) from my fieldwork as well as several texts from 1953 have humorous, teasing texts. Even those that accompany ceremonial moments, such as the songs for a bridal dance (Ž17, 18, 21, 22, 23, 25, and 26), all sung to svadobný hlas Ž-17 (transcr. 44), have a teasing character, either addressing the particular wedding functionary or making fun of oneself.

It seems that both the disappearance of the ceremonial songs and the increased popularity of the humorous songs sung to *svadobné nôty* can be seen in light of the recent trend toward uniformity of the wedding song repertoire throughout the country and to merge the differences between particular genres. Maybe the *svadobné nôty* have survived the transformation in local song repertoires through their use in *prekáračky*? If so, the current use and popularity of *svadobné nôty* in *prekáračky* can be explained by the change in their function: from a ceremonial one, facilitating a smooth progress of the wedding ceremony and communicating the messages, to an entertaining and humorous one. In theoretical terms, the function of *svadobné nôty* may have changed with the changing external (social, cultural) conditions, while the stylistic features of the phenomenon are preserved. Besides, today the performers of *svadobné nôty*—which in the ceremonial context had been limited to women and girls—include all of the wedding participants with no gender or age restriction. While today the use of one recurring melody during the wedding entertainment, especially in villages with weakened awareness of local traditions, can also be interpreted as solely a convenient way of entertainment, *svadobná nôta* retains its associations with the traditional wedding in the particular locality, and thus retains its function of a symbol of local identity.

Chapter 5

Poetic features of texts sung to svadobné nôty

Traditional peasant poetry—of which wedding songs are a characteristic example—expresses individual emotions and views, associated with a variety of life situations and embedded in the social environment. The language of traditional poetry corresponds with the aesthetic taste and ethical views of the village community (Elscheková 1981: 280). Although most of the ceremonial wedding songs are focused on the bride, the texts use the persona of the bride as a channel to express the views and emotions of the whole community. In this sense, the texts of the wedding songs, whether sung to *svadobné nôty* or to individual tunes, can help us immensely to understand the collective mind and memory of the village people in Slovakia, their views of life and social issues (including their relation to nature, family, and community), their sense of humor and the ways they have used it, and their mores and values. In addition, the song texts provide us with valuable information on practical issues of everyday life, such as economic, agricultural, and household issues, as well as on ritual and performing practices.

We can distinguish several levels at which the text operates within a particular song genre. Text as the bearer of meanings (the semantic aspect) is realized through formal and poetic means (the poetic-structural aspect), where the text is intertwined with music (the music-structural aspect) in a more or less corresponding way to result in a distinct performing style that is inconceivable outside the specific social context. The

social aspect, in turn, determines the ability of the text to fulfill its communicative function. The following section examines these individual aspects of the poetic texts sung to *svadobné nôty*.

5.1 Motivic and thematic areas in relation to the ceremonial aspect

We have seen in the previous chapter that the songs sung to *svadobné nôty* belong to the fixed song repertoire associated almost exclusively with the traditional wedding ceremony and its specific ritual moments. The Žakarovce material shows that the song's association with the particular moment works primarily through the text, and in Žakarovce as well as in other villages the semantic link between the song texts and the respective ceremonial moments is usually explicit. Table 3 summarized the significance and occurrence of the local wedding melody at the specific moments of the wedding sequence. Using the same Roman numerals for designating the phases, Table 4 illustrates the distribution of text motifs according to their connection with specific moments of the ceremony and summarizes the most characteristic motifs of the wedding songs sung to *svadobné nôty*.

Table 4
Distribution of text motifs sung to *svadobné nôty* according to their connection with specific moments of the ceremony

Phase	Text motives	Village
I. pre-wedding evening	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - do not cry, my darling, they sew a dress for you - weave your golden braids - money clinging, it is yours, Anička - consider it well, so that you do not cry - my green wreath, I will give it to my lover 	ZnB NB, SB Sel Žak

II. on the way to the bride	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - we are going – up the steep hill we do not know where, do not know the path we enter where the light is shining we will go where is water, where is a girl smiling - we do not know the path, good people will tell us - tell us, our neighbors, where do the Richtars live - they live over there where the painted windows are where those broken doors are - tell us, what kind of girl she is - Janko is coming from the lower end, prepare the tables - we are coming from the lower end, cover the tables - do not get scared, wedding mother, it is not a lot of us coming - they are already coming for me, from that other side of the hill - the roe drinking water, where is the lad who will not kill her 	<p>all</p> <p>Slav. all Nitra</p> <p>Nitra Jelis VFol,Žak VFol,Žak Žak Led</p>
III. in front of the bride's house	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - God bless you [arrival] - open the door, wedding mother new family wedding family - we are coming from far away, we are cold - welcome, tell us what you want do not ask for anything - why did you come, we have nothing we give you nothing - let us come in, at least in the front yard - give us what you are supposed to give your Anička, we were sent by Janičko's mother - we will give her to you - we will not get off [the carts, horses] until we see Hanička 	<p>ZnB all</p> <p>all Sel Mzál Dbad</p> <p>Kysuce,Sel Kys, Dbad Kys, Sel</p> <p>MZál</p>
IV. when the bride leaves her parents' house	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - farewell – the hillsides my mother's door knobs my father's thresholds - stay well, my mother's door knobs... - as the quiet wind blows, the daughter says goodbye to her mother - bake, mother, a cake for I am leaving you - unweave your golden braids, the bride is crying for them - lead me slowly through the broad field, my girlfriends, thank you - look at the cloud, as your father is crying - kneel down, your father is crying for you - do not cry, Marinko - you gave me over - I will go to pick up what I lost at my father's house - my mother, am I not yours anymore? - Hanička cried that she must leave her mother - I had a good time at my mother's house - mother, you had only me, and you gave me away to another village 	<p>Ochod Sel, Nitra</p> <p>Sel, Kys Kys, Slav Rad SB, Slav Koj Koj Žak Koj Žak Koj Josi all Slav Nitra</p>

V. on the way to the church	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - we are going to the nuptials - Saint Nicholas, measure our journey, make our journey straight, for we are going to the nuptials bless our journey, - sun, warm us up, we are going to the nuptials - God help the groom, God help the bride - lead me through the village so that I say goodbye - whip my horses, call them, so that our road gets broader - on the Jaklovce tower two pigeons are sitting, they like each other - to the church they go each alone, from the church they go as a couple - they lead (drive) Anička, she is crying - a girl went for water, lost her freedom - she dropped her green wreath to the well, when the black-eyed lad came over 	<p>Sel, Kys Kys, Slav DBad, Sel Slav Sel DBad DBad MZál Jak all Spiš Čič Čič Čič</p>
VI. after the church ceremony, on the way back to wedding houses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - the wedding is coming from the hill, cover the tables - Anička you are ours already - we already paid for you, we exchanged the ring for your marriage/nuptials - look, Anička, at the tower, as your freedom is being tied up in a kerchief Marčo, at the church, as you exchanged your silver ring - to the church they go each alone, from the church they go as two - she will not come back home from the nuptials - those Újľak women have nothing else to do than to gossip on street - we are coming from the nuptials, fill our glasses, god bless your daughter (son) 	<p>SB, Nitra Čič, Kys Sel, Čič DBad Dbad, Nitra Koj all Spiš Žak Nitra Nitra</p>
VII. on the way to and in front of the in-laws' house	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - open the door, mother, we lead a Pilate who will sit on your neck - we are coming, we do not know the path - look forward, mother, to your daughter-in-law - get off the wagon, do not sit there like a goat [to the bride] - give us a spoonful of honey, we brought you the young bride - open the door, we are coming from far away, bringing an ignorant chicken - poor bride who come to that mother-in-law - do not be afraid, Anička, that you will be hungry in the Kovács' house - come out, old mother, with a jar of wine to welcome your son with borovička to welcome your daughter-in-law - how are you going to welcome me, mother - dear mother-in-law, why you do not want me? - whether you want us or not - what did you come here for? you did not work here, you will not eat here either - old Kuric mother stands behind the door, being anxious of her daughter-in-law - if I only know where I am to be a daughter-in-law, I would – swipe the road to that house go wash the banks cheer up my mother-in-law - we are bringing an ignorant chicken 	<p>Kys all Kys Kys Sel Fač DBad DBad MZál MZál Koj, Žak all Spiš VFol VFol Josi Žak Nitra</p>
VIII. the wedding feast	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - let us sit at the tables - [teasing of the individual wedding functionaries] – groomsmen, bridesmaids, cooks, <i>starejší</i>, godmother, godfather, groom, bride, neighbor, sister-in-law, mother-in-law, hosts, etc. - poor wedding, I wish it lasted till fall - I was at the wedding, I had a good time - I will not marry a widow(er) - [teasing songs about wine, spirits and drinking] - my lover is getting married, he did not invite me to his wedding - [to an orphaned bride] look who is missing on your wedding, my mother, she lies in the black earth, I will go and complain to her - let us go home, they gave us nothing to drink and eat - sing, my girlfriends until you are single - mother, you married me, as if you gambled me off in cards - eat, Anička, the soup, so that you have a nice daughter (son) 	<p>Kys all Čič Jelis Čič all Čič DBad MZál Koj Jak</p>

IX. taking-off of the bridal wreath	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - look, Hanička, at the rock on which you swore at the ceiling, so that your children have black eyes curly hair to the corner, behind the fireplace, so that you have a boy first - I will not go to the chamber, I am afraid of a monster to sleep to the chamber - my girlfriends, help me to cry, you will not wait for me anymore 	<p>O, NB all Jelis, Led all MZál</p> <p>MZál, Nitra</p>
X. cap ceremony	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - when they put the bonnet on your head, look at the ceiling so that... behind the fireplace so that... - my yellow hair, I sold you for a piece of sausage - when the white rose blossomed, mother braided the daughter's hair; mother, not too firm, I won't be yours for long - women, let us go to the cap [ceremony] 	<p>Spiš</p> <p>Jak, Žak Nitra</p> <p>Nitra</p>
XI. bridal dance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - [texts not related directly to the phase; teasing of individual wedding functionaries] - Lord in heaven is happy to see Anička dancing with her mother (father, sister, etc.) 	<p>Spiš Jelis, Josi</p>
XII. the end of the wedding	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - let us go home, villagers - let us go away, they do not like us, they pass by us with empty glasses - we are leaving, we do not care about you, the dogs should eat you here - good health to that house where we had a good will 	<p>MZál, Nitra Nitra Nitra</p>

The association with the ceremonial moment can be revealed through commentary on the specific situation or, less directly, through the poetic symbols. Since the examples of the former, as written out in Table 4 and partly discussed in the previous chapter, are rather obvious, I will briefly discuss the latter. Texts using symbolic language, including metaphors and characteristic epithets, show a greater mobility within the ceremony or, in other words, their connection with particular moments seems to be less apparent. However, even today, some of the symbols remain firmly associated with certain phases, at least in the consciousness of the village people. For example, the motif of advising the bride to look back at the local tower where her freedom is being “tied up,” “caught,” or otherwise “imprisoned,” sung in many villages, can be performed at any moment of the first part of the wedding, but it is usually associated with the bride’s departure from her home and sung on the way to or from the church, as it connotes the

separation rites.¹ The motifs of saying good-bye to all kinds of non-human objects, such as the sun, the mountains, the door-knobs, thresholds, courtyards, as well as to the attributes of maiden life (green wreath, yellow hair) and to the activities associated with the maidenhood are spread throughout the phases I, IV, V, and VI. Saying good-bye means also the acceptance of the new reality and the agreement to undergo that passage to another world. These motifs, sung to *svadobné nôty*, emblemize the transition phase of the wedding ceremony.

The motifs with less or no direct connection to the specific moment usually belong to the *prekáračky*, humorous songs, drinking songs, and courting songs, sung during the wedding feast. While the texts of the *prekáračky*, although not necessarily belonging to the specific moment, clearly reflect on the wedding context,² the motifs of some drinking songs and love songs are mobile in terms of their ability to fluctuate beyond the context of the wedding ceremony. While there are not many courting texts connected with *svadobné nôty* in my fieldwork material from Slovakia,³ they are more frequent in Slovak villages of Slavonia, which, I believe, results from the preservation of idiosyncratic features in this cultural and linguistic enclave. There the local melody, whether we call it *svadobná* or use the local Slavonian-Slovak term *svad'ebška*, is spread over many texts, allowing for a focus on words and enabling singers to nourish and preserve their mother tongue in a foreign environment, which lacks the conditions for any

¹ The motif can be found for instance in song texts Koj2 and 9.4; Nit1.7, 1.8, and 21.1; F6; Čič6; DBad5.

² See pohárkové songs in Selec (Sel8, 9, and 68; SN Sel-8 and Sel-9, transcr. 13 and 14), which are strongly connected with the wedding, teasing specific wedding functionaries and humorously depicting particular aspects.

³ See the courting songs in Čičmany, Čič2, 8, 24 sung to the same *svadobná nôta* Čič-2 (transcr. 8); and in Malé Zálužie MZál-1 (transcr. 1).

formal cultivation of the native language (a school or a cultural organization).⁴

Apart from the identification of motifs according to their connections with ceremonial moments, we can identify several categories of motivic and thematic areas according to the various aspects they reflect and functions they may fulfill:

- motifs explicitly commenting on the course of the ceremony, or introducing certain situation, such as *ideme na sobáš* (we are going to the nuptials), *už ideme od sobáša* (we are coming from the nuptials), *pome ženi k čepu* (let us, women, go to perform the cap ceremony), *pomali ma vecce, kamarátky moje* (lead me slowly, my friends), *ovárajte dvere, ideme zdaleka* (open the door, we are coming from far away), etc.

- motifs reminding us of earlier magical images and practices; *zimozel* and *rozmarin* (the greens and rosemary) served a prophylactic function in the *vencové* songs (preparation of the bridal wreath and bridal dress); instructions for the bride to do certain activities to ensure fertility or the desired gender of the first-born child; the bride's farewell to magical places in the parents' house, such as the threshold, fireplace, table, etc.

- motifs of the bride's crying, connected particularly with the moments of separation from the parents but appearing as well in other phases of the wedding ceremony; these were supposedly designed to ensure abundance and happiness;

⁴ Slovaks living in Slavonia since about the middle of the 19th century were not able to use their language in church or in school, and lacked any cultural organization to support their cultural identity. Needless to say, in the linguistically related environment it must have been extremely difficult to preserve the mother tongue without these supporting institutions. Traditional folklore, including songs, probably played a very important role in maintaining the Slovak language in the informal context of everyday community life (Važanová-Horáková 1999: 167).

- motifs describing the bride's future life, focusing mainly on its negative aspects; the negative, but often humorous depiction of the mother-in-law and the groom, including their harsh treatment of the bride, might originally have served a ritual function (laughter as a means of protection against harmful powers); turning the most fearful images of a woman's life into fun may be also interpreted as an important social weapon of village women who, through performing these songs, on the one hand encouraged the bride and manifested their distance, control, or understanding, while at the same time they confirmed and reinforced the culturally established notion of the bride's new status and the stereotypical images of patriarchal family relationships;

- motifs reflecting the aesthetic and ethical norms of the village society can be read between the lines of many texts, including the humorous ones, with the most apparent examples in Nitra (27.8-9), (77) and Selec (3.5-6);

- the category of motifs with humorous depiction and teasing of the individual functionaries is most typical of the wedding feast (phase VIII); while today its entertaining function prevails, in the past it probably played several ritual roles (protection, ensuring health, prosperity, fertility, etc.).

When compared with other traditional verbal expressions, such as ceremonial greetings and wishes performed by male dignitaries (*starý svat, starejší, pytač, oddavač*) at various points of the wedding, which use many Christian motifs and biblical stories to underline the concept of marriage as an expression of God's will,⁵ the ceremonial wedding songs studied use Christian symbols sparingly and for a different purpose. The motifs of asking God or a saint for help, appearing in just a few songs, have the character

⁵ The issue was discussed in relation to the *vencové* songs by Urbancová (1997 and 2005a).

of a ritual introduction of the song or the strophe, such as *bohu vás porúčam, mamičkine klučki* (in God I am leaving you, my mother's door knobs, Nit1.1, transcr. 4) as the variant of a broadly known farewell motif *zbohom ostávajte*. In the song *Bože nám pomáhaj, pane Jezu Kriste, aj mladému zaťu, aj mladej neveste* (God help us, Lord Jesus Christ, help the young groom as well as the young bride, DBad3; transcr. 6), the Christian motif reflects the syncretic nature of the wedding ceremony, as it combines the religious aspect with the ritual request for protection during the period of transition when the young couple was believed to be most vulnerable. The most frequent is the motif of asking the *svetí Mikuláš* (Saint Nicholas) who, according to many legends, was the patron of the innocent and the vulnerable,⁶ for protection on the way to the church. The fact that sometimes the sun or other natural forces are asked for help (such as in Sel3.1) supports the point made.

If the melody is iconic for the local wedding tradition, the text motifs, even when spread all over the country, also take on some local flavor. This is evident in several respects. First, the same text has local variants, known and recognized by people as their own: such as *Svatí Mikulášu, meraj cestu našu* (Saint Nicholas, measure our road/journey) in Josipovec, while *rovnaj* (make it straight), or *žehnaj* (bless it) is used in Selec, Kysuce, and elsewhere. Second, even today, when the standard Slovak language is used in everyday communication, the regional and local dialects are consistently used in the traditional song texts.⁷ The third and strongest identifiers of local traditions are the toponyms, which are often referred to at the crucial moments of the ceremony (*badínska*

⁶ According to the website <http://www.catholic-forum.com/saints/saintn01.htm>.

⁷ Moreover, the texts of the ceremonial wedding songs, containing an archaic vocabulary and older linguistic features, help to preserve the historical layers of language (Urbancová 1997: MS).

veža, bistrická veža, žakarovska turňa, badínsky zvonček, kojšovský koscel, čo sa stalo f Čičmanoch d'ed'ňe, etc.).⁸

5.2 Poetic means and structure

The texts of Slovak wedding songs are generally strophic. The strophes sung to *svadobné nôty* usually consist of four six-syllable verses, with one such quatrain corresponding to one melodic strophe (the *svadobná nôta* itself).⁹ About 75% of the material analyzed conforms to this rule, if we eliminate interjections and repetitions added to individual verses in order to fit the melody.¹⁰ The rest of the texts can be divided into two groups. One consists of strophes with four eight-syllable lines (four instances, plus one with 8787-syllable lines), which all have a humorous character with little connection to ceremonial aspects of the wedding and a closer relation to lyrical love songs (*svadobné nôty Čič-2, Milj-10.5, ZGaj-9.8, and Sel-8*; transcr. 8, 30, 33, and 13). The second group, which at first glance can be considered as two-line-strophes, calls for further explanation. None of these texts corresponds with the respective melody in its two-verse form; instead, either one line is repeated to fit the three-part melodic strophe (such as in *svadobné nôty NB-7, MZál-3, and Nit-2*; transcr. 18, 2, and 5),¹¹ or a quatrain is divided into two couplets of two six-syllable lines each, both of which are sung to the two-part melodic strophe (as in *NB-5, Sel-3, Milj-10.1, ZGaj-9.4, Jos-6.6, and Led-8.2*;

⁸ The Badín (Bystrica, Žakarovce) tower, the Badín bells, the Kojšov church; what happened in Čičmany village, etc.

⁹ The typical examples are texts to *svadobné nôty Nit-1, Sel-2, VFol-1, etc.*

¹⁰ Such as *Koj2, VFol2, Jak1*, all the Kysuce and Slavonia variants of the *svadobná nôta Klu1, etc.*

¹¹ *Svadobná nôta NB-7* has 6|:5:| syllables, the *MZál-3* and *Nit-2* have 8|:9:|8 syllables, including an interjection “ej.”

transcr. 17, 12, 29, 32, 27, and 28). The texts sung with *svadobné nôty* are basically built on four six-syllable lines, while two-line strophes are exceptional, and three-line strophes entirely absent, in our material.

It is characteristic for a text fluctuating between different *svadobné nôty* that, depending on the melodic form, one and the same text can be variously structured. I will demonstrate this on one of the most well-known text motifs (mentioned already in chapter 4), which is almost iconic for the on-the-way moments of the wedding ceremony. In its basic form it represents a quatrain with six-syllable lines:¹²

Id'eme, id'eme, chodníčka ňevieme, dobří ľud'ia ved'ia, oňi nám poved'ia.	We are going, going, not knowing the path, good people know, they will tell us.
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In order to fit the specific *svadobná nôta*, one or more lines can be preceded by the interjection *ej*, or *hej*, thus changing the respective line to a seven-syllable verse, such as in *Klu-1* (transcr. 15):

Id'eme, id'eme,
chodníčka ňevieme,
ej, dobrí ľud'ia ved'ia,
ej, oni nám poved'ia.

In Slavonian-Slovak villages, the same text is structured in couplets with the second line repeated in order to fit the three-phrase melodic form:¹³

1. Id'eme, id'eme, /:ej, chodníčka ňevieme.:/	1. We are going, going /:ey, not knowing the path.:/
2. Dobří ľud'ia ved'ia,	2. Good people know,

¹² It appears as such in ZnB-5 (transcr. 24) in my fieldwork material, and in the variants published in the SLEP (vol. 2, nos. 218 from the Liptov region, 405 from the Gemer region, and 563 from the Novohrad region; vol. 4, no. 17 from the Trenčín region), and in BartókI (nos. 21b, 21d, and 31b).

¹³ Examples Milj10.2, and ZGaj9.11, both sung to the same *svadobná nôta*.

/:ej, oňi nám poved'ia.:/

/:ey, they will tell us:/

In some regions, the texts sung to certain *svadobné nôty* developed a very specific verse organization. For instance, the texts to the *svadobná nôta* from Klubina Klu1 and its regional variants in both the Kysuce region and in Slavonian-Slovak villages (Croatia) inhabited by the 19th-century migrants from Kysuce are performed in bi-strophes, whereas the second strophe is based on the repetition of the third and fourth lines of the first strophe (e.g., *i, ii, iii, iv* in the 1st strophe is followed by *iii, iii, iv, iv* in the second strophe, sung to the same melodic strophe) and, when separated, it loses its meaning:

1st text strophe=melodic strophe of the *SN*:

Id'eme, id'eme
chodníčka ňevieme,
ej, dobrí ľud'ia ved'ia,
ej, oni nám poved'ia.

We are going, going,
not knowing the path,
ey, good people know,
ey, they will tell us.

2nd text strophe=melodic strophe of the *SN*:

Dobří ľud'ia ved'ia,
dobří ľud'ia ved'ia,
ej, oňi nám poved'ia,
ej, oňi nám poved'ia.¹⁴

Good people know,
good people know,
ey, they will tell us,
ey, they will tell us.

Since the Slovaks in Slavonia perform the texts to different *svadobné nôty* with this arrangement of verses, we can assume that this practice was particularly favored in Kysuce as early as the middle of the 19th century (i.e., at and before the time of migration to Slavonia). The evidence of the common use of bi-strophes can be observed in the way informants performed the songs, and in the content of the songs, where two strophes usually form a semantic unit.

The verse in Slovak traditional poetry, like Russian or Czech verse, can be

¹⁴ See the text variants sung to the same *svadobná nôta* Klu6, R1, R2, R7, SB6, and Josi6.2, 6.3, and 6.4. The same practice connected with two other *svadobné nôty* can be also observed in Milj10.6, and Jelisl.23, 1.25 and 1.27.

described as syllabic accentual (Jakobson 1960: 361), or syllabo-tonic (Hrabák 1958: 74), having a constant number of syllables and possessing a certain distribution of accents within the line, which produce a specific rhythmic flow of the melody. The alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables follow the word accents, which in Slovak always fall on the first syllable.¹⁵ However, when the word is preceded by a monosyllabic word, such as a preposition, the accent is shifted to that word. Vice versa, when the monosyllabic word is in the middle of the verse, it is not accented in order to avoid having two stressed syllables follow each other. For instance, in the verse from the previous example, *oňi nám poved'ia*, the first and the fourth syllable are stressed. It can also be seen that the length of the vowel (in *nám*) has no impact on word accentuation or on metric organization of the verse. For the six-syllable lines of the wedding songs studied, the combination of dactyl and trochee is most characteristic. In the previous example, the stress organization looks like this:¹⁶

—UU —UU
 —UU —UU
 —U —U —U
 —UU —UU

The verses are rhymed within the strophe, usually in the form of assonances. The most frequent rhyme structure is *abcb*,

Pozri sa, Aňička,
 na lapášsku vežu,
 už tvoju slobodu
 do ručníčka viažu.

Look, Anička,
 at the Lapáš tower,
 how your freedom
 is getting tied up in a kerchief.

and *aabb*:

¹⁵ An exception is the eastern Slovak dialect, in which word accent is given, as in the Polish language, on the penultimate syllable.

¹⁶ The metric and rhythmic correspondence between the text and music is discussed in the following chapter (section 6.3.4).

Vizriťe, vizriťe,
kolko nás vidíťe?
Nič více, nič více,
len štiri tisícce.

Look out, look out,
how many you see?
not more, not more
than four thousand.

The frequent repetitions of words within (as in the previous example) and between lines, along with interjections and diminutives, contribute to the metric coherence and euphony of the strophe. At the same time, it produces an incantational quality, which matches the ritual aspect and the symbolic stability of the melody.¹⁷

The Slovak wedding songs (along with other song genres in Slovak and other Slavic languages) are particularly rich in diminutives, some of which are used almost exclusively to represent certain objects and images, such as names of the bride and groom, *Anička*, *Janiček*; magical symbols and objects of nature, *slniečko* (sun),¹⁸ *vetriček* (wind), *chodníček* (path), *cestička* (road), *konički* (horses), *ružička* (rose), *perečko* (plume), *jablčko* (apple), *vieneček* or *venček* (bridal wreath), *ručníček* (kerchief), etc.; the parents, especially the mother, are usually referred to in diminutive form as *mamička*, *tatiček*, but also other family members, such as *švekrička* (mother-in-law), *sestrička* (sister), *mužiček* (husband), *ňevestička* (bride but also a daughter-in-law).

The diminutives are often used with constant epithets, such as *zelené perečko* (green plume), *zelení vieneček* (green wreath), *červené jablčko* (red apple), *vraní koniček* (black horse), *zelená trávička* (green grass). Other frequent epithets include *zlaté vláski*, *zlaté vrkoče* (golden hair, golden braids), *šíre pole* (wide field), *biele rúčky*, *biele nuožki* (white hands, white feet), *novotná rodina* (new family), *švárne dieuča*, *švární mládenec* (pretty girl, handsome boy). When compared with love songs and other non-ceremonial

¹⁷ Krader refers to the singing of the Serbian ritual wedding songs sung to one melody as havin an “incantational quality” which is “matched by the words” (1955: 623).

¹⁸ The English translations here all refer to diminutive forms.

genres, epithets in the ceremonial wedding songs are used rather economically, corresponding with the generally concise character of the poetic expression in texts sung to *svadobné nôty*.

Parallelism and comparison, often combined with gradation, are frequent and typical means of describing the bride's situation, commenting on the course of the ceremony, or teasing the wedding functionaries. An example of the parallelism of two contrasting images:

Slniečko ohrálo,
ďieuča zaplakalo.

The sun warmed up,
the girl started to cry.

A ten koník prevelice skáče,
a Anuška prežalostne plače.

And that horse is springing vigorously,
and Anuška is crying heavily.

Examples of comparison:

Hybaj z toho voza,
ňesed' ako koza.

Get off that wagon,
do not sit like a goat.

A ten náš Janíček,
to je hodní chlapec,
a tá vaša Anka,
nevie chleba napiect'.

And that Janíček of ours,
he is a good boy,
and that Anka of yours,
she cannot even bake bread.

The example from Jaklovce demonstrates how the use of several mentioned poetic means—comparison, gradation, irony, and hyperbole—result in a concise, but very proper depiction of the bride's perspective on getting married:

Už sce mje, mamičko,
už sce me vidali,
jak bi ste me buli
na kartoch prehrali.

You, my mother, already,
married me,
as if you had
gambled me away in cards.

Na kartoch prehrali,
na ríne prepili,
už ste me mamičko,
napoli zabili.

In cards gambled me away,
in the market drank me off,
you already, my mother,
half killed me.

The internal structure of texts is usually descriptive or discursive. The bride's voice is used to ask the parents, friends, and the ritual objects to do certain activities or, vice versa, not to forget her, not to leave her, etc. On the other hand, the bride and other persons are addressed by a third neutral voice that can be attributed to the chorus of girls or women, but is not specified as such. The discursive form is typical for *prekáračky* and for the songs representing dialogue between the two wedding groups, for instance when the groom's suite arrives at the bride's house, or when the two groups tease each other on the way to and from the church.

5.3 Functional correlation between the text and melody

Although traditional song exists through both texts and music, the two do not necessarily fulfill the same function, nor do they have the same place in the context of traditional culture. The songs sung to *svadobné nôty* are good examples of this. There are several aspects that make the relationship between text and melody anything but straightforward.

First, it seems relevant to touch upon the issue of what exactly village people mean when they use the term "song." Is it the text, the tune, or the specific combination of both? My fieldwork experience in Slovakia and Croatia (among both Croats and Slovaks) shows that people distinguish individual songs according to their texts, and usually identify the song with its lyrics. People often recite the text first instead of singing it (and this usually happens with text sung to a common local melody, such as a *svadobná nôta*), and they designate specific songs by referring to their text incipit. When we discussed what kinds of wedding songs were sung at the wedding, the woman in Fačkov

clearly indicated that, when people talk about *pesničky* (songs), they mean the texts of the songs:

Diverse *pesničky* [songs] were sung, only the *nuota* [tune] was this same one; to all of those *pesničky* one *nuota*...(Fačkov, 12 July 2001)¹⁹

Second, with so many texts sung to one *svadobná nôta*, how are individual songs identified as distinct units? The women usually perform *svadobné nôty* in rounds/bunches, singing one song text after another, so that it is difficult to distinguish the end of one song from the beginning of another. As indicated above, the individual songs seem to be conceived according to their textual qualities (i.e., their thematic and motivic coherence), and the usual practice consists of singing two to four strophes of text as a semantically coherent unit. My attempts to discuss this aspect with singers usually proved unsuccessful, because the singers' responses were indifferent, such as "the songs were sung one after another," "the wedding guests would start with any of the strophes," or "the songs were attached to each other like this," etc. When women (during my fieldwork) were allowed to sing without interruption they would sing all the strophes as one song. Only when asked about specific strophes would they provide more information on the singing context and, eventually, further differentiation of the text. In terms of the relationship between the text and melody, the strophic character and fixed syllabic structure of the text foster the periodicity and recognition of the specific melody.

Third, the fact that the same text with its variants can be found all over the country, sometimes even crossing ethnic boundaries, while in each locality or region

¹⁹ In Slovak: "Všelijaké sa spievali, len nuota bola takto, jednaká. Na šetky tie pesničky jedna nuota."

taking on a specific musical image, raises the question of what purpose is served by each aspect of the song. May the text reflect the explicit content of the ceremonial practice and the concept of wedding tradition, while a locally known tune provides the form through which the messages are delivered more clearly? We may hypothesize about possible purposes and functions of the text and music, whether shared or different for each aspect, and we should think of those functions as shifting and changing over time. We can also differentiate between immediate functions (specific songs linked to concrete situations) and more general or long-term ones.²⁰

In summary, the poetic features of songs sung to *svadobné nôty* can be characterized as concise verbal expressions that use minimal means to maximal effect. Their conciseness serves a double purpose: it contributes to the ceremonial aspect of the performance while enabling the text to fluctuate between and to fit to different melodies. In contrast, the multi-syllabic complex texts that are typical for non-ceremonial genres such as lyrical love songs, ballads, military songs, and shepherd songs, are less flexible and must be performed to individual, structurally corresponding, fixed melodies.

²⁰ Some specific examples were given in chapter 3.1.

Chapter 6

Musical aspects of svadobné nôty

In chapter one I defined a “genre” as a specific constellation of several aspects including function (occasion), text (poetics), and music, and suggested that *svadobné nôty* along with the texts sung to them can be considered as the core of the genre of wedding songs. The analysis of texts in relation to the ceremonial moments to which they are linked shows a fundamental semantic coherence between the poetic messages and particular ritual moments. I theorized about the role of *svadobné nôty* as a musical symbol of local wedding traditions and as a melodic symbol of stability in the traditional wedding ceremony, during which the bride went through a major social and biological transition. Indeed, the melodic consistency appears to be the principal and iconic feature of these tunes. Nevertheless, we may ask whether it is possible to identify within *svadobné nôty* music-stylistic aspects that would support the hypotheses put forward in the previous sections.

The music analysis indicates that the majority of *svadobné nôty*, identified as such among the wedding songs from my fieldwork material and published collections, display features distinguished by ethnomusicologists as typical of older layers of Slovak traditional songs. If we accept the hypothetical historic-genetic account of the development of Slovak traditional music (which will be briefly discussed in the following paragraphs), then the archaism and homogeneity of the music-stylistic features of *svadobné nôty* may correspond with both melodic stability and enhancement of rituality.

In this section I will outline the results of the analytical process that brought me to the hypothesis articulated above. The following discussion will encompass (1) the theoretical precedents developed in Slovak ethnomusicology, (2) explanation of the analytical procedure and terminology, and (3) description of particular musical parameters of *svadobné nôty*.

6.1 Theory of development of the Slovak folk song

The systematic theory of Slovak traditional music has been developed by Jozef Kresánek, a composer, musicologist, and music theorist, whose interest in traditional music emerged from his long-term quest for the essence and development of “musical thinking.”¹ Exploring his concept of musical thinking in three books (1977, 1982, and 1994), he brilliantly elaborated on theoretical, historical, and systematic aspects of the human process of creating, interpreting, and perceiving musical phenomena. Interestingly, the basis for the formulation of the essential ideas in his concept of musical thinking was provided by studying and analyzing Slovak traditional songs.

Kresánek believed and wanted to prove that the traditional singer and musician is led by some kind of autochthonous musical thinking that he called “folk musical imagination” (*ľudová hudobná predstavivosť*), which he understood as a collection of “subconsciously felt norms,” “an abstract circle,” to which people attach the songs not as definite pieces, but selecting, adding, and changing them permanently. A transcription of a specific song represents just a variant of an ever-developing musical image, and each individual variant represents a document, an example of traditional musical imagination

¹ In Slovak, *hudobné myslenie*, a specific kind of thinking analogous to the logical kind, incorporating an interaction of musical, psychological, and aesthetic phenomena.

(Kresánek 1997 [1951]: 17). Therefore, Kresánek thought it was possible to study folk musical thinking by exploring the structural principles of traditional music.

Searching for a structural parameter that would most accurately reflect the stylistic nature and stratification of Slovak traditional songs, Kresánek critically reviewed all previous attempts to analyze and classify Slovak folk songs by Slovak, Czech, and Hungarian musicians and ethnographers. Most of them, including Bartók's multilayered lexicographic system,² were developed to distinguish features of other music traditions, and did not reflect the musical peculiarities of the Slovak material. Although several Slovak authors, such as Bella (1873), Kadavý (1880), Fajnor (1881), and Lichard (1934) pointed to the remarkable tonal features in Slovak folk melodies, they viewed them in relation to Gregorian chant, the church modes, and the Greek system of modes. Kresánek's systematic study of these songs and his ability to view them in a broader context of the repertoires of neighbouring cultures, art music, and church music brought him to the conclusion that it was, indeed, tonality that seemed to be the most distinguishing parameter of the Slovak songs, a parameter reflecting that essentially "melodic" thinking of the Slovak peasants. However, he challenged and re-evaluated the impact of church music, supporting his arguments not only with music-structural but also with historical and ethnographical observations. On the one hand, tonality seemed to be the most stable factor, the most immune to the variation processes. On the other hand, Kresánek realized that the richness and diversity of tonal material is linked to the regional diversity of the country and its character as a crosspoint of Western and Eastern cultural

² Bartók analyzed the material of Slovak folk songs collected in 1906-1918 according to the following criteria: (1) number of melodic lines, (2) presence or absence of dotted rhythm, (3) number of syllables, and (4) final tones of particular melodic verses (see Bartók 1959: 90-95).

elements (Urbancová 2004: 55).

Taking tonality as the basic principle and the criterion of analysis, he created a lexical and developmental system of Slovak folk songs. Kresánek took as a theoretical basis for his investigation the melodic principle of the formation of scales, as developed by Riemann in his *Folkloristische Tonalitätstudien* (1916) but mainly by Kresánek's teacher Jozef Hutter, who considered and analyzed all the possibilities of scale formation on a melodic basis.³ Kresánek observed that the *arioso* type of melody was much more prominent in Slovak folk songs than the recitative type, and therefore Slovak melodies were rarely based on one central tone. Instead, he suggested that "the melodic thinking in the old Slovak songs is linked to at least two tones, which are in a constant relation to each other" (Kresánek 1997[1951]: 89).⁴ The two central tones thus create a tonal framework, which determines the initial and final tones of the melody. The tonal framework or skeleton gets more complex as more tones are involved in its tectonic function. However, all tonal skeletons can be theoretically derived from the two fundamental ones, based on a perfect fourth, or on a triad. The former provides the basis for the tetrachordal (*tetrachordálny*) system, the latter for the triadic (*kvintakordálny*) system. Later Kresánek accepted the suggestion of A. Elscheková and O. Elschek (1962, II, 5-7) to replace the term *tetrachordálny*, which referred to a succession of four tones rather than to the framework of the interval of a fourth, by a more appropriate term *kvarttonálny*. The other term, *kvintakordálny*, seemed to limit the entire tonal material based on the interval of a fifth to one with the tonal basis of a major or minor triad, and therefore, it has been altered to *kvinttonálny*. These terms appear in some English

³ Hutter, Jozef, *Melodický princip stupnicových řad*. Praha 1929.

⁴ Translated from the Slovak original by J.V.

translations as *fourth-tonal* and *fifth-tonal*, and in German as *quarttonal* and *quinttonal* (Elscheková 1997: 33; 1989: 121).

Kresánek built an elaborate system of melodic development of these tonal bases according to various types of tetrachords, their connection (authentic or plagal), and the interconnections of the two systems in terms of various connections of tetrachords and triads. Applying this system of analysis to the tonal structure of Slovak traditional song, and taking into consideration the historical and cultural aspects of its particular genres, he was able to distinguish four music-structural layers corresponding to the historical socio-economic stratification of Slovak culture: (1) *kvarrtónálne* songs, typical of the old peasant genres of magic-ritual songs, lullabies, harvest songs, and wedding songs; (2) *kvinttónálne* songs, linked to the shepherds' culture of Wallachian colonization; (3) new major and minor harmonic songs that reflected influences of urban culture and art music; and (4) neo-Hungarian songs (*novouhorské*), created under the influence of Hungarian urban music transmitted mainly by Roma musicians. The first two styles, designated as “old songs,” are distinguished from the latter two by the linkage of their melodic material to the tonal framework defined by more than one central tone. Therefore they are also referred to as “pre-harmonic” tonal structures, in contrast to “new, harmonic tonality” based on the centrality of one tone. These four essential music-structural strata of Slovak folk song reflect four phases of the development of folk musical thinking or, in Kresánek's terms, of the *folk musical imagination*, the understanding of which he saw as an ultimate scholarly goal.

Kresánek's system was further elaborated by his students Alica and Oskár Elschek, whose intensive, systematic fieldwork in the 1950s provided a basis for the

development of their teacher's ideas. In addition to revising the terminology, they distinguished one more structural layer, the so-called *modal "interstratum"* a transitional layer between "old" and "new" songs, which replaced Kresánek's rather complicated system of "combinations" and "translations" of tetrachords and triads. This category involves tonal features that are described by Slovak scholars in terms of church modes and their plagal forms. The Elscheks adopted Kresánek's historical interpretation of the structure of Slovak folk songs with an important modification. They added to the main principle of his classification, tonality, other musical parameters, including the character and contour of melody, form, metric and rhythmic structure, and that structure's relation to the syllabic and strophic structure of the text. In doing so, they incorporated Kresánek's concept of the development of musical thinking into their concept of "historical music-stylistic strata" (Elscheková and Elschek 1962; 1982; Elschek 1981).⁵

The term "music-stylistic stratum" designates a specific constellation of music-structural phenomena (tonal, melodic, rhythmic, and formal) and non-musical factors, including the social, historical, and cultural determinants reflected in ceremonial, functional, genre, and text-semantic characteristics (Elscheková and Elschek 1980: 6-7). Kresánek and the Elscheks assumed that the development of the Slovak traditional musical culture was determined by an interaction of two contradictory forces, peasants' natural inclination toward traditionalism, and the everlasting search for the new, leading to transformation and innovation. Although the song repertoire and genre system were being stylistically expanded, with newer elements interspersed among older ones and resulting in transitional phenomena, the older music-stylistic strata were not just simply

⁵ For detailed information on musical strata of Slovak traditional songs, see Elscheková 1978.

replaced by newer ones, but coexisted within the local and regional traditions. Such a coexistence of “cultural layers” may help us comprehend the music-stylistic diversity typical of many regions of Central and Eastern Europe, including such small geographical areas as Slovakia.⁶

In her clarification of contexts in which the stylistic stratum shall be understood, Burlasová suggests the following structure of taxonomic categories from the most general to the most specific:⁷

style (regional, local)

-> stylistic stratum (based on various criteria but basically on genetic-structural understanding based on tonal features)

-> genre (a group of songs in which the same structural characteristics prevail, developed in dependence on its function)

-> type (represents a sum of variants; can stand for the real version of the song, or can be an abstract model containing all characteristic formal and functional features;)

-> an individual version of the song

Burlasová pointed out that stratum, genre, and type can overlap on some analytic levels, as when melodies from different genres are stylistically related. Analogously, one melodic type can penetrate to various genres, and vice versa, one genre can comprise a wide range of stylistic strata. This is particularly pertinent in wedding songs (Burlasová 1981: 369). In this respect, the traditional wedding ceremony seems to represent a cultural context allowing for the accumulation of historically different stylistic

⁶ A similar coexistence of cultural and stylistic layers was also identified in peasant music practices of Poland (Noll 1986: 4; 1989: 24). More on stylistic stratification in European traditions can be found in Elscheková (1981).

⁷ Based on Burlasová, 1981: 360-361.

phenomena, musical and non-musical (such as speech formulas, meanings of rituals, parts of traditional costume, etc.).

The origin and development of individual stylistic strata is determined by numerous external and internal factors (Elscheková and Elschek 1962/II: 17). The external factors (we can also call them non-musical) include geographical, social, economic, and cultural circumstances, and ethnic migrations. The internal (music-related) ones comprise the inter-regional and inter-ethnic influences, the impact of art and popular urban music, the collision between the principles of old and new melodic/tonal thinking, the mutual relationship of vocal and instrumental music, and transformations of the functional associations of certain genres (with ritual, dance, etc.).

Elscheková and Elschek (1982: 7ff) differentiated the individual strata by chronology and style as follows:

I. Songs of the “old” culture:

1. magic-ritual songs (calendar songs, ceremonial wedding songs, harvest songs, funeral dirges, children’s songs)
2. songs of the peasant culture (harvest and hay-making songs, wedding songs, dance songs of old style)
3. songs of the shepherd-Walachian culture
4. robbers’ songs

II. Stylistic interstratum of tonal-modal character (wedding and Christening songs, lyrical love songs, ballads)

III. New songs

1. older harmonic songs (love songs, soldier’s songs, humorous songs)
2. new harmonic songs of the neo-Hungarian type (love songs, soldiers’ and recruits’ songs)
3. new harmonic songs of the Western European type.

Stylistic features of the first category, magic-ritual songs, include recitative melody based on one tone or on the framework of a second or third, and non-strophic form consisting of four- to six-syllable lines. The second category of songs—songs of the peasant culture, which is the most important one for our analysis—includes songs with the tonal framework of a fourth (*kvarntonálne*) or fifth (*kvinttonálne*), melody progressing by steps, four-line open form,⁸ isometric six-syllable lines, and duple meter.

Comparative studies of the oldest strata of Slavic music traditions show affinities in both music-structural and functional respects.⁹ For the magic-ritual stratum, in which the musical aspect is subordinate to the text and ritual function as music assists in enhancing the ritual power of the ceremony, the recitative melody oscillating around one tone or between two adjacent (or skeletal) tones, is typical. The songs of the peasant culture have more developed and more individual melodies, which are commonly built on the framework of the interval of a fourth. The harvest songs are considered as the oldest and “purest” genre of this stylistic layer (Elscheková and Elschek 1962/II: 26; Demo and Hrabalová 1969).

One of the most distinct rhythmic aspects of the songs of the older strata is the gradual prolongation of rhythmic values within the motif or phrase, as if slowing down, called the “descending principle” by Slovak scholars, and regarded as typical not only for

⁸ Bartók calls this kind of structure “non-architectonic” (such as ABCD, ABBC), in contrast to “rounded” architectonic structure (ABBA, AABA). In the Slovak ethnomusicological literature the terms “open” and “closed” melodic form are used instead.

⁹ See Elscheková 1966, 1976; Kováčová 1989; Urbancová 1999; Kaufman 1968; Zemcovskij 1975, among others.

Slovak but also for Slavic traditional songs.¹⁰ Kresánek pointed out that the rhythmic motion in traditional Slovak songs is typically denser on the accented beats and becomes sparser on unaccented beats (Kresánek 1997[1951]: 201). In accordance with the spoken Slovak language, in which the stress usually comes on the first syllable or on the first word of the spoken phrase (or poetic verse), the beginnings of motifs and whole songs, especially those of older stylistic strata, are accented by the accumulation of notes of short rhythmic values, while getting alleviated by longer tones towards the end of the motif/phrase. Likewise significant is the “descending principle” in the melodic aspect of the older strata. The frequency of descending melodic motifs among *kvarտտոնալնե* and *kvintտոնալնե* songs, and the singers’ practice of starting the song with a strong voice in a high register and proceeding downwards, actually led Jozef Kresánek to constitute his theory of tonal skeletons on the descending principle, as he saw that the initial tone of the song (which often corresponded with the upper tone of the tonal framework in the older strata) was just as important as the final one. He compares this to the analogous phenomenon in the rhythmic aspect, the accumulation of energy at the beginning of the piece.

The *kvintտոնալնյ* style was developed under the influence of the migration of the Wallachian shepherds, who arrived in several waves between the 13th and the 17th century, and settled primarily in the mountainous areas of the country. Each new migration wave brought new musical elements, which were assimilated, transformed, and developed over the centuries. Therefore, the *kvintտոնալնա* culture in each area of Slovakia developed individually and retained its unique features. For instance, while in central and northern

¹⁰ See Kresánek 1997[1951]: 201 ff., 223 ff.; Elscheková and Elschek 1962/II: 30.

Slovakia it remained connected with the shepherds' way of life (and genres related with it), in the southern and western part of the country it was continually developed from the harvest and ceremonial *kvaritonálne* traditions through the gradual extension of the melody, usually below the lower tone of the framework of the interval of a fourth. Many examples of the transition between *kvaritonálny* and *kvintitonálny* styles can be found among the wedding songs (Elscheková and Elschek 1980: 117). A further development of the *kvintitonálne* melodies gave rise to songs based on the framework of a triad. In formal and rhythmic aspects, no significant changes between the two pre-harmonic stylistic strata are observed.

New elements of harmonic style may also have been gradually introduced to Slovak traditional music between the 15th and 17th centuries via (1) German folk songs (brought by migration of German craftsmen and miners, and through Czech folk songs), and (2) religious and secular music of German, Italian, and domestic provenance.¹¹ First steps towards the harmonic style can be observed in melodies that bring new tones, exceeding the interval of a fifth to reach a seventh or an octave. The centrality of skeletal tones is thus eliminated. Whereas in the older strata melodies usually descended from the highest tone to the lowest, in the transition to harmonic thinking the melody has an ascending character in the first portion of the song, culminates in the middle, and comes back to the lowest tone which becomes the central one. Such an arc-like melodic motion corresponds with the rhythmic contraction in the middle of the song, and with the closed

¹¹ Numerous 17th-18th-century music manuscripts preserved in Slovakia bring evidence of the penetration of harmonic elements into traditional genres. Some of the manuscript collections will be discussed in the following chapter.

(rounded) form (AABA, ABBA) that becomes typical for the new harmonic style.¹²

Such a differentiation of individual music-stylistic strata should be understood as an analytical and methodological tool for comprehending the historical and structural principles of the Slovak traditional musical culture. It is crucial to realize their character as abstract models, the application of which can lead us to discovering and differentiating the real music material in its cultural/geographical, structural, and functional (genre) diversity. Most importantly, in accord with Kresánek's legacy, music-stylistic strata can be understood as reflections of the development of traditional musical thinking.

Examining the place of *svadobné nôty* among music-stylistic strata as defined by the Elscheks, I hope to answer the following questions: How are the concept of music-stylistic strata and the concept of tonality as the main principle of "folk musical thinking" related to our quest for the function of *svadobné nôty*? To what extent do stylistic features of *svadobné nôty* correspond with what Slovak scholars refer to as "older" music-stylistic strata? How can the application of these theories assist us in supporting the hypothesis of *svadobné nôty* as a symbol of melodic stability?

6.2 Analytical procedure and terminology

The following description is based on the analysis of 50 tunes identified as *svadobné nôty* (i.e., they are associated with or have texts referring to several different moments of the wedding ceremony). Although many of them can be regarded as close melodic variants, I am treating them as individual pieces when making the quantitative evaluations, since each represents a tune that was preserved in the village where

¹² Bartók refers to the rhythmic contraction in the middle of the song as a typical Slovak phenomenon, calling it "Slovakian rhythm-contraction" (1981[1924]: 58).

I collected it.¹³ The examples of other *svadobné nôty* (about 50) excerpted from published collections will serve to support the analytical data.¹⁴ Some of these appear to be variants of the tunes from my fieldwork, while others are different melodies, which, according to their multiple texts associated with several moments of the wedding ceremony, function as *svadobné nôty*.¹⁵

The individual tonal categories defined by Kresánek and the Elscheks as *kvarťtonálne* and *kvintťtonálne* are composed of melodies based on the tonal framework of a fourth/fifth. The transcriptions provided in explanatory figures indicate the central tones of the tonal framework (using the note shape ♭) and the rest of the tonal material (note shape •). In some figures, the melodic contour of individual phrases is indicated besides the tonal characteristics. For easier comparison of music examples, they are transposed so that their final tone is g⁴. When referring to pitches, I am using their register names.

In her complex stylistic analysis of a sample of 571 wedding songs, including both ceremonial and non-ceremonial ones,¹⁶ Elscheková provided statistics of particular tonal types. Her analysis showed that about 61% of the wedding songs were built on the tonal skeletons of a fourth (13%) or a fifth (48%), i.e., pre-harmonic tonal frameworks typical of “older” stylistic strata (Elscheková 1989: 103-4). Especially the “fifth-tonality” (*kvintťtonalita*) is considered the most characteristic feature of traditional wedding songs not only in the Slovak tradition but also in a broader central- and eastern-European context (Važanová-Horáková 1999: 65-6; Elscheková 1989: 112-3). Among the 50 songs

¹³ The aspects of melodic variation with respect to melodic types are discussed in ch. 8.

¹⁴ Bartók I, SLP I-IV; *Slovenské ľudové piesne* I-IV (Hudec 1959; Poloczec 1952, 1959 and 1964); Járek and Luther (1989), and Elscheková and Elschek (1982).

¹⁵ The references to melodic and text variants will accompany the transcriptions.

¹⁶ The sample was selected from the songs published in four volumes of the anthology *Slovenské ľudové piesne*, Bratislava 1951-66.

transcribed from my fieldwork, 17 tunes (34%) are built on the skeleton of a fourth and 24 (48%) are based on the skeleton of a fifth, i.e., 82% of the material identified as *svadobné nôty* can be classified as pre-harmonic. The rest of the tunes (18%) are based on major-minor tonality (harmonic thinking). The numbers thus indicate that the tunes functioning as *svadobné nôty* are more likely to display the pre-harmonic tonal features than other subgenres of wedding songs, namely those connected freely or not at all with specific moments of the wedding sequence. A closer look at some individual tunes may show how tonality correlates with other parameters, such as melody, form, and rhythm, and whether the interconnection of these analytical elements supports the hypothesis that *svadobné nôty* belong to older music-stylistic strata of traditional songs. Although there is a stylistic interweaving between the tonal strata, for easier organization of my discussion and analysis I will examine each of the three groups, (1) fourth-tonal, (2) fifth-tonal, and (3) harmonic melodies, separately.

6.3 Description of musical features of *svadobné nôty*

6.3.1 Melodies based on the interval of a fourth

The statistics of tonal types of the wedding song that were referred to above indicate that melodies based on the framework of a fourth are in general less frequent. However, this tonal group is significantly represented in the *svadobné nôty*, although it is interwoven with elements that indicate the expansion of the tonal framework to the interval of a fifth.

The *svadobné nôty* *Sel-3* and *O-12* (Transcr. 12 and 20) represent the prototypes of *kvarrttonalita* as they do not exceed the skeletal interval of c^5 down to g^4 (Fig. 1a and

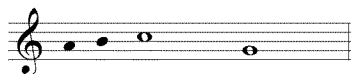
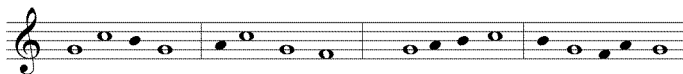
1b). Both tones are clearly emphasized in terms of their frequency and position (all melodic phrases in both songs end on g^4). The melodic variant of the latter from Dolný Badín (*DBad-3*, Transcr. 6)) descends to the subtonic at the end of the second phrase, which, despite the firm presence of the interval of a fourth, indicates one of the possibilities of transition from fourth- to fifth-tonality (Fig. 1c).¹⁷ The wedding tune from Selec (*Sel-2*, Transcr. 11)), associated mainly with the pre-wedding evening (when the bride and her girlfriends prepared the bridal wreath and collected money in it) is built on two descending tetrachords with a common tone g^4 , from g^4 to d^4 (first half) and from c^5 to g^4 (second half), and thus represents an example of what Kresánek calls a “plagal connection of tetrachords” (1951: 97) (Fig. 1d). The fact that the second melodic phrase has a variant in the above-mentioned *svadobná nôta Sel-3*, where the whole tune consists of that phrase alone, offers a look at the variation process as one of the most distinct features characterizing creation of the traditional songs. When examining the melodic types of *vencové* (wreath) songs in the Trenčín region, Urbancová pointed out that this technique of connecting smaller melodic units to larger formations was typical for many genres of ceremonial songs that were part of the rituals in which singing was dominant (Urbancová 1998).

Figure 1

a) *Sel-3*



¹⁷ Kresánek gives a similar example (1951: 141, ex.81) of the overlapping of the two tonal principles, a *svadobná nôta* to the text discussed in our previous section, *Ideme, ideme* (We are going, going).

b) *O-12*c) *DBad-3*d) *Sel-2*

The fourth as a tonal framework is significant in a tune that is widespread in Kysuce (*SB-2*, *R-1*, *Klu-1*, *NB-1*, *ZnB-5*; Transcriptions 23, 15, 21, 16, and 24) and among Croatian Slovaks (*Josip-6.2* and *6.3*, Transcr. 26). It appears in seven variants within my fieldwork material and in others that have been published.¹⁸ The examination of these variants demonstrates how the multipart performing style (typical of the Kysuce region and its Slavonian diaspora) may have led to inclusion of elements of harmonic thinking (major-minor tonality), such as a lower dominant fourth (d^4) and a leading tone ($f\#^4$) in the *kvarntonálne* melodies (Fig. 2). These two “harmonic” features are common even in older strata of traditional songs. They reflect the dynamics and flexibility of the melodic thinking albeit within the dominance of “pre-harmonic” rules, such as ending the phrases in unison on a central tone, and a minimal frequency of harmonic features. The lower fourth leading to the central tone usually appears only at the beginning of the melody (as in *NB-7*, Transcr. 18) and rarely appears in lower parts when performed with multiple voices, despite the natural possibility of such a chord.¹⁹

¹⁸ For example, SLP I-137, 201, 208, 260, all from the Orava and Kysuce regions.

¹⁹ The lower fourth appears in the lowest part only in two of the seven variants, both from Josipovac (Slavonia). Since in both cases the song starts on the central tone instead of the lower fourth, I am inclined to interpret this as the singers’ attempt to enrich the sonority of their multipart singing.

Figure 2



The group of variants of the song discussed in chapter 5.1 (*Jakl-7, Koj-14, Ž-17, and VFol-5, Transcr. 35, 38, 44, and 41*)²⁰ is widely spread in the Spiš region and exemplifies the flexibility of tonal material that fills out the space between the two skeletal tones c^5 and g^4 . The first half of the tune is built on a motif circling around c^5 and followed by a leap of a fourth down to g^4 . In the second half the melody oscillates between c^5 and g^4 using a minor third (b-flat), a minor second (a-flat), and a subtonic (f^4). Although the subtonic appears only once, it indicates the possibility of an expansion of the tonal framework to the interval of a fifth (Fig. 3).

Figure 3



The above-mentioned *svadobná nôta NB-7*, along with its variant *SB-1* (Transcr. 22), can serve as another example of a flexible relationship between *kvarttonálne* and *kvinttonálne* melodies. The melody, consisting of one phrase and a cadence, seems to be based on the interval of a fourth ($a^4 - d^5$), but its central position is constantly challenged by g^4 , until the *kvinttonalita* takes over in a descending scale from d^5 to g^4 , employing an augmented fourth ($c\#^5$) typical of this region (Fig. 4).

²⁰ See also music examples 1-1 and 1-2 in chapter 1.

Figure 4



The melody in all songs discussed proceeds primarily by steps, with occasional third or fourth leaps. Besides the beginnings (a leap from the lower fourth up to the central tone, mentioned above), a leap of a fourth often appears between the central tones g^4 and c^5 (*NB-1*, *SB-2*, *DBad-3*, *Sel-2*, *Sel-3*), and thus strengthens their significance as skeletal tones. Except for *Sel-3*, *SB-1*, and *NB-7*, which consist of two melodic lines, or two lines and a cadence, all the *svadobné nôty* discussed consist of four lines, organized in a repetitive form (such as AAAB, AABB, AA ν BB ν , AABC, ABCC) or an additive form (ABCD). However, the repetition or variation of one or two melodic motifs is more frequent than introduction of completely new melodic material in each line. The same can be said about the rhythmic organization of this tonal group, which is based on repetition or variation of only two rhythmic motifs. Table 5 below shows some examples of correlation between the melodic and rhythmic form, including the number of syllables per phrase.

It should be noted that all but one of these songs are performed in a parlando style, with prolongations of final tones of the melodic phrases or caesuras between them. This is not to say that they are free of an underlying metric pulse. Most of the examples discussed so far are based on a duple meter, which is recognizable behind the more or less recitative declamation. Only four songs (*O-12*, *Sel-2*, *Sel-3*, and *DBad-3*) can be regarded as metrically free in the sense of lacking an identifiable metric organization of accented and non-accented metrical beats. Short rhythmic values (usually transcribed as

eighth notes) prevail over longer ones (quarter notes), and series of eighth notes perceived as duplets or triplets, depending on syllabic accents of the text, are common. The melodic lines correspond with six- and seven-syllable verses, where the seventh syllable is always an interjection.

Table 5
Correlation between melodic and rhythmic form

Form Svadobná nôta	Sel3	O12	SB1 NB7	DBad3	SB2 Ku1 R1	Josip6.2 NB1	Vfo15 Jaki7 Ž17 Koj14
Melodic	AB	AAB	ABC	ABCD	AB _a CC _v	AA _v BB _v	AABB AA _v BB _v
Rhythmic	aa _v	aaaa _v	abb	aabb	aabb _v	aa _v bb _v	aabc aabb _v
Number of measures	---	---	222	---	2223	2444	2223
Number of syllables	67	7676	655	6666	6677	6677	6666

6.3.2 Melodies based on the interval of a fifth

A stylistically extremely homogeneous group of 13 songs can be identified among those based on a *kvinttonálny* framework. Its melodies consistently maintain the range of g^4 - d^5 , emphasizing the tones of a major triad (g^4 - b^4 - d^5). The initial melodic motif is often made of a leap from the central tone to a third (*ZnB-5*, *Jel-1.10*, *VFol-1*, Transcr. 24, 25, and 39), or to a fifth (*Nit-1*, *Milj-10.6*, and *F-1*, Transcr. 4, 31, and 10). Two songs start

on the third degree proceeding to a fifth, and one song (*Nit-I.5*) starts on a fifth, descending down to the third degree. The final tone in all of these songs is identical with the lower tone of the tonal framework. All songs consist of four six-syllable melodic lines, constituting forms ABCB (8 songs), ABBC, ABAB or ABCD, and the rhythmic form *abab* with bars distributed as 2+3+2+3. The exception is *svadobná nôta MZál-5* (Transcr. 3) with an isopodic structure (two bars per phrase) and the alternation of five- and six-syllable verses.²¹ There is a caesura between the second and third phrases in all of the songs, and the second phrase sometimes ends on the second degree (a^4). Both elements contribute to the perception of the melody as consisting of two symmetrical parts.

The phenomena just mentioned can be viewed in the following transcription of six melodic variants of a *svadobná nôta* from the Nitra region (*Nit-I*; Fig. 5, Transcr. 4). The transcription sheds light on the principles of the variation process by pointing to (1) the stable elements, i.e., those which are identical in each variant and which are necessary for maintaining the variant so that it is melodically and rhythmically identifiable as a common regional melodic type, and (2) flexible elements, different in each variant as long as they do not abolish the integrity of the melodic type. The most stable elements include (1) the first melodic phrase, which is the same in all but one variant, (2) the final tone g^4 , (3) the melodic progression through d^5 - b^4 - g^4 in the second phrase, (4) the focus on the second degree (a^4) in the third phrase,²² and (5) the rhythmic motifs.

²¹ This is a variant of the song *Parta moja, parta*, sung during the cap ceremony. As a melodic type known all over Slovakia and among the neighboring peoples, it will be discussed in a more detail in chapter 7.

²² Elsheková and Elshek (1962, p. 42-3) use the variant of *Nit-I* from Dražovce as an example of *kvarttonálna* melody with older stylistic elements.

Figure 5

Similar features to those in these thirteen songs that represent a prototype of the *kvinttonálne* wedding tunes can be found in four variants of the *svadobná nôta* among Croatian Slovaks (*Josip-6.6*, *ZGaj-9.4*, *Led-8.2*, and *Milj-10.1*, Transcr. 27, 32, 28, and 29). They differ from the previous thirteen by a three-phrase open melodic form ABBv (ABC) that corresponds with the rhythmic form *abb* (with 2+3+3 bars). The text sung in the second phrase is repeated in the third phrase and the melody progresses by steps from the initial motif throughout the song. Although the variants from my fieldwork are only from Slavonia, this melody is widespread throughout Slovakia as the *svadobná nôta* (SLP III-252, 267; SLP IV-150, 254).²³ Whereas its tonal framework (g^4 - b^4 - d^5) is stable, the

²³ All of these variants are sung at weddings, including such moments as on the way to the church, during the transportation of the bride's dowry, during the wedding feast as

material filling the framework reflects the regional peculiarities. For instance, in the variants from Slavonia (*Milj-10.1* and *ZGaj-9.4*) as well as those from the Kysuce and Orava regions, the augmented (Lydian) fourth, or at least singers' inclination toward a higher fourth degree, is prominent (SLP IV-150 and 254).

A different picture of *kvinttonalita* is offered in eastern Slovak wedding songs, characterized by their inclination to plagal modes and connection with dance, resulting in a symmetric rhythmic and metric structure.²⁴ The *svadobné nôty Jakl-1*, *VFol-2*, and *Ž-1* (Transcr. 35, 40, and 43) are built on the skeleton of the interval of a fifth, not exceeding the ambitus of g^4-d^5 , but the tonal material oscillates between major (the first, ascending portion of the melody uses either b-natural or an augmented fourth) and minor (the second, descending portion uses B-flat) (Fig. 6a and 6b). Like all the songs of pre-harmonic styles discussed so far, they have open melodic form (ABCC and AABB) and isosyllabic, six- and seven-syllable lines. The *svadobná nôta Koj-2* (Transcr. 36) represents a peculiar example of formal organization of melodic motifs, resembling the instrumental style of Wallachian shepherds' songs, in which a four-line text strophe can be sung to a five or six-phrase melody performed in a parlando style. In the Kojšov example, four six-syllable lines (abcd), organized as abbcdd, are set to six melodic lines (ABCBDE). Some lines are extended by an interjection (*ej*) to seven-syllable lines. The tonal framework of the interval of a descending fifth (g^4-c^4) is expanded by an upper a^4 and lower b^3 -flat and a^3 (Fig. 6c). The melody ends on the upper tone of the skeleton (g^4). The stepwise motion of the melody is disrupted by descending leaps from g^4 to d^4 at the ends of the second, third, and fourth line.

teasing songs, and as a dance song accompanying the *šikovná* dance.

²⁴ The connection between *svadobné nôty* and dance is discussed in the following chapter.

Figure 6

a) tonal material of *Jakl-1* and *VFol-2* (Transcr. 35 and 40)



b) tonal material of *Ž-1* (Transcr. 43)



c) tonal material of *Koj-2* (Transcr. 36)



The last four songs of this tonal group (*Koj-3*, *NB-5*, *Čič-1* and *Sel-8*, Transcr. 37, 17, 7, and 13), although clearly built on the interval of a fifth and not significantly extending the ambitus of g^4-d^5 , show several features of harmonic thinking. First, the melody proceeds in an arc-like motion (ascending and descending) with the culmination in the middle of the song (as in *Koj-3*) or in the middle of the phrase (as in *NB-5* and the second phrase of *Čič-1*). The melody in *Sel-8* has a sequential character. Both types of melodic progression—arc-shaped and sequential—are indicative of harmonic thinking, as is the second important feature, the repetition of the initial motif at the end of the song, as if “closing” the melody (as in *Koj-3* and partly in *Čič-1*),²⁵ the number of syllables per melodic line that exceeds six (such as in *Sel-8* and *NB-5*). However, the rhythm of all except the dance song *Koj-3*, however, follows the “descending” principle, which appears to be one of the most distinct features of pre-harmonic styles.

²⁵ See Elscheková and Elschek (1962/II: 70-71).

6.3.3 Melodies based on the principles of “harmonic thinking” (major-minor tonality)

When considering features typical of what is called “harmonic” stylistic strata in traditional songs and trying to identify them among the *svadobné nôty* from my fieldwork, the absence of a truly typical harmonic song is notable. Such a song would have a wide melodic range, a focus on the central tone with discernible support of the leading tone and dominant (lower fourth), a melody proceeding in an arc-like motion or in sequences, a closed form based on transposition of motifs, the melodic and rhythmic culmination in the middle of the song, and a greater number of syllables.²⁶ Although these and other elements can be found individually in the last group of *svadobné nôty* I am going to investigate, they coexist here with some older stylistic features and thus make the designation “harmonic” less obvious.

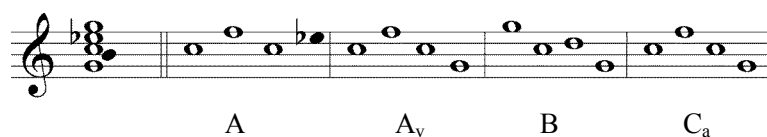
The tonal material of the *svadobná nôta Čič-5* (Transcr. 9) is based on the framework of a fifth in its first half, but reaches an octave in the second half and shows the features of a plagal minor scale without the sixth degree (Fig. 7). Although the form is open (AAvBC), the melodic phrases are arc-shaped, and the melodic and tonal culmination is in the third line, which starts with an octave leap and emphasizes tonic-dominant relation (C – G).²⁷ The lines have ten syllables, which is not typical of Slovak traditional songs. What struck me, and at the same time made me hesitate about the minor character of this song, was its actual interpretation. The attempt of the women to sing this

²⁶ Ibid, pp. 57-88.

²⁷ This *svadobná nôta* with many text variants is published in the SLP IV, pp. 103-104, where it is classified among the *kvinttonálne* songs with harmonic features.

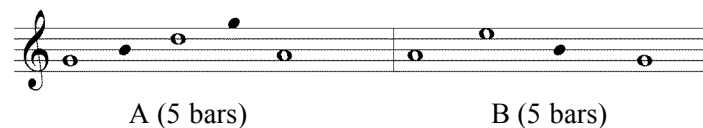
song in multiple parts, so characteristic for Čičmany, was very unconvincing. While in other songs the women had no difficulty in catching the lower part, in this song they ended up singing the first two phrases in unison.

Figure 7



The teasing song sung during the wedding feast in Selec (*Sel-9*, Transcr. 14) represents a typical example of major tonality with the first half ending on the supertonic (a^4) and with two twelve-syllable, arc-shaped melodic lines (Fig. 8).

Figure 8



Two different pictures of harmonic thinking are offered in two songs from Malé Zálužie. *MZál-1* (Transcr. 1) is a lyrical love song with many texts, some of which are sung at specific moments of the wedding ceremony. Its melody proceeds in minor mode with an augmented sixth in the third and fourth line. The four six-syllable lines, which in this tonal and melodic context would be too concise, are expanded by adding one more melodic phrase (ABC_bDD). This Dorian element and the melodic range of less than an octave make this song fit into the music-stylistic category defined by the Elscheks as modal interstratum, which preceded harmonic songs (Fig. 9). The second song, *MZál-3* (Transcr. 2), functions as *svadobná nôta* and its text variants are spread all over the Nitra region. The melody, although exceeding the range of the interval of a fifth only by one tone, a leading tone, proceeds in an arc-shape and culminates in the middle of the song,

closing its form by the repetition of the initial phrase (ABA) (Fig. 10).

Figure 9

Phrase: A B C_b D_b D

Measures: 4 3 2 2 3

Figure 10



Phrase: A B A

Measures: 3 4 3

The last three examples, *Čič-2*, *Milj-10.5*, and *ZGaj-9.8* (Transcr. 8, 30, 33), all performed in multiple voices, comply with the assumption that the boundaries between the individual tonal groups of *svadobné nôty* are flexible, and that elements of older and newer styles can coexist within one genre without excluding one another. The elements of harmonic major-minor tonality are brought into the framework of a fifth through the multipart interpretation, which, however, maintains an older phenomenon of ending the phrases in unison. The form, eight-syllable lines, 4/4 meter, and isorhythmic structure in two Slavonian songs coincide with the features of the harmonic style. It should be noted though, that in Slovak-speaking villages of Slavonia this melody has a broader function than that of *svadobná nôta*. It can be sung with many texts of humorous, teasing character and is not necessarily associated with the ceremonial phases of the wedding ceremony. As I mentioned in chapter 5, the practice of singing many texts with only a few melodies is common in the Slovak enclave in Slavonia. Here a single well-known melody may have served as the medium and facilitator of the preservation of the Slovak language and cultural identity.

6.3.4 Relationship between rhythm, meter, and melody

While the tonal aspect proved to be the most distinguishing factor in the stylistic stratification of the Slovak traditional songs, characteristics of rhythm and meter seem to interweave between different stylistic strata and to reflect functional and regional rather than music-developmental aspects. The specific rhythmic structure is often determined by the function of the song (such as its connection with dance, ceremony, or work). Thus two different stylistic strata within one genre can share the same or similar rhythmic and metric features. This is also the case in *svadobné nôty*. The only significant stylistic change in rhythm, a dotted rhythm, which can be observed in the newest stratum of the “neo-Hungarian” songs (*novouhorské piesne*), is not present in our *svadobné nôty* material, although the *novouhorské* songs are a favored component of the wedding song repertoire in general.

Svadobné nôty are typically performed in duple meter with a firm metric pulse. Triple meter is rather exceptional and when it appears, as in *Nit-2* (Transcr. 5), it has a character of  instead of . Short rhythmic values (eighth notes) prevail over longer notes (quarter and half notes), especially in the older strata. The parlando performance of the *svadobné nôty* built on the interval of a fourth, mentioned above, can be explained by the fact that these wedding songs were probably developed from the genres of the old peasant culture, i.e., magic-ritual songs, lullabies, and particularly the harvest songs, which are typically performed in free rhythm.²⁸ In his study of the impact of the social function of traditional song on its musical structure, Antonín Sychra associates this type

²⁸ Parlando performance as a typical feature of the *kvarťtonálne* songs is also mentioned by Elscheková and Elschek (1962: 30).

of interpretation with solo performance and with those genres characterized by individual, subjective qualities. On the other hand, he regards the songs with a metric pulse as a collective phenomenon—connected with ceremony, ritual, and movement of many performers in a dance or march. While the songs performed in free rhythm are often linked to one specific text, those associated with the collective performance have texts and melodies interchangeable with one another (Sychra 1949:8). This observation is valid for most of the *svadobné nôty*, especially when comparing them with some other genres sung at weddings, such as parting songs and lyrical love songs, which, indeed, are often performed solo in a *parlando* style. The distinction does not apply, though, to those *svadobné nôty* which are performed in free rhythm but still remain a communal phenomenon associated with the ceremony and performed by multiple performers.

The principle of “descending” rhythm is present in all *kvarntonálne* and most of the *kvinttonálne svadobné nôty* I analyzed, and in about 50% of those with the features of harmonic thinking. It appears in its most rudimentary form in *parlando* songs of the first group discussed (Fig. 11a). Likewise frequent is the motif embracing two bars (Fig. 11b) and the whole five-bar phrase (Fig. 11c). The latter was also distinguished as a typical feature of the Slovak traditional songs by the Czech scholar Otakar Zich,²⁹ who observed that the five-measure phrase in Slovak songs originated from two six-syllable melodic verses, the first of which fitted into the space of two bars, and the second extended through three measures. The *svadobné nôty* *F-1*, *NB-5*, *Milj-10.1*, *ZGaj-9.4*, *Jos-6.6* (Transcr. 10, 17, 29, 32, and 27), and their variants are representative examples of this phenomenon.

²⁹ Zich, Otakar: “O slovenské písni lidové.” *Slovenská čítanka*, Praha: Emil Šolc, 1925; the same “O rytmu tanečných písni slovenských.” In *Hudba*, Praha, 1920; and “Rytmičké zvláštnosti lidových tanců československých.” In *Národopisný věstník československý* 22, pp. 22-30 (according to Kresánek).



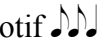
Figure 11



In the wedding songs analyzed, short descending melodic motifs prevail over the large-scale descending melodic phrases. However, most of the songs in my material start on the lower tone of the tonal framework (or on the third), then quickly proceed to the highest tone of the melodic range and descend downwards from there. In general, the descending melody in my material is not as prominent as in some other old genres, such as harvest and haymaking songs, or in shepherds' Wallachian songs. This can be explained by the fact that these, in contrast to the wedding songs, are characterized by their outdoor performance with strong voices aimed at being heard over long distances, and therefore the descending melodic motion naturally corresponds with the character of interpretation. Moreover, in shepherds' songs the initial motif, starting in a high register and then descending, can be regarded as an imitation of the shepherds' flute and *fujara* playing, which always starts on the highest tones with an initial formula, the so-called *rozfuk* [*Aufblasen* in German].

The strophic nature of the Slovak traditional songs was discussed with regard to the poetic features in chapter 5. Hand in hand with strophic construction goes a syllabic relationship between the text and the melody. Traditional singers keep the syllabic principle so consistently that if a melody contains more tones extra syllables are added to the text. That is why the interjections (ej, hej, hoj, etc.), which often change a six-syllable

verse into a seven-syllable one, are so frequent in Slovak traditional songs.³⁰ In accordance with the syllabic nature of the melody and with a declamatory interpretation (which corresponds with the ceremonial character of the *svadobné nôty*), the ornamentation of individual tones, in which case two or more tones are sung to one text syllable, is kept to a minimum. Two types of melodic embellishment found in our material are neighbor tones and a glissando motion from one tone to another. These, however, are not frequent and appear mostly in songs from the Slavonian Slovak villages.³¹

The syllabo-tonic poetic meter in Slovak traditional songs is based on the dactyl and trochee (—uu and —u), as shown in the previous chapter. A dactyl can be viewed as corresponding with the rhythmic motif based on 6/8 meter, such as , or with the motif . Although these motifs do occasionally appear in our material, a dactyl is most often connected with the rhythmic motif , in which the initial eighth note can be seen as weakening the metric and poetic accent. Kresánek explains this phenomenon with the fact that the declamation as well is dominated by the “descending” principle (Kresánek 1997[1952]: 204). Such an incoherence between the rhythmic and metric aspects is natural and can be compared with the incoherence between the word accents and length of the syllables in Slovak language.

More interesting, however, is the relation between word accents of the poetic text and metric accents of the melody. Using the same text analyzed in the previous chapter, Table 6 represents several ways in which a metric relationship between the melody and

³⁰ See Kresánek 1997[1951]: 218; Bartók 1981[1924]: 72.

³¹ The practice of melodic embellishments of longer note values among Croatian Slovaks seems to be influenced by Croatian-Slavonian performance style (see Ceribašić 1991).

text can be realized:

Table 6

Correlation between word stress and musical (metric) accent in the text line *Id'eme, id'eme,(ej), chodníčka ňevieme,(ej), dobrí ľudia veďia, (ej), oňi nám poved'ia.* (The symbol “x” stands for an accented syllable/note (downbeat) and “-” stands for a non-accented syllable/note (upbeat))

I - d'e- me, i - d'e-me, (ej) cho-dňí-čka ňe-vie-me,(ej) do-bri ľu-d'ia ve-d'ia,(ej) o-ňi nám po-ve-d'ia

Text	I	ia	ma	i	ia	ma	(ej)	cho	dňi	čka	ňe	vi	me	(ej)	do	bri	ľu	d'ia	ve	d'ia	(ej)	o	ňi	nám	po	ve	d'ia
Word accent	X	-	-	X	-	-		X	-	-	X	-	-		X	-	X	-	X	-		X	-	-	X	-	-
Metric accent	Klu1	X	-	-	X	-		X	-	-	X	-	-		X	-	X	-	X	-		X	-	-	X	-	X
	Milj10.2	X	-	-	X	-		X	-	-	X	-	X		X	-	X	-	X	-		X	-	-	X	-	X
	Bartók 21b	X	-	-	-	-		X	-	-	X	-	-		X	-	-	-	-	-		X	-	-	-	X	-
	Bartók 31b	X	-	X	-	-		X	-	-	X	X			X	-	X	-	-	-		X	-	-	-	X	-
	SLPII-218	X	-	-	X	-	X		X	-	-	X	-	X		X	-	X	-	X		X	-	-	X	-	X

The correlation between a word stress and a musical (metric) accent in this example can be seen only (1) at the beginning of the melody (I-d'e); (2) in the word “chod-ňí-čka,” which corresponds with the beginning of the second melodic phrase; and (3) in the two initial syllables of the third and fourth verse/melodic line, except when preceded by the interjection “ej,” which comes on a downbeat. This mirrors an important metric characteristic of the Slovak traditional songs in general, the absence of an upbeat.³²

Our discussion on the metric-rhythmical relationship between the text and melody can be concluded with the assumption that both the syllabic nature of this relationship and the dominance of musical meter over the poetic meter are consistent with the

³² The same can be observed in the Hungarian traditional tunes (Bartók 1981[1924]: 13, fn.5).

character of *svadobné nôty* as tunes sung with different texts, and enable the same text to be rendered through different melodies.

6.4 Summary

Jozef Kresánek's theory of the development of traditional musical thinking and its incorporation in Alica and Oskár Elschek's concept of the historical music-stylistic strata proves to be instrumental in the investigation of the position of *svadobné nôty* within the vast repertoire of the Slovak traditional songs. The analysis and review of the musical features of this genre in the context of historical, cultural, and music-structural strata based on the development of tonal structure made it possible to recognize the significant position of *svadobné nôty* among the pre-harmonic, older layers of the Slovak traditional musical culture.

With respect to the place of *svadobné nôty* in the repertoire sung during the wedding ceremony, the analysis and its statistical evaluation show that the songs which are connected with the first half of the wedding (up to the wedding feast) feature almost exclusively the pre-harmonic tonalities, primarily the one based on the framework of a fifth.³³ The fact that *svadobné nôty*, along with ceremonial wedding songs in general, show tendency towards transitional tonal structures does not contradict the notion of their stylistic homogeneity and association with older musical strata. On the contrary, it points to the interaction of two contradictory forces that seem to be crucial in shaping peasants' musical culture: (1) the ability to select, accept, and invent new elements and influences,

³³ In Burlasová's monographic study of the traditional songs in Žakarovce, all the songs of the first half of the wedding sequence are based on pre-harmonic tonal structures (Burlasová 1956: 542-543).

resulting in the dynamism and liveliness of the traditional song repertoire, and (2) the obligation (imposed by the community, by the peasants' way of life, and eventually by historical and social circumstances) to preserve traditional elements tied mostly to the functional, and in a certain sense almost existential, aspects of village life. This can be also seen in the interweaving of individual harmonic features with the pre-harmonic elements.

Svadobné nôty share their music-stylistic features with the old peasant *kvarettonálny* and the shepherd-Walachian *kvinttonálny* style. Apart from the tonal distinctions discussed, the majority of *svadobné nôty* feature short six-syllable melodic lines; open melodic form; stepwise, prevailing descending melodic motion, similar rhythmic motifs, frequent “descending” of the rhythm from short to long note values, duple meter, and antiphonal singing. Some regional peculiarities appear in the tonal aspect (such as the use of an augmented fourth in the Kysuce tradition and its Croatian diaspora, plagal modes in eastern Slovakia, and the frequency of the variable third degree in some areas) and in a performing style (in the areas where multipart singing is common, *svadobné nôty* are also performed with multiple voices; in the monophonic cultures of central, western, and eastern Slovakia, they are sung in unison). According to Elscheková, the wedding songs in general, and specific types of *svadobné nôty* in particular, can be regarded as indicators of musical dialects. “Where one area of wedding tunes ends, another area of wedding tunes and the different musical dialect starts,” especially in central and eastern Slovakia, where the valleys and mountains are often borderlines between individual wedding tunes (Elscheková 1987a: 17).

In sum, the archaism, genre homogeneity, and regional distinctiveness of the music-stylistic features of *svadobné nôty* correspond with their function as both symbol of local/regional identity and symbol of the melodic stability needed to offset the transitional character of the wedding ceremony as a rite of passage.

Chapter 7

Svadobné nôty, dance, and instrumental accompaniment

In traditional village weddings, *svadobné nôty* were usually sung a cappella and were not directly associated with dance or dance music. However, the wedding songs and singing at weddings cannot be seen in isolation from other musical phenomena. Particularly in an event that is musically as diverse as the Slovak traditional wedding, where singing exists side by side with instrumental music and dance, the question of their interconnection should be addressed.

Dance and its instrumental accompaniment are considered less specified by the occasion of performance than songs. The majority of dance genres could have been performed on various occasions, and in the past they were inevitably part of life-cycle ceremonies, spinning events, harvest celebrations, and village dance evenings called *zábavy*, *večarky*, or *pri muzike*. Dance traditions were more important in some regions of the country than in others. For instance, in eastern Slovakia the dance tradition significantly influenced the development of the regional music style, penetrating also into the vocal culture, as more than 50% of eastern Slovak songs are connected with dance (Elscheková and Elschek 1980). Dance and dance music in the wedding context have been gaining importance nationwide, especially during the second half of the 20th century when—due to the transformations in village life—many village ceremonies and ritual moments disappeared and were gradually replaced by various forms of entertainment.

Although the information elicited during my fieldwork does not offer enough data for a more profound discussion of the relationship between *svadobné nôty* and dance, writings on dance music by Kresánek (1997[1951]), Elscheková and Elschek (1982), Garaj and Důžek (1997; 2001), and Ondrejka (1989) indicate that, thanks to their popularity, some *svadobné nôty* may have served as models for instrumental versions and, eventually, for dancing. I want to entertain the idea that their occasional transformations into instrumental and dance music, which are principally social forms of musical involvement, may also have contributed to the survival of *svadobné nôty* up to the present. In this chapter I will discuss (1) functions of dance in the traditional village wedding, ceremonial types of dance, and their relation to the songs sung to *svadobné nôty*; (2) the formal relationship between the vocal melody and its dance/instrumental version; and (3) historical links of *svadobné nôty* to the melodies found in the 17th- and 18th-century manuscripts of hymns and secular dance music, in particular the *Tabulatura Vietoris* (Hulková and Ferenczi 1986), *Melodiarium Annae Szirmay-Keczer* (Kresánek 1966 and 1983), and *Uhrovská zbierka I* from 1730 (Rybarič 1966; Elschek 1966; Muntág 1974).

7.1 Dance within the traditional wedding sequence

Dancing at weddings, like singing, is one of the principal means of celebrating the matrimonial union of two people. Whereas at contemporary village weddings dancing (both traditional and non-traditional) is a major part of the entertainment, in the past it fulfilled a number of ceremonial roles, remnants of which have survived up to the present via the activities of village folk groups and the memories of village people. Performing the context-specific dances at particular moments of the wedding may have had functions

similar to those fulfilled by traditional singing, such as facilitating the separation of the bride and the groom from their peer groups (during the pre-wedding parties) and confirmation of the union of a young couple through their solo dance, which followed after the traditional acts of marriage agreement (the church ceremony, the arrival of the bride to the groom's house, and the cap ceremony). For the bride to dance with all the wedding guests was believed to facilitate her integration and acceptance by the new family and the group of married women. Although these ritual functions are largely forgotten today, the structural function of dance to fill out the gaps between particular wedding events, the aesthetic and celebratory function as well as that of providing entertainment, all continue to be characteristic qualities of traditional wedding dancing.

A large-scale ethnochoreological research project called *Slovenská ľudová tanečná hudba* (Slovak traditional dance music) was organized and carried out by the research team of the Ethnomusicology Department of the Institute of Musicology at the Slovak Academy of Sciences in selected areas of Slovakia in 1991-92. Its original outcome, an audio anthology of four tapes—each presenting one type of dance (whirling dances, couple dances, women's and men's dances, and ceremonial dances)—became the basis of a monograph that examined both choreological and musical aspects of the dance music recorded (Důžek and Garaj, 2001: 60). The project revealed that even toward the end of the twentieth century weddings still provided the most favorable space for traditional dancing, as 75% of all ceremonial dances were identified as wedding-related. Apart from the usual dances performed during the common entertainment phases (such as the wedding feast, in front of the church after the church ceremony, or in the courtyards of the wedding houses), twelve groups of dances were identified, which can be summed

up in five broader categories according to their function in the wedding sequence.

First, pre-wedding, gender-segregated dance parties of the groom and the bride provided opportunities to take leave of their friends and to prepare the wedding attributes, such as a bridal wreath and plumes. The dances performed during these evenings included *vinky*, *veniec* (wreath), *pokonný tanec*, *rozberanka* (parting girls' dances), and *družbovské* (groomsmen's solo dances), among others.

Second, dance improvisations of individuals or particular groups of wedding guests while walking/moving from one place to another consisted of *poskakovanie* (hopping), and *cifrovanie* (embellished step improvisations), but mainly of *marše* (marches). The circle and couple dances danced by women and girls during the transportation of the dowry and gifts had more stable choreography and were usually danced during the wedding suite's stops between the two wedding houses or in their courtyards. These include dances called *s rúchom* (with dowry), *s koláčom* (with cake), *s ručníkom* (with kerchief), etc.

Third, the "initiating/initial" dances (first solo dance of the young couple, first dance of the wedding feast, etc.) and the "last" or "parting" dances (*partovance*), today still play specific roles in the parting of the bridesmaids and groomsmen with the bride during the taking-off of the bridal wreath and the cap ceremony. The latter group has the character of circle dances and has a variety of local and regional forms throughout the country, which include *posledný dievocký tanec* (last maiden dance), *sviečkový tanec* (candle dance), *parta* (bridal headdress), and *pokládka*, *ukladanie* (putting the cap on the bride's head), among others.

Fourth, the dances and dance-theatrical acts of particular wedding guests and

wedding functionaries at the specific moments of the wedding ceremony are multifarious and regionally specific. While many such dances today have merely an entertaining function (such as the dances of cooks or fake brides), the dances of the bride, groom, and groomsmen belong to the ceremonial core of the wedding dance repertoire. Especially the groomsmen's dances (*družbovský tanec*, *družbovský odzemok*, *kozák*, *hajduk s vencom*, *uvádzaní nevesty*, etc.) which accompany the taking-off of the bridal headdress, and the bride's dances with all the wedding guests (called *nevestický*, *bratský*, *redový*, *zavíjanka*, *vykrúcanka*, *vytáčka*, *čepčený*, *tanierový*, etc.) which follow after the cap ceremony, demonstrate the change of the young girl to a married woman and the confirmation of her new status.

Fifth, a variety of wedding games involving dances were performed by the wedding guests after sending the young couple to bed and during the next days of the wedding. Most of these dances had a humorous and erotic character, such as *šatkovec* (handkerchief dance), *holúbek* (dove), *vankúšový* (pillow dance), *metlový* (broomstick dance), *káčerový* (duck dance), *ihličkový* (needle dance), *žabský* (frog dance), and others. Special dances were performed at the end of the wedding sequence, such as *na rozchodnú* (to the end), *d'akovací* (thank-you dance), *ženskô* (women's dance), and *ostatný tanec* (the last dance).

While most of the ceremonial dances have been gradually pushed out by modern and social dances, three ceremonial dance moments still remain a part of the living tradition. All three are linked to a culmination of the wedding ceremony—the midnight ritual of taking-off the bridal wreath, the cap ceremony, and the bridal dance—and in many areas, the dances performed at these moments are accompanied by locally or

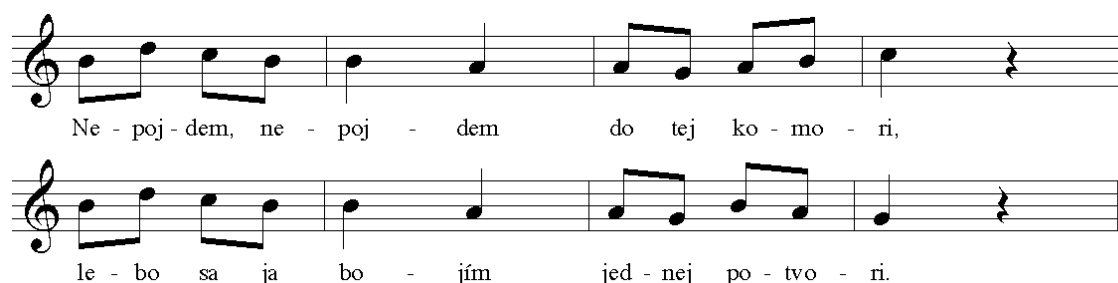
regionally known tunes related to *svadobné nôty*. The three mentioned moments were not everywhere associated with dance or even practiced at all. Especially the cap ceremony was more often than not performed in a private setting of married women and the bride, accompanied only by singing or performed in silence, as in Klubina and Dolný Badín. However, I mention the cap ceremony in the dance context for two reasons. First, in the course of the second half of the twentieth century, the cap ceremony has merged with taking-off of the bridal headdress—which itself is associated with dance—into one event. Second, the songs sung during the cap ceremony are in some areas, especially in eastern Slovakia, associated with *svadobné nôty* that also accompany a subsequent bridal dance.

An excerpt from the description of the traditional Kojšov wedding at the beginning of chapter 4 indicated that the ceremonial removal of the bridal headdress was a multifaceted music-dramatic act, focused on bride's change of status. It has two interrelated semantic and formal aspects, both of which are associated with the loss of the bride's virginity, symbolized by taking off her bridal headdress (wreath) and thus directly marking the "liminal" character of the moment. The first aspect, the bride's taking leave of her status as an unmarried girl, is represented by a *chorovod* (circle dance) of the wedding participants (usually girlfriends), who walk around the bride. The second aspect, the capturing of the bride's wreath (virginity) by the *družba*, is acted out in the bestman's scene, which in eastern Slovakia includes the *hajducky* dance, elsewhere called *odzemok*, resembling the warriors' dances.¹

¹ See footnote 1 in chapter 4 for a brief choreographic description of the *hajducky* dance. For a detailed discussion of the *hajducky* dance in its historical and culture-geographical context see Kresánek 1997[1959]: 60, 228; 1966: 22-6; and 1959: 136-162. The *hajducky* (*odzemok*) is also discussed in the context of historical manuscripts and their connection to the traditional wedding repertoire in section 7.3 of this chapter, music exx.

The act of taking off the bridal headdress is often immediately preceded by a dance with numerous names, such as *vivádzanie*, *ukladanie*, *partovanie* (leading out, settling, laying down, parting), or *sviečkový dance* (candle dance). These usually have the character of circle dances or solo whirling dances, and were most typically performed by the female participants, accompanied by singing. A woman in Malé Zálužie recalled that the bride was first *vivedená*, led off the table. This was preceded by ceremonial rhetorical negotiations between the *družba* and *starý svat* about taking off the bride's wreath, while the bridesmaids were dancing one by one a solo whirling dance around the embellished reed twig held by the *družba*, and singing a song to the *svadobná nôta MZál-5* (ex. 7-1; Transcr. 3) with a humorous text indicating the bride's unwillingness to go to the bedroom with her husband and to lose her "green wreath" (see the song texts MZál5 and 7). When the bride was finally led from the table to have her wreath taken off, the bridesmaids sang in her name the parting song with the text *Kamarátky moje, môžete plakat* (see the song text MZál6) to the same melody.

Music ex. 7-1²



Ne - poj - dem, ne - poj - dem do tej ko - mo - ri,
le - bo sa ja bo - jím jed - nej po - tvo - ri.

In the Liptov region and many other parts of Slovakia, the taking off of the bridal headdress was performed during the so-called *sviečkový* (candle) dance (Ondrejka 1989).

7-10 a-d.

² English translation: I will not go to that chamber, because I am afraid of a monster.

The bride would be seated alone, or together with the groom, on a chair in the middle of the room. Selected wedding participants (in some areas only women and girls, elsewhere also men) would each receive a candle from the *družba*, and would walk or dance by small steps in the circle (or semicircle) around the young couple, singing the *Parta moja*, *parta* song to one of the melodic variants of example 7-1.

This melody, sung with a number of strophes, is known in local variants all over Slovakia and can be found also in the Hungarian wedding song repertoire.³ Several versions of the melody—always referred to as wedding-related—also appear in the historical manuscripts of dance music preserved in the area of Slovakia from the 17th and 18th centuries (see examples 7-7 and 7-8). Since I will be returning to this melody, examining it in different contexts within the present chapter, from now on I will refer to it as the *Parta* melody, based on the text incipit to which it is most frequently linked.

The *Parta* melody functions as a *svadobná nôta* associated with the second half of the wedding ceremony, reappearing within it several times with different texts. This is documented not only in my fieldwork and other scholars' recent research, but in one of the first collections of Slovak traditional songs with both texts and music from the Liptov and Orava regions by Jozef Czupra in the middle of the 19th century. Czupra wrote in a note to the song *Parta moja, parta* that it was a *svadobná nôta*, sung before the bride's cap ceremony (Galko 1958: 34). Eleven text strophes follow the melody, with indications

³ For other present-day variants of this *svadobná nôta*, see music exx. 7-5(a-c). See Elscheková (1989: 106-107) for an examination of melodic variants of the *Parta* song in four volumes of the *Slovenské ľudové piesne I-IV*. Out of twelve variants of the melody, five were connected with the taking-off of the *parta*, four were sung at other moments of the wedding, one was associated with the spinning evening, and two were set by texts with robbers' motifs. The Hungarian variants can be found in *A Magyar népzene tára. III/a: Lakodalom* (1955: nos. 646-694).

of moments when specific strophes were to be sung.

According to present-day field recordings, the individual strophes of the *Parta* melody are alternately sung in a slow tempo and played by the instrumental ensemble in a vivid dance tempo (Garaj 1997: 404).⁴ In between, a dramatized verbal exchange may or may not occur between the *družba*, *starejší*, and the bride, who is asked three times whether she wants to give up her bridal wreath, or get her head “cut off” (as at the beginning of chapter 4). This custom, along with the groomsman’s *hajducky* dance as a symbol of fighting for and capturing the bride’s *parta*, followed by his taking off the wreath from the bride’s head with a sword or knife and hanging it above the door, is most common and most elaborate in the eastern-Slovak wedding traditions. In Žakarovce, besides the song *Stracila ja partu* (Ž16) sung as well to the *Parta* melody, the strophes of the song *Hoc bi ši še na paľečki spínal* (ex. 7-2) are sung in alternation with *družba*’s negotiations.

Music ex. 7-2⁵

Hoc bi ši še na pa-le-čki špí - nal, ñe - bu - dzeš - ti mo-ju pa-rtu sñí - mal.

After the *družba*’s dialogue with *starejší* and the bride, the next strophes (Ž14 and 15) are sung:

/:Naša parta z drobnučičkej furmy:/	/:Our <i>parta</i> is made of fine feathers:/
/:sejme mi ju parobeček šumni:/	/:only a handsome lad will take it off:/

⁴ The relationship between the vocal and instrumental versions of this melody is discussed in the following section (7.2).

⁵ Song Ž13. English translation: Even if you step on your tip-toes, you will not get my *parta*.

/:Naša parta ze samoho zlata:/
/:treba na ňu inakšoho kata:/

/:Our *parta* is made of pure gold:/
/:it needs a special kind of executor:/

In many localities in western and northern Slovakia, the song *Dolu, dolu moj vieneček zelení* is sung either instead of the *Parta* song or along with it, as in Fačkov and Malé Zálužie (ex. 7-3). There the song was sung by the bridesmaids, while the married women took the bride to a smaller chamber to put the cap/bonnet on her head.

Music ex. 7-3⁶

Malé Zálužie

Do - le, do - le moj vie - ne - ček ze - le - ní,

Fačkov

Do - le, do - le moj vie - ne - ček ze - le - ní,

ňe - bu - deš ti na mej hláv - ke no - se - ní, no - se - ní.

ňe - bu - deš ti na mej hláv - ke no - se - ní, no - se - ní.

During the cap ceremony in eastern-Slovak villages of the Spiš region, several songs were sung to the regionally known texts, some of which were set to *svadobné nôty*. The most common was *Kec ce budu čepit* (Koj18; Jak10,11; VFol16; Ž17) sung to the melodic variants of Ž-17 (Transcr. 44). In Kojšov, girls were dancing in a circle around the bride during the cap ceremony, singing the song Koj19 to the *svadobná nôta Koj-3*

⁶ Songs MZál and F3. English translation: Down, down, my green little wreath, you will not be worn on my head anymore.

(Transcr. 37). In some areas of the Liptov region, the cap ceremony was also accompanied by singing the song *Ket ťa budú čepčiť* (although to a different, local melody) as the bride sat on the pail with water and held the plate on her knees. The wedding guests slowly walked or danced around her in a circle and tossed money into the plate (Ondrejka 1989: 133). In the Liptov village of Važec, the same text *Ket tia budú čepčiť* can be sung with three tunes, one in parlando style, two in regular duple meter. One of the songs is designated as accompanying the dance *do krutu* (ex. 7-4).⁷ Musically, this song seems to be a prototype of the old-style Slovak dances—known as *frišký* (fast), *krucena* (whirly), *starobabská* (old-women’s), *do šaflika*, or *do krutu*—described by Kresánek as the most common dance of the old peasant style. Its five-bar phrases are regarded as typical for this older layer of Slovak traditional songs, and were documented in ethnographic and music-historical sources of the 18th and 19th century.⁸

Music ex. 7-4⁹

Ket tia bu - du če - pčit, ku - kaj do po - va - li,
že - bi tvo - je de - ti čier - nie o - či ma - li.

⁷ See *Slovenské ľudové piesne*, II, ed. F. Poloczek, songs nos. 222, 223, 224. Another dance version of the same song is given in Garaj and Dúžek’s dance anthology (2001: 391), here accompanying the circle dance of women called *čuchom*.

⁸ An ethnographic description of *frišký* dance is given by Pavol Dobšínský in *Prostonárodné obyčaje, poverý a hry slovenské* [Folk Slovak customs, beliefs and games] (1880: 29-32). On music-historical manuscripts, see section 7.3 of this chapter.

⁹ *Slovenské ľudové piesne*, II. Song no. 224 from Važec, recorded by Pavel Tonkovič (1950). English translation: When they put the bonnet on your head, look up at the ceiling, so that your children will have black eyes.

The following bridal dance, in Central Slovakia called *venčekový* (wreath dance) or *mladuchin* (bride's), in eastern Slovakia *redoví* (in a line, one-by-one) or *brautskí* (bridal), represents an integration phase of the rite of passage, during which the bride dances a couple dance with the groom and all the wedding guests, men as well as women. In most areas the bridal dance starts with a specific dance song, such as *Keď som išla po vodičku briezkom* in Liptov and Podpoľanie, *Na zelenej lúke kopa sena* in many villages and regions countrywide,¹⁰ in the Spiš region the songs with various texts to the *svadobná nôta Ž-17*, and in all eastern Slovakia the song *Začíname redoví*. After the first song, a wide variety of other songs are ordered by the wedding guests from musicians to accompany their dance turn with the bride. While the accompanying songs and music seem to be rather firmly established, the types of dances danced at this moment vary from place to place, from older types of whirling dances in a moderate tempo, such as *krucena*, to *čardáš*, polka, and waltz. The sequence culminates with the turn of the groom, who pays for the bride and takes her away from the dance floor.

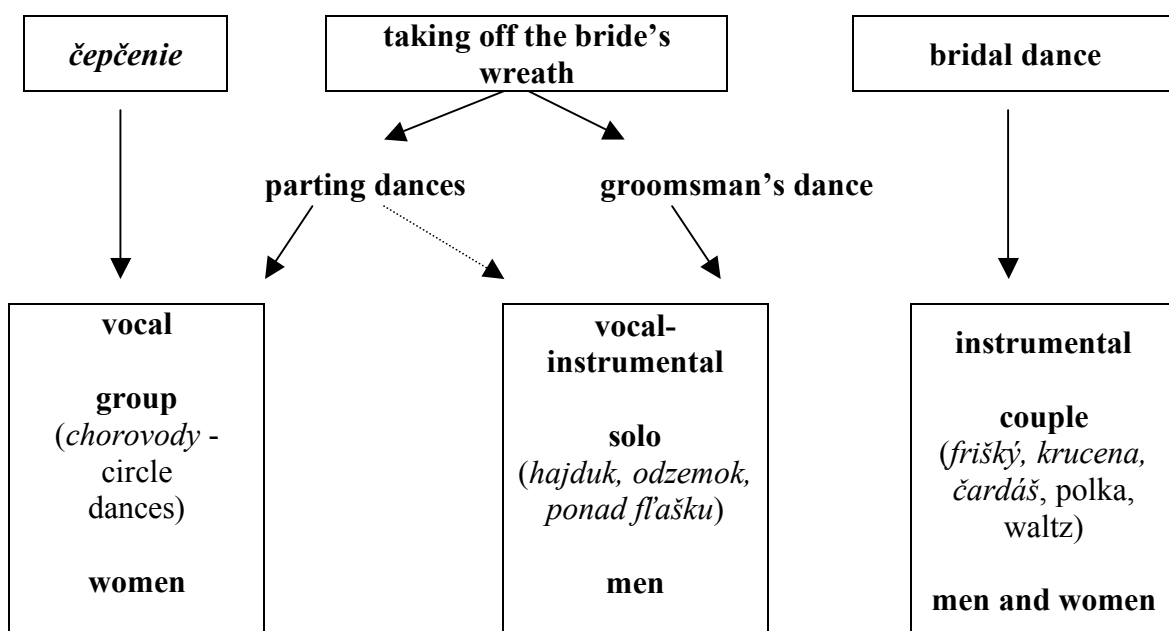
7.2 The relationship between the vocal melody and its dance/instrumental version

The ceremonial dances discussed above can be characterized and classified from several aspects: the accompaniment (vocal or instrumental); the number of performers (solo, group, or couple dances); their gender (men, women, or both); and, eventually, their age and position in the community (married or unmarried, members or non-members of the family, etc.). Table 7 indicates that dances performed during the *čepčenie*, cap ceremony are almost exclusively the circle dances performed by women and

¹⁰ See the variant of this song, music ex. 7-6.

accompanied by singing only. The dances linked to the taking-off of the bridal wreath are split between the category of vocal/group/women and that of vocal-instrumental/solo/men, depending on what aspect of the ritual is presented via the respective dance, the bride's parting or the *družba*'s capturing of the bride's headdress. On the other hand, the bridal dance is essentially a couple dance in which both genders and all wedding guests participate, and it is usually performed instrumentally.¹¹

Table 7
Relationship between the type of dance, gender of performers, and type of performance



Drawing from the previous discussion, it is safe to conclude that *svadobné nôty* in this phase of the wedding ceremony, associated with dance, were preferably performed a

¹¹ The traditional instrumental village band consists of two violins (first and second) and a bass (violoncello or a double-bass). The additional instruments may include accordion, cymbalom, and clarinet. Brass bands are typical for western Slovakia. Nowadays, modern bands with electronic instruments often substitute for the traditional ensemble, or both traditional and modern bands are hired for different phases of the wedding.

capella during the cap ceremony, and may or may not have been accompanied by a string band during the parting *chorovod* or *sviečkový* dance, which preceded the taking-off of the bridal headdress. The subsequent bridal dance (*redví, venčekový, brautskí*), on the other hand, is the occasion during which *svadobné nôty*, if performed, are played instrumentally. What happens when a vocal melody is performed instrumentally as a dance accompaniment? What happens to a *svadobná nôta* when it shifts back and forth between vocal and dance/instrumental performance?


Scholars of Slovak traditional instrumental music pointed to the fact that instrumental dance music is usually based on the song repertoire and, therefore, they studied in detail the relationship between the vocal and instrumental versions of the melody.¹² Typical features characterizing the transformation of the melody when performed instrumentally may, in general, include the extension of its form by repetition of motives or adding cadential motives; melodic or rhythmic variations, especially in the melodic part of the *primáš* (the first violinist or a cymbalist);¹³ transpositions of the motives that suit the nature of the instrument (Elschek 1965: 58). The stylistic features that often reflect the connection with dance include a mosaic-like structure of short melodic and rhythmic motives, and an inclination to symmetry, repetition, and periodicity. Melodies are characterized by quick, sharp rhythmic outlines, stereotyped tectonic and motivic elements, and a simple tonal plan (*ibid.*).

The examples of ceremonial wedding dances recorded and transcribed within the dance music research project mentioned above indicate that the interaction between

¹² For instance, Kresánek 1997[1951], Elscheková and Elschek 1982, Garaj 1995a.

¹³ Variation techniques of the first violinists were examined in Elschek 1984.

musicians and dancers-singers during the ceremonial moment is context-sensitive.¹⁴ Good musicians are aware of their status as those who accompany the acts of the wedding sequence. They should be able to balance their technical and virtuosic qualities with the needs of the specific moment in accordance with local or regional traditions. For example, when the melodic strophes of the song are sung with instrumental accompaniment and alternately played by the ensemble only (as interludes), the instrumentalists play the melody with minimal embellishments and simple harmonic progressions when accompanying the singing, thus creating space for the text and its message pertinent to the ritual moment (Garaj 1997: 404). The instrumental interludes provide musicians with more freedom, but they still have to be sensitive to the pace of the ceremony and dance they are accompanying.

One common difference of variability between the vocal and instrumental/dance versions of one song-melody is its *parlando* rendition when performed vocally, and a *giusto*, dance-like interpretation when played instrumentally. For instance, the vocal *parlando* performance of the melody might strengthen singers' tendency to sing the rhythmic patterns that are more commonly sung as ♪♪ or ♩ ♪♪ in triplets . Both versions can be often heard simultaneously when musicians accompany the singers (Kresánek 1997[1951]: 203).¹⁵ Several versions of the song *Parta moja, parta* (Ex. 7-5, a-c) show the rhythmic and metric variations of a *svadobná nôta* which can be performed

¹⁴ The audio-anthology *Obyčajové tance. Slovenská ľudová tanečná hudba 4*. Transcriptions and explanatory discussion can be found in Důžek and Garaj (2001: 373-426).

¹⁵ Interestingly, as an example of the triplet-rendition of a song in 2/4 meter, Kresánek uses the same melodic variant of the song from Važec that I provide above as ex. 7-4. Kresánek's example is also designated as "do krutu", an old-type dance song with the text referring to the bagpipe accompaniment, which was common in a distant past before the string ensembles became popular (*Gajdujte, gajdičky* = Little bagpipes, play).

as a parlando song, a metrically less restricted women's *chorovod*, and a giusto dance song. While all three examples (7-5a,b,c) are linked to the taking-off of the bridal wreath, their actual connection with dance at the moment of performance is reflected in their rhythmic and metric features. Example 7-5a is a parlando song from Hrochoť, which does not seem to be performed as a dance accompaniment.¹⁶ Example 7-5b is the same song as a vocal accompaniment of the wedding *chorovod* from the north-Slovak village of Važec. The bridesmaids walk in a circle around the bride, with one step per quarter note. Although the song is performed in a duple meter, the second and the fourth phrase end with a pause of the duration of one extra beat. In example 7-5c from Žaškov, where the individual strophes of the song are performed alternately a cappella by women and accompanied by a string ensemble, 2/4 meter alternates with 3/4 meter in the first and the third phrase. Garaj explains this phenomenon as the singers' attempt to transform the rhythm of an originally parlando vocal melody in such a way that its irregular rhythmic prolongations become regular and of the same duration (Garaj 1997: 404; 2001: 384-5).

Music ex. 7-5(a-c)¹⁷

♩=168 Parlando

a) 

Par-ta moj-ja, par-ta, par-ta per-lo-va, ňes-ka - si mo-ja, zaj-tra druž-bo-va.

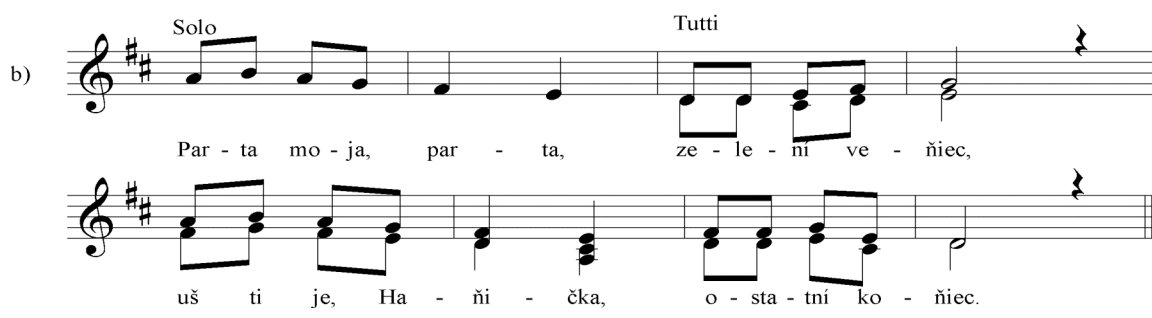
¹⁶ *Slovenské ľudové piesne*. IV, song no. 405.

¹⁷ Ex. 7-5b and 7-5c can be heard in the audio anthology *Obyčajové tance. Slovenská ľudová tanečná hudba* 4, no. 13 (ex. b) and 10a (ex. c); their transcriptions are published in Garaj 1997: 405, and Garaj and Dúžek 2001: 390 and 383, respectively.

♩ = 84

b)


Solo Tutti



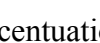



Par - ta mo - ja, par - ta, ze - le - ni ve - ňiec,
uš - ti je, Ha - ňi - čka, o - sta - tni ko - ňiec.

♩ = 84

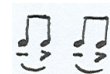
c)



Ot - stú - pŕe sa na - bok, švá - rna dru - ži - na,
i - d'em si vi - ko - nat', čô som po - vin - ná.

Besides the rhythmic changes that appear on a macro-level, i.e., affecting the meter of the song, the last two examples represent a phenomenon that is characteristic of the songs accompanying the whirling dances of an old style mentioned above (*kruta*, *krucena*, or *do šaflika*) and some women's circle dances (*chorovod* and *karička*), all in 2/4 meter and moderate tempo (♩ = 85-105). They are performed with micro-rhythmic deviations and accentuations of particular notes of the repeated rhythmic motives  | , or , without affecting the 2/4 meter. The duration of rhythmic subdivisions within a two-beat measure differs from region to region, but most commonly it is close to , corresponding to the ratio of circa 20:25:25:29 (%). These durational inequalities in the vocal part of the dance songs discussed are associated with a specific type of rhythmic instrumental accompaniment, played by the second

fiddle (*kontra*) and the bass (*basa*), called *duvaj*.¹⁸ *Duvaj* is based on the characteristic bow-movement technique: four eighth notes in 2/4 measure are played by two bow-strokes, each corresponding to one quarter note. Its most typical form accentuates (and often prolongs) the second and the fourth eighth-note, such as:



While *duvaj* and rhythmic deviations associated with the performance of the above-mentioned dance songs have been described and analyzed to a certain extent, the nature of the phenomenon has not been substantially conceptualized.¹⁹ While some scholars considered rhythmic inequalities in terms of “inexactness” of singers and musicians, or as variable expressive rhythmic nuances (Bartók 1959:40, 63), others tried to exactly quantify the rhythmic deviations and regarded them as distinctive features of local or regional performing styles (Holý 1963, 1969; Garaj 1997; Dúžek and Garaj 2001). Two facts lead us directly to the question of the nature of these rhythmic inequalities. First, they also occur in purely vocal dance-pieces (such as women’s *karička* dances) or in dance songs performed without instrumental accompaniment.²⁰ Second, in

¹⁸ *Duvaj* is an onomatopoeic term used by folk musicians for designating a distinct sound of the rhythmic accompaniment.

¹⁹ I carried out a rhythmic analysis of Slovak dance-songs with *duvaj* accompaniment (in an unpublished paper written in 1999 within the class Analysis of Rhythm), and examined the ways in which the *duvaj* pattern was rendered in five different pieces, and at different levels of musical texture, i.e., vocal part, violin part, and parts of accompanying instruments. The characteristics of *duvaj* can be found in Holý (1963 and 1969), Garaj (1997 and 2001), and it is also mentioned by O’Connor (2000:717). Cooley (2005) uses the Hungarian term *dívő* for the same phenomenon in Górale music, in the pieces described by Górale musicians as being Slovak or Hungarian. However, the traditional musicians in Slovakia and Moravia use the term *duvaj*.

²⁰ This is evident in many examples from my fieldwork material as well as on commercial audio recordings of Slovak traditional songs, although it is not reflected in

some regional styles (such as in eastern Slovakia), the instrumental *duvaj* accompaniment can be very regular with no rhythmic deviations, while the vocal part is performed with typical *duvaj*-like inequalities. So, are these durational deviations related to the declamation of words, and hence, a parlando vocal performing style, or are they derived solely from the instrumental *duvaj*?

Without trying to speculate about the nature of this phenomenon, I would like to emphasize one factor that has not received much attention in attempts at explanation: its direct connection with dance and with a very specific tempo range ($\downarrow = 85-105$). First, there is a correlation between the *duvaj* accentuation (2nd and 4th eighth-note) and the dance-step frequently used in whirling dances, *jednokročka*. This one-step pattern, corresponding with four rhythmic pulses (eighth-notes), consists of alternating the step and bending the knees, where the bending of knees (motoric accents) comes on the second and the fourth eighth-note and corresponds with *duvaj* pattern. Second, the tempo of these dances and dance-songs correlates with the basic rhythmic pulsation of walking. In contrast, in the dances (and songs for that matter) in a fast tempo, the walking steps are transposed to leaps, and the instrumental accompaniment transforms to a regular and precise *es-tam* accompaniment.²¹

The *duvaj*-pattern appears particularly strongly in the bridal dances. Example 7-6 represents one of many variants of the song *Na zel'enej lúke kopa sena* (On a green meadow there is a pile of hay) that is sung all over the country to the same *svadobná nôta* associated with the same ceremonial moment. The version from the Spiš village Bystrany

transcriptions.

²¹ An onomatopoeic term used by folk musicians to describe the rhythmic accompaniment of the bass playing the first and third eighth-note and the *kontra*-violin playing the second and fourth eighth-note pizzicato (Důžek and Garaj 2001).

is sung to a different text and is the first of a suite of several dance-songs that accompany the *braltovski* dance.²² This is the case mentioned above, when the instrumental accompaniment plays a regular *duvaj* while the singers-dancers strongly prolong specific eighth notes within the 2/4 measure.

Music ex. 7-6²³

♩ = 96

The musical score consists of three staves of music in 2/4 time. The first staff has the lyrics: Vi - so - ka so - sna — ho - re - la, vi - sok - ka. The second staff has the lyrics: so - sna hor - re - la, pod ņou má mi - lá — še - dze - la. The third staff has the lyrics: pod ņou má mi - lá — še - dze - la. The music features a regular *duvaj* rhythm with some eighth notes being prolonged.

2. /:Jak še to pan Boch raduje:/ 2. /:How the Lord is happy,:/
 /:kec šestra z bratom tancuje.:/ /:when the sister is dancing with her brother.:/
3. /:Jag bi še ņemal radovac,:/ 3. /:How should he not be happy,:/
 /:kedz znaju šumņe tancovac.:/ /:when their dancing is so pretty:/

A listening to the *svadobné nŏty* (both in my fieldwork material and other available audio recordings) with respect to their rhythmic performance—whether sung with or without *duvaj*-like rhythmic inequalities—indicates that the connection with the dance (either actual or imagined) may be, indeed, a determining factor of the existence of the *duvaj* phenomenon. This, however, remains a subject for further inquiry. On the other hand, distinguishing the presence of *duvaj* in the *svadobné nŏty* associated with dance

²² Audio anthology *Obyčajovŏ tance. Slovenskŏ ľudovŏ tanečnŏ hudba* 4, no. 22; transcriptions and analysis are published in Důžek and Garaj 2001: 417.

²³ English translations: /:A high pine tree was burning://: my loved one was sitting underneath:/

serves the purpose of my current discussion, i.e., the idea that the connection of *svadobné nôty* with dance contributed to their survival up to the present times.

7.3 Historical sources of some wedding melodies

Whereas the first ethnographic records of melodies of Slovak traditional songs had not appeared until the early 1830's,²⁴ manuscript hymnals and collections of songs and dances compiled by anonymous authors and preserved in the area of Slovakia in the 17th and 18th centuries—such as *Tabulatura Vietoris*, *Pestrý zborník*, the Kájoni Codex, *Uhrovská zbierka I*, and *Melodiarium Annae Szirmay-Keczer*—provide us with significant information on Slovak traditional music. Their repertoire was compiled from various sources and most probably served for the purposes of dance entertainment and home music making of the Hungarian nobility. This repertoire included melodies of modern European dances, table music, instrumental preludes (*praeambulae* and *notae*) and art songs, as well as Polish, Hungarian, German, and Slovak traditional songs and dances with or without text incipits. The repertoire reflected the musical life of the period, when the noble class took part in the village parties and weddings, singing and dancing together with peasants. The historical sources indicate that the emperors at the Vienna court often organized folk-like allegorical festivities, including peasant-style weddings in traditional costumes of the Austrian Empire nationalities (Nettl 1934: 10). Corresponding with the Baroque interest in folk elements in general, this custom spread among the lower

²⁴ In 1830, Martin Sucháň, encouraged by Pavel Jozef Šafárik, published 12 melodies (arranged for the piano) to Šafárik's collection of texts *Písňe svetské lidu slovenského v Uhřích* [Secular songs of the Slovak people in Hungary]. I, II (Pest, 1823 and 1827). In 1837, Vladimír Fűredy published 25 melodies as a supplement to Ján Kollár's collection (of texts) *Národné zpievanky*. I, II [National songs] (Buda, 1834; 1837).

nobility in the Upper Hungary (present-day Slovakia).

Although we do not have precise information about the compilers of these collections, scholars suggest that they probably originated as notebooks of the Kapellmeister or the first violinist, while the other ensemble members probably played from memory and elaborated (colored) the melodies in accordance with the performance practice of the period.²⁵ This hypothesis is based on the assumption that for their entertainment and dance parties the nobility—particularly the lower nobility of what was then the Upper Hungary—hired village musicians who had little or no theoretical knowledge of music. Therefore, these dance ensembles might have included traditional instruments, such as bagpipes and shepherd pipes, alongside violins and wind instruments (Rybarič 1966: 80; Kresánek 1966: 6). The historical collections discussed are thus regarded only as sketches of parts, which enabled musicians to treat them with relative freedom.

The fact that these collections do not provide complete versions of the pieces, which were most probably spread through oral transmission, indicates their strong stylistic connections with domestic and traditional repertoire of the period. Zoltán Kodály, although admitting that knowledge of music in that period was entirely spread by oral tradition and that the interaction between the nobles and peasants in Hungary was very dynamic, maintains that the borrowing of the melodies had a one-way character, i.e., peasants were borrowing from art music (1971: 100-124). Scholars studying the historical collections under question suggest that the musical contacts and borrowings must have been mutual and, in fact, the dance music of upper classes contained significant traces of

²⁵ See Rybarič 1966; Kresánek 1966 and 1983; Elschek 1965 and 1966; Muntág 1974; Ferenczi and Hulková 1986, and Kačič 2005, among others.

traditional elements. Taking into consideration numerous compositions of European religious and art music of the period, which, unlike the dance manuscripts, were preserved in the area of Slovakia in complete versions, scholars argue that it is the incomplete, mnemotechnic character of the dance tunes recorded in the manuscripts that enables us to look at them as a link between the melodic types known by the society of the period and the renditions of individual musicians. Thus, they are important historical sources illuminating our knowledge of the development of traditional song, the role it played in the dance and instrumental repertoire of the lower nobility of the period, and issues of melodic variation (Elschek 1965: 48; Kresánek 1967).²⁶

In the search for links to the traditional wedding repertoire of the past, three manuscripts proved to be relevant to the discussion of wedding dance-tunes in the previous sections. *Tabulatura Vietoris* (ca. 1660-80) is a collection of both secular and religious songs arranged for two voices as a tablature for virginal.²⁷ Containing over one hundred Slovak religious songs, it was probably compiled by a local organist who, in accordance with the common practice of the period, had at disposal an instrumental ensemble that performed for the nobility on various occasions, including dance parties and weddings. *Melodiarium Annae Szirmay-Keczer* (beginning of the 18th c.) and *Uhrovská zbierka piesní a tancov I* (1730), are collections of songs and dances transcribed for the violin.²⁸ The latter two collections have a similar character; they both

²⁶ See Elschek (1966: 93-94) and Rybarič (1966: 78-82) for arguments on the relation of these manuscripts to the traditional repertoire.

²⁷ Sometimes referred to as Vietoris Codex, it is deposited in the manuscript archive of the Magyar tudományos akadémia könyvtára under the signature K.88. The critical edition by Marta Hulková and Ilona Ferenczi was published in Bratislava, 1986.

²⁸ In previous scholarly literature the *Uhrovská zbierka I* is cited as the Oponice

contain variants of the same melodies but they are not identical, and reflect the different tastes and musicianship of the copyist. Kresánek suggests that the Anna Szirmay-Keczser collection, which was of northeastern-Slovak provenance, has a more domestic (Slovak and Polish) character than the Uhrovec collection or other comparable collections, such as that of Eleonóra Lányi from 1729 (1966: 13-14). This is also evident in the large number of Slovak text incipits in the Anna Szirmay-Keczser collection when compared with other manuscripts.²⁹

Three issues are relevant for a discussion of traditional wedding tunes: (1) variants of several wedding-related dances with Slovak names, in particular the *Ukladany* dance connected with the *Parta* melody, exist in two or all three collections; (2) a piece called *K sobassu nota* (Wedding tune) existing in *Uhrovská zbierka* triggers questions about the origin and use of the term *nota* (Hungarian *nóta*, Slovak *nôta*); and (3) all three collections contain a significant number of dances identified by ethnomusicologists as *hajducky* dance, which, although not a wedding dance per se, is often associated with the *družbovský* dance that accompanies the taking-off of the bridal headdress.

The fact that dances and songs with Slovak names and incipits found their way into the manuscripts not only points to the popularity of these dances among both the traditional village community and the nobility, but also indicates their cultural position as a means of public entertainment available to everyone, providing a link between different

collection, named after the location where it was found in 1956 as the part of the Apponyi library in Oponice (western Slovakia). However, Oponice was soon identified as only a temporary home for the entire collection of the Count Zay family, moved from Uhrovec in 1945. Since 1960, the *Uhrovská zbierka I* has been deposited in the Matica Slovenská in Martin.

²⁹ *Melodiarium Annae Szirmay-Keczser* contains 46 pieces (9 songs and 37 traditional dances) with Slovak incipits (out of 380 records). *Uhrovská zbierka* contains 25 records with Slovak names (out of over 300 records).

social classes. Even more striking is the fact that most of these Slovak-named dances are nowadays known as wedding-related (*Klobučkowy*, *Pregimany*, *Lopatkowy*, *Wankussowy*, *Kačerowy*) and some of them, such as *Ukladany* and *Swegčkowy*, were already back then probably linked to the ritual moments of the second, festive half of the wedding ceremony.

The *Tabulatura Vietoris* and *Uhrovská zbierka I* contain five variants of the tune which I designated in the previous section as the *Parta* melody (see exx. 7-1 and 7-5a,b,c). The tune is recorded in the *Tabulatura Vietoris* in duple meter as *Chorea Sponsae* (i.e., dance of bride), followed by its *Proportio* in triple meter (ex. 7-7ab). It is followed by several other Slovak-named dances, including *Pregmany* (no. 88), *Lopatkowany Tanecz* (no. 89), and *Klobucky Tanecz* (no. 90), the melodic variants of which can be found in both *Uhrovská zbierka I* and *Melodiarium Annae Szirmay-Keczer*.

The form of the *Parta* melody as it appears in the historical sources is somewhat different from the one known in the present traditional repertoire. The first four measures of the historical tune (motifs AB) are identical with the first half of the contemporary variant, which continues with the repetition of the motif A and concludes with the motif C on the final tone g^4 (see exx. 7-5 abc). The historical variants—after the repetition of the first phrase ending on tonic c^5 —continue with a contrasting motif on d^5 , and conclude with the ascending passage in G which resolves in the tonic C. The rhythmic structure of the first four measures in historical variants corresponds with that in present-day ones in the ends of the motifs (the second and fourth measures), whereas the first and third measures vary from one historical version to another in both the number of notes and their rhythmic values. This indicates that they did not follow one text with a constant

number of syllables (compare 7-7 ab and 7-8 abc), and clearly reflects the instrumental character of the historical versions of the *Parta* melody.

Music ex. 7-7

a) Chorea Sponsae (Tab.Viet. no. 87)

The musical score for 'Chorea Sponsae' is presented in two systems. The first system consists of a treble and bass staff. The treble staff begins with a bracket labeled 'A' over the first four measures and another bracket labeled 'B' over the next four measures. The second system also consists of a treble and bass staff, continuing the piece with various rhythmic patterns and repeat signs.

b) Proportio

The musical score for 'Proportio' is presented in two systems. The first system consists of a treble and bass staff. The treble staff has a 3/2 time signature. The second system also consists of a treble and bass staff, continuing the piece with various rhythmic patterns and repeat signs.

In *Uhrovská zbirka I* the variants of the *Parta* melody appear under several designations in Hungarian and, most importantly, Slovak, all referring to the dance of the bride or to the moment of taking off the bridal headdress. The *Praeambulum Gyertya* and *Parta moga* are transcribed as one piece in duple meter (ex. 7-8a), distinguished from

each other by the repetition sign.³⁰ Two variants in triple meter are designated as *Ukladany* dance (exx. 7-8b and c). Interestingly, they have the same arrangement of cadences as the *Tabulatura Vietoris* settings (ex. 7-7), which differ from that of the ex. 7-8a. Although we have no information about how these pieces were performed, the titles enable us to assume that the first eight measures of ex. 7-8a (praeambulum, no. 107) were probably played as a prelude to the dance-song *Parta moga*, the incipit of which indicates that the measures following the first repetition sign might have been sung. However, taking into consideration the previous conclusions about the rhythmic structure, it is more probable that the original traditional wedding song known by its text was in a new cultural milieu transformed into an instrumental melody, which was then played either as table music (duple-meter variants) or dance music (triple-meter variants).

Music ex. 7-8

a) Praeambulum Gyertya. Parta moga (UZ no. 107)

³⁰ The Hungarian word *gyertya* (candle) indicates a possible connection with the candle ceremony described above in section 7.2. The Slovak text *Parta moga* uses an archaic spelling in the possessive adverb *moga* (my); in modern standard Slovak “j” is used instead of “g”, i.e., *moja*.

b) Ukladany (UZ no. 108)



c) Ukladany (UZ no. 168)



To what extent these variants of the *Parta* melody found in the historical manuscripts reflected actual traditional melodies cannot be discerned. However, the fact that, in spite of being found in collections of different provenance and time of origin, they all have the same melodic structure and are distinctively associated with the same function—a ritual of the bride’s transition from the unmarried girl to a married woman—indicates the existence of some kind of melodic model, which was apparently very popular throughout Upper Hungary.

Discussing the relationship between historical dance music manuscripts and Slovak traditional music, scholars have mentioned the existence of *svadobná nôta* in the Uhrovec collection (Elschek 1966: 89-90; Rybarič 1966: 62-68). However, the only piece with the Slovak title *K sobassu nota* (i.e., nota/tune to the marriage ceremony, ex. 7-9) in *Uhrovská zbierka* does not seem to be associated with the phenomenon of *svadobné nôty* pursued in my thesis. The melody itself does not resemble any of the traditional wedding songs and has the character of an instrumental tune; it is based on a descending sequence

of one melodic motif, which is repeated three times in each of three phrases AA³A. The same melody appears in the collection one more time, transcribed a third lower and appearing among several untitled melodies on a folio, the top of which says *nota ad mensam* (i.e., table melody; UZ, no. 162). Stylistically it corresponds with the other 24 table tunes in the Uhrovec collection, designated as *asztáli nôtá(s)* or *notae ad mensam*. Therefore, we can assume that the melody *K sobassu nota* was being played at the table during the wedding feasts.

Music ex. 7-9

K sobassu nota (UZ no. 155)



Despite the lack of melodic resemblance with any of traditional *svadobné nôty*, one can speculate on the connection between the term *nota* as used in the Uhrovec collection and the term *nôta* or *hlas*, used among village people to designate a local melody associated with a specific genre or occasion, such as *svadobná nôta*. While in the historical collections *nota*—similarly to *praeambulum* or *aria*—indicates an instrumental tune for listening, in the contemporary traditional village context *nôta* is associated with a vocal melody sung with numerous texts or with an instrumental melody for dancing.

Wedding guests and participants of the village parties order musicians to play their favorite *nôta*, to which they sing or dance.³¹ The term *hlas* used as a synonym of *nôta* in eastern and south-central Slovakia (*svadobný hlas*) is actually more appropriate for designating the vocal melody; in present-day standard Slovak language *hlas* means “voice.” In the archaic Slovak as well as in South- and East-Slavic languages, *glas* (*golos*) also refers to a tune or mode of singing. Therefore, it seems that the term *nôta*, being of foreign origin (Latin *nota*) and used in the neighboring Hungarian (*nóta*) and Polish languages (*nuta*) to refer to an instrumental melody, was borrowed by Slovak village people, particularly in western and northern parts of the country, to replace the Slavic term *hlas* while maintaining its association with vocal tunes when referring to the wedding tune.

Among the variety of dances and melodies of different origin included in the collections discussed, one category of dances is considered by scholars as most significant, as it contains repertoire stylistically related to Slovak traditional culture. Although this large group of dances (57 in *Uhrovská zbierka*) are designated as *Saltus Hungaricus* or *Hungaresca (Ungaresca)*, the term Hungarian does not necessarily reflect their ethnic or cultural quality, because the Hungarian Empire was a multinational political entity and the term was often used to subsume traditions of Slovaks, Croatians, and Romanians, as well as Hungarians and other peoples living in the common state.³² Within this category, 38 dances were identified as *hajducky* dance in the Uhrovec collection and 74 in the Anna Szirmay-Keczser collection. Kresánek’s historical analysis

³¹ See historical ethnographic accounts, such as *Slovenská svadba* by Anton Em. Timko (1868: 25).

³² A style analysis of this group of melodies was made by Elschek (1966: 94ff. and music exx. 3-22 in the additional supplement).

of the *hajducky* dance traces its roots in several directions, including European nobility's and soldiers' sword dance of the *moresca* type, and shepherds' dances (1959 and 1966: 22ff). Some melodic types of this dance were spread all over east-central Europe in the 16th century, the oldest sources being documented in Poland's organ tablature of Jan z Lublina (1537-1548).³³ The *moresca* and its Hungarian version, *hajduk*, referred to the 16th century battles with Turks. According to Kresánek, it was transformed mainly during the 17th century from a noble soldiers' dance to the traditional shepherd-robbers' dance, in Slovakia referred to as *odzemok*, "from the earth" (1983: xx). While in the historical manuscripts these dances have no texts, Slovak traditional versions are dance songs, with texts clearly depicting motifs from robbers' and shepherds' lives.

A variant of the *hajducky* dance, or *odzemok*, that has been adapted mainly in eastern Slovakia in the wedding ceremony as a *družbovsky* dance (ex. 7-10d), is sung and danced to the melody known in Slovakia as *Po valasky od zeme* (ex. 7-10c). Variants of this melody are also known among Polish Górale (*zbójnicki*, a brigands' dance) and appear in historical sources, including the Anna Szirmay-Keczer collection (exx. 7-10a and b). Example 7-10c was first published in the collection *Slovenské spevy* in 1880 with a footnote, that "this song is sung with a bagpipe accompaniment, while being danced in a *hajduch*, i.e., Wallachian 'odzemok' style."³⁴ Slovak ethnographer Pavol Dobšinský provided a detailed description of *odzemok* in his 1880 account of Slovak traditional

³³ See Kresánek (1959) for a detailed bibliography of sources and historical music examples. Elschek gives a comparative analysis of the variation process in the melodies of *hajducky* dances, providing examples from several Polish, Czech, German, and Slovak sources (1965).

³⁴ Slovak original: "Pri tejto piesni sa pri gajdách **hajduchuje**, t.j. valaský 'odzemok' tancuje" (bold and quotes in original), *Slovenské spevy* I, p. 221. Eight more variants of this song exist in the other volumes of the collection.

customs, games, and dances. He also mentioned that this dance was performed exclusively by men with a bagpipe accompaniment, and that the style of dancing can be called *odzeme, pozabučky tancovať* (to dance behind the beeches), or *hajduchovať* (a verb referring to the way of dancing the *hajducky* dance). Descriptions of the wedding sequence by Timko (1868: 26) and Chorvát (1896: 114) show that *odzemok* was an inevitable part of 19th-century wedding celebrations, where it provided space for young men, groomsmen, to show off their strength and compete in their ability to improvise the complicated step figures.

Interestingly, in the variant of *odzemok* adapted as *družbovský* in the village of Vít'az (ex. 7-10d), a characteristic descending fourth leap at the beginning is absent, so its ambitus does not exceed the interval of a fifth, and the melody with a previously instrumental character (wide melodic range, frequent melodic leaps, no syllabic restrictions) is transformed into a *kvinttonálna* dance song stylistically related to wedding songs.

Finally, even though the *družbovský* may be associated with variants of the same melody, in people's recognition it is not a wedding tune and is not regarded as *svadobná nôta*. This marks the functional distinction of the men's warrior dance—the purpose of which is to capture the bride's wreath—from the ceremonial wedding songs and dances performed on the bride's behalf, mostly by women and girls. A conceptual distinction of the term *svadobná nôta* from this typically men's genre signifies its focus/direction exclusively on bride's perspective.

Music ex. 7-10³⁵

a) ASK no. A-32



b) ASK no. B-8



c) *Odzemok* (Sl. Spevy I, no. 144)³⁶



Po valaš-sky odzeme, ktomikozý zaženie? A ja by ti bol zahnal, a-lesomsa vlka bál.

d) *Družbovski dance*³⁷



A ja za to ňe dám nič, parta moja musí bic, bo o-nami o-beca-la, jag mi ručník dá-va-la.

7.4 Summary

In this chapter I discussed the place of dance in the traditional wedding sequence, and examined various facets of its connection with *svadobné nôty*, including music-stylistic, semantic-functional, and historical aspects. Besides the structural changes, which pertain mainly to the rhythmic-metrical aspects of performance (e.g. the existence of *duvaj*-like rhythmic inequalities), we can think of important cultural consequences of

³⁵ Examples b, c, and d were transposed from the original transcriptions in accordance with the first one, ex. 7-10a.

³⁶ English translation: Like a shepherd, from the earth! Who will drive my goats home? I would have driven them, but I was afraid of wolf.

³⁷ *Hajduk* from Vítaz (eastern Slovakia); can be heard in the audio anthology *Obyčajové tance. Slovenská ľudová tanečná hudba* 4, no. 16. English translation: And I will give nothing for it, the parta must be mine, because she [the bride] promised me, when she was giving me a kerchief. The transcription is published in Dúžek and Garaj (2001: 395).

the association of *svadobné nôty* with dance. Particularly those *svadobné nôty* which are sung during the second half of the wedding (during and after the wedding feast up to the bridal dance), and therefore are likely to exist in instrumental and dance versions, are usually known nationwide. Some *svadobné nôty*, such as the *Parta* melody, cross ethnic and social boundaries, as can be seen in extant historical sources of secular music of the Hungarian nobility. Melodies in the historical collections that are similar or identical to *svadobné nôty* preserved up to the present seem to be those related to the wedding dances performed during the second half of the wedding (i.e., melodies of *hajdúsky* and taking off the bridal wreath). It is probably no coincidence that in historical manuscripts we only find the dance-related melodies, and no vocal melodies of the ceremonial wedding songs.

In sum, the dance function and instrumental rendition may have facilitated the distribution of *svadobné nôty* beyond local or regional contexts. First, a melody which can be danced to, with respect to both its giusto rhythm and the character of dancing as a social activity, can be more easily remembered. Second, traditional musicians are known for their social and physical mobility (they are often hired for playing at weddings in various places within or beyond their region), which contributes to the geographical spread and unification of the song and dance repertoire. Especially the bridal dance, during which the guests ordered their favorite songs to accompany their dance with the bride, was an opportunity for musicians to show their knowledge of the repertoire and flexibility in playing the melodies that may have been new to them. Thinking of the transformation processes in recent and contemporary traditional weddings, in which singing is gradually disappearing while dancing remains more viable as a form of wedding entertainment, it comes as a natural explanation that it was the association of

certain *svadobné nôty*, such as the *Parta* melody, with the part of the wedding marked by dance and instrumental music, that helped these melodies not only to survive but also to become well-known nationwide.

Chapter 8

Svadobné nôty in the context of local and regional music traditions

The analyses of functional, poetic, music-stylistic, and historical aspects of *svadobné nôty* showed that they are recognized by village people as functionally determined and geographically restricted melodies. The questions arise as to whether a locally recognized *svadobná nôta* is only limited to a specific area or has a broader geographical distribution, and whether performers' awareness and distinction of a local wedding tune corresponds with its scholarly perception. The last chapter will shed light on the relationship between *svadobné nôty* as melodic types and the variety of Slovak regional styles.

8.1 The aspects of regional styles and melodic typology of ceremonial wedding tunes

In the previous part, I theorized that the *svadobné nôty* associated with dance and instrumental music were more likely to be spread throughout larger cultural and geographical areas, and to be used today in new contexts, which focus on entertainment and dance. Besides the historically documented nationwide dissemination of the *Parta* melody, it seems that broader geographical distribution of ceremonial wedding songs is a rather recent phenomenon, related to folklorism and dissemination of the traditional song repertoire via mass media. For instance, the specific melodic rendition of the wedding song *Zbohom ostávajújte, mamičkine klučky* (Farewell, my mother's doorknobs) by the famous singer of traditional songs, ethnologist, and editor of the Slovak Radio traditional

music programs Darina Laščiaková became so popular in the 1970s and 1980s that the song (the text variants of which were originally known and sung to local and regional wedding tunes) in her interpretation became an inevitable component of the civil (i.e., state) marriage ceremonies throughout the whole country. Although *svadobné nôty*, as well as the ceremonial wedding songs with fixed melodies, rarely become popular by a wide distribution through media, the *svadobná nôta Nit-2* (Transcr. 5) has recently found its way to the CD released by the singer of neotraditional music Zuzana Mojžišová, whose arrangement of the song syncretizes the traditional singing style with elements common to world music, such as the use of electronic instruments and drums, and the rhythmic and melodic elements of Balkan music.

There is no doubt that traditional songs—either their texts, their melodies, or both—always migrated and wandered under various circumstances, crossing cultural, geographical, and social borders (Gošovs'kyj 1971). Nevertheless, the ethnomusicologists who focused on genre distinctions of traditional songs pointed out that the melodies which developed in the context of functionally determined performance practice (such as work songs, wedding songs, lullabies, etc.) are usually limited to an intraregional distribution of the specific genre (Elscheková 1987a, Urbancová 2005: 106, 132ff). When the melody of a ceremonial genre crosses cultural or geographical borders, it usually crosses genre boundaries as well, because it is transformed, performed in a different context, conceived differently by its bearers/performers, and possibly assigned different roles by them (Eval'd 1934; Mozejko 1971). In her recent monograph on *trávnice*, the Slovak haymaking songs, Hana Urbancová showed that specific melodic types (*lúčne nôty*, i.e., meadow tunes) which are linked to this particular genre and perceived as such

by performers, usually coincide with regional borders and can most appropriately be studied in the context of regional styles (*ibid.*).

The scholarly use of the notions of system, style, and type usually varies according to analytical perspectives and methods (Blum 1992; Burlasová 1981: 369). In Slovak ethnomusicology, musical style has been defined as the sum of the most characteristic features constituting a homogeneous whole within a particular culture. Depending on the scope and particular aspects of the cultural unit we want to characterize, we can talk about various styles, such as local, regional, and national styles; historical styles; vocal and instrumental styles; etc. The previously discussed system of historically and socially determined music-stylistic strata of Slovak traditional songs (as outlined in chapter 6) remains the basis of regional styles, sometimes called musical dialects. The synonym “musical dialect” actually better reflects people’s active involvement in its formation and existence. Since regional cultures in Slovakia developed under more or less diverse geographical, historical, economical, and cultural circumstances, the proportion of particular stylistic strata differs from one region to another, with one of the strata usually prevailing and determining the character of the whole regional style (Elscheková and Elschek 2005: 153). The vitality of the specific musical dialect (or regional style) depends on people’s ability to elaborate, assimilate, modify, and combine its own and foreign elements into a homogeneous whole, recognizable as such by its bearers. Regional styles differ from each other in performance style, both vocal and instrumental, in some prevailing tonal, melodic, rhythmic, and formal features, and in distinct melodic types associated by people with specific singing occasions.

The previous chapters revealed that the *svadobné nôty* can be conceived as melodic types, recognized by village people as melodic symbols of local wedding traditions. Therefore, the outline of melodic typology of *svadobné nôty* based on their regional distribution serves here not only as the basic criterion for organizing and presenting the transcribed material, but also to point out that the relationship between the melodic type and its local/regional recognition is a significant aspect of the genre and, I would suggest, of any other functionally determined genre of Slovak or, more generally, of Slavic music traditions. Before characterizing specific melodic types of the *svadobné nôty* and the regional styles to which they belong, I will briefly discuss some terminological and conceptual issues of melodic typology as they appeared in the previous European and American scholarship.

Melodic typology as a scholarly procedure grew from the interest in melodic relations both within a specific musical culture and between two or more different ones, and from the need to organize and classify large numbers of songs and melodies collected in the national song archives and collections.¹ The two goals appeared as especially significant in European ethnomusicology since the late 1960s, leading to the joint attempt of the members of the ICTM Study Group for Music Systematization at searching for common methods of identifying and classifying melodic relationships in order to apply them to interethnic comparisons (D. Stockmann and Elschek 1969; D. Stockmann and Stęszewski 1973). However, these endeavors failed to find a common methodological platform and remained on the level of organizing and classifying particular national repertoires in terms of grouping together variants of the same or similar tunes, and

¹ For the survey of research in melodic typology, see Dobszay and Szendrei (1992), Shapiro (1985), and Cowdery (1990), among others.

consequently, revealing the inner stylistic relations within specific traditions (Olsvai 1963; Járdányi 1964; Dobszay and Szendrei 1992; Vetterl and Hrabalová 2003; and Urbancová 2005:132). The main obstacle was the impossibility of identifying such aspects of melodic type that would be characteristic of different ethnic traditions. Thus, the differences in concepts of melodic type, and the criteria of their differentiation, seem to be determined not only by different goals of melodic typologies but also by the specifics of a given song repertoire, including the ways it is perceived by its principal bearers.

Methods and problems of classification and melodic typology became one of the main interests of Slovak ethnomusicology after World War II, preceded by Béla Bartók's outline of melodic types based on his lexicographic system of the Slovak folk songs (Bartók 1959). Typological analysis was one of several analytical systems that were created according to the specific purposes of ethnomusicological research in Slovakia. In order to examine the Slovak traditional song repertoire in a broader context of Slavic and European traditional songs, the tasks of melodic typology were (1) to examine geographical links among traditional musical phenomena in order to reveal tendencies of melodic migration ("wandering"); (2) to reveal the most distinct, the most local traditional phenomena; and (3) to reveal and summarize the specific features of the traditional music of a specific nation (ethnic group) in search of its stylistic homogeneity (Elscheková 1969; Elschek 1966; Elschek and Stockmann 1969). The difficulty of melodic typology lies in the fact that it is impossible to discern whether two similar melodies from distant places are variants of a common melodic basis, or there is no direct relationship between the two, i.e., they are results of independent melodic developments, and their similarity is random (Elscheková and Elschek 2005:125). Therefore, a melodic

typology should take into consideration other aspects that play a role in the existence and development of particular melodic styles, such as history, geography, and genre distinctions, which are often interrelated with the intensity, length, and character of contacts with other ethnic traditions.² Considering the history of the territory of Slovakia (as outlined in chapter 2.1 and the Appendix B), which has been a crossroad of cultural and ethnic movements, it is possible that the variants of the same melody found in, for instance, Moravia and Hungary, or Moravia and Ukraine, were mediated via Slovakia. Bartók, whose contribution to the comparative study of Slovak and Hungarian music traditions and their mutual relations has not yet been surpassed, claimed that Slovak village people played a significant role in mediating the German-Czech musical elements to the Hungarian traditional music (Bartók 1954[1935]).³

An understanding of the relationship between the melodic model and its variants became the basic issue of the research on *tune families* (as a counterpart of the concept of *melodic types*) within the tradition of British-American folk songs and ballads.⁴ One of the main concerns of the scholars of the tune-family concept was also the question of

² Bartók (1954) distinguished several kinds of possible variant relationships between traditional musics of two neighboring cultures: (1) melody is taken over as a whole without changes; (2) melody is slightly altered by augmentation, diminution, etc.; (3) melody is substantially changed in accordance with the musical feeling and style of the given ethnic/cultural group/nation; and (4) only selected formal and rhythmic formulas of the foreign melody are borrowed.

³ According to Elscheková and Elschek (2005: 137). See also many cross-references between the Slovak, Moravian, and Hungarian folk song material in Bartók's collections of Hungarian and Slovak folk songs (1981[1924] and 1959).

⁴ The use of the term tune family was initiated by Phillips Barry in 1930s, and conceptualized mainly by Samuel Bayard (1970[1950]: 97), who evaluated and discussed its relation to style and type, criticizing the use of the latter in previous folk song scholarship as vague. For the reflections on Bayard and further tune family discussion, see Cazden (1972), Shapiro (1985), Labaree (1989), Cowdery (1990), among others.

whether it is possible to group the tunes on the basis of their origin from a common source, from which different variants were derived in a diachronic perspective, or whether their similarities and identities are the outcomes of parallel but isolated developments (Cazden 1972; Bayard 1970[1950]). Although the complexity of the issue prevented scholars from arriving at simplistic solutions, the tune-family concept implied the idea of a common ancestor (hence the term “family”), or at least a group of tune-types, which gave rise to other groups of melodies (Shapiro 1985:188). Any variant could be an abstract prototype (Olsvai 1963).⁵ Therefore, more important was the view of a folk song “as a process which is inseparable from the people who create it,” and the idea that folk singers did not memorize a “series of words and notes,” but rather “a fluid idea of a song” (Shapiro 1985: 59 and 63), a tune model (Cowdery 1985 and 1990), an underlying structure, or a melodic idiom, “which acts as the specific mechanism of creation and transmission” (Labaree 1989:137). Such a model can be seen as a generating pattern in the mind of the performer, and by means of the variation process it can lead to any number of individual renditions. Labaree (1989) calls the variability of troubadour melody in the course of being performed, the “mouvance.”⁶ Whether reflecting the underlying melodic prototype that dwells in the mind of the performer, or summarizing common features shared by the group of tunes, a melodic type remains an abstract model

⁵ Olsvai proposed the concept for the comparison of variations of one tune-family of the Hungarian folk songs and summarized six principal types of variation. He also paid attention to how the variations come about, at which positions in a tune, and how one variation influences another according to specific rules.

⁶ Labaree (1989) interprets James Cowdery’s concept of tune model in Irish traditional songs and Leo Treitler’s concept of underlying structure or matrix in medieval plainchant as similar to each other, and analogous with his own concept of melodic idiom in troubadour songs.

that is in a dialectical relationship to its concrete renditions; its existence can only be assumed on the basis of the melodic relationships among its specific variants.

A closer look at the transcribed material of *svadobné nôty*, and comparison of it with the material of wedding songs available in published collections of Slovak traditional songs, shows that many of these melodies are closer or more distant variants of one another. In other words, they can be viewed as belonging to several melodic types. The relationship between melodic type and the concept of *svadobná nôta* can be explained on the basis of the geographical spread of the melodies connected with the specific genre. In the material presented, the melodic type, although derived from specific songs as a theoretical construct, can be understood as a crosspoint of performers' awareness of genre and its association with local tradition. However, what performers consider a *local* melody usually can be considered as a variant of a melodic type of broader (sub)regional diffusion. In this way, the outline of melodic types proposed in the following part can reveal the melodic relations within and between specific regions of Slovakia, namely those represented by the fieldwork material.

8.2 Outline of a typology of wedding tunes

The *melodic type*, in the following part of this study, is understood as an abstract melodic model based on a summary of resemblances identified within a group of melodies which share a similar melodic contour defined by diagnostic tones (i.e., pitches occurring in rhythmically strong positions),⁷ melodic form (with distinctive motifs occurring at crucial moments of the melodic structure), and partly by distinctive rhythmic

⁷ The term diagnostic tones is borrowed from Bayard's concept of identification of related tunes (according to Shapiro 1985: 50, and Goertzen 1997: 167).

motifs, tonal aspects, and range. Instead of distinguishing the specific melodic types according to a priori structural criteria, I was led by the criterion of their regional spread. Thus, the *svadobné nôty* studied were grouped in the melodic types that more or less correspond with regional styles.

The basic aspect of the relationship between the melodies of *svadobné nôty* and their texts is their strophic character and fixed syllabic structure of the text, which both contribute to the periodicity of the song and recognition of the specific melody. Whereas the strophic character and number of syllables per poetic and melodic line belong to relatively stable elements of specific *svadobné nôty* (but not necessarily of specific melodic types), the rhythmic organization (including the rhythmic divisions, the length and order of rhythmic motifs) as well as tempo and *parlando* vs. *giusto* performance are more flexible, depending on the interpretation context.⁸ Since the material analyzed in this study is only a sample, neither its typology nor its representation of geographical distribution of the individual wedding tunes and their variants is complete or accurate.

The following outline of fourteen melodic types of *svadobné nôty* is a construct, and is not based on performers' perception of melodic types within their repertoire. In fact, people's perception of similarity or difference between two melodies often does not correspond with the scholar's perspective. For easier reference to the specific examples, both typology and transcriptions are organized according to regions which follow as Nitra, Hont, Trenčín, Kysuce, eastern Slavonia (Croatia), and Spiš, and within the regions

⁸ The *parlando* vs. *giusto* performance of some *svadobné nôty*, mostly those built on the tonal framework of the interval of a fourth (such as the variants of Klu-1/Transcr. 15, or Sel-2 and Sel-3/Transcr. 11 and 12, but also kvinttonálna Nit-1/Transcr. 4) was discussed in part 6.3.4. However, the singers seem to maintain the sense of more or less regular beat even when singing in a more relaxed rhythm.

according to the alphabetically ordered villages. Melodic types (Roman numerals) will be discussed in an order more or less corresponding with that of the transcriptions, so that the songs representing specific melodic types can be easily found. Figures 8.1 through 8.10 below are only comparative melodic outlines, not the complete melodies. They were abstracted from several wedding tunes on the basis of their melodic and rhythmic similarities. In the multi-part melodies of Kysuce and eastern Slavonia, only the upper part is abstracted. Longer rhythmic values represent structurally more important pitches and the bar lines designate melodic phrases, as they are indicated also in the analytical notations accompanying the transcriptions of each *svadobná nôta*. The number of syllables and beats corresponding with a specific melodic phrase is indicated below each melodic outline. I omit outlining those melodic types of which I have only one example (i.e., one variant or two identical variants) available from my fieldwork. Those can be found among transcriptions.

Slovak ethnomusicologists distinguished four areas with distinct musical dialects: (1) western and southern Slovakia; (2) central and northern Slovakia; (3) eastern Slovakia; and (4) the regions of Spiš and Gemer, lying on the border between eastern, southern, and central Slovakia. In my outline of melodic types of *svadobné nôtty*, I am following this differentiation of musical dialects with one exception; since the *svadobné nôtty* from Spiš are similar to those of other eastern Slovak regions, I am discussing them in the context of eastern Slovak musical dialect.

8.2.1 *Western and southern Slovakia.*

The musical style of western and southern Slovakia is considered as the least distinct in comparison with the rest of the country. However, within a diverse repertoire of genres and music-stylistic phenomena, this area conceals the oldest melodic types of the Slovak traditional music, traces of which might go back to the Great Moravian era and to common Slavic musical elements (Elscheková and Elschek 2005). As a flatland with good soil, this area had always been ideal for agriculture and, hence, for the peasant way of life, including culture and traditions. The old peasant *kvarntonálne* genres of magic-ritual songs, harvest songs, and wedding songs can be found here in a more significant proportion than elsewhere in the country. Specific features of the western-Slovak *kvarntonálne* songs include the plagal connection of tetrachords,⁹ more frequent occurrence of the recitative melodies based on the frameworks of a second and a third, and the distinct transition from the *kvarntonálny* to the *kvinttonálny* framework via adding an upper or a lower second to the tonal framework of the fourth, whereas in central Slovakia, this transition was mediated by the shepherd-Walachian style (ibid.). Whereas the melodic aspects of songs in this area gradually developed under the influence of newer harmonic songs (e.g., an arc-like melody and a melodic transposition, such as in fig. 8.2 below), they kept the form and tonal aspects of older strata (e.g., an open form instead of a rounded form, and pre-harmonic tonalities based on a two-tone framework rather than on one central tone as in major/minor tonality). Typical for this area is monophonic singing, especially in ceremonial songs. Newer genres, however, are often sung in parallel thirds. Besides the regions of Nitra and Hont, the melodic types of which

⁹ Such as when one melodic section of the song is based on the framework c^5-g^4 , and another one on g^4-d^4 (see chapter 6.3.1, Fig. 1d).

are examined below, the western musical dialect includes the regions of Záhorie (with gradual transition to the neighboring Moravia), greater Bratislava, greater Trnava, Myjava, Tekov, and Novohrad (see the map).

Nitra region and Hont region

Type I

Ia) Variants of the *svadobná nôta Nit-1* (Transcr. 4) from the collection *Svadobné piesne a obyčaje z okolia Nitry* (Járek and Luther 1989)

Ib) Variants of the *svadobná nôta Nit-2* (Transcr. 5) from the same collection

Figure 8.1

Nit 1

Syll.: 6 6 6 6
Beats ♩: 2 4-5 3 5-6

Nit 2

Syll.: 8 8+1
Beats ♩: 4 4

Although the two melodic types from the Nitra region do not come from my own fieldwork, they represent the most significant examples of *svadobné nôty* in that region, since they are spread throughout the whole region in more or less distinct variants. Since extensive regional research on wedding songs and customs has been done there by Marián Járek and Bernard Garaj in the 1980s (the outcome of which was the above-

mentioned comprehensive collection of wedding songs), I decided to use the collection as a source of the *svadobné nôty* examples from Nitra and to conduct my fieldwork in other areas. Both melodies are spread throughout the lower Nitra region and parts of the Hont region among both Slovak and Hungarian people.¹⁰

Both subtypes are based on the *kvinttonálny* framework, the first using a major, the second using an unstable third degree. The two melodies share the beginning motif, an upward leap of a fifth from g^4 , the first phrase staying around the fifth (d^5), and the second phrase emphasizing the descending motion from the fourth (or the fifth) down to the final. The return to g^4 in the second melody is postponed: its second phrase jumps back to c^5 before repeating itself and ending on g^4 . It seems like the second and third phrases of the *Nit-2* melody are just an expansion of the same melodic material which in a condensed form appears in the third and fourth phrase of the *Nit-1* melody. It can be hypothesized that the second subtype (*Nit-2*) developed later from the first one, in order to accommodate text strophes with eight-syllable lines (here extended to nine syllables by an interjection *ej*), which were probably of a later date than those with six-syllable verses, which are more typical for the ceremonial wedding songs.

Both songs appear in many local variants with dozens of texts related to the particular phases of the wedding ceremony. In some villages (such as Veľký Lapáš) they can be sung interchangeably in accordance with the type of the text (strophes with six-syllable lines or those with eight-syllable lines). As such, they are an excellent example

¹⁰ Elscheková and Elschek (2005: 134ff) refer to Hungarian scholars' unsuccessful attempts to find variants of the wedding songs sung by the Hungarian people around Nitra in other parts of the mainland Hungary, and explain it by the regionally restricted spread of these songs and their Slovak origin, since Hungarian people sang some wedding songs and the carnival songs with both Slovak and Hungarian texts.

of a two-fold relationship between the melody and text of the wedding songs sung to *svadobné nôty*. On the one hand, the link between the two aspects is free, as different texts can be sung to one melody; on the other hand, there is a formal (structural, syllabic) interdependence between the two. Moreover, the vitality and richness of the specific local tradition is reflected in the ability to appropriate a variety of ceremonial texts of different formal structure, while remaining constrained by the ritual need of using one local wedding melody (or melodic type).

Type II

MZál-3 (Transcr. 2) and *MZál-1* (Transcr. 1)

Figure 8.2

MZál-3
Syll: 8 9 8
Beats: 6 8 6

MZál-1
Syll: 6 + 6 4 /:6:/ 4 6
Beats: 4 6 4 6

The melody *MZál-3* functions in Malé Zálužie as the *svadobná nôta* with the same texts that in other villages of the region are sung to the melodies of type I. The subtype IIa is a *kvinttonálna* melody with elements of new harmonic songs: a rounded form (ABA) with a third transposition of the middle phrase and centrality of the final g^4 , supported by a leading tone $f\#^4$. The subtype IIb has a similar melodic contour but a wider range and an expanded formal structure with textual and melodic repetitions. The latter is not a typical *svadobná nôta*, although it appears in this and other villages with many texts, mainly depicting the lyrical love motifs and rather pessimistic images of the

bride's future life (see also the song text in Dolný Badín, DBad35). The performer claimed that the song was sung at different moments of the wedding.

Type III

DBad-3 (Transcr. 6) and *O-12* (Transcr. 20)

Figure 8.3

DBad-3

Syll: 6 6 6 6
Beat 4-5 4-5 4-5 5-6

O-12

Syll: 1+6 6 1+6 6
Beat ((6)) ((6)) ((6)) ((6))

This *svadobná nôta* seems to cross regional and genre boundaries, because it appears also in Ochodnica (Kysuce region) as an alternative melody for singing a variant of a widely known wedding text (*Hej, pozi sa Anička*; compare Transcr. 19 and 20). On the other hand, in Dolný Badín the melody is also used in a lullaby (see the song text DBad49). This melodic type represents a beautiful example of an older layer of *kvarttonálne* songs, which along with its melodic and rhythmic features indicates its affinity to the genres sung outdoors, such as the *trávnice*, haymaking songs (see Urbancová 2005).

8.2.2 Central and northern Slovakia.

This mountainous part of the country was favorable for the development of the Wallachian-pastoral traditions and as such, it represents the most distinct and the most characteristic Slovak musical dialect, marked by tonal structures built on the interval of

the fifth or the triad, by the tonal peculiarities of instruments, such as the *koncovka* (end-blown flute) and *fujara*, which might be responsible for the frequent occurrence of augmented fourth and lowered seventh degrees of the scale, and by the sound and playing styles of traditional instrumental bands, especially those in Pohronie and in the Tatra region. Besides the Trenčín region and Kysuce, both of which have been subjects of my fieldwork, this culture-geographical area includes the regions of Orava, Liptov, and Podpoľanie in the north, Horehronie in the east, and Podpoľanie in the middle. Especially the music traditions of the latter two have been well documented and presented in scholarly publications and audiovisual media.¹¹ The north-Slovak musical dialect shares common melodic and tonal elements (even the variants of the same melodic types) with Górale music traditions (Slovak term for the people is *Gorali*), which thrive on both sides of the Slovak-Polish border.¹² Except for the monophonic Podpoľanie and parts of the Trenčín region, the whole area is distinguished by several types of multipart singing, varying from one region to another, but sharing the function of the foresinger who starts with the first melodic motif or the first text line and then is joined by other singers, who end the phrases in unison. Village people have their own terms for the particular voices and their roles.¹³

¹¹ The monographs Podpoľanie (1979) and Horehronie (Gašparíková 1988); see the discographic series *Panoráma ľudovej hudobnej kultúry* and *Klenotnica ľudovej hudby* (the Czechoslovak radio program series, the excerpts of which were published in the journal *Hudba, spev, tanec* in 1968 and in *Rytmus* in 1969 some of the local weddings were released on LP records).

¹² See Cooley (2005) and Szurmiak-Bogucka (1974) for the examples of Górale wedding melodies.

¹³ For the studies on traditional multipart singing in Slovakia see Urbancová (1997), Elscheková (1997c), and Burlasová (1987), among others.

Trenčín region

Type IV

Sel-2 (Transcr. 11) and *Sel-3* (Transcr. 12)

The first melody is linked to the special group of ceremonial wedding songs of the Trenčín region, called *vencové* (wreath) songs, sung to the bride during the pre-wedding evening by her girlfriends, while preparing the bridal headdress and plumes for the wedding guests. The second one is a universal *svadobná nôta* known all over the region. Urbancová (1998 and 2005a) identified the former (*Sel-2*) as a mixture of two melodic types characteristic of the *vencové* songs: the first line represents a specific *vencová* melody by itself, and the second line is a variant of the *svadobná nôta Sel-3*. Such a blend of two melodies into one probably originated from the practice of dialogical antiphonal singing, which in performance of wedding songs may have symbolized the conflict between two groups (lineages) (Urbancová 2005a: 85).¹⁴ During my fieldwork in Selec, two singers sang the two melodies alternately, taking turns in initiating the song as if imitating the dialogical singing.

Type V

Sel-8 (Transcr. 13)

This melodic type, together with *Sel-9* (Type VI, Transcr. 10) represents the so-called *pohárkové*, glass songs, sung during the wedding feast by guests to tease one another. In Selec, the two melodies were sung alternately.

¹⁴ See the previous discussion of tonal characteristics of these songs in chapter 6 (part 6.3.1).

Type VI

Sel-9 (Transcr. 14), *F-1* (Transcr. 10), *ZnB-5* (Transcr. 24), and *Milj-10.6* (Transcr. 31)

Figure 8.4

The figure displays four staves of musical notation, each representing a different song. The staves are labeled on the left as Sel-9, F-1, ZnB-5, and Milj-10.6. Below the staves, there are four measures of music. Underneath each measure, the syllable and beat counts are indicated. The counts are: Measure 1: Syll 6, Beat 2; Measure 2: Syll 6, Beat 3; Measure 3: Syll 6, Beat 2; Measure 4: Syll 6, Beat 3.

Although the *pohárková* song *Sel-9* and the teasing song *Milj-10.6* have a slightly different function than the other two melodies connected with ceremonial moments, all four share a common rhythmic structure with the characteristic augmentation of the second and fourth melodic phrases (thus creating two five-measure lines), and a similar melodic contour. The dissemination of this melodic type seems to cross the northern border of the Trenčín region reaching the neighboring Kysuce (*ZnB-5*), from which it migrated to the Kysuce diaspora in Slavonia (*Milj-10.6*). It is remarkable that the Fačkov *svadobná nôta* (*F-1*) and the one from Zborov nad Bystricou (*ZnB-5*) differ completely from the *svadobné nôty* used in the neighboring villages, i.e., Čičmany and Stará Bystrica, respectively, while using the same or similar texts. The differences between the melodic material of Zborov and other Kysuce villages were also noted by performers themselves.

Type VII

Čič-1 (Transcr. 7)

Surrounded by the mountains (Strážovské pohorie) and isolated from other villages and communication routes/channels, Čičmany developed a distinctive traditional culture, including a unique architecture, embroidery, *kroj* (traditional costume), and traditional music. Although this melody functions in the village as the *svadobná nôta* sung with several texts at different moments of the wedding ceremony, the individual wedding songs with a fixed relationship between their texts and melodies, and greater melodic diversity, are more characteristic of Čičmany. When the Čičmany people sang different texts to this melody for me, at one point they made a comment that there are more strophes but people used to alternate the songs, so that they were not sung to the same melody. In Čičmany, people usually sing in parallel thirds when more singers get together, unlike the Selec people who sing the most of the vocal genres in unison.

Kysuce region and the Slovak enclave in Slavonia

The phenomenon of *svadobná nôta* is particularly germane for the Kysuce region as can be seen from the fact that people recognize it as such, when they say that all the ceremonial wedding songs were sung to one wedding tune. The use of one universal melody with many different texts was also taken over by the people emigrating from Kysuce in the 19th century to eastern Slavonia, where they continued to keep their specific Kysuce multipart singing style, different from that of Slavonian Croats. In both the Kysuce and Slavonia villages, people commented on their multipart singing, using similar terms: one or two singers begin the song, they go *napred* (forward), the others

join in lower parallel thirds, which the Croatian Slovaks describe that they *rožia* (infin., *rožit*).¹⁵ People in Slavonia were not very keen to sing alone when there was no one to *rožit* (to sing the second part). Similarly, in Ochodnica (Kysuce), the woman remarked that the parts should fit together beautifully.¹⁶

Type VIII

Klu-1 (Transcr. 15), *NB-1* (Transcr. 16), *R-1* (Transcr. 21), *SB-2* (Transcr. 23) in the Kysuce villages and *Josip-6.2(6.3)* (Transcr. 26) in Slavonia

Figure 8.5

The figure shows two staves of musical notation in treble clef. The top staff is labeled 'Kysuce variants' and the bottom staff is labeled 'Josip. variants'. Below the notation, syllable and beat counts are provided for each measure. The counts are: Measure 1: Syll 6, Beat 4-5; Measure 2: Syll 6, Beat 4; Measure 3: Syll 1+6, Beat 4; Measure 4: Syll 1+6, Beat 6.

This *svadobná nôta* seems to be so characteristic for the Kysuce region that the people immigrating from this area in the 19th century to the lower parts of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy preserved it for the subsequent generations, and today it is still known and sung at the Slovak weddings in Josipovac (Slavonia, Croatia). The multipart performance style of this song gave rise to local variations of the melody albeit within the

¹⁵ I was not able to identify the exact meaning of the word *rožiti*, which may be a Slovak-Croatian hybrid etymologically related to the Slovak word *rôzny* (different). There is a rather small probability that the term is related to the Istrian double reed instrument *sopila*, also called *roženica*, or to the 18th-c. *roxniza* (pron. *rožnica*, trumpet), which is mentioned in the *Dizionario italiano, latino illirico*, by Ardelio della Bella (Venice 1728, p. 229) under the headword *Cornetta, strumento musicale. Buccina harmonica*. (I would like to thank Zdravko Blažeković for the above information.)

¹⁶ “Abi sa to krásne zhodovalo” (Interview in Ochodnica, 2001).

same vertical/harmonic material.¹⁷ While rare in Slavonian variants, a newer element, a lower fourth leap at the beginning of the melody, is frequent in the Kysuce variants. All of the examples, however, end in unison on g^4 , which is typical for the multipart interpretation of older and ceremonial song genres.

Type IX

O-3 (Transcr. 19), *Josip-6.6* (Transcr. 27), *Led-8.2* (Transcr. 28), *Milj-10.1*

(Transcr. 29), and *ZGaj-9.4* (Transcr. 32)

Figure 8.6

The figure displays two musical examples of Type IX. The first, labeled 'O-3', shows a melodic line on a treble clef staff with a key signature of one sharp (F#). Below the staff is a syllable/beat diagram with four measures: the first measure has 'Syll: 6' and 'Beat 4'; the second has 'Syll: 6' and 'Beat 4'; the third has 'Syll: 6' and 'Beat 6'; and the fourth has 'Syll: 6' and 'Beat 6'. The second example, labeled 'Slavon. variants', also shows a melodic line on a treble clef staff. Its syllable/beat diagram has four measures: the first has 'Syll: 6' and 'Beat 4'; the second has 'Syll: 1+6' and 'Beat 6'; the third has 'Syll: 1+6' and 'Beat 6'; and the fourth has 'Syll: 1+6' and 'Beat 6'.

This melodic type is spread throughout all the Slovak villages in eastern Slavonia, where besides being a *svadobná nôta* it also functions as a symbol of Slovak cultural identity, as one of its texts includes the verse “Slováci, Slováci, šeci sme jednáci, jako bi nás bola mala jedna maci” (Slovaks, Slovaks, we are all the same, as if we were born from one mother, see the text Led8.22). Most of its renditions, however, are linked to the wedding texts, particularly to the humorous and teasing ones. When sung with the ceremonial texts, the melody is performed in a slower tempo and relaxed rhythm, while the humorous songs are sung in faster giusto tempo. The same melodic variant with the augmented fourth functions as the wedding melody also in the region of Liptov in north-

¹⁷ The comparative melodic outline above indicates only the upper-part melody.

central Slovakia (SEP III, nos. 252 and 267) and its variants can be also found in southern Moravia (Elscheková and Elschek 2005: 130). *Svadobná nôta O-3* from Kysuce can be seen as a variant of the same melodic type, whereas its first two phrases could correspond with the first phrase of the Slavonian variants.

Type X

SB-1 (Transcr. 22), *NB-7* (Transcr. 18), and their variants *Jel-1.10* (Transcr. 25)

and *NB-5* (Transcr. 17)

Figure 8.7

The figure displays three musical staves, each representing a different variant of Type X. Each staff includes a melodic line in treble clef and a corresponding syllable and beat count below it. The first staff, labeled SB-1/NB-7, shows a melodic line with a sharp sign on the second degree of the scale. The second staff, labeled NB-5, shows a melodic line with a sharp sign on the second degree. The third staff, labeled Jel-1.10, shows a melodic line with a sharp sign on the second degree. The syllable and beat counts are as follows:

Variant	Phrase 1	Phrase 2	Phrase 3	Phrase 4
SB-1/NB-7	Syll: 6 Beat 3	Syll: 5 Beat 4	Syll: 5 Beat 4	-
NB-5	Syll: 8 Beat 4	Syll: 6 Beat 6	Syll: 8 Beat 4	Syll: 6 Beat 6
Jel-1.10	Syll: 6 Beat 3	Syll: 6 Beat 6	Syll: 6 Beat 3	Syll: 6 Beat 5

The first two variants can be seen as concise versions of the third one (*NB-5*), which repeats one melodic line but the first time ending it on the second degree. The *svadobná nôta* from Jelisavec (Slavonia) is a more distant variant but is based on the same rhythmic structure and melodic progression (i.e., prolongation in the second and fourth phrases, and their endings, first line on the second degree, the second line on the first). In Jeslisavec, the melody was varied from one performance to another by both the same and different singers, and it was also sung to other than wedding-related texts (love

song, harvest song, feather-picking song). One of the informants told me that individual families have their own versions of this wedding song.

Type XI

Milj-10.5 (Transcr. 30) and *ZGaj-9.8* (Transcr. 33)

Not a *svadobná nôta* in a proper sense of the word, this melody is sung at weddings with many texts of humorous but not teasing character, and not directly related to wedding subjects. The Slovak people in the Slavonian villages might have chosen this melody to serve as a universal tune, that would fit several Slovak texts. Here the ceremonial function of *svadobná nôta* is accompanied by the linguistic function, helping to maintain the language of an ethnic minority in the different cultural environment

8.2.3 *Eastern Slovakia.*

The regional styles of this area are characterized by their dance functionality and by their specific tonal aspects (Elscheková and Elschek 2005). The former is reflected in the selection of certain stylistic means, such as repetition, melodic transposition, sequence, and formal and rhythmic regularity. All the following examples have melodic lines with an equal number of syllables, corresponding to the equal number of beats per phrase. The tonal material of eastern-Slovak songs in general oscillates between the *kvinttonálne* and harmonic elements with a strong tendency to plagal modes (*hypotonalita*), which are particularly strong in Šariš, Zemplín, and among the Rusyn people (ibid.: 149). *Svadobné nôty* in this area share formal and rhythmic features with the rest of the eastern-Slovak dance song repertoire. However, the plagal modes seem to

be less typical for the ceremonial wedding tunes. Instead, they are based on pre-harmonic tonal aspects.

Geographically, eastern Slovakia includes the regions of Spiš, Šariš, Zemplín, Abov, and Gemer. Culturally and musically, however, Spiš and Gemer have been distinguished by Slovak ethnomusicologists as a fourth musical dialect, which shares features of both eastern and central-Slovak musical styles.

Spiš region

Type XII

Jakl-7 (Transcr. 35), *Koj-14* (Transcr. 38), *VFol-5* (Transcr. 41), and *Ž-17*

(Transcr. 44)

Figure 8.8

Koj-14

VFol-5
Jakl-7
Z-17

Syll: 6 6 6 6
Beat 4 4 4 4

This *svadobný hlas* was sung in all four Spiš villages I visited, with slightly different melodic variations, around and after the *čepčenie* (cap ceremony). As already discussed in the introduction, women in two neighboring villages precisely recognized their local melodic differences, while accepting that the tune is “similar.” The most individual variant is the one from Kojšov, a village which due to its geographic isolation developed a distinctive melodic and performing style (see, for instance, *Koj-2/Transcr. 36*).

Type XIIIa) *Jakl-1* (Transcr. 34) and *VFol-2* (Transcr. 40)b) *Koj-3* (Transcr. 37)

Figure 8.9

The figure displays two musical staves. The upper staff, labeled 'Jakl-1' and 'VFol-2', shows a melody in G minor (one flat) with a sequence of notes: G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4, C4. The lower staff, labeled 'Koj-3', shows a melody in G minor with notes: G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4, C4. Below the lower staff, the syllabic and rhythmic structure is indicated: 'Syll: Beat' with a quarter note symbol, followed by four groups of '1+6' over '6', representing a 7-beat structure for each phrase.

Whereas the first two variants are clearly two local versions of the same melody sung on various ritual moments, the Kojšov tune can be regarded as a more distant variant of the same melodic type. While the tonal, rhythmic, and syllabic structure is the same, the melody only remotely resembles the former two in the first and fourth phrase; the second and the third phrase in both variants share the melodic range of a^4-d^5 . The Kojšov melody ends with the melodic repetition of the first phrase. This example confirms the individuality of the Kojšov repertoire.

Type XIV*Ž-1* (Transcr. 43), *VFol-1* (Transcr. 39), and *VFol-20* (Transcr. 42)

Figure 8.10

The figure displays three musical staves. The top staff, labeled 'Z-1', contains a melody in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature. The middle staff, labeled 'VFol-1', shows a similar melody. The bottom staff, labeled 'VFol-20', also shows a similar melody. Below the VFol-1 and VFol-20 staves, there are two lines of text: 'Syll:' and 'Beat:'. For VFol-1, the syllable/beat patterns are (3)4, 6/4, 6/4, and 6/4. For VFol-20, the patterns are 1+6/4, 1+6/4, 1+6/4, and 6/4.

The Žakarovce tune, sung with over twenty different text strophes, shows a lesser melodic similarity with the other two melodies from Veľký Folkmár. All three share formal and rhythmic features, and the contour of the last two melodic phrases. The variants of the *svadobná nôta* VFol-1 are spread throughout eastern Slovakia, for instance in the village of Bajerov, where it is also sung at different moments of the wedding ceremony with 19 text strophes (see SLP III, no. 521). Although the last song (VFol-20) was indicated by the performer as sung to the recently married young women during the village party (not necessarily at the wedding), the melody frequently appears in this region as a *redoví* dance song, accompanying the bridal dance that follows the cap ceremony (see chapter 7).¹⁸

Summary. An outline of the fourteen melodic types of *svadobné nôty* recorded during my fieldwork indicates that, in general, their dissemination and recognition as the ceremonial wedding tunes by village people is restricted to a region or a few neighboring regions that share a common musical dialect (e.g., that of (1) western and southern

¹⁸ For the variants of *redoví* from eastern Slovakia, see *Slovenské ľudové piesne III.* (nos. 539-545). No. 541 is the variant of our type XII.

Slovakia, (2) central and northern Slovakia, and (3) eastern Slovakia, including Spiš).

This supports the hypothesis presented in the previous chapters that originally one tune—or, more precisely, one melodic model—was used as the basis of ceremonial singing that was an inevitable part of the wedding ritual in a specific cultural-geographical area. With the development of other genres, migration of people, and contacts with other cultures, the wedding song repertoire became more varied both horizontally (development of specific local repertoires) and vertically (within the local traditions), while more or less maintaining the role of *svadobná nôta* as a symbol of the local wedding ceremony.

Thus, the idea proposed in the introduction (1.1.2) that *svadobné nôty* can be interpreted as a symbol of local identity is justified by the relationship between the concept of *svadobná nôta* and the melodic type. This relationship can be understood as a crosspoint of village people's recognition of *svadobné nôty* as a genre linked to the wedding ceremony and its association with local traditions. Moreover, this relationship indicates yet another function of *svadobné nôty* that exceeds the socio-cultural context of village traditions; on a music-analytical level, *svadobné nôty* perceived as geographically restricted melodic types help to define the distribution of local and regional musical styles.

Chapter 9

Conclusion: Svadobná nôta as a musical symbol

Within the varied repertoire of songs sung in the course of the traditional wedding ceremony in Slovakia specific songs were performed—usually by women without instrumental accompaniment—at particular, mostly ritual moments with context-appropriate texts, to one or two recurring, locally identified wedding tune(s), called *svadobné nôty*. Today, these songs are still known by village people, and occasionally also performed, within or outside the wedding context. This phenomenon of a common local wedding melody proved to be central to the whole genre of wedding songs, which can be documented by its spread among the wedding traditions of central, southern, and eastern Europe, sharing the name (*svadobný hlas, svadbarski glas, svatovski glas*) and similar features. These include its recognition among village people as a local or regional melody associated with local wedding ceremony; its flexible connection with texts related to the specific ceremonial moments; the simple formal structure of the text, based on repetition of motifs; a short melodic strophe, narrow ambitus, melody proceeding by small steps, and an open form built on short, often repetitive motifs. In this thesis I explored socio-cultural, musical, poetical, and melodic-typological aspects of *svadobné nôty* as revealed in the personal recollections of village women, in order to hypothesize on roles these tunes may have played in the traditional village culture in the past.

I used the concept of genre—thanks to its multiple dimensions unified by the functional aspect, i.e., by its purpose and performance situation—as a matrix through which I explored the social, cultural, and historical contexts that created, shaped, and,

eventually, transformed *svadobné nôty*. The practice of singing *svadobné nôty* along with other ceremonial wedding songs in Slovakia has been interconnected with the principles of the peasant village culture, based on an agrarian economy, a patriarchal family system, and the values of collectivity and reciprocity. The family land was the focal point from which the network of economical, social, and cultural values and roles in the family and the village community was built and maintained. The land (like weddings), symbolized procreation and continuity of life. The necessary precondition of that continuity was the homeostasis, a kind of stability and equilibrium within and between nature and the human world. Therefore, the changes and transitions needed to be facilitated by rituals and ceremonies. Ceremonial wedding songs, particularly those sung to one recurring melody, can be regarded as one of the wedding ritual practices interpreted by van Gennep as *rites de passage*. In several respects, *svadobné nôty* represent melodic stability as a counterbalance to transition.

Musical analysis of *svadobné nôty* showed their stylistic relation to the oldest genres of the Slovak traditional songs (peasant *kvaritonálny* and *kvinttonálny* styles), genre homogeneity, and regional distinctiveness (reflected in geographically restricted melodic types). Their texts were characterized as concise strophic verbal expressions that can fit to different melodies. Thus, the archaism and homogeneity of the music-stylistic features of *svadobné nôty* along with the conciseness of their poetic messages may correspond with melodic stability and enhancement of rituality. Linking the music-structural, poetical, and melodic-typological analyses of *svadobné nôty* with the historical and ethnological aspects of the Slovak village wedding practices, I put forward six hypotheses on functions of *svadobné nôty* as melodic symbols of stability:

First, as locally recognizable tunes associated with weddings, *svadobné nôty* functioned as a manifestation of local identity in village communities, which in the past were composed of relatively closed networks of families and their lands, and therefore were mostly endogamous. Even today, the older village people recall how in the times of their youth, the intravillage marriages were much preferred to those between two villages. Second, the poetic analysis of texts sung to *svadobné nôty* confirmed that they carried meanings and messages accumulated in the semantic context of the traditional wedding ceremony, which embodied the system of cultural and social principles of the peasant society. The use of one melody as a means of delivering these messages may have strengthened their cultural importance. Third, addressing most directly the issues related to the social position and future life of the bride, and being performed at the ritual moments focused on her, *svadobné nôty* were one of a few stable elements accompanying the bride through her ritual transition. Fourth, like other acts of the customary village law, such as handshakes, exchange of gifts, or collective participation, also the singing of wedding songs to one melody may have symbolized the confirmation of marriage. Fifth, the use of one local ritual melody characterized by a simple archaic musical structure cyclically returning during the whole ceremony could have been perceived as a symbol of stability and security complementing the transitional character of the wedding ceremony as a rite of passage. Sixth, as the wedding ceremony was an arena through which the principles and values of the patriarchal village culture were symbolically articulated, through *svadobné nôty* village women reproduced the patriarchal system.

The collapse of the peasant world was accompanied by the disintegration of the patriarchal system and traditional family roles upon which the system of traditional

beliefs, mores, and ritual practices was built. Once the patriarchal values in Slovak villages lost their significance, ritual wedding practices, including the singing of *svadobné nôty*, lost their obligatory character. Whereas the practice of singing *svadobné nôty* in the peasant past was a part of an effective ritual practice meant to insure stability in a liminal phase of the rite of passage, its function as a symbol of stability could have been carried further to the phase of a transformative ritual practice, when it was still a part of the wedding ceremony, but only as a symbol and remembrance of the peasant traditions. This is how village women in Slovakia still remember their own weddings, their lives, and village traditions.

Today, *svadobné nôty* are sung at the reconstructions of traditional weddings, usually as teasing songs as part of the singing around the tables during the wedding party. Only recently did they start to reappear in new cultural contexts, such as in neotraditional and popular music arrangements. The functions they fulfilled in the past have been replaced by aesthetic, entertaining, representative, and emotional functions. These new contexts of singing the wedding songs, including *svadobné nôty* are yet to be examined. Nevertheless, for many people whose lives since 1989 have been affected by the rapidly developing capitalist conditions, leaving them neglected, insecure, and lost, the reenactment of village wedding traditions associated with memories of joy and aesthetic pleasure, may also symbolize an imagined stability of the past. Thus, *svadobné nôty* in contemporary Slovak culture, which itself is in many respects in transition, can be interpreted as a symbol of nostalgia for the stability of the past or, paraphrasing Timothy Cooley (2005: 219), as a symbol of hope for the future grounded in the past.

TRANSCRIPTIONS

Legend:

Melodies are ordered according to 1) regions (Nitra, Hont, Trenčín, Kysuce, Slavonia, Spiš), and 2) villages in the respective region, ordered alphabetically. See Appendix A (p.397) for the list of villages with reference to the transcription number.

The song texts follow after the melodic transcriptions (p. 297) in the same order of regions/villages.

The analytical outlines below the particular transcriptions include:

1) stylistic stratum based on a tonal framework:

4	<i>kvaritonálny</i> , based on the interval of a fourth
44	based on the connection of two intervals of a fourth
5	<i>kvinttonálny</i> , based on the interval of a fifth
8	harmonic, based on major-minor tonality

2) tonal material used;

3) outline of melodic and rhythmic phrases with corresponding numbers of measures (if applicable), text syllables, and final tones (using the Bartók system, i.e., the final tone is indicated as 1, the pitches above 1 are indicated by Arabic numerals, the pitches below are indicated in Roman numerals, starting with VII);

4) melodic variants; abbreviations refer to:

Bartók = Bartók 1959 (volume I)

Elsch = Elscheková and Elschek 1982

SLP = *Slovenské ľudové piesne, I-IV* (Hudec 1959 and Poloczek 1952-1964)

Transcription 1

Katarína Fusková (b. 1907)

Malé Zálužie, 8 August 2000

Recording MD 00-02, Tr.3 (0:20)

MZál-1
Type II

Texts p. 299

(this tune comes with many lyrical texts, some are wedding related; 36 strophes sung as 8 songs)

♩ = 96

Ka - dekvám, ka - dekvám, ka - dekvám cho - dit mám, či o-knom,
či dvermi, či o-knom, či dver-mi, du - ša má, o - tvor mi.

8	Form:	A	B	C	D	D
	Measures:	2	3	2	2	3
	Syllables:	6	6	6	6	6
	Final tones:	1	2	5	1	1

Variants

SEP I Nos. 28 and 74

Transcription 2

Katarína Fusková (b. 1907)

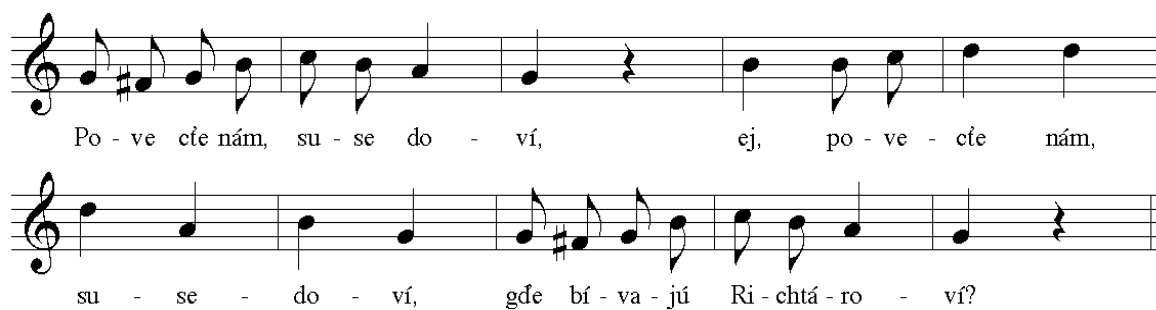
Malé Zálužie, 8 August 2000

Recording MD 00-02, Tr.5 (0:07)

MZál-3
Type II

Texts p. 297

♩ = 106



Po - ve cte nám, su - se do - ví, ej, po - ve - cte nám,
su - se - do - ví, gde bí - va - jú Ri - chtá - ro - ví?



5(8)

Form:	A	B	A
Measures:	3	4	3
Syllables:	8	1+8	8
Final tones:	1	1	1

Transcription 3

Katarína Fusková (b. 1907)

Malé Zálužie, 8 August 2000
Recording MD 00-02, Tr.6 (0:05)

MZál-5

Texts p. 298

before the cap ceremony

♩ = 103

Ne - poj - dem, ne - poj - dem do tej ko - mo - ri,

le - bo sa ja bo - jím jed - nej po - tvo - ri.

5	Form:	A	B	A	C
	Measures:	2	2	2	2
	Syllables:	6	5	6	5
	Final tones:	2	4	2	1

Variants

SEPI No. 78

SEPII No. 220

SEP III No. 718

SLP IV Nos. 288 and 405

Transcription 4

From: Járek and Luther, 1989, *Svadobné piesne a obyčaje z okolia Nitry*

Veľký Lapáš (No.1)
 Veľké Zálužie (No.5)
 Dražovce (No.9)
 Sokolníky (Nos.21 and 156)
 Komjatice (No. 77)

Nit-1
 Type Ia

Texts pp. 302-307

Example 1



Example 5



Example 9



Example 21



Example 77



Example 156




5	Form:	A	B	C	B
	Syllables:	6	6	6	6
	Final tones:	5	1	4/1/2	1

Variants

Bartók Nos. 21d-e and 31b
 Elsch Nos. 76 and 77

Transcription 5

From: Járek and Luther, 1989, *Svadobné piesne a obyčaje z okolia Nitry*
 Texts pp. 308-310

Nit-2a

Type Ib

Dolné Krškany

Po-vec-te nám su-se-do-ví, ej, de bí-va-jú tí Šve-co-ví, ej, de bí-va-jú tí Šve-co-ví.

Golianovo

Jec Ma riš-ka, jec poľévku, ej, a-bis-maľa peknú dévku, ej, a-bis maľa peknú dévku.

Nit-2b

Sokolníky

Dobré zdravie to-mu domu, kdáme mali dobrú vó-lu, kde sme mali dobrú vólu.

Dražovce

Neni sompes, ka-pu - stujest, ejkeďa môžem ma-sa najest, ejkeďa môžem ma-sa najest.

Nit-2c

Velký Lapáš

Ne - ni som pes, ka - pu - stu jest, hej, keď sa mo - žem

Konjatice

Bí - lá ru - ža ro - skvi - ta la, ej, mam - ka ce - ru

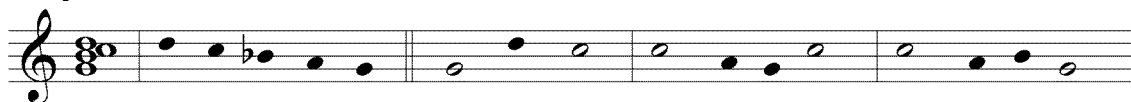
Po - me, že - ni, po - me kce - pu, ej, nech ko - no - pe

ma - sa na - jest, hej, keď sa mo - žem ma - sa najest.

za - ple - ta - la, ej, ma - mka ce - ru za - ple - ta - la.

cer - ti tre - pú, ej, nech ko - no - pe cer - ti tre - pú.

Analytical outline of transcr. 5:



5

Form:	A	B	B
Measures:	2	2	2
Syllables:	8	1+8	1+8
Final tones	4	4	1

Variants

Elsch Nos. 75 and 78

Transcription 6

Mária Čiaková (b. 1932)
 Agnesa Oremová (b. 1929)
 Anna Mitterová (b. 1928)

Dolný Badín, 9 August 2000
 Recording MD 00-03, 04

*D*Bad-3
 Type III

Texts pp. 311-313

♩ = 101

B - že nám - po - má - haj, pa - ňe Je - zu Kri - sťe,
 aj mla - dé - mu za - ťu, aj mla - dej ňe - ve - sťe.

4	Form:	A	B	C	D
	Syllables:	6	6	6	6
	Final tones:	1	VII	4	1

Variants:

O-12 (transcr.20)

SLP I No. 105

Transcription 7

Alžbeta Piešová (b. 1935)
 Anna Chupeková (b. 1928)
 Viktória Gápľovská (b. 1931)
 Mária Hrbáčková (b.1924)
 Angela Haššová (b. 1924)
 Božena Haššová (b.1939)
 Jaroslav Kamas (b.1937)

Čičmany, 9 July 2001
 Recording MD 01-01, Tr. 3 (0:50)

Čič-1
 Type VII

Texts pp. 315-317

♩ = 92

I - de - me, i - de - me, mla - dú ňe - ve - ze - me,
 o - sta - la na rí - nku, ku - po - vať pe - ri - nku. nku.

5(8)

Form:	A	B	A	Av
Measures:	2	3	2	3
Syllables:	6	6	6	6
Final tones:	1	5(6)	1	1

Variants

SLP IV Nos. 23 and 24

Transcription 8

Alžbeta Piešová (b. 1935)
 Anna Chupeková (b. 1928)
 Viktória Gápľovská (b. 1931)
 Mária Hrbáčková (b.1924)
 Angela Haššová (b. 1924)
 Božena Haššová (b.1939)
 Jaroslav Kamas (b.1937)

Čičmany, 9 July 2001
 Recording MD 01-01, Tr. 5 (1:44)

Čič-2

Texts pp. 317-318

♩ = 90

A tam do - lu u do - li - čki, pá - slo dieu - ča dva ko - ní - čki, pri - šiel
 kňe - mu háj - ňik spo - ľa, za - jal mu ko - ňe do dvo - ra.

8

Form:	A	B	C	D
Measures:	2	2	3	3
Syllables:	8	8	8	8
Final tones:	5	2	5	1

Variants

SEP I No. 62
 SEP IV Nos. 32ab

Transcription 9

Alžbeta Piešová (b. 1935)
 Anna Chupeková (b. 1928)
 Viktória Gápľovská (b. 1931)
 Mária Hrbáčková (b.1924)
 Angela Haššová (b. 1924)
 Božena Haššová (b.1939)
 Jaroslav Kamas (b.1937)

Čičmany, 9 July 2001
 Recording MD 01-01, Tr. 5 (4:30)

Čič-5

Texts p. 318

♩ = 95

Čo-že je to za ze-le-nú trá - vu, čo-že je to za ze-le-nú trá - vu,
 ho - re na-ším dvo-rom ro - si - pa-nú, ho-re na-ším dvorom ro - si - pa-nú?

8(plagal)	Form:	A	Av	B	C
	Measures:	3	3	3	3
	Syllables:	10	10	10	10
	Final tones:	5(6)	1	1	1

Variants

SLP IV No. 70

Transcription 10

Eva Ševčíková (b. 1923)
Cecília Ďurišová (b. 1936)

Fačkov, 12 July 2001
Recording MD 01-03, Tr. 5 (0:48)

F-1
Type VI

Texts p. 319

♩ = 115

O - tvá - raj - ě dve - re, vi no - vá ro - ěi - na,
i - ěe - me zda - le - ka, ve - ru nám je - zi - ma.

5

From:	A	B	C	B
Measures:	2	3	2	3
Syllables:	6	6	6	6
Fianal tones:	5	1	3	1

Variants:

Milj-10.6 (transcr. 31)

Transcription 11

Katka Ondříšková (b. 1918)
František Žovinec (b. 1932)
Anna Žovincová (b. 1939)
Júlia Vlková

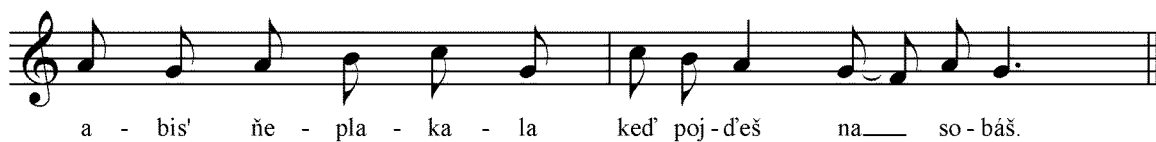
Selec, 18 July 2001
Recording MD 01-03, Tr. 15 (1:39)

Sel-2
Type IV

Texts p. 320

vencová (preparing the bridal wreath)

♩ = 100-105



44	Form:	A	B	B	C	D
	Syllables:	7	6	6	6	6
	Final tones:	1	V	V	1	1

Variants

SEP II Nos. 20 and 22

Transcription 12

Katka Ondrišková (b. 1918)
 František Žovinec (b. 1932)
 Anna Žovincová (b. 19239)
 Júlia Vlková

Selec, 18 July 2001
 Recording MD 01-03, Tr. 15 (2:35)

Sel-3
 Type IV

Texts pp. 320-323

♩ = 100-105



I - de - me na so - báš, sl - nie - čko o - hrej nás, hoj.



4

Form: A
 Syllables: 6

B
 6+1

Transcription 13

Katka Ondříšková (b. 1918)
 František Žovinec (b. 1932)
 Anna Žovincová (b. 19239)
 Júlia Vlková

Selec, 18 July 2001
 Recording MD 01-03, Tr. 19 (2:22)

Sel-8
 Type V

Texts pp. 326-328

pohárkové (glass songs)

♩ = 115

Aj tí na - ši pí - ja - va - li, aj mi pí - jat bu - de - me,

aj tí na - ši ništ ne - ma - li, aj mi to mat bu - de - me, bu - de - me.

5

Form:	A	A	B ⁴	B
Measures:	2	2	2	2
Syllables:	8	8	8	8
Final tones:	5	5	3	5/1

Transcription 14

Katka Ondrišková (b. 1918)
František Žovinec (b. 1932)
Anna Žovincová (b. 1939)
Júlia Vlková

Selec, 18 July 2001
Recording MD 01-03, Tr. 19 (2:37)

Sel-9
type VI
pohárkové (glass songs)

Texts pp. 323-326

♩ = 120

Tej na - šej ne - ve - ste blí - ska - jú sa o - či,
ne - mo - že sa do - čkat tej sva - do - bnej no - ci.

8

Form:	A	B	C	D
Measures:	2	3	2	3
Syllables:	6	6	6	6
Final tones:	5	2	6	1

Transcription 15

Alojzia Koňuchová (b. 1929)

Klubina, 20 July 2001

Recording MD 01-05, Tr. 15 (0:00)

Klu-1

Texts pp. 329-330

Type VIII

♩ = 115

Sta-rej - ší, sta-rej - ší, kte - ří si mú-drej - ší, ej, tam - ten

od tej ste - ni, ej, lú - bi cú - ze že - ni.

4

Form:	A	B	C	D
Syllables:	6	6	1+6	1+6
Final tones:	1	3	3	1

Variants:

SB-2 (transcr. 23)

R-1 (transcr. 21)

NB-1 (transcr. 16)

Jos-6.3 and 6.2 (transcr. 26)

SLP I Nos. 201 and 208

Transcription 16

Anna Janculová (b. 1922)

Nová Bystrica, 20 July 2001

Recording MD 01-06, Tr. 1 (1:25)

NB-1
Type VIII

Texts pp. 331-332

pre-wedding evening, when the bridal wreath was being prepared

♩ = 110

Veď si ti Ma - rien - ka, - - - pla - ní ro - zum ma - la,
ej, - za po - hár - ček vin - ka, ej u-niesť si sa da-la.

4

Form:	A	B	C	D
Syllables:	6	6	1+6	1+6
Final tones:	1	3	3	1

Variants:

SB-2 (transcr. 23)

R-1 (transcr. 21)

Klu-1 (transcr. 15)

Jos-6.3 and 6.2 (transcr. 26)

SEP I No. 201 and 208

Transcription 17

Anna Janculová (b. 1922)

Nová Bystrica, 20 July 2001

Recording MD 01-06, Tr. 1 (3:40)

NB-5
Type X

Texts p. 332

♩ = 107

Ti - chý ve - trík od Du - naj - ka po - vie - va, po - vie - va,
už sa cer - ka od ma - mi - čki od - bie - ra, od - bie - ra.

5(8)

Form:	A	B	Av	C
Measures:	2	3	2	3
Syllables:	8	6	8	6
Final tones:	3	2	3	1

Variants

SEPI No. 199

Transcription 18

Anna Janculová (b. 1922)

Nová Bystrica, 20 July 2001

Recording MD 01-06, Tr. 2 (0:34)

NB-7
Type X

Texts pp. 332-333

♩ = 104

Vi-ple-taj, za-ple-taj, zla - té vr - ko - če, zla - té vr - ko - če.

Ñech nám tá ñe - ve - sta, za ñi - mi pla - če, za ñi - mi pla - če.

4(5)

Form:	A	B	C
Measures:	1	2	2
Syllables:	6	5	5
Final tones:	1	4	1

Variants:

SB-1 (transcr. 22)

SLP I No. 199

Transcription 19

Anna Vydrová (b. 1929)
Justína Gáborová (b.1926)

Ochodnica, 19 July 2001
Recording MD 01-05, Tr. 1 (1:46)

O-3
Type IX

Texts pp. 334-335

$\text{♩} = 98$

Zbo-hom o - stá - vaj - ě, vi - tu ta - je vr - ški, ňe - bu - dú
tu cho - dí, mo - je bie - le nuo - ški.

5	Form:	A	B	C	D
	Measures:	2	2	3	3
	Syllables:	6	6	6	6
	Final tones.	1	5	2	1

Variants

Josip-6.6 (transcr. 27)
Led-8.2 (transcr. 28)
Milj-10.1 (transcr. 29)
Zgaj-9.4 (transcr. 32)

Transcription 20

Anna Vydrová (b. 1929)
Justína Gáborová (b.1926)

Ochodnica, 19 July 2001
Recording MD 01-05, Tr. 6 (3:48)

O-12
Type III

Texts p. 335

♩ = 98

Hej, po - zri, sa Ā - ňi - čka ho - re po po - va - le
hej, že bi tvo - je đe - ťi, čie - rne o - či ma - ťi.

4	Form:	A	A	A	B
	Syllables:	1+6	6	1+6	6
	Final tones:	1	1	1	1

Variants:

DBad-3 (transcr. 6)

Transcription 21

Emília Chrenová
 Pavlína Brandisová
 Ludmila Panáková
 Mária Knapcová

Radôstka, 21 July 2001
 Recording MD 01-07, Tr. 1 (1:05)

R-1
 Type VIII

Texts pp. 336-337

♩ = 100

O, ve - ru ze - le - né, to naj - ze - le - nej - šie,
 ej, vi - dá - va sa dieťa, ej, to naj - pá - - rad - nej - šie.

4

Form:	A	B	C	D
Syllables:	6	6	1+6	1+6
Final tones:	3/1	3/1	3/1	1

Variants:

SB-2 (transcr. 23)
 Klu-1 (transcr. 15)
 Jos-6.3 and 6.2 (transcr. 26)
 NB-1 (transcr. 16)

SLP I Nos. 201 and 208

Transcription 23

Sidónia Dubovická (b. 1930)
Oskár Dubovický

Stará Bystrica, 20 July 2001
Recording MD 01-06, Tr. 13 (0:10)

SB-2
Type VIII

Texts pp. 338-339

♩ = 101

1. I - de - me, i - de - me, a - fe ňe - vie - me kam, hej, de sa
bu - de svie - tiť, hej, len mi ven - de - me tam.

2. I - de sva - dba zho - ri, pri - kry - vaj - te sto - li, hej, sto - li
ja - vo - ro - vé, hej, li - ži - čki skle - no - vé.

4(5)	Form:	A	B	C	D
	Measures:	2	2	2	3
	Syllables:	6	6	1+6	1+6
	Final tones:	3/1	3/1	3/1	1

Variants:

R-1 (transcr. 21)

Klu-1 (transcr. 15)

Jos-6.3 and 6.2 (transcr. 26)

NB-1 (transcr. 16)

SEP I Nos. 201 and 208

Transcription 24

Ms. Labaková

Zborov nad Bystricou, 21 July 2001
Recording MD 01-06, Tr. 19 (0:03)ZnB-5
Type VI

Texts p. 340

♩ = 100

I - de - me, i - de - me, cho - dří - čka - ňe - vie - me,
do - brí íu - dia ve - dia, o - ňi nám po - ve dia.

5	Form:	A	B	B	C
	Measures:	2	3	2	3
	Syllables:	6	6	6	6
	Fianl tones:	2	2	2	1

Transcription 25

Hanka Kanderová (b. 1913)

Jelisavac/Jelisavec (Croatia),

11 September 1996

Recording DAT 96-1, Tr. 10 (9:00)

Jel-1.10

Texts pp. 341-343

Type X

♩ = 71

A ve - ru Ha - ňi - čka, po - zri do po - va fi,

a - bi tvo - je đe - ti čar - ne o - či ma - fi.

5

Form:	A	B	Ca	D
Measures:	2	3	2	3
Syllables:	6	6	6	6
Final tones:	2	2	4	1

Transcription 26

Tonka Kuricová (b. 1940)
 Katica Kuricová (b.1953)
 Róza Labaková (b.1935)
 Rozika Kukučková (b. 1947)

Josipovac/Josipovec (Croatia),
 13 September 1996
 Recording DAT 96-6, Tr. 2 (1:01:40)
 Tr. 3 (1:02:53)

Josip-6.2 and 6.3
 Type VIII

Texts pp. 344-345

$\text{♩} = 75$

Pre - čo ste nás pre - čo za stol u - sa - de - li,
 ej, keď ste nám a - ni jesť, ej, a - ni piť ňe - da - li.

4

Form:	A	Av	B	Bv
Syllables:	6	6	1+6	1+6
Final tones:	3/1	3/1	3/1	1

Variants:

SB-2 (transcr. 23)

R-1(transcr. 21)

Klu-1(transcr. 15)

NB-1(transcr. 16)

SLP I Nos. 201 and 20

Transcription 27

Tonka Kuricová (b. 1940)
 Katica Kuricová (b.1953)
 Róza Labaková (b.1935)
 Rozika Kukučková (b. 1947)

Josipovac/Josipovec (Croatia),
 13 September 1996
 Recording DAT 96-6, Tr. 6 (1:09:39)

Josip-6.6
 Type IX

Texts pp. 345-346

♩ = 79

Sta - rá Ku - ri - cku - ěa, ej, za dve - ra - mi
 sto - jí, ej, za dve - ra - mi sto - jí.

5

Form:	A	B	C
Measures:	2	3	3
Syllables:	6	1+6	1+6
Final tones:	5	3	1

Variants:

Led-8.2 (transcr. 28)
 Milj-10.1 (transcr. 29)
 ZGaj-9.4 (transcr. 32)
 O-3 (transcr. 19)

SEPIII Nos. 252, 267

Transcription 28

Katica Aichimber (b. 1926)
 Katica Ladňak (b. 1927)
 Anna Chodoň (b. 1923)
 Katica Jedinák (b. 1928)
 Katica Veršeg (b. 1919)
 Štefan Macanga (Svakan)

Ledenik/Ledeník (Croatia),
 14 September 1996
 Recording DAT 96-8, Tr. 2 (1:02:57)

Led-8.2
 Type IX

Texts pp. 347-349

♩ = 74

var. 1)

Vdu - bo - kej do - li - ňe, ej, srn - ka vo - du

var. 2)

pi - je, ej, srn - ka vo - du pi - je.

Variant 1a

Variant 1b

Variant 2

5	Form:	A	B	C
	Measures:	2	3	3
	Syllables:	6	1+6	1+6
	Final tones:	5	1	1

Variants:

Josip-6.6 (transcr. 27)
 Milj-10.1 (transcr. 29)
 ZGaj-9.4 (transcr. 32)
 O-3 (transcr. 19)
 SEPIII Nos. 252, 267

Transcription 29

Róza Zniková (b. 1933)
 Tonka Tončaleková (b.1927)
 Katica Pochybová (b.1945)
 Zlata Lukaček (b. 1945)
 Matija Lukaček (b. 1944)
 Slavko Pochyba (b. 1940)

Miljevci/Mil'ovec (Croatia),
 15 September 1996
 Recording DAT 96-10, Tr.1 (51:23)

Milj-10.1
 Type IX

Texts pp. 350-352

♩ = 60

Ja - bí - čko čer - ve - né, ej, čo naj - čer - ve -
 nej - šie, ej, čo naj - čer - ve - nej - šie.

5(8)

Form:	A	B	Bv
Measures:	2	3	3
Syllables:	6	1+6	1+6
Final tones:	5/3	3/1	3/1

Variants:

Josip-6.6 (transcr. 27)
 Led-8.2 (transcr. 28)
 ZGaj-9.4 (transcr. 32)
 O-3 (transcr. 19)

SEPIII Nos. 252, 267

Transcription 30

Róza Zníková (b. 1933)
 Tonka Tončaleková (b.1927)
 Katica Pochybová (b.1945)
 Zlata Lukaček (b. 1945)
 Matija Lukaček (b. 1944)
 Slavko Pochyba (b. 1940)

Miljevci/Milovec (Croatia),
 15 September 1996
 Recording DAT 96-10, Tr.5(1:04:34)

Milj-10.5
 Type XI

Texts pp. 353-354

♩ = 115

Za - lo dieu - ča, na - do-li - ňe, na tej dro - bnej đá - te-li - ňe,
 keď na - ža - lo, na - viza - lo, na mi - lé - ho za - vo-la - lo.

8	Form:	A	B	C	Bv
	Measures:	2	2	2	2
	Syllables:	8	8	8	8
	Final tones:	3/1	1	3/1	1

Variants:

ZGaj-9.8 (transcr. 33)

Transcription 31

Róza Zniková (b. 1933)
 Tonka Tončaleková (b.1927)
 Katica Pochybová (b.1945)
 Zlata Lukaček (b. 1945)
 Matija Lukaček (b. 1944)
 Slavko Pochyba (b. 1940)

Miljevci/Mil'ovec (Croatia),
 15 September 1996
 Recording DAT 96-10, Tr.6(1:06:15)

Milj-10-6
 Type VI

Texts pp. 352-353

♩ = 83

Ke - bi ja ve - đe - la, đe moj mi - lí ko - sí,
 ja bi mu do - ñie - sla za po - há - rek ro - si.

5

Form:	A	B	C	B
Measures:	2	3	2	3
Syllables:	6	6	6	6
Final tones:	5/3	1	3/1	1

Variant:

F-1 (transcr. 14)

Transcription 32

Anuška Kralik
 Katica Kuric (b.1944)
 Adela Červinek (b.1940)
 Evica Hološ (b. 1946)
 Marica Kopřar (b. 1935)
 Etelka Bakoška (b. 1948)

Zokov Gaj (Croatia),
 15 September 1996
 Recording DAT 96-9, Tr.4 (11:45)

ZGaj-9.4
 Type IX

Texts pp. 355-356

♩ = 82

Máš ti tu A - ňi - ťka hej, máš čo ro - spi -
 to - vať, ej, máš čo - ro - spi - to - vať.

5

Form:	A	B	Bv
Measures:	2	3	3
Syllables:	6	1+6	1+6
Final tones:	5/3	1	1

Variants:

Josip-6.6 (transcr. 27)
 Led-8.2 (transcr. 28)
 Milj-10.1 (transcr. 29)
 O-3 (transcr. 19)

SLPIII Nos. 252, 267

Transcription 33

Anuška Kralik
 Katica Kuric (b.1944)
 Adela Červinek (b.1940)
 Evica Hološ (b. 1946)
 Marica Kopřar (b. 1935)
 Etelka Bakoška (b. 1948)

Zokov Gaj (Croatia),
 15 September 1996
 Recording DAT 96-9, Tr.8 (21:40)

ZGaj-9.8
 Type XI

Texts pp. 356-357

♩ = 85

Đe - fča, đe - fča, bie - la ru - ža, ňe - tre - ba - lo
 te - be mu - ža, a - ňi mu - ža, a - ňi die - tek,
 đe - fča, die - fča, bie - - - li kvie - tek.

8

Form:	A	B	C	B
Measures:	2	2	2	2
Syllables:	8	8	8	8
Final tones:	1	1	1/VI	1

Variants:

Milj-10.5 (transcr. 30)

Transcription 34

Mária Papcunová (b. 1933)

Anna Kráľová

Jaklovce, 23 July 2001

Recording MD 01-07, Tr. 21 (4:50)

Jakl-1

Type XIII

Texts p. 358

cestou z kostola (on the way from the church)

♩ = 110

Ej, na Ja - klo - vskej tur - ňi, ej, dva ho - lú - pki še - dzia,
ej, tak še ra - dzi vi - dia, ej, do - bre še ňe - zje - dzia.

5

Form:	A	B	C	Cb
Measures:	3	3	3	3
Syllables:	1+6	1+6	1+6	1+6
Final tones:	2	4	2	1

Variants:

VFol-2 (transcr. 40)

Transcription 35

Mária Papcunová (b. 1933)

Anna Kráľová

Jaklovce, 23 July 2001

Recording MD 01-07, Tr. 23 (3:35)

Jakl-7
Type XII

Texts pp. 359-361

pri odvíjaní (during the taking-off of the bridal wreath)

♩ = 108

Ket se šin o - že - ňí, ket se šin o - že - ňí, ma - cjer
mu ňe - tre - ba, ma - cjer mu ňe - tre - ba.

4(5)	Form:	A	A	B	C
	Measures:	2	2	2	3
	Syllables:	6	6	6	6
	Final tones:	1	1	1	1

Variants:

VFol-5 (transcr. 41)

Ž-17 (transcr. 44)

Koj-14 (transcr. 38)

Elsch No. 85

SLP III No. 54

Transcription 36

Rozália Juriková

Kojšov, 23 July 2001

Recording MD 01-08, Tr. 18 (3:20)

Koj-2
on the way from the church

Texts pp. 362-363

Parlando (♩ = ca.110)

Po - pa - ter ti Mar - čo, na koj-šov-ski kôscel, ej, na koj-šov-ski kôscel,
skim si ča - ro - va - la, svoj stre-ber - ni persceň, ej, svoj stre-ber - ni persceň.

5	Form:	A	B	C	B	D	E
	Syllables:	6	6	1+6	6	6	1+6
	Final tones:	V	III	IV	III	I	1

Transcription 37

Rozália Juriková

Kojšov, 23 July 2001

Recording MD 01-08, Tr. 18 (4:10)

Koj-3
Type XIII

Texts pp. 363-365

(when they came to the bride's house)

♩ = 109

Ej, druž - ka som ja, družka, ej, na ka - ždím ve - še - ľu,

ej, daj - ce mi pá - len - ki, ej, nak vás roz - ve - še - ľu.

5

Form:	A	B	Bv	A
Measures:	3	3	3	3
Syllables:	1+6	1+6	1+6	1+6
Final tones:	1	3	5	1

Transcription 38

Rozália Juriková

Kojšov, 23 July 2001

Recording MD 01-09, Tr. 4 (2:55)

Koj-14
Type XII

Texts p. 365

during the *hajdukovanie*

♩ = 109

Ach, šve- kri-čko, mo - ja, pre - čo me ňe - chce - ce, šak vám

ja po - ro - bím, čo mi ro - zká - že - ce.

4(5) Form: A A B C

Measures:	2	2	2	3
Syllables:	6	6	6	6
Final tones:	1	1	1	1

Variants:

Jakl-7 (transcr. 35)

VFol-5 (transcr. 41)

Ž-17 (transcr. 44)

Elsch No. 85

SLP III No. 541

Transcription 39

Margita Ledváková

Veľký Folkmár, 23 July 2001

Recording MD 01-08, Tr. 7 (1:05)

VFol-1
Type XIV

Texts p. 367

when the young couple comes to the mother-in-law's house

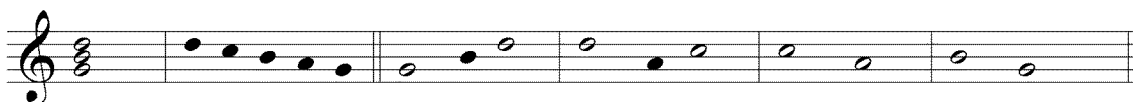
♩ = 122



Ňe - zle - kňi - ce še nas, sva - do - bná ma - mi - - - - čko,



šak nás tu ňe - i - dze, ve - ľa ľem ku - š'i - čko.



5

Form:	A	B	C	D
Syllables:	6	6	6	6
Final tones:	5	4(5)	2	1

Transcription 40

Margita Ledváková

Veľký Folkmár, 23 July 2001

Recording MD 01-08, Tr. 7 (1:20)

VFol-2
Type XIII

Texts p. 366

on the way to the bride

(this text was first sung to the previous tune; then the woman said that it can be sung to another *hlas*, this one, and that this is the typical *folkmarska melodia*)

♩ = 113

Hej, ňe - zŕe - kni - ce ŧe nás, - - - ej, sva - do -

bná ma - ci - ŧko, ej, ŧak nás tu ňe -

i - dze, ej, ve - Ŧo, Ŧem ku - ŧŦi - ŧko.

5	Form:	A	B	C	Cb
	Measures:	3	3	3	3
	Syllables:	1+6	1+6	1+6	1+6
	Final tones:	2	4	2	1

Variants:

Jakl-1 (transcr. 34)

Transcription 41

Margita Ledváková

Veľký Folkmár, 23 July 2001

Recording MD 01-08, Tr. 8 (1:10)

VFol-5
Type XII

Texts p. 367

mother-in-law „welcomes“ the bride

♩ = 120

Na - čo ti tu pri - šla, na - čo ti tu še - dla, ti tu
ňe - ro - be - la, ňe - bu - dzeš tu je - dla.

4

Form:	A	Av	B	Bv
Measures:	2	2	2	3
Syllables:	6	6	6	6
Final tones:	1	1	3	1

Variants:

Jakl-7 (transcr. 35)

Koj-14 (transcr. 38)

Ž-17 (transcr. 44)

Elsch No. 85

SLP III No. 541

Transcription 42

Margita Ledváková

Veľký Folkmár, 23 July 2001

Recording MD 01-08, Tr. 11 (3:35)

VFol-20
TypeXIV

Texts pp. 367-368

during the village dance party, sung to those who were already married

♩ = 115

Ej, po - ce vi, ňe - ve - sti, ej, ku dzie - fkam do - ko - la,
ej, pri - dze vám na mi - šef, tá dzie - ve - cká zvo - ľa.

4	Form:	A	A	B	C
	Measures:	2	2	2	2
	Syllables:	1+6	1+6	1+6	1+6
	Final tones:	1	1	4	1

Transcription 43

Ms. Mariančíková
members of the folk village group

Žakarovce, 22 July 2001
Recording MD 01-07, Tr. 15 (2:00)

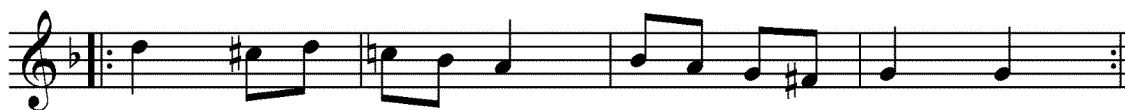
Ž-1
Type XIV

Texts pp. 372-373

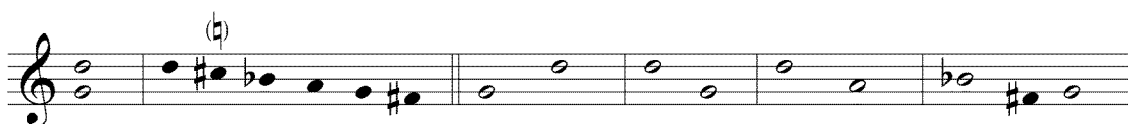
♩ = 125



(Na)Ža - ka - rov-skej tu - rni švie - ci še kri - ži - čok.



Ke - ri šu - mní chla - pec bu - de moj mu - ži - čok?_



5	Form:	A	B	C	D
	Measures:	2	2	2	2
	Syllables:	1+6	6	6	6
	Final tones:	5	1	2	1

Transcription 44

Ms. Mariančíková
members of the folk village group

Žakarovce, 22 July 2001
Recording MD 01-07, Tr. 16 (4:46)

Ž-17
Type XII

Texts pp. 373-374

♩ = 120

Ach, ma - mi - čko mo - ja, či va - ša ňe - bu - dzem,

ket še dru - há ma - tka vo mne ko - chac bu - dze.

4(5) Form: A A B Bv

Measures:	2	2	2	2
Syllables:	6	6	6	6
Final tones:	1	1	3	1

Variants:

Jakl-7 (transcr. 35)
Koj-14 (transcr. 38)
VFol-5 (transcr. 41)

Elsch No. 85
SEP III No. 541

Western Slovakia, Nitra region
Malé Zálužie – Fieldwork 2000

The texts sung to *svadobná nôta* MZál-3

MZál3 1. Poveč'te nám susedoví,
 ej, poveč'te nám susedoví,
 gde bívajú Richtároví.

2. Hentam hore, hentam dole,
 ej, hentam hore, hentam dole,
 hentom peknom bílom dome.

3. Aňi dole nezejdeme,
 ej, aňi dole nezejdeme,
 zakál Hanku nevidíme.

4. Vindi, vindi, stará mati,
 ej, vindi, vindi, stará mati,
 svú nevestu privítaťi.

5. Vindi, vindi z holbu vína,
 ej, vindi, vindi z holbu vína,
 privítať si svojho sina.

6. Vindi, vindi z borovičku,
 ej, vindi, vindi z borovičku,
 privítať si nevestičku.

MZál9 1. Pome domov, vidíčani,
 ej, pome domov, vidíčani,
 ani chleba, ani soli.

2. Ani chleba, ani soli,
 ej, ani chleba, ani soli,
 ani chlapca po mej vuoli.

(when they went to the church)

1. Šibaj, šibaj, pošibávaj,
 ej, šibaj, šibaj, pošibávaj,
 na konički povolávaj.

English translation:

1. Tell us, our neighbors,
 ej, tell us, our neighbors,
 where do the Richtars live?

2. Over there up, over there down,
 ej, over there up, over there down,
 in that nice white house.

3. We are not getting off,
 ej, we are not getting off,
 until we see Hanka.

4. Come out, come out, old mother,
 ej, come out, come out, old mother,
 to welcome your bride (daughter-in-law).

5. Come out, come out with wine,
 ej, come out, come out with wine
 to welcome your son.

6. Come out, come out with borovička¹
 come out, come out with borovička,
 to welcome your daughter-in-law.

1. Let's go home, villagers,
 ej, let's go home, villagers,
 neither bread, nor salt [we got].

2. Neither bread, nor salt,
 ej, neither bread nor salt,
 nor a boyfriend I would like.

1. Whip, whip, keep whipping
 ej, whip, whip, keep whipping,
 keep calling your horses.

¹ Traditional Slovak spirit made of juniper berries

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>2. Na koníčki, šeckí štíri,
ej, na koníčki, šeckí štíri.
nech sa nám ta cesta šíri.</p> | <p>2. Call your horses, all four of them,
ej, call your horses, all four of them,
so that the road gets broader for us.</p> |
| <p>3. Naše kone dobre skáču,
ej, naše kone dobre skáču,
najelli sa kostrbáču.</p> | <p>3. Our horses spring well,
ej, our horses spring well,
they ate a green weed.</p> |
| <p>4. Kostrbáču zeleného,
ej, kostrbáču zeleného.
pre kočiša šmatlavého
(or <i>opitého, šišlavého, to sa
bársako spívalo</i>)</p> | <p>4. The green weed,
ej, the green green,
for a shuffling coachman.
(or for a drunk, or cockling
coachman)</p> |
| <p>5. Hore líštím, dole líštím,
ej, hore líštím, dole líštím,
dočkajte ma, nech sa vištím.</p> | <p>5. Up the hazelnut-tree road,
ej, up the hazelnut-tree road,
wait for me until I finish peeing.</p> |

The texts sung to *svadobná nôta MZál-5*

*(when they take the bride to the chamber to
remove her wreath)*

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>MZál5 1. Nepojdem, nepojdem,
do tej komori,
lebo sa ja bojím
jednej potvori.</p> | <p>1. I will not go, I will not go
to that chamber,
because I am afraid
of one monster.</p> |
| <p>2. Nepojdem, nepojdem
do komori spat,
lebo sa ja bojím,
že mu musím dat.</p> | <p>2. I will not go, I will not go
to sleep to the chamber,
because I am afraid
I have to give him.</p> |
| <p>3. Ale nije toho,
co ľudé mislá,
víneček zelení,
sem si donésla.</p> | <p>3. But not that
what people think,
but my green wreath
I brought with me.</p> |
| <p>MZál6 1. Kamarátky moje
možete plakat,
už ma nemusíte,
mezi vás čakat.</p> | <p>1. My girlfriends,
help me cry,
you must not
wait me any more.</p> |
| <p>2. Ani do kostola,</p> | <p>2. Neither to the church,</p> |

ani na tanec,
zložila som partu,
zelení venec.

nor to the dance,
I took off my parta,
my green wreath.

3. Najprv do posteľe,
a potom na pec,
najprv bude dívča,
a potom chlapec.

3. First to the bed,
then on the fireplace,
first will be a girl,
and then a boy.

The texts sung to *svadobná nôta MZál-1*

MZál1 1. Kade k vám, kade k vám,
kade k vám chodit mám,
či oknom, či dvermi,
či oknom, či dvermi,
duša má, otvor mi.

1. How to get to you, how to get to you,
how shall I get to your house,
/: either through the window, or
through the door:/
honey, open the door for me.

2. Ja som sa zabulla,
dvírka otváram,
Aj som sa zabulla,
aj som sa zabulla,
s tebu zhovárati.

2. I forgot
to open the door,
/: And I also forgot:/
to talk to you.

3. Bože moj, oče moj,
čo som urobila,
Chudobnej materi,
chudobnej materi
sina zalúbila.

3. Oh, my God, my father,
what did I do?
/: To a poor mother's:/
son I fell in love.

4. Bar som ja cerečka,
chudobnej materi,
preca neotvorím,
preca neotvorím
bárskerému dveri.

4. Although I am daughter
of a poor mother,
/:I will not open:/
the door just to anyone.

5. A keď mu otvorím
do očí mu pozriem,
či je toho hoden
či jetoho hoden
že ja hore stanem.

5. And if I open the door,
I will look in his eyes,
/:whether he is worth it:/
that I get up.

MZál18 1. Keby ja vedela,
gde budem nevestú,

1. If I only knew,
where I am to be the bride,

zametala bi som,
zametala bi som
pred tím domom cestu.

/:I would swipe:/
the road in front of that house.

2. Nezametala bih,
prezovú metličku,
lež bih zametala,
lež bih zametala,
šípovú ružičku.

2. I would not swipe
with the birch broom,
/:but I would swipe:/
with a thorny rose.

3. Zametala bi som,
abi bola hladká,
abih sa neutkla,
abih sa neutkla,
miláčkova matka.

3. I would swipe it,
so that it is smooth,
/:so that she will not fall:/
my darling's mother.

MZál20 1. Lahko je sa vidat',
ťažšie odvidávat',
neni to len Bože,
neni to len, Bože,
chleba požičavat.

1. It is easy to marry,
harder to unmarry,
/:it is not, my God:/
as borrowing of a piece of bread.

2. Chlebíček sa požčá,
chlebíček sa vráti,
a moja sloboda,
a moja sloboda,
viac sa nenavráti.

2. The bread can be borrowed,
the bread can be returned,
/:and my freedom:/
will not return anymore.

MZál21 1. Vitajte, vitajte,
len ništ nepítajte,
Nevestu nemáme
nevestu nemáme,
dívku vám nedáme.

1. Welcome, welcome,
but do not ask for anything,
/:We do not have any bride:/
we will not give you our girl.

2. Dajte nám ju dajte,
máte nám ju dati.
Poslala nás pre nu,
poslala nás pre nu,
Janenkova mati.

2. Give her to us, give,
you are supposed to give her to us.
/:We were sent to fetch her:/
by Janenko's mother.

3. Mi vám ju nedáme,

3. We will not give her to you

mi ju radi máme,
 až keď jej zelení,
 až keď jej zelení,
 víneček zjednáme.

4. Už ste jej vi mohli,
 víneček zjednať,
 vi nám čiľ musíte,
 vi nám čiľ musíte,
 nevestu vidati.

(songs MZál31, 34, 36, and 46 are love
 songs sung to the same melody)

we love her,
 /:[we give her]only after her green:/
 wreath is negotiated.

4. You could have already
 negotiate her wreath,
 /:now you must:/
 give us the bride.

Nitra region (according to Járek – Luther, 1989)

English translation:

The texts sung to *svadobná nôta Nit-1*

no.1 (Veľký Lapáš)

(pri odobierke pred domom)

1. Bohu vás porúčam,
mamičkine klučki,
ktoré otvárali
moje biele rúčky.
2. Bohu vás porúčam,
mamičkine prahy,
ktoré prekráčali
moje biele nohi.
3. Bohu ja porúčam
aj ten mamičkin dvór
kerí mi od mala
vždy takí milí bôv.

(pred domom)

4. Vizrite, vizrite,
kolko nás vidíte,
nič více nič vice,
len štyri tisíc.
5. Vedeme, vedeme
kura ňevedomé,
čo sa bude kutáť
v Pindešovom dvóre.

(cestou zo sobáša)

6. Prest'erajte stoly,
idú hosti noví,
stoli javorové,
obruse plátené.
7. Pozri sa, Anička,
na lapášsku vežu,
už tvoju slobodu
do ručníčka viažu.

(when she was leaving the house)

1. In God I am leaving you,
my mother's door knobs,
which were being opened
by my white hands.
2. In God I am leaving you,
my mother's thresholds,
which were being crossed
by my white feet.
3. In God I am leaving you,
that yard of my mother,
which I since my childhood
have loved.

(in front of the bride's house)

4. Look out, look out,
how many do you see,
not more, not more
than four thousand.
5. We are bringing, bringing
an ignorant chicken,
that will be sniffing
in the Pindešs' house.

(on the way from the church)

6. Cover the tables,
new guests are coming,
tables from maple wood,
linen table cloths.
7. Look, Anička,
at the Lapáš tower,
how your freedom
is getting tied up in a kerchief.

8. Viažu ju, viažu ju,
na štiri uzlíčki,
že ju ňerozviažu
kňazove ručički.

8. It is being tied up,
into four knots,
that it cannot be untied
by the priest's hands.

no. 5 (Veľké Zálužie)

(pri odobierke)

1. Mali s'te ma manka,
len jednu jed'ínú,
aj to s'te ma dali
na druhú d'ed'ínu.

(when the bride is leaving the house)

1. You had me, mother,
just the only child,
even so you gave me
to another village.

2. Moj veňec zelení
roskvitá, prekvitá,
volákí mláďeňec
odo mňa ho pita.

2. My green wreath
blossoms,
some lad
is asking for it.

no. 9 (Dražovce)

*(on the way to and from church,
also at the wedding feast)*

1. Dražovskí pán farár
veľké pláňe seje,
predsa od sobáša
dvadsať korún bere.

1. The Dražovce priest
has a large field,
and still he for the wedding
asks twenty crowns.

2. Pome preč, pome preč,
ňerada nás vid'ia,
s prázdniimi pohármí
okolo nás choďia.

2. Let us go away, let us go,
they do not like us,
with empty glasses
they walk around us.

3. Cínová ližička
a drevená miska,
už ja bud'em spaťi
s mojím milím ňeská.

3. Tin spoon,
and a wooden bowl,
I will finally sleep
with my darling tonight.

no. 21 (Sokolníky)*(on the way from the church)*

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Pozri sa Aňička
na tú našu važu,
už tvoju slobodu
do ručníčka vážu. | 1. Look, Anička,
on that tower in our village,
your freedom
is being tied up in a kerchief. |
| 2. Ja som sa vidala,
že bud'em bohatá,
a čilek dostávam
buchti do chrabáta. | 2. I got married,
so that I am rich,
and now I am getting
dumplings to my back. |
| 3. Farár ma sobáši,
organista mosí,
dala som mu gat'e,
akurát ich nosí. | 3. The priest ...,
the organist carries me,
I gave him the pants,
he just wears them. |

no. 27 (Golianovo) – tune var. as nr. 1*(in front of the house)*

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Ved'eme, ved'eme
kura ňevedomé,
čo sa bude kutáť
v Virágovom dvore. | 1. We are bringing, we are bringing
an ignorant chicken
that will sniff around
in the Virágs' house. |
|---|---|

(during the wedding feast)

- | | |
|---|--|
| 2. Drevenná pokrývka,
maluvani taňér,
móžeš ma v rit' bozat',
starodávni frajér. | 2. A wooden lid,
a painted plate,
you can give a crap,
my old lover. |
| 3. Mala som frajerov,
sed'emdesát'ich
zo sed'emdesát'ich
ostav mi len jeden. | 3. I had lovers,
seventy of them,
out of seventy
only one remained me. |
| 4. Tá stará Viráčka
pod komínom repce,
že ona Marišku
za ňvestu nechce. | 4. The old Virág woman
complains under the chimney
that she does not want Mariška
as a daughter-in-law. |
| 5. Rada s'te, Viráčka,
rada s'te ňvest'e, | 5. Are you, old Virág mother,
fond of your daughter-in-law? |

ej, veru som rada,
len mi ju doveďe.

6. Rada s'te, Viráčka,
rada s'te sinovi,
rada, rada, rada,
jak komu dom horí.

(on the way from church)

7. Id'eme, id'eme
a cestu ňevéme,
dobrí ľud'í ved'á,
azda nám poved'á.

(after the cap ceremony)

8. Jako je to pekňe,
jako jej to svedčí,
keď je žena mladá
a má stušky v čepci.

9. Jako je to pekňe,
jako je to rúče,
keď je žena mladá,
má za pásom klúče.

(at the end of the wedding, when leaving)

10. Pome preč, pome preč,
ňerada nás viďá,
s prádnima pohári
okolo nás choďá.

no. 77 (Komjatice)

(during the wedding feast)

1. Už som sa vidala,
že mi buďe dobre,
a čil mosím chodiť,
z hrncom po d'ed'íňe.

2. Z hrncom po d'ed'íňe,
s koritom po mesťe,
veru to ňesvedčí
tej mladej ňevest'e.

ej, well I am fond of her,
just bring her over here.

6. Are you, old Virág woman,
happy for your son?
Happy I am, happy,
like when someone's house is burning.

7. We are going, going,
and do not know the way,
good people know,
they will tell us.

8. How nice it is,
how it suits her,
when a young woman
has laces in her bonnet.

9. How nice it is,
how pretty it is,
when the woman is young,
and has keys around her waist.

10. Let us go away, let us go,
they do not like us,
with empty glasses,
they are walking around us.

1. I already got married,
hoping I would do well,
now I must walk through the village
with a pot on my head.

2. With a pot on my head,
with a tub through the town,
indeed, it does not suit
to a young bride.

no. 145 (Veľké Zálužie)

(during the wedding feast)

1. Starí svať, starí svať,
škaredé stvoreňi,
keď na ťeba kukňem,
chit'í ma boleňi.

2. Tá naša široká,
to je paňi pišná,
ňemala koňika,
na trlici prišla.

3. Ten náš starší družba,
to je veľká pícha,
nos má ovisnutí
na poltreťa rífa.

4. Tí naše družički,
tí si vedú hrdo,
majú veľké zubi
jako staré brdo.

(when the dowry was transported)

5. Ňeboj sa, Aňička,
u tých Megov hladu,
zabili tam kravu,
ťebe dajú hlavu.

6. Ňeťeš sa, šuhajko,
visokej post'eli,
lebo je to d'ieuča
chudobnej maťeri.

7. Chudobnej maťeri,
chudobného otca,
veru je to d'ieuča
chudobné do konca.

8. Ja som sa ožeňev,
že bud'em mať duchni,
a moje kolénka
na holú zem buchli.

9. Tá stará Megová
za komínom repce,

1. Old *svat*, old *svat*,
you ugly creature,
when I look at you,
I get sick.

2. Our old *široká*,
she is a proud woman,
she did not have a horsie,
so she came on a donkey.

3. Our old bestman,
he is very proud,
with his nose
hanging down.

4. Our bridemaids,
they walk proudly,
they have big teeth,
like old mountains.

5. Do not be afraid, Anička,
of being hungry at the Megos' house,
they killed the cow,
you will get the head.

6. Do not look forward, young lad,
to the high bed,
because that girl
is of a poor mother.

7. Of a poor mother,
of a poor father,
indeed, that girl is
totally poor.

8. I got married,
so that I have eiderdowns,
but my knees
bumped against the floor.

9. The old Mego woman
babbles behind the chimney,

že ona chudobnú
ňvestičku nechce.

that she does not want
a poor daughter-in-law.

10. Keď ňesťeš chudobnú,
bohatá ťa miňe,
vezňi si, Jenofka,
čo poháňa sviňe.

10. If you do no want a poor one,
the rich one will avoid you.
Take then, Jenofka,
the one who shepherds swine.

(during the wedding feast)

11. Pálené, pálené,
dva razi varené,
pod' do mojho brucha,
vižeň zlého ducha.

11. Plum liquor, plum liquor,
twice cooked,
come into my stomach,
expel bad spirits.

(during the unweaving of the wreath)

12. Straťila som partu
aj zelení veňec,
dože mi hu našóv,
ten družba mlád'eneč.

12. I have lost my *parta*,
and my green wreath,
who did find it?
That groomsman, the yound lad.

13. Kebi mi hu vrát'ev,
dala bi mu fát'er,
keď mi hu ňvrát'i,
ňech mi boh zaplat'i.

13. I wish he had returned it,
I would give him a penny.
When he does not give it back,
God, stay with me.

(at the end of the wedding)

14. Pome preč, pome preč,
ňerada nás vid'ia,
s prázdňima pohári
okolo nás choďia.

14. Let us leave, let us leave,
they do not like us.
With empty glasses,
they walk around us.

(on the way from the church)

15. Tí ujlacké ženi
ňemajú roboti,
stojá na ulici
a robá klebeti.

15. Those Újlak¹ women
have nothing else to do,
than to stand on the street
and to gossip.

no. 156 (Sokolníky)

(at the end of the wedding)

1. Už id'eme od vás,
vionďime na vás,
na vašu d'ed'inu,
ňech vás tu psi žerú.

1. We are leaving,
we do not care about you,
neither about your village,
shall the dogs eat you here.

¹ Hungarian name for Veľké Zálužie.

The texts sung to *svadobná nôta Nit-2*

no. 20 (Dolné Krškany)

(on the way from the church)

1. Poveč'te nám, susedoví,
/:ej, d'ě bívajú tí Švecoví?:/

2. Hentam hore, hentom dvóre,
/:ej, majú okná malované.:/

3. Okná majú malované,
/:ej, ale dvere rostrhané.:/

1. Tell us, our neighbors,
/:ej, where do the Ševcs live:/

2. Over there, in that yard,
/:ej, they have painted windows:/

3. They have painted windows,
/:ej, but the broken doors:/

no. 88 (Golianovo)

(during the wedding feast)

1. Jec, Mariška, jec polévku,
/:ej, abis mala peknú d'ěvku.:/

2. Ňélen d'ěvku, lež aj sina,
/:ej, veď je to len veľká sila:/

(during the cap ceremony)

3. Poďme, ženy, poďme k čepu,
/:ej, ňech konope čert'i trepú:/

1. Eat, Mariška, eat the soup,
/:ej, so that you have a nice girl:/

2. Not only a girl, but also a son,
/:ej, it is indeed a great thing.:/

3. Let us go, women, to perform the cap
ceremony,
/:ej, so that the devils...

(in front of the door, on the way from the church)

5. Ozábu nás nohi, ruki,
/:ej, skovajme si pod pazuchi.:/

6. Poveč'te nám, susedovci,
/:ej, kd'ě bívajú Duchoňovci:/

7. Od ulici v prvom dome,
/:vizri Mariška, slovko moje.:/

8. Poveč'te nám, čo je za ňu,
/:ej, či sa nám z ňej ňevismejú:/

9. Aj je biela, aj červená,
/:ej, aj je pekná virasťená.:/

5. Our feet and hands are freezing,
/:ej, let's hide them under the arm:/

6. Tell us, our neighbors,
/:ej, where do the Duchoňš live?:/

7. In the first house from the street,
/:come out, Mariška, my word.:/

8. Tell us, how is she,
/:ej, whether they won't laugh at her:/

9. She is both white and red,
/:ej, and also she is nicely tall:/

no. 90 (Dražovce)

(during the wedding feast, when the meat course is offered)

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Neňi som pes, kapustu jest',
/:ej, keď sa môžem masa najest':./ | 1. I am not a dog to eat cabbage,
/:ej, when I can have enough meat:./ |
| 2. Jec, Aňička, jec kapustu,
/:ej, abis mala riťku tlstú.:/ | 2. Eat, Anička, eat cabbage,
/:so that you have a fat buttock:./ |

no. 91 (Veľký Lapáš)

(during the feast, sung to the cooks)

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Neňi som pes, kapustu jest',
/:hej, keď sa môžem massa najest':./ | 1. I am not a dog to eat cabbage,
/:ej, when I can have enough meat:./ |
|---|---|

(during the feast, sung to the starejší)

- | | |
|--|--|
| 2. Pán starejší, čo vám poviem,
/:hej, čo má d'evča višé kolén.:/ | 2. Mister <i>starejší</i> , guess what I tell you,
/:what does a girl have above her knees:./ |
| 3. Má tam ftáča, jarabáča,
/:hej, keď ňeveria, ňech opácia.:/ | 3. She has there a red bird,
/:hej, try if you do not believe.:/ |

(on the way from the church)

- | | |
|---|---|
| 4. Už id'eme od sobáša,
/:hej, nalej družba oldomáša.:/ | 4. We are coming from the nuptials,
/:hej, bestman, give us some liquor:./ |
| 5. Nalej, nalej, plnú sklenku,
/:hej, pozdav pánboh vašu d'evku.:/ | 5. Pour us a full glass,
/:hej, God bless your young maid.:/ |
| 6. Ňielen d'evku, lež aj sina,
/:hej, veď je toho veľká sila.:/ | 6. Not only your daughter, but also a son
/:hej, it is indeed a great thing:./ |

(on the second day of the wedding)

- | | |
|--|--|
| 7. Kebi ľud'í hanbu mali,
/:hej, na nás bi sa ňeďívali.:/ | 7. If people had good manners
/:hej, they would not stare at us:./ |
| 8. Čože je to za veselé,
/:hej, keď sa eš'ťe okná celé.:/ | 8. What kind of wedding is it,
/:hej, when the windows are still
unbroken:./ |

no. 123 (Komjatice)

(during the cap ceremony)

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Bílá ruža roskvitala,
/:ej, mamka céru zapletala.:/ | 1. When the white rose blossomed,
/:ej, the mother braided her daughter's
hair:./ |
|---|---|

2. Ně mamička, ně na tuho,
/:ej, šak ňebud'em vaša dlho:./

3. A čá bud'eš, cérka moja,
/:ej, Jaňičkova mladá žena.:/

4. Jaňiček je dobrí vít'az,
/:ej, kúpev si on velkú reťaz.:/

2. No, mother, not too firm,
/:ej, because I won't be yours for long:./

3. And whose you will be, my daughter?
/:ej, Janiček's young wife.:/

4. Janiček is a brave hero,
/:ej, he bought a big chain:./

no. 134 (Černík)

(during the cap ceremony)

1. Pome, ženi, pome k čepu,
/:ej, ňech konope čert'i trepú.:/

1. Let's go, women to perform the cap
ceremony,
/:ej, let devils beat the linen...:./

no. 143 (Sokolníky)

(during the transportation of the dowry)

1. Duchni, duchni, bílé duchni,
/:len sa milá do ňich buchňi:./

2. Vačší žaba puchor mala,
/:jako ona duchén mala.:/

1. Eiderdowns, white eiderdowns,
/:jump into them, my darling:./

2. The frog had a bigger stomach,
/:than the amount of eiderdowns.:/

(on the second day of the wedding)

3. Na kostole bílá žára,
/:trafila si na kazára.:/

3. There is a white light on church
/:you met a man who will bother you:./

4. Ten ťa bud'e kazáruvať,
/:tvoje vlasi naťahovať.:/

4. He will give you orders,
/:he will pull your hair.:/

5. Tvoje vlasi striebro, zlato,
/:ňeňie hodní Janko za to:./

5. Your hair is from silver and gold,
/:Janík is not worth it:./

(on the way from the church)

6. Mladá žena, jak si spala,
/:či ťa blška ňešťípala.:/

6. Young woman, how did you sleep,
/:did not a flea bother you?:/

7. Šťípala ma niže pupka,
/:hladala tam toho mutka:./

7. It stinked me below my belly button,
/:it was looking for that thing:./

no. 147 (Sokolníky)

(at the end of the wedding)

1. Dobré zdravie tomu domu,
/:kde sme mali dobrú vólu.:/

1. We wish a good health to that house,
/:where we had a good will:./

Hont region

Dolný Badín – Fieldwork 2000

English translation:

The texts sung to *svadobná nôta DBad-3*

- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| DBad3 | Bože nám pomáhaj,
pane Jezu Krist'e,
aj mladému zaťu,
aj mladej nevest'e. | God help us,
Lord Jesus Christ,
help also to the young groom
and to the young bride. |
| DBad4 | Svetí Mikulášu,
žehnaj cestu našu,
žehnaj že ju žehnaj,
k svetímu sobášu. | Saint Nicolas,
bless our journey,
bless it, bless,
to the holy nuptials. |
| DBad5 | 1. Obzri sa Aňička,
na badínsku vežu,
tam tvoju slobodu
do ručníčka viažu.

2. Obzri sa Hanička,
na badínski zvonček,
tam je uviazaní,
tvoj zelení venček.

3. Viažu ti ju viažu,... | 1. Look back, Anička,
at the Badín tower,
there your freedom
will be tied in a kerchief.

2. Look back, Hanička,
at the Badín bell,
there will be tied
your green wreath.

3. They tie, they tie... |
| DBad6 | Pomali ma ved't'e,
hore tou d'edinou,
nech sa odoberiem
od svojich frajerov. | Lead me slowly,
up that village
so that I say good-bye,
to my lovers. |
| <i>(ked' sa od sobáša prišlo pre nevestu)</i> | | |
| DBad10 | 1. Otvárajte bránu,
novotná rodina,
zďaleka id'eme
veľká nám je zima.
(Húúhuhuhuú)

2. Čože s'te vi prišli,
badínčania pišní,
mi nemáme d'ieuča
vedľa vašej misľi.

3. Ved' zme mi ňeprišli | 10. 1. Open the gate,
new family,
we are coming from far away,
and are very cold.
(Húúhuhuhu/)

2. What did you come for,
you proud Badín people,
we have no girl
according to your wish.

3. We have not come |

pre vaše koláče
 aľe zme mi prišli
 pre to d'ieuča vaše.

to take your cakes,
 but we have come
 to fetch that girl of yours.

4. Tá vaša Anička
 to je hodná d'ieuka.
 A ten váš mláďeňec
 len taká poľiouka.

4. That Anička of yours,
 she is a good maid,
 and that young man of yours,
 just like a soup.

5. A ten náš Janičok,
 to je hodní chlapec,
 a tá vaša Anka,
 ňevie chleba napiect'.

5. And our Janičok,
 he is a good boy,
 and your Anička
 cannot even bake a bread.

6. A ke'd aj napečie,
 ľen takie pagáče,
 ŧetko jej ich svokra
 do chrbta pohádže.

6. And even if she bakes,
 just some kinds of rolls,
 her mother-in-law will them all
 throw to her back.

7. F tom svokrinom dome
 ľen skala na skale
 beda tej ňveste
 čo sa k ňej dostaňe.

7. In the mother-in-law's house,
 only a rock on the rock,
 poor is the bride,
 who gets there.

8. Ňeboj sa Aňička,
 u Kováčov hladu,
 zabili tam kravu,
 ľebe dajú hlavu.

8. Do not be afraid, Anička,
 that you be hungry at the Kovács,
 they killed a cow,
 you will get the head.

9. Kapusta, kapusta,
 zel'ená kapusta,
 ver si ti bzovčanom
 naškerila ústa.

9. Cabbage, cabbage,
 green cabbage,
 you showed the Bzovík people
 only your mouth.

(comment that *these songs were called*
prekáračky)

10. Stará Kováčová
 roztrhaním bruchom
 ved' jej ho obšije
 ňvesta s kožuchom.

10. The old Kováčová,
 with the torn belly
 her bride will sew it
 with the fur.

DBad11

1. Dajťe že nám, dajťe,
 čo nám máťe daťi,
 ľen nás ňenahajťe,
 predo dvermi stáťi.

11. 1. Give us, give us,
 what you are supposed to,
 but do not let us
 stand in front of your door.

2. Pust'ez'e nás, pust'ez'e,
aspoň pred čelust'e,
ked nás ňepust'íte,
zvalíme čelust'e.

2. Let us go in,
at least to the stove
if you do not let us come in,
we will destroy it.

(lullaby, sung to the same melody)

DBad49

1. Búvajže mi, búvaj,
ľen sa ňenadúvaj,
ľepšie ťi je spaťi,
ako nadúvaťi.

49. 1. Sleep me, sleep,
but do not be angry,
it is better for you to sleep,
than to be angry.

2. Spiže mi, spiže mi,
moj anjelic bieli,
lenže mi neulet',
do tej čiernej zemi.

2. Sleep me, sleep,
my white anjel,
just do not fly away,
to that black earth.

3. A keď mi uletíš,
zavolaj ma s sebou,
zavolaj ma s sebou,
pojďem aj ja s tebou.

3. And when you fly away,
call me to go with you,
call me to go with you,
and I will.

4. Usniže mi usni,
pojdeš ráno s husmi,
dá ťi maťi chleba,
čo ťi bude treba.

4. Sleep me, sleep,
tomorrow you will go with the geese,
your mother will give you bread
that you will need.

5. Pojďeme do hája,
natrháme kviet'a,
natrháme kviet'a,
uložíme d'iet'a.

5. We will go to the forest,
we will pick some flowers,
we will pick some flowers,
we will put the child to bed.

The texts sung to *svadobná nôta MZál-1*

(this tune only in one song – wedding song –
in Badín; sung to the orphan bride; in
Zálužie it is sung with many texts, some of
them wedding-related, some just lyrical love
songs)

DBad35

1. Anička, Anička,
veselú svadbu máš
Ale si pomisli,
ale si pomisli,

35. 1. Anička, Anička,
you have a joly wedding,
/:but think of who:/
is missing on it.

koho na nej nemáš.

2. Nemáš na nej, nemáš,
tej tvojej mamički,
tam ti ona leží,
tam ti ona leží,
f tej čiernej zemički.

2. You do not have there
that mother of yours,
/:there she is lying:/
in the black earth.

3. Čierna zem, čierna zem,
vidaj mi mamku ven,
nak sa tej mamički,
nak sa tej mamički,
horko požalujem.

3. Black earth, black earth,
give me out my mother,
/:so that I can:/
bitterly complain to her.

4. Kebi sa začala,
mamički žalovať,
musela bi tá zem,
musela bi tá zem,
horko narekovať.

4. If I began
to complain to my mother,
/:that eart would must:/
weep bitterly.

Central and northern Slovakia,
Trenčín region
Čičmany – Fieldwork 2001

English translation:

The texts sung to *svadobná nôta Čič-1*:

Čič1 Id'eme, id'eme,
mladú ňevezeme,
ostala na rínku,
kupovať perinku.

(comment that this song never heard, one older woman gave it to them as perinárska song, sung by perinárky, suky)

(when they were arriving in the bride's house after the church)

Povect' e nám susedoví

We are coming, we are coming,
we are not bringing our young girl,
she stayed at the market
to buy a featherdown.

Tell us, the neighbors,

(to the church) among other songs with individual melodies

Čič4 1. Aňi tak, aňi tak,
jako na hore fták
zamiluje d'iefča,
potom ho ňechá tak.

2. Mala som t'a rada,
že si pekní chlapec,
tak si mi vikonal,
mosím nosiť čapiec.

3. Mosím nosiť čapiec,
podvičku bielenú
tak si mi vikonal,
kod ribku zelenú.

1. Neither so, nor so,
just like the bird in the forest,
he will make a girl to love him
and then he lets her go.

2. I loved you,
because you were a handsome boy,
so you did to me
that I have to wear a bonnet.

3. I have to wear a bonnet,
with white embroidery,
so you did to me
like a green fish. (?)

(malo i viacej sloh, ale už si striedali tie piesne, abz nemali tú istú melódiu)

(zo sobáša)

Čič6 1. Pozri sa Anička,
/: ta hore na vežu,
už tvoju slobodu,
do ručníčka viažu. :/

(it had more strophes, but they alternated those songs, not to have the same tune over and over)

(from the nuptials)

1. Look, Anička,
/:up there at the tower
your freedom is already
being tied up in a kerchief: /

2. Už si ti Anička,
/: už si ti nie naša,
už zme zaplat'eli
od tvojho sobáša.:/

(už pri svadobnej hostine)

Čič9 Veselie, veselie,
/:chudobné veselie,
kebi nám trvalo
aspoň do jeseňe.:/

Čič10 Nepojďem za dovca,
/:bár som jeho otca,
čo bi mal peňazí,
za poldruha vreca.:/

(only text, *chlap potom zaspieval*)

Ňavezňem dovicu,
ba som jej škoricu,
bila bi mi d'eti,
z velikú palicú.

Čič11 Pálené, pálené,
/:s kereže si chuti,
jeden som vipila,
už mi hlave múti.:/

(text only)

Pálené, pálené,
ti si moja t'etka,
ke'd sa t'a napijem,
veselá som šetka.

(už na tej hostine na túto melódiu, kto čo
spieval, napríklad nejaká družica zaspievala)

Čič12 1.Frajer moj úprimní,
/:na voľu t'i dávam,
ožeň sa, lebo nie,
ja sa už vidávam.:/

2. Jeseňi, jeseňi,
/:frajer sa mi žení,
aňi ma ňevolá,

2. You are already, Anička
/:you are not our anymore,
we paid already
for your wedding.:/

(during the wedding feast)

Wedding, wedding,
/:poor wedding,
I wish it lasted
at least until the fall.:/

I will not marry a widower,
[curse]
/:even if he had
the whole bag of money.

(only text, *the men then sang*)

I will not marry a widow
[curse]
/:she would beat my children
with a big stick.:/

Spirit, spirit
/:what taste are you of?
I drank one [glass]
and my head goes crazy.

Spirit, spirit,
you are my aunt,
when I drink you,
I am all happy.

(to that tune at the feast people sing who
knew what, for example one bridemaid
sang:)

1. My dear lover,
/:you can decide freely,
marry someone, or do not,
I am already getting married.:/

2. In the fall, in the fall,
/:my lover is getting married,
he does not even invite me,

na jeho veselí.:/

to his wedding.:/

3. Kebi sa ja bola
/:prvjak vidávala,
ja bi som ho bola,
na svoje volala.:/

3. If I had got
/:married earlier,
I would have invited him
to my [wedding].:/

13. Vidala som sa ja,
/:ľeda muža mala,
ľeda mi post'iel'ka,
klobúčkom voňala.:/

13. I have got married,
/:so that I had a husband,
so that my bed
smells like his hat:/

The texts sung to *svadobná nôta Čič-2*:

Čič2 1. A tam dolu u dolički,
páslo d'ieuča dva koňički,
prišiel k ňemu hajník s poľ'a,
zajal mu koňe do dvora.

1. Over there down in the lower end,
a girl herded two horses.
The gamekeeper came to her
and captured the horses in the
courtyard.

2. Dávalo mu tri toliare,
jeden veľkí a dva malé,
ňehaj si to d'ievča sebe,
príd'em ja na nôtku k ťebe.

2. She was giving him three coins
a big one and two small ones,
„Keep it for yourself,
I will come back in the night.“

Čič8 1. Keď som ť'a zal, buď'em ť'a biť,
ňebuď'em ť'a f koči vozit',
/: aňi f koči aňi f korbe,
ňebuď'e ť'i pri mňe dobre.:/

1. Since I married you, I will beat you,
I will not ride you in the carriage
/:neither in carriage, nor in a basket
you will not be happy with me:/

2. Keď sa ť'i ja maličká zdám,
polož ma tam, d'e si ma zal,
/: polož ma tam f také perí,
jakém s' ma zal pri mať'eri.:/

2. If I seem little to you
put me there, whence you took me,
/:put me there in such a fur
in which you took me from my
mother.

3. Pri mať'eri pekná, ť'enká,
a pri ť'eba jako benka,
/: pri mať'eri jako průtek,
a pri tebe jako súdek.:/
(Jjúúúúúújuch)

3. With my mother I was nice and slim
and with you like a ??
/:with my mother like a wicker,
and with you like a barrel.:/
(Jjúúúúúújuch)

Čič24 1. Keď som ť'a zal..

1. same 8.1 above

2. Ňemám koča hotového,

2. My carriage is not ready,

aňi koňa sedlaného,
/:korba sa mi dolámala,
a koňa mi voda zala.:/

nor my horse is saddled yet,
/:my korba (?) has broken
and my hore has been taken by water.

3. Anča, Anča, Ančulička,
vid'el som ťa od malička,
/:od malička od malého,
od d'ievčaťa od švárneho.:/

3. Anča, Anča, little Anča,
I use to see you since your childhood
/:since your little childhood,
since you have been a pretty girl:/

4. Keď sa ťi ja maličká zdám...

4. If I seem little to you (same as 8.2
above)

The texts sung to *svadobná nôta Čič-5*

Čič5 1. /:Čože je to za zelenú trávu,:/
/:hore našim dvorom rozsipanú,:/

1. /:What kind of green grass is it:/
/:spread over our upper courtyard:/

2. /:Rozsipaná pod železnú mrežu,:/
/:už Aňičku do susedvo vezú,:/

2. /:Spread under the iron bar:/
/:Anička is led to the neighbors:/

3. /:Vezú, vezú na vraném koňičku,:/
/:a Hanňička na vraném koňičku,:/

3. /:They carry her on a black horse:/
/:and Hanička is on a black horse:/

4. /: A ten koňík prevelice skáče :/
/:A Anuška prežalostne plače:/

4. /:And the horse springs vigorously:/
/:and Anuška cries sorrowly:/

*(cestou na sobáš, ale i z kostola sa môže
spievať)*

(on the way to and from the church)

Čič28 1. /:Čo sa stalo f Čičmanoch d'ed'íne,
o polnoci, o jednej hod'íne,?:/

1. /:What happened in Čičmany the
village, at midnight, at one o'clock?:/

2. /: Išla jedna paňenka na vodu,
prišla ona o svoju slobodu.:/

2. /:A maid went for the water,
she lost her freedom:/

3. /:Hňed' bežala ocovi, maťeri,
d'e sa poďel jej vienek zelení,:/

3. /:She ran to her father and mother,
where did her green wreath
disappear?:/

4. /:Ďe si si ho cera moja, dala,
pri stud'ianke, keď som vodu brala.:/

4. /:Where did you leave it, daughter?
On the well, when I took water.:/

5. /: Brala som ja vodu do puťienki,
otpadol rovno do stud'ianki.:/

5. /:I was pumping water to the bucket,
I dropped it right to the well:/

6. /:Prišiel ke mňe černoookí
chlapec,doňiesel ma o zelení veňiec.:/

6. /:A black-eyed boy came to me
he took my green wreath.:/

Fačkov – fieldwork 2001

Note: Singers did not want to sing, but they gave a detailed description of the wedding, mentioning *nuota* several times, and making excuses that they forgot all those songs.

English translation:

The texts sung to *svadobná nôta F-1*

F1 1. Otvárajte dvere,
novotná rod'ina.
Id'eme zd'aleka,
veru nám je zima.

1. Open the door,
new family.
We are coming from far away,
and are really cold.

2. Ved'eme, ved'eme
kura ňevedomé,
ono buďe čičrať,
v Šefčíkovom dvore.

2. We are bringing, we are bringing,
an ignorant chick,
it will be walking around
in the Šefčík house.

*(the same SN but said to be sung pri
driapačkách)*

F5 Tmavá nocka tmavá,
zle po ňej choďiti.
Ďe vršek, d'e jama,
ňeviem d'e stupi'í.

The dark night, dark night,
it is bad to walk through it.
Where the hill, where the gap,
I do not know were to step.

(wedding, the moment not given)

F6 1. Pozri sa, Hanička,
pozri sa na vežu.
tam tvoju slobodu
do ručníčka viažu.

1. Look, Hanička,
look at the towe,
there your freedom
is being tied up in a kerchief.

2. Už ju uviazali,
na štiri uzlíki.
Už vás nerozviaže
celí svet širokí.

2. They already tied it up,
with four knots,
you will not get untied
by the whole wide world.

SelfW: Selec – fieldwork 2001

Sel68: Selec – Radio recording from 1968

English translation:

**The texts sung to *svadobná nôta Sel-2*
(*vencová*)**

SelfW

Sel2 Ej, dobre si rozmysli,
aj si dobre rozváž,
aj si dobre rozváž,
abi's neplakala,
ked pojdeš na sobáš.

Ej, think it over well,
and deliberate upon it,
and deliberate upon it,
so that you will not cry
when you go to the nuptials.

**The texts sung to *svadobná nôta Sel-3*
(*melodic variant of Sel-2*)**

SelfW

Sel3 1. Ideme na sobáš,
slniečko ohrej nás, hoj.

1. We are going to the nuptials,
warm us, sun, hoj,

2. Slniečko ohrálo,
dieuča zaplakalo, hoj.

2. The sun warmed,
the girl started to cry, hoj.

3. Svatí Mikulášu,
žehnaj cestu našu, hoj.

3. Saint Nicholas,
bless our journey, hoj.

4. Žehnaj, prežehnávaj,
nás tu nenehávaj, hoj.

4. Bless it, keep blessing it,
do not leave us here, hoj.

5. Tí selecké babi,
roboti nemajú, hoj.

5. Those women from Selec,
have nothing to do, hoj.

6. Roboti nemajú,
na nás sa dívajú, hoj.

6. They have nothing to do,
they stare at us, hoj.

Sel4 1. Otvárajte dvere,
svadobná rodina, hoj.

1. Open the door,
wedding family, hoj.

2. Ideme zdaleka
veru nám je zima, hoj.

2. We are coming from far away,
we are really cold, hoj.

3. Pusteže, nás, puste,
aspon pred čeluste, hoj.

3. Let us go in, let us,
at least in the front room, hoj.

4. Jak nás nepustíte,
zvalíme čelusteš, hoj.

4. When you do not let us in,
we will destroy the door, hoj.

Sel68

*(Dialogue in front of the bride's house,
alternately the groom's group and the hosts)*

Otvárajte dvere
svadobná rodina, hój.

Vitajte, vitajte,
čo scete, pítajte, hój.

Aničku, Aničku,
zeleném vínečku, hój.

Aničku nedáme,
tú si mi skováme, hój.

Dajte nám ju dajte,
máte nám ju dati, hój.

Poslala nás pre nu
Janičkova mati, hój.

Dáme vám ju dáme,
mu ju radi máme, hój.

(later on the way to the church)

Ideme na sobáš,
slunjéčko ohrej nás, hój.

Slunjéčko ohrálo,
dieuča zaplakalo, hój.

Na seleckej veži
zlatá makovica, hój.

Do ju vimaluval,
Jano Lastovica, hój.

Vimaloval na njej
ružu jako tanier, hój.

A to šetko preto,
že bol Annin frajjér, hój.

From the broadcast program featuring the
traditional Selec wedding, 1968 (also
recorded on an LP record)

Open the door,
wedding family, hoj.

Welcome, welcome,
ask for whatever you want, hoj.

We want Anička, Anička,
in the green wreath, hoj.

We will not give Anička,
we will hide her, hoj.

Give her to us, give her to us,
you shall give her to us, hoj.

We were sent for her,
by Janičko's mother, hoj.

We will give her to you,
we love her, hoj.

We are going to the nuptials,
warm us, little sun, hoj.

The sun warmed,
the girl started to cry, hoj.

On the Selec tower
there is a golden poppy head, hoj.

Who painted it,
Jano Lastovica, hoj.

He painted on it
a rose like a plate, hoj.

And all that because
he was Anna's boyfriend, hoj.

Na seleckých lúkach
gule sa gúľajú, hój.

Seleckí mládenci
tisíce hladajú, hój.

Ja nemám tisíce,
ani kopanice, hój.

Se mnu nedostaneš
len úprimné srdce, hój.

*(after the church ceremony): both SelFW
and Sel68*

Už si ti Anička
už si ti raz naša, hój.

Už sme zaplatili
od tvojho sobáša, hój.

Ot tvojho sobáša
tvrdí tolár dali, hój.

Uš sme ta Anička,
uš sme si ta zali, hój.

Uš sme sobášili
prsten premenili, hój.

Prsten premenili
tri ruže zmenili, hój.

Jennu ružu venjec,
druhú ružu tanec, hój.

Tú tretú ružičku
pre teba mužičku, hój.

(when the bride was leaving)

Zostávajú zdravé
mamičkine kľučki, hój.

On the Selec meadows
balls are rolling, hoj.

The Selec boys
are looking for thousands, hoj.

I do not own thousands,
nor a woodland, hoj.

You will not get anything with me
except of my honest heart, hoj.

You are already ours, Anička,
you are already ours, hoj.

We already paid for your
wedding, hoj.

For your wedding,
we paid a hard dollar, hoj.

We have already, Anička,
taken you, hoj.

We already married you,
exchanged the ring, hoj.

Exchanged the ring,
for three roses, hoj.

One rose for the wreath,
the second rose for the dance, hoj.

That third little rose,
for you, my husband, hoj.

Stay healthy
my mother's door knobs, hoj.

Čo vás otvárali
moje biele rúčky, hój.

Which were being opened
by my white hands, hoj.

Zostávajúce zdravé
tatičkove prahi, hój.

Stay healthy
my father's thresholds, hoj.

Čo vás kráčavali
moje biele nohy, hój.

Which were being walked over
by my white feet, hoj.

(in front of the mother-in-law's house)

Dajte že nám, dajte
za ližičku medu, hój.

Give us, please, give us,
a spoonful of honey, hoj.

Šak sme vám dovejlli
nevestičku mladú, hój.

For we have brought you
the young bride, hoj.

The texts sung to *svadobná nôta Sel-9* (one of the "pohárkové")

SelFW

Sel9 1. Tej našej neveste
blískajú sa oči,
nemože sa dočkať
tej svadobnej noci.

1. Our bride's eyes
are shining,
she cannot wait
the wedding night.

2. Janko a Anička
sú dve pekné mená,
lahnú do postele,
stisknú si kolena.

2. Janko and Anička
those are two nice names
they will go to bed
and bend their knees.

Sel14 1. Ten náš prví družba
to je samá pícha.
cigaru má v ústach,
sopel na pol rífa.

1. The first bestman
he is very proud,
with the cigar in his mouth
and the running nose.

2. Družbovie, družbovie,
načo sú vám perká?
račej si chistajte,
na kolíski drevka.

2. Groom's men, groom's men,
what do you need the plumes for?
You shall rather prepare
wood for the cradle.

3. Družice, družice,
načo sú vám vence?

3. Bridemaids, bridemaids,
what do you need the wreaths for?

šak vi máte bruchá
jako ročné telce.

You have bellys
as one-year-old calves.

4. Tá naša široká,
to je pani pišná,
nemala na kona
na trlici prišla.

4. Our široká
is a proud woman,
she could not afford a horse,
so she came on a donkey.

Sel16 Dajteže nám dajte
čo nám máte dati
nech tu nesedíme
jak soplavé deti.

Give us, please, give us,
what you are supposed to give,
so that we do not sit here
like snotty children.

Sel18 Pálené, pálené
ti si moja tetka,
ked sa ta napijem,
veselá som šetka.

Spirit, spirit,
you are my aunt,
when I take a sip of you,
I am all joly.

Sel20 Pálené, pálené,
dva razi ma denne,
po tretie cez sponník
dieuča vicedené.

Spirit, spirit,
twice a day,
after the third time,
the girl is drunk.

Sel68

(pre-wedding evening, after the veniec is ready)

Visoko zornička,
nat dedinu višla
nežen sa šuhajko
tvrdá jasen prišla.

High above the village
rose the morning star,
do not marry, young man,
a harsh autumn has come.

(during the wedding feast at the bride)

Muzikanti hrajte
alebo nehrajte,
lebo inštrumenti
do pece vepchajte.

Musicians, play
or do not play,
or your instruments
put into the oven.

Aničkina mamka
po povale chodí,
zhána tam poháre,
že tu budú hodi.

Anička's mopther
is walking in the attics,
she is looking for glasses,
for the harvest feast will be soon.

Není sú to hodi
leš je tu veseljë,
keré sa schistalo
okolo nedele.

It is not the harvest feast,
it is a wedding,
which has been prepared
around Sunday.

Dajte že nám dajte
čo nám máte dati,
nech tu nesedíme
jako malé deti.

Give us, please, give us,
what you are supposed to,
so that we do not sit here
like little children.

Hore háj, dole háj,
hore hájom chonník,
uš sa nám oženel
ten Mlynáréch zbojník.

Up the grove, down the grove,
up the grove there is a path,
he already got married,
that robber of the Mlynárs.

(during the wedding feast at the groom)

Družice, družice
prečo nespievate
či sa vi bojíte,
že sa nevidáte?

Bridemaids, bridemaids,
why you do not sing?
Are you afraid,
that you will not get married?

Mi sa nebojíme,
že sa nevidáme,
leš že si polievku
vichlannút necháme.

We are not afraid
that we won't get marry,
but that our soup
gets cold.

Kapusta, kapusta
šak si veľmi hustá
tá moja chalupa
bez frajera pustá.

Cabbage, cabbage,
you are too thick,
that cabin of mine,
is too empty without my lover.

Ket som bol slobonní,
čižmičkámi chrop, chrop,
ket som sa oženil,
kapustičku chlopp, chlop.

When I was single,
[I stamped] with my boots, chrop, chrop,
when I got married,
[I stamped] the cabbage, chlopp, chlop.

Na Mlinárech dvore
vikvitli bahnátka
už sa nám vidala
naša kamarátka.

On the Mlynárs' courtyard,
the catkins blossomed,
she got already married,
the girlfriend of ours.

Pozri sa Anička,
s povala prach veje,

Look, Anička,
the dust blows from the ceiling,

jakože ho boskáš,
ket sa ždi len smeje.

Neboj sa, Anička,
Janko dobrí bude
kolko kolov v plote,
každím bit ta bude.

Za našimi humni
slivki trnatejú,
seleckí mládenci
šecci hrbatejú.

Ten náš prví družba
ten sa trošku rovná
boli bi to hrable
do nášého humna.

Šuhajko rapaví
a ja pekná hladká,
pokeré k nám príde
furt len na mna drapká.

Družbovjé, družbovjé,
načo sú vám perká
račej si chistajte
na koliski drevká.

**The texts sung to *svadobná nôta Sel-8* (one
of the “pohárkové“)**

SelFW

Sel8 Aj tí naši pijavali,
aj mi pijat budeme,
aj tí naši ništ nemali,
aj mi to mat budeme.

Sel10 1. Tajila som, tajila,
do svatého ducha,
uš vám tajit nebudem,
pribúda mi brucha.

how will you kiss him,
when he is always laughing.

Do not be scared, Anička,
Janko will be good,
how many piles in a fence,
he will beat you with each one of them.

Behind our yards,
the plums are getting spoiled,
the Selec boys
are all getting hunchbacked.

Our first bestman
he is getting a little bit straight,
it would be a good rake
to our yard.

My darling is pockmarked
and I am pretty, smooth,
whenever he comes,
he wants to rub me.

Groomsmen, groomsmen,
what do you need the plumes for,
You rather prepare
wood for the cradle.

Ours used to drink,
we will drink, too,
ours had nothing,
we will have the same.

1. I kept it a secret,
till the Whitsunday,
but I won't keep it secret anymore,
for my belly is growing.

2. Tajila som, tajila,
ale už nebudem,
chistaj, Janko kolísku,
ja perini budem.

2. I kept it a secret,
but I won't anymore,
prepare, Janko, the cradle,
I will prepare the eiderdowns.

Sel11 A tí naši starí svati,
to sú dobrí gazdovia,
chodá oni do Trenčína
predávati pazderia.

Those old in-laws of ours,
they are good farmers,
they go to Trenčín,
to sell the wood.

Sel15 A vi páni muzikanti,
zahrajte mi túto,
najprv túto, potom túto,
naposledí túto.

And you, musicians,
play first this one [song],
first this one, then this one,
at last this one.

Sel17 Chitila som kohúta,
dala som ho uvarit,
a vi, páni muzikanti,
dostanete z neho rit.

I have caught a cook,
I let him cooked,
and you, masters musicians,
will get nothing of it.

Sel19 Pálené, pálené,
ti máš ku mne lásku,
tak sa do mňa tahalo
ako po provázku.

Spirit, spirit,
you have feelings for me,
it went into me
so smoothly.

Sel21 Jella bi som polievku,
ale je horúca,
račej budem chlapcov lúbit,
na to som ja súca.

I would eat the soup
but it is hot,
I will rather love boys,
that is what I am good in.

Sel39 Aj tí naši pijavali,
aj mi pijat budeme,
aj tí naši nič nemali,
aj mi ho mat budeme.

Ours used to drink,
we will drink too.
Ours had nothing,
we will have the same.

Sel68 (wedding feast)

A vi páni muzikanti,
zahrajte nám tak a tak,
ket scete bít na veselí
mosíte nám darmo hrat.

And you, musicians,
play for us so and so,
if you want to be at the wedding,
you have to play for free.

A tím našim kuchárkám,
im tu čosi chýbá
nedali nám do polievky
zeleného cíbá.

And our cooks
are missing something,
they did not put into the soup
the green onions.

A vi páni muzikanti,
rada bi som platila
vački sa miroztrhali,
penáze som stratila.

Hey you, musicians,
I would like to pay,
my pockets got torn,
I lost my money.

Kysuce region

Klubina – Fieldwork 2001

English translation:

The texts sung to *svadobná nôta Klu-1*

Klu1 Starejší, starejší,
kerí si múdrejší,
ej, tamten od tej steni,
ej, ľubi cuzé ženi.

Starejší, starejší,
you who is the wisest one,
ej, the one at that wall
ej, he loves others' women.

Klu2 Či sú to rezance,
a či rezančatá,
ej, ved sa oni držia,
ej, šetki zakrčatá.

Whether it is noodles,
or the little noodles,
ej, they indeed keep themselves
ej, all curled.

(first recited then sung)

Klu3 1. Veru Kukučkovia,
vrbinu kúrite,
ďaleko zme od vás,
už dimom smrdíte.

1. Indeed, the Kukučkas,
you who are burning the willow,
we are far away from you
because you smell from the fire.

2. Veru Kukučkovia,
možet'e sa pratať,
ved'ieme vám tchora,
buďe kuri lapat'.

2. Indeed, the Kukučkas
you can go now,
we are bringing you a polecat
he will be catching the hens.

Klu4 Veru je nám dobre...
(*unfinished, continued with another text*)

Indeed, we are having a good time...

1. Ľepojďem staďial'to,
kmoterku do rána,
ej, kim nam ňenavariš
ej, celého barana.

1. I will not go away,
godfather, not until the morning,
ej, until you won't cook for us
ej, a whole ram.

2. Celeho barana
aj celú jahňičku,
ej, veru ja ňepojďem
ej, od mojho kmotričku.

2. A whole ram,
and a whole lamb
ej, indeed, I will not leave
ej, my godfather.

Klu5 Ja veru kuchárki,
veru s'e rovnaké,
ej, jedna ako dieža,
ej, druhá ako veža.

You cooks, indeed,
are one like the other,
ej, one as a bucket,
ej, the other as a tower.

(when they went to the bride)

Klu6 1. Id'eme, id'eme,
chodníčka ňevieme,
ej, dobrí ľud'ia ved'ia,
ej, oni nám poved'ia.

2. Dobrí ľud'ia ved'ia,
dobrí ľud'ia ved'ia,
ej, oňi nám poved'ia,
ej, oňi nám poved'ia.

(on the way to the church)

Klu7 Svetí Mikulášu
meraj cestu našu,
ej, ved' ti mi id'eme,
ej, k svetému sobášu.

*(only recited, referred to be sung to the same
nuota)*

Klu8 Pozri sa Hanička,
do kuťika za pec,
abi sa ťi držel,
ten najprvší chlapec.

1. We are walking, walking,
we do not know which way,
ej, good people know
ej, they will tell us.

2. Good people know,
good people know,
ej, they will tell us,
ej, they will tell us.

Saint Nicholas,
measure our journey,
ej, we are already approaching
ej, the holy nuptials.

Look, Hanička,
to the corner behind the fireplace,
so that first
you have a boy.

Nová Bystrica – Fieldwork 2001

English translation:

The texts sung to *svadobná nôta NB-1*

(each strophe sung with slight melodic variations)

*(ku temu vencu)**(preparing the bridal wreath)*

NB1 Ved' si ti Marienka,
planí rozum mala,
ej, za pohárček vinka,
ej, uniesť si sa dala.

For you Marienka,
you had empty head
ej, and for a glass of wine
ej, you let yourself be kidnapped.

NB2 1. F tom našom kostole,
murovaní kameň,
ej, ved' si ti Marienka,
ej, prisahala na ňem.

1. In our church,
there is a stone
ej, on which you Marienka
ej, had sworn.

2. F tom našom kostole,
murovaná deska,
ej, ved' si ti Marienka,
ej, prisahala ňeska.

2. In our church,
there is a board
ej, on which you Marienka
ej, had sworn.

(when they welcomed the bride at the groom's huouse)

NB3 Viňes nam mamička,
na ližičke medu,
ej, poďte nám privítať,
ej, tú nevestu mladú.

Bring us, mother,
a spoonful of honey,
ej, and come to welcome,
ej, our young bride.

(ked' išli pre nevestu – when they went to fetch the bride)

NB4 Veru mi id'eme,
aľe ňevieme kam,
ej, gďe tá lampa horí,
ej, mi len vend'eme tam.

We are going,
but do not know where,
ej, where the lamp is lit
ej, we will go there.

(na sobáši - at the wedding)

NB6 Svetí Mikulášu,
meraj cestu našu,
ej, a ved' mi id'eme
ej, ksvatému sobášu.

Saint Nicholas
measure our journey,
ej, because we are approaching
ej, the holy nuptials.

NB8 Už si ti Mariejka
bola tvoja tužba,
ej, keď ti tú perinku,
ej, naraz viniesol družba.

Your desire, Marienka,
has been fulfilled,
ej, when the bestman
ej, took your eiderdown.

(last verse one more syllable, did not
fit, singer laughed at it)

NB10 Pozri sa Anička,
hore do povali,
ej, abi tvoje deti,
ej, čierne oči mali.

Look Anička,
up at the ceiling,
ej, so that your children
ej, would have black eyes.

(*žartovná*)

NB22 Ňepojďem za dovca,
aňi na moj dušu,
ej, dovcov aj v post'eli,
ej, bardzo muchi kušú.

(*humorous song*)

I will not marry a widower,
at no stake,
ej, widowers are bothered by flies
ej, even in the bed.

The texts sung to *svadobná nôta NB-5*

NB5 1. Tichí vetrík od Dunajka
povieva, povieva.
Už sa cerka od mamički
odbiera, odbiera.

1. A quiet wind from the Danube
blows, blows,
the daughter is from her mother
leaving, leaving.

2. Odbiera sa od mamički,
od svojej, od svojej,
že už ide do hospodi,
do inej, do inej.

2. She is leaving her mother,
her mother,
for she goes to the house
of others, of others,

3. Upečte mi, mamko moja,
ten koláč, ten koláč.
že ja idem od mamički
preč od vás, preč od vás.

3. Bake for me, my mother,
that cake, that cake,
for I am, my mother, leaving
away from you, away from you.

The texts sung to *svadobná nôta NB7*

NB7 1. Vipleraj, zapleraj,
zlaté vrkoče,
zlaté vrkoče.

1. Weave, plait
golden braids,
golden braids.

2. ňech nám ta nevesta
za nimi plače,
za nimi plače.

2. So that our bride
will cry for them,
will cry for them.

3. Keď plače, nech plače,
už nepomože,
už nepomože.

4. Už sú tie koňički,
ve veľkém voze,
ve veľkém voze.

3. If she cries, let her cry,
no one will help,
no one will help.

4. Those little horses are already
harnessed in a cart,
harnessed in a cart.

Ochodnica – Fieldwork 2001

English translation:

The texts sung to *svadobná nôta O-3*

- | | | |
|-----------|---|--|
| O3 | <p>1. Zbohom ostávajúte,
vi tu taje všíski,
ňebudú tu chodiť,
moje biele nuoški.</p> <p>2. Aňi nuoški choďiť,
aňi rúčki robiť,
čo bi sa tu malo,
striebro, zlato riďiť.</p> | <p>1. Farewell hillsides,
farewell,
they will not walk here,
my white feet.</p> <p>2. Neither my feet will walk here,
nor my hands will work here,
even if,
silver or gold should be found here.</p> |
|-----------|---|--|

(in front of the bride's house) –only text
recited

- | | | |
|------------|---|--|
| O7 | <p>Otváraj gazdiná,
otváraj, ti vráta,
veď ťi mi veďieme
na krki Piláta.</p> <p>1. Perečko zelené,
trojakého zel'a,
že mi ho nosila,
frajerečka moja.</p> <p>2. Keď mi ho dávala,
horko zaplakala,
bodaj ťa šuhajko,
ňebola poznala.</p> | <p>Open housewife,
open the door
for we bring you
Pilatus on your neck.</p> <p>1. Green feather
of three different greens
that wore
my beloved.</p> <p>2. When she gave it to me,
she wept bitterly,
may have she, chap,
never have met you.</p> |
| O11 | <p>1. Veruže nám dajťe,
čo nám máťe dávať,
ľebo tu ňemáte
kedi posedávať.</p> <p>2. Kedi posedávať,
kedi visedávať,
veruže nám dajte,
čo nám máte dávať.</p> <p>3. Dali nám misiská
len samé kostiská,
jako bi to bolo
ze starého psiska.</p> | <p>1. Give us indeed,
what we shall be given,
because you should not
be sitting here.</p> <p>2. When you sit here,
then you sit here,
give us indeed,
what we shall be given.</p> <p>3. They gave us big bowls
with only bones,
as it were for
an old dog.</p> |

4. Družbové, družbové,
zlá novina na vás,
zlínové pomeje,
ukazujú na nás.

4. Best men, best men,
bad news about you,
cabbage leftovers,
they are pointing at us.

(after the wedding feast)

13. Pozri si Haňička,
z postele na kameň
čo si prisahala,
Jaňičkovi na niem.

13. Look Haňička
from your bed at that stone,
on which
you swore about Jaňičko.

(this very same song they commented as being also sung to the melody *O-12*, which appears here only once, but the close melodic variant functions as SN in Dolný Badín):

The texts sung to *svadobná nôta O-12*

O12 Hej, pozri sa Aňička,
hore po povaľe,
hej, že bi tvoje d'eťi
čierne oči maľi.

Hey Aňička,
look around the loft,
hey, so that your children
would have black eyes.

Radôstka – Fieldwork 2001

English translation:

The texts sung to svadobná nôta R-1

(did not specify when, what song was sung, but said, that it was always to that same melody)

- R1**
1. O, veru zelené,
to najzelenejšie,
ej, vidáva sa dieuča,
ej, to najparádnejšie.
 2. Vidáva sa dieuča,
vidáva sa dieuča,
ej, to najprádnejšie,
ej, to najparádnejšie.

1. Oh, that green,
that greenest green,
ej, the girl is getting married,
ej, the prettiest one.
2. /:The girl is gettin married:/

/:ej, the prettiest one:/

- R2**
1. Dostal si Janičko,
perečko z nietaty,
ej, ňebudeš chodievať,
ej, po rínku z dieučaty.
 2. Nebudeš chodievať,
nebudeš chodievať,
ej, po rínku z dieučaty,
ej, po rínku z dieučaty.

1. You got, Janičko,
the green plume,
ej, you won't go out
ej, to the market with girls.
2. /:You won't go out:/

/:ej, to the market with girls:/

(only text, when the wreath was prepared, they gave money on a plate):

Štrngaju, brnkaju
peniaški po stole
ej, ber si ich Aňička,
ej, veď su to už tvoje.

Ringing, jingling,
go money on table,
ej, take it, Anička,
ej, it is yours, indeed.

(when they came to the mother-in-law)
(only text, but said that all was sung to the same tune):

Hibaj z toho voza,
nesed' ako koza
ej, dost si sa nastala,
ej, kim si ho dostala.

Get out from that cart,
do not sit there like a goat,
ej, you were sitting enough,
ej, until you got him.

R7 1. Upeč mamka, koláč
ideme na sobáš,
ej, upeč mamka velkí,
ej, ideme na vekí.

2. Upeč mamka velkí,
upeč mamka velkí,
ej, ideme na vekí,
ej, ideme na vekí.

1. Bake, mother, a cake,
we are going to the nuptials,
ej, bake mother a big one,
ej, we are going forever.

2. /:Bake, mother a big one:/
/:we are going forever:/

Stará Bystrica – Fieldwork 2001

English translation:

The texts sung to *svadobná nôta SB-1*

SB1 1. Vipletaj, zapletaj
zlaté vrkoče,
zlaté vrkoče.

1. Interweave and intertwine
golden braids,
golden braids.

2. Jako tá Anička
za nimi plače,
za nimi plače.

2. How that Anička
cries for them,
cries for them.

The texts sung to *svadobná nôta SB-2*

SB2 1. Ideme, ideme,
ale nevieme kam
hej, d'ě sa bud'ě svietit',
hej, len mi vend'eme tam.

1. We are going, we are going
but do not know where
hey, where there is a light,
hey, we will go there.

2. Id'ě svadba z hori,
prikrívajťe stoli,
hej, stoli javorové,
hej, ližički sklenové.

2. The wedding company is coming
from the mountain, prepare the tables
hey, tables from a maple wood,
hey, spoons from glass.

(only a text *šetko na tu istu nuotu*):

Ideme, ideme,
otvárajte vráta
hej, vedeme nevestu,
hej, už je aj bachratá.

(*everything on the same nuota*)

We are coming
open the doors,
hey, we bring the bride,
hey, she is already fat [pregnant].

SB3 Id'eme, id'eme,
hore príkrim briežkom,
hej, pripadla jej hlava
hej, pekním bielím práškom.

We are coming
up a steep hill
hey, her head is covered
hey, with a white powder.

(*sung to the mother-in-law*)

SB6 1. Ufaj sa mamička,
ufaj sa ňevest'ě,
hej, aľe sa ňeufaj,
hej, pri peci varieške.

1. You can hope, mother,
hope to have a bride,
hey, but you do not have to hope
hey, to cook.

2. Aľe sa ňeufaj,
aľe sa ňeufaj,
hej, pri peci varieške,
hej, pri peci varieške.

2. But you do not have to hope,
you do not,
hey, to cook,
hey, to cook.

SB8 Bude ťi Haňička,
buďe ťi tam dobre,
ej, budú ťi varievat',
ej, svinské zemki drobné.

You will, Hanička,
have there a good time,
ej, they will cook for you,
ej, tiny fodder potatoes.

Zborov nad Bystricou – Fieldwork 2001

English translation:

The texts sung to *svadobná nôta ZnB-5*

- ZnB5** Ideme, ideme
chodníčka nevieme,
dobří ľudia vravia,
oňi vám poved'ia.
- We are going, going
but do not know the path,
good people are saying,
they will tell us.
- ZnB7** Pochváľen pán Ježiš,
jako sa tu máte,
keď vi nade dvermi
svatého ňemáte.
- God bless you,
how are you doing here,
when you have
no Saint above the door.
- ZnB8** Pozri sa Anička,
hore pod poval'e,
abi tvoje d'eťi
čierne oči maľi.
- Look, Anička
up at the ceiling,
so that your children
would have black eyes.
- ZnB9** Sedajme, sedajme
za títo dva stoli,
nech sa tej Haničke,
rodinečka schodí.
- Let's sit down,
at these two tables,
so that for Hanička
the family gets together.

Slovak villages in Slavonia (Croatia)
Jelisavec – Fieldwork 1996

English translation:

The texts sung to *svadobná nôta Jel-1.10*
 (singer sang each strophe with melodic variations)

(before this the bride kissed the edges of the table)

Jel1.10. A veru Hanička,
 pozri do povali,
 abi tvoje deti
 čarne oči maľi.

Hanička,
 look at the ceiling,
 so that your children
 have black eyes.

Jel7.13 (1. strofa identická s 1.10)

2. Čierne oči maľi,
 kuštravú hlavičku,
 abi sa podaľi
 na oca, mamičku.

(1st strophe the same as previous)
 2. Black eyes,
 curly head,
 so that they look like
 father, and mother.

3. O veru Haňička,
 ňebude tebe tak,
 ňebudeš ti lietat'
 po krčme ako fták.

3. Hanička,
 you will not be doing well,
 you will not fly
 through the pub as a bird.

Jel1.13

1. Bolože mi dobre,
 u mamički mojej,
 jakože mi buďe
 šuhajko u tvojej?

1. I had a good time
 in my mother's house,
 how I will be doing,
 darling, in your mother's house?

2. U mojej mamički
 chlebíček na stole,
 u tvojej, šuhajko,
 nemá ho v komore.

2. In my mother's house
 there is a bread on the table,
 and in yours, darling,
 there is nothing in the pantry.

3. U mojej mamički
 ribečki na stole,
 u tvojej, šuhajko,
 krvavé služečki.

3. In my mother's house
 there is fish on the table,
 in yours, darling,
 bloody noodles.

4. U mojej mamički,
 pečené, varené,
 u tvojej, šuhajko,
 tri dňi ňekúrené.

4. In my mother's house,
 baked and cooked,
 in yours, darling,
 three days without heat.

(to the dance „na tanier“)

Jel1.18 Ale sa pánbožko
na ňebi raduje,
keď sebe Aňička
ze mamu tancuje.

The Lord
in the heavens is happy
when Anička
is dancing with her mother.

Jel1.20 Bola som na svadbe
u Kand'eri tri dňi,
bolo nám tam dobre
nezabud'em ňigdi.

I was at the wedding
at the Kanderas for three days,
we had a good time
I will never forget that.

Jel1.21 Veru som veselá
jako veselička,
ňedám si poboskať,
ľeda chlapcu ľička.

I am happy, indeed,
joly and happy,
I will not let a boy kiss me,
except of my cheeks.

Jel1.23 1. Id'e Janko doli
pokrivajťe stoli,
stoli javorove,
ližički cínové.

1. Janko comes from the lower end,
cover the tables,
tables from maple wood,
tin spoons

2. Stoli javorové,
stoli javorové
ližički cínové,
ližički cínové.

2. /:Tables from maple wood:/

/:tin spoons:/

Jel1.25 1. Štiri húski biele
a piata strakatá,
povedal mi šuhaj,
že som ňebohatá.

1. Four white geese,
and the fifth a dappled one,
I was told by a chap,
I am not rich.

2. Keď si ti bohatí,
bohatí si sebe,
ved' mamoja mamka
ňechovala tebe.

2. If you are rich,
be rich for yourself,
for my mother did not
raise me for you.

3. Ved' ma moja mamka,
ved' ma moja mamka,
ňechovala tebe,
ňechovala tebe.

3. /:For my mother did not:/

/:raise me for you:/

Jel1.27 Chod'ieval si do nás,
ďiabli ťa noseli,
a teraz ňeprídeš,
čo bi ťa noseli.

You used to come to us,
the devils used to bring you,
and now you won't come,
even if they carried you.

Jel7.11 1.Prečo s'te nás prečo,
za stol usad'eli,
keď s'te nám aňi jest',
aňi pit' ňedali.

2. Keď s'te nám aňi jest'
keď s'te nám aňi jest',
aňi pit' ňedali,
aňi pit' ňedali.

(probably not wedding song, to the same
tune)

Jel7.12 Ňie to tak, ňie to tak
ako po hore fták,
ďieuča zamilovať',
potom ho ňechať tak.

Jel1.3 Janičku, Janičku,
voňaví hřebičku,
ved tebe richtujú
v Záhrebe šabličku.

(na driapačky):

Kačička divoká
leťela z visoka,
šuhaj dobrí strelec,
strelil jej do boka.

(*Harvest song*)

Jel7.19 Už zme pokoseli,
Pánboh nám pomohol,
druhému ňemohol,
druhému ňemohol.

Jel7.27 1. Boli chlapci boli,
čo vínečko pili,
ešče lepší boli
čo ho zaplaťeli.

2. Ešče lepší boli,
ešče lepší bolli,
čo ho zaplaťeli,
čo ho zaplaťeli.
Ujujúuju.

1. Why did you sat us
at the table,
when you gave us nothing to eat
or drink.

2. /:When you gave us nothing to eat:/
/:or drink:/.

It is not just like
bird in the forest,
to make girl fall in love,
and then abandon her.

Janičko, Janičko,
fragrant carnation,
they prepare for you
the sword in Zagreb.

Wild little duck,
flew from the height,
the chap, a good shooter,
shot her in the hip.

We have already finished mowing,
the Lord has helped us,
he could not help the others,
he could not help the others.

1. There were boys
who drank wine,
there were even better boys,
who paid for it.

2. /:There were even better boys,:/
/:who paid for it:/

Ujujúuju.

Josipovac – Fieldwork 1996

English translation:

The texts sung to *svadobná nôta Jos-6.2*

- Jos6.2**
1. Svetí Mikulášu,
rovnaj cestu našu,
ej, ved' mi už id'eme,
ej, k svatému sobášu.
 2. Ved' mi už id'eme,
ved' mi už id'eme,
ej, k svatému sobášu,
ej, k svatému sobášu.
 3. Otvárajt'e dvere,
novotná rod'ina,
ej, id'eme zd'aleki,
ej, veľmi nám je zima.
 4. Id'eme zd'aleki,
id'eme zd'aleki,
ej, veľmi nám je zima,
ej, veľmi nám je zima.
- Jos6.3**
1. Prečo s'te nás, prečo,
za stol usad'eli
ej, keď s'te nám aňi jest',
ej, aňi piť nedali.
 2. Keď s'te nám aňi jest',
keď s'te nám aňi jest',
ej, keď s'te nám aňi jest',
ej, aňi piť ňedali.
- Jos6.4**
1. Plakala Hanička,
zavierala husi,
ej, že už od mamički,
ej, mašírovať musí.
 2. Že už od mamički,
že už od mamički,
ej, mašírovať musí,
ej, mašírovať musí.
 3. Veru ti, Hanička
pekná si jak ruža,
1. Saint Nicholas,
make our journey straight,
ej, we are already coming,
ej, to the holy nuptials.
 2. We are already coming,
we are already coming,
ej, to the holy nuptials,
ej, to the holy nuptials.
 3. Open the door,
new family,
ej, we are coming from far away,
ej, we are cold.
 4. We are coming from far away,
we are coming from far away,
ej, we are cold,
ej, we are cold.
 1. Why did you, why,
let us sit at the table,
ej, if you gave us
ej, nothing to drink or eat.
 2. If you gave us nothing,
if you gave us nothing,
ej, to eat or drink,
ej, to eat or drink.
 1. Hanička cried,
she closed the geese,
ej, that she must
ej, leave her mother.
 2. That she must,
that she must,
ej, leave her mother,
ej, leave her mother.
 3. You are, Hanička,
beautiful like a rose,

ej, ale si dostala,
ej, aj pekného muža.

ej, but you also got
ej, a handsome husband.

4. Ale si dostala,
ale si dostala,
ej, aj pekného muža,
ej, aj pekného muža.

4. But you also got,
but you also got,
ej, a handsome husband,
ej, a handsome husband.

5. Tá naša mladucha
ďíva sa do brucha,
ej, myslíme, že plače,
ej, ona bi posúcha.

5. That bride of ours,
looks at her belly,
ej, we think she is crying,
ej, and she wants a cake.

6. Myslíme, že plače,
myslíme, že plače,
ej, ona bi posúcha,
ej, ona bi posúcha.

6. We think she is crying,
we think she is crying,
ej, and she wants a cake,
ej, and she wants a cake.

Jos6.7 Tedi sa pánboško
na ňebi raduje,
ej, ked sebe Haňička
ej, ze chlapom tancuje.

The God in the heaven
is happy,
ej, when Hanička,
ej, is dancing with man.

The texts sung to *svadobná nôta SN-6.6*

(here as short humorous songs, in other
villages, Ledeník, Zokov Gaj, and Miljevci,
both ritual and humorous)

Jos6.6 1. Stará Kurickuľa,
ej, za dverami stojí,
ej, za dverami stojí.

1. Old Kurickuľa,
ej, is standing behind the door,
ej, is standing behind the door.

2. S kijom opálením,
ej, ňvesti sa bojí,
ej, ňvesti sa bojí.

2. With her burnt stick,
/:ej, she is afraid of her daughter-in-
law:/

3. Hore háj, hore háj,
ej, hore hájom cesta,
ej, hore hájom cesta.

3. Up the grove, up the grove,
ej, up the grove there is a road,
ej, up the grove there is a road.

4. Jak buďe dobrá mať,
ej, buďe aj ňvesta,

4. When the mother is good,
ej, the daughter-in-law will be too,

- ej, buďe aj nevesta.
5. Mamička je dobrá,
ej, a nevesta zbojník,
ej, a nevesta zbojník.
6. Ukradla mamičke,
ej, ze štrika povojník,
ej, ze štrika povojník.
- ej, the daughter-in-law will be too.
5. The mother is good,
ej, and a daughter-in-law is a robber,
ej, and a daughter-in-law is a robber.
6. She stole from her mother,
ej, a kerchief from the chest,
ej, a kerchief from the chest.

Ledeník – Fieldwork 1996

English translation:

The texts sung to *svadobná nôta Led-8.2*

Led8.2 1. Vdubokej doline
/:ej, srna vodu pije:./

1. In a deep valley
/ej, the roe drinks water:./

2. Ďe je ten šuhajko,
/:ej, čo hu ňezabije.:/

2. Where is that lad,
/:ej, who does not kill her:./

3. Pojme tam,pojme tam,
/:ej, d'ě sa voda leje:./

3. Let us go there, go there,
/:ej, where the water is pouring:./

4. Nánd'eme tam d'efča,
/:ej, čo sa rado smeje.:/

4. We will find there a girl
/:ej, who loves to laugh:./

5. Mať moja, mať moja,
/:ej, ale ňeviem, kerá.:/

5. Mother, my mother,
/:ej, but I do not know which one:./

6. Jag ma takí vezňe,
/:ej, čo maťere ňemá.:/

6. What if such a man marries me,
/:ej, who has no mother:./

Led8.13

1. Jaká je to hora,
/:ej, čo ňemá javora.:/

1. What kind of forest is it,
/:ej, that has no maple tree:./

2. Jaké je to d'ieuča,
/:ej, čo ňemá frajera.:/

2. What kind of girl is it,
/:ej, who has no boyfriend:./

3. Štiridom, štiridom,
/:ej, predám babu Židom.:/

3. Štiridom, štiridom,
/:ej, I will sell the old woman to
Jews:./

4. A piatu ňevestu,
/:ej, vihod'ím na cestu.:/

4. And the fifth bride
/:ej, I will throw out to street:./

5. Moj o'ec, moja mať,
/:ej, boli ľuďia hlúpi:./

5. My father, my mother
/:ej, they were foolish people:./

6. Lahli ma na ???
/:ej, že ma ktosi kúpi. :/

6. Laid me on the road
/:ej, that someone will buy me:./

7. Ňie som ja kravička,
/:ej, da ma predávaťe.:/

7. I am not a little cow,
/:ej, to be sold:./

8. Veď som ja d'evička,

8. But I am a girl,

/:ej, da ma vidávaťe.:/

9. Mala som frajera,
/:ej, s panského majera.:/

10. Mal očiska také,
/:ej, ako pol taňera.:/

Led8.22

1. Slováci, Slováci,
/:ej, šetci sme jednací.:/

2. Koda bi vas mala,
/:ej jedna stará mati.:/

Led8.23

1. Pozri si Aňička,
/:ej, pozri pod povali.:/

2. Kod bi tvorje d'eti
/:ej, čierne oči mali.:/

3. Čierne oči maluj,
/:ej, kuštravú hlavičku.:/

4. Abi sa podali,
/:ej, na oca, mamičku. :/

Led8. 25

1. Kohútek jarabí,
/:ej, nechod' do záhradi.:/

2. Pohrebeš leliju,
/:ej, d'efki t'a zabijú.:/

Led8.29

1. Sopľa ví, sopľaví,
/:ej, že sa on popraví:/

2. Al' sa nepopravel,
/:ej, aj sa osoplavel. :/

Led8.30

1. Túlalo sa, túlalo,
/:ej, po stole jabúčko.:/

2. Po svet'e sa túla,
/:ej, moje srdénečko.:/

3. ??? mesjaček,

/:ej, to get married:/

9. I had a lover,
/:ej, from the manor's farm:/

10. He had big eyes
/:like a half plate:/

1. Slovaks, the Slovaks,
/:ej, ej, we are all the same:/

2. As if you were born
/:ej, from one and only old mother:/

1. Look, Anička,
/:ej, look at the ceiling:/

2. So that your children
/:ej, have black eyes.:/

3. Paint black eyes,
/:ej, curly little head:/

4. So that they look like
/:ej, father and mother:/

1. Red-feathered rooster
/:do not go to the garden:/

2. You will destroy a lily flower,
/:ej, girls will kill you:/

1. Snotty-nosed, snotty-nosed,
/:ej, he will do better:/

2. But he did not do better,
/:ej, he got more snotty.:/

1. It wandered, it rolled,
/:ej, an apple on table:/

2. Wandering around the world
/:ej, is my heart [darling]:/

3. Do not set, a little moon,

- | | |
|---|---|
| /:ej, ňezachádzaj ešte.:/ | /:ej, do not set yet:./ |
| 4. Ešte je moj milí
/:ej, na dalekej cest'e.:/ | 4. My darling is still
/:ej, on a far-away journey:./ |
| 5. Adame, Adame
/:ej, čo robíš ve jame :/ | 5. Adam, Adam,
/:what are you doing in the hole?:/ |
| 6. Viberám dukáti,
/:ej, d'iefkom na kabáti.:/ | 6. I am picking the coins,
/:ej, for the girls' coats.:/ |

Miljevci – Fieldwork 1996

English translation:

The texts sung to *svadobná nôta Milj-10.1*

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>Milj10.11. Jabúčko červené
ej, čo najčervejšie, 2x</p> <p>2. Vidalo sa d'efča,
ej, čo bolo najľepšie. 2x</p> <p>3. Aľe mi je dobre,
ej, u maťere mojej. 2X</p> <p>4. Jako mi tiež bude,
ej, moj milí u tvojej, 2x</p> <p>5. U mojej maťere,
ej, pečené, varené, 2x</p> <p>6. U tvojej milí moj,
ej, hiže ňekúrené. 2x</p> <p>7. Veru je ňedobrá,
ej, tá cuzá mamička. 2x</p> <p>8. Len ma raz bud'ela,
ej, d'ed'ina ved'ela, 2x</p> | <p>1. Red apple
/:ej, the most red one:/</p> <p>2. A girl got married,
/:ej, who was the best:/</p> <p>3. I have a good time
/:ej, with my mother:/</p> <p>4. How will it be
/:ej, my dear with yours?:/</p> <p>5. In my mother's house
/:baked and cooked:/</p> <p>6. In your mother's house,
/:ej, unheated rooms:/</p> <p>7. Indeed, she is not good
/:ej, that strange mother:/</p> <p>8. Only once did she wake me up,
/:ej, the entire village knew about it:/</p> |
| <p>Milj10.2 1. Id'eme, id'eme,
ej, chodníčkom ňevieme 2x</p> <p>2. Dobrí ľuďia ved'ia,
ej, oňi nám poved'ia. 2x</p> <p>3. Ked' som išla sama,
ej, d'e vršek, d'e jama. 2x</p> <p>4. Ked' som išla s milím,
ej, cesta šľapovaná. 2x</p> <p>5. Moj milí za horu
ej, a ja z druhej strani. 2x</p> <p>6. Srdéčko zviazané
ej, z dvoma reťazami. 2x</p> | <p>1. We are going,
/:ej, but do not know where:/</p> <p>2. Good people know,
/:ej, they will tell us:/</p> <p>3. When I went alone
/:ej, here the hill, there the hole:/</p> <p>4. When I went with my boyfriend,
/:ej, the road trodden firm:/</p> <p>5. My boyfriend was behind the hill,
/:ej, and I was on the other side:/</p> <p>6. My heart tied up
/:ej, with two chains:/</p> |

Milj10.13

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Šuhaju, šuhaju,
ej, domof t'a volajú 2x | 1. Lad, lad,
/:ej, they call you to go home:/ |
| 2. Tvoje sivé volki,
ej, hladné zaprihajú 2x | 2. Your grey oxes are
/:ej, harnessed while being hungry:/ |
| 3. Moje sivé volki,
ej, tak sú naučené, 2x | 3. My grey oxes,
/:ej, are trained:/ |
| 4. Više hladné robia,
ej, jako nahranené, 2x | 4. They work hungry more often
/:ej, than they are fed.:/ |
| 5. Ked pojd'em do vojni
ej, pojdu mi hrajući 2x | 5. When I go to the war
/:ej, they will go with me playing:/ |
| 6. Moje čierne oči
ej, pojdu plakajúci 2x | 6. My black eyes
/:ej, will go crying.:/ |
| 7. Ked som išol z vojni
ej, milá šati prala 2x | 7. When I was coming from the war
/:ej, my girlfriend washed her dress:/ |
| 8. Jak som si zaspieval,
ej, ona zaplakala. 2x | 8. As I started to sing,
/:ej, she started to cry:/ |
| 9. Ja som si zaspieval,
ej, na vraném koňičku. 2x | 9. I was singing
/:ej, on my black horse:/ |
| 10. Milá zaplakala,
ej, ked brala vod'ičku. 2x | 10. My dear was crying,
/:ej, as she pumped water:/ |
| 11. Štiri míle zeme,
ej, drobného kúkoľa 2x | 11. Four miles of land
/:ej, little corn-cockle:/ |
| 12. Ňeboj sa roboti,
ej, frajerečko moja. 2x | 12. Do not be afraid of work
/:ej, my dear girlfriend:/ |
| 13. Ňeboj sa roboti,
ej, že t'a buď'em bijat', 2x | 13. Do not be afraid of work,
/:ej, that I will beat you.:/ |
| 14. Samo za mnú ňechod',
ej, g'de ja buď'em pijat'. 2x | 14. Only do not follow me,
/:ej, to the place where I will drink:/ |

(dobre, druhú ariu treba...)

(all right, now we need another aria [tune])

The texts sung to *svadobná nôta Milj-10.6*

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>Milj10.30 1. Slováci, Slováci,
šecia sme jednací,
jako bi nás mala
jedna stará maťi.</p> | <p>1. Slovaks, Slovaks,
we are all the same,
as if we were born
from one old mother.</p> |
| <p>2. I'deme, id'eme,
chodníčka ňevieme
dobrí ľudia ved'ia,
oňi nám poved'ia.</p> | <p>2. We are going, going
but do not know where,
good people know,
they will tell us.</p> |
| <p>3. Dobrí ľudia ved'ia,
dobrí ľudia ved'ia,
oňi nám poved'ia,
oňi nám poved'ia.</p> | <p>3. /:Good people know,:/

/:they will tell us,:/</p> |
| <p>4. Moj o'ec aj maťi,
to sú ľudia hlúpi,
dali ma na jarmok,
či ma dakto kúpi.</p> | <p>4. My father and my mother
they are foolish people,
they took me to the market,
that someone would buy me.</p> |
| <p>5. Dali ma na jarmok,
dali ma na jarmok,
či ma kto tam kúpi.
či ma kto tam kúpi.</p> | <p>5. /:They took me to the market,:/

/:that someone would buy me.:/</p> |
| <p>6. Ňik ma tam ňekúpel,
aňi ma ňekúpi,
moj o'ec, aj maťi,
to sú ľudia hlúpi.</p> | <p>6. Nobody bought me there,
nor will not,
my father and my mother,
they are foolish people.</p> |
| <p>7. Moj o'ec, moja mať,
moj o'ec, moja mať,
to sú ľudia hlúpi,
to sú ľudia hlúpi.</p> | <p>7. /:My father, my mother,:/

/:they are foolish people:/</p> |
| <p>8. Ňie som ja kravička,
da ma predávaťe,
ale som d'ievečka,
da ma vidávaťe.</p> | <p>8. I am not a cow,
to be sold,
but I am a pretty girl,
to be married.</p> |

9. Ved' som ja d'evčka,
ved' som ja d'evčka,
da ma vidávaťe,
da ma vidávaťe.

9. /:But I am a pretty girl,:/

/:to be married:/

The texts sung to *svadobná nôta Milj-10.5*

Milj10.5 1. Žalo dieuča na doliňe,
na tej drobnej d'at'eliňe.
Keď nažalo, naviazalo,
na milého zavolalo.

1. A girl was mowing in the valley,
in that little clover,
when she finished,
called her boyfriend.

2. Pojže milí z druhej strani,
zadvihni mi batoh trávi.
Nech ťi dvíha oťec, maťi,
ňechceli ťa za mňa daťi.

2. Come, my dear, from the other side,
help me to lift the knapsack of grass.
Ask your father, ask your mother,
who did not want you to marry me.

3. Ešče ťa len kolembali
už ťa za mňa sľubovali,
ešťe si len húski pásala,
už si v mojem srci rástla.

3. Since you were in cradle,
they promised you to me.
When you started to tend geese
you already grew in my heart.

4. Ešče si len malá bola,
už si sa nazdála moja.
a teraz si málo večša,
teraz bu' deš moje defča.

4. Since you were a young girl,
you seemed to be mine,
and now, when you are a bit older,
now you will be my girlfriend.

5., Bože milí, čo mám robiť,
či vandrovať, či sa ženiť,
vandrovať ma noški bolia,
a ženiť mi ňedozvolia.

5. Oh, my God, what shall I do,
shall wander, or get married,
my feet hurt from wandering,
and to get married I am not allowed.

6. Defča, d'efča, and'el bieli,
dávno sme sa ňevíd'eli,
dávno, dávno celí tíždeň,
spomínal som ťa každy d'eň.

6. Girl, girl, white angel,
we have not seen each other for long,
for long, for the whole week,
I remembered you every day.

7. Defča, d'efča, bieli and'el,
gd'e ja ťeba večer náj'dem,
pod okienkom f komoriečke,
v maľovanej post'elečke.

7. Girl, girl, white angel,
where can I find you tonight?
Under the window in your chamber,
in a painted little bed.

8. Ďefča, d'efča, nič nemáame,
 len na seba pozeráme.
 Dražšie naše dva pozori,
 jako čije koňe voli.

9. Kone, voli popredáme,
 a mi sa dva neňecháme.
 2x

Milj10.25 1. Ďiefča, d'iefča, bieli kvietek,
 netrebalo ťebe d'ietek,
 aňi d'ietek, aňi muža,
 d'iefča, d'efča, biela ruža.

2. Len patrički do ručički,
 pomodľi sa za dušički.
 2x

Milj10.27 1. Umrem, umrem, nebud'em žit',
 ktože bud'e páľenú piť,
 mám ja takú frajerečku,
 rada pije páľenečku.

8. Girl, girl, we have nothing,
 we only can look at each other,
 our two looks are more worth
 than one's horses and oxes.

9. /:Horses and oxes can be sold:/
 /:but two of us will be
 together for ever:/

1. Girl, girl, white flower,
 you do not need children,
 neither children, nor any husband,
 girl, girl, white rose.

2. /:Only the rosary to the hand
 pray for the souls:/

1. I will die, I will not live,
 who else will drink spirits?
 I have such a girlfriend,
 who likes to drink spirits.

Zokov Gaj – Fieldwork 1996

English translation:

The texts sung to svadobná nôta ZGaj-9.4
(like Slováci, Slováci in other villages)**ZGaj9.4** 1. Máš ti tu Aňička,
ej, máš ti rospitovať 2x1. What are you, Anička,
/:ej, disputing here?:/2. Ved' ti tu ňebudeš,
ej, dlho rozkazovať. 2x2. You won't here
/:ej, command any longer:/3. Vidat', jako vidat',
ej, ale treba vibrat' 2x3. It is good to get marry,
/:ej, but one has to choose:/*(To sú také krátke kitice...)**(Those are short kitice [lit. bunches, here means strophes]**(Každí išiel zvlášť na vjenčanje)**(Each went to the nuptials separately)**(to spievajú na svadbe, ke'd prichádzajú pre mladú)**(this is sung at the wedding, when they come for the bride)***ZGaj9.11** 1. Ideme, ideme,
ej, chodníčka ňevieme. 2x1. We are going,
/:ej, do not know where:/2. Dobrí ľudia ved'ia,
ej, oňi nám poved'ia. 2x2. Good people know,
/:ej, they will tell us:/3. Pojme že mi domov,
ej, domov nás volajú. 2x3. Let us go home,
/:ej, they are calling us:/4. Naše sivé volki,
ej, hladné zaprihajú.4. Our grey oxes are hungry,
/:ej, as such are being harnessed:/5. Naše sivé volki,
ej, už sú naučené. 2x5. Our grey oxes
/:ej, are already trained:/6. Više hladné robia,
ej, ako nahranené. 2x6. They work more often hungry
/:ej, as being fed.:/7. Ňepovedaj, milí,
ej, aňi ja ňepoviem.7. Do not tell, my darling,
/:ej, neither will I:/8. Že sa moje líčko,
ej, guľalo po tvojem.8. That my cheek
/:ej, rolled over yours./

- | | |
|---|--|
| 9. Ked sa d'ieuča vidá,
ej, jako bi umrelo. 2x | 9. When a girl get married,
/:ej, it is as if she died:/ |
| 10. Jako bi ho ňigdi,
ej, na svet'e ňebolo. 2x | 10. As if she never
/:ej, had been on this world:/ |
| 11. Vidat', jako vidat',
ej, al'e treba vi brat'> 2x | 11. It is good to marry,
/:ej, but one has to choose well:/ |
| 12. Máme sa zl'e vidat',
ej, račej buďem ...? | 12. If I shall get marry badly,
/:ej, I will rather...:/ |
| 13. Mám li sa zle vidat',
ej, mrcha muža dostat'. 2X | 13. If I shall get marry badly,
/:ej, and get a bad husband:/ |
| 14. Račej bih voľela,
ej, starú d'ievku ostat'. 2x | 14. Then I'd rather stay
/:ej, a spinster:/ |

The texts sung to *svadobná nôta ZGaj-9.8*

- | | |
|---|---|
| Zgaj9.8 1. Ďieuča, d'ieuča, daj mi čički,
ušíjem t'i nohavički,
také pekné prepletané,
daj mi, dieuča, čički za ňe. | 1. Girl, give me the flower
I will sew for you the underpants,
nice, intertwined ones,
give me, girl, the flower in exchange. |
| 2. Ďefča, d'efča, ňehňevá me,
ľen po sebe pozeráme,
drahšie naše dva pozori,
jako ti je koňe, voli. | 2. Girl, girl, we are not angry,
only look at each other,
Our looks are more valuable
than our horses and oxes. |
| 3. Koňe, voli, popredáme,
a mi sa dva ňeňeháme, 2x | 3. /:The horses, oxes we will sell,
and we are not angry with each
other:/ |
| 4. Ďefča, d'efča, biela ruža,
ňetrebalo tebeš muža,
aňi muža, aňi d'ietek,
d'ieuča, d'ieuča, bieli kvietek. | 4. Girl, girl, white rose,
you did not need any husband,
neither husband, nor children,
girl, girl, white flower. |
| 5. Povedal si, že ma vezňeš,
ked na poli žitko zežňeš.
Aj si zežal, aj si zežral,
ešťe si ma predsa ňevzal. | 5. You told me that you marry me,
after you harvest the rye on the field.
You harvested, you devoured,
and you still did not marry me. |
| 6. Jak t'a vezňem, buďem t'a biť,
ňebudem t'a v koči vozit', | 6. As I marry you, I will beat you,
I will not drive you in a cart, |

aňi v kočĭ, aňi v torbe,
ňebud'e t'i pri mňe dobre.

neither in a cart, nor in a basket,
you will have a bad time with me.

7. Aj si kúpel, ňebiješ ma,
dušo moja šanuješ ma.
Jako bi t'a ňešanoval,
keď t'a maliar vimaľoval.

7. You bought but you do not beat me,
my darling, you spare me.
How shall I not spare you,
when a painter painted you.

8. Maliare t'a maľovali,
a husári verbovali. 2x

8. /:Painters were painting your portrait,
and the hussars were recruiting:/'

ZGaj9.12

1. Povedal mi jeden chlapec,
že ja ňeviem chleba napiect'.
A ja som sa na to dala,
múki som si požičala.

1. One boy told me,
that I cannot bake a bread,
and I tried to do it,
I borrowed some flour.

2. Pond'elek som osievala,
a ve vtorek podmládzala,
ve stredu som ho miesela,
a ve štvrtek pec kúrela.

2. On Monday I sifted,
and on Tuesday I mixed yeast,
on Wednesday I mixed a dough,
and on Thursday I heated the oven.

3. F piatek som ho ja sádzala,
a v sobotu vihnívala,
takí sa mi chlebec undal,
jako bi ho maliar ulial.

3. On Friady I put it in the oven,
and on Saturday I took it out,
Such a nice bread came out
as if the painter painted it.

4. Maliari ho maľovali,
a husári verbovali,
širokí bol jako deska,
a suchí bol jako trieska.

4. Painters painted it,
hussars recruited,
it was as wide as board,
and as dry as kindling.

Eastern Slovakia, Spiš region

Jaklovce – Fieldwork 2001

English translation:

The texts sung to *svadobná nôta Jakl-1*

(z kostola) (variant of the Žakarovce tune no. 12, not among my SN)

(from the church; the varian of the tune Ž-12, not among SN)

Jakl1 Ej na Jakľovskej turni,
ej dva holúbki šedzia,
ej, takše radzi vid'ia,
ej, dobre še nežjedzia.

Ej, on the Jaklovce tower,
ej, two pigeons are sitting,
ej, they love each other,
ej, very much.

Jakl2 Ej, do koscela jedno,
ej, a z koscela dvojo,
ej, už sme paňi matka,
ej, obidvojo svojo.

Ej, to the church single,
ej, from the church two,
ej, we are already, Mrs. Mother,
ej, we are both yours.

Jakl3 1. Ej, povjecže mi, povjec,
ej ftáčku premiľení,
ej, ktorí na tom švjece,
ej, človek zarmúcení.

1. Ej, tell me, tell,
ej, my lovely bird,
ej, which man in the whole world,
ej, is woebegone.

2. Ej, tadi ja ci poviem,
ej, ktorí zarmúcení,
ej, ktoj še plano vidá,
ej, a plano ožeňí.

2. Ej, then I will tell you,
ej, who is woebegone,
ej, the one who gets
ej, married badly.

(only text recited, without „ej“ but the same hlas)

Už sce mje, mamičko,
už sce me vidali,
jak bi ste me buli
na kartoch prehrali.

You, my mother, already,
married me,
as if you had
gambled me off in cards.

Na kartoch prehrali,
na ríne prepili,
už ste me mamičko,
napoli zabili.

In cards gambled me off,
on the market drank yourself,
you already, my mother,
half killed me.

The texts sung to *svadobná nôta Jakl-7*

(pri odvíjaní)

Jakl7 1. Ket še šin oženi,
ket še šin oženi,
macjer mu ňetreba,
macjer mu nñetreba.

2. Ňe to ta moja mac,
ňe to ta moja mac,
co me vichovala,
co me vichovala.

3. Aľe to ta moja,
aľe to ta moja,
co mi sina dala,
co mi sina dala.

(during the taking-off of the bridal wreath)

1. /:When a son gets married:/
/:he does not need a mother:/

2. /:Not that mother of mine,:/
/:who raised me:/

3. /:But that one of yours,:/
/:who gave me her son:/

*(during the cap ceremony, on the next day,
in the morning)*

Jakl10 1. Vláški moja, vláški,
vláški moja, vláški,
mojo žlté vláški,
mojo žlté vláški.

2. Uš som vas predala,
uš som vas predala,
za falát klobáski,
za falát klobáski.

*(laughing, they thought of different,
erotic verses sung instead of the last two)*

Jakl11. 1. Ket ce budu čepic,
ket ce budu čepic,
kukaj do poval'i,
kukaj do povali,

2. Žebi tvojo dzeci,
žebi tvojo dzeci,
čarne oči mal'i,
čarne oči mal'i.

1. /:Hair, my little hair:/
/:my yellow little hair:/

2. /:I did already sell you:/
/:for the piece of sassage:/

1. /:When they will put bonnet on your
head:/
/:look at the ceiling:/

2. /:So that your children:/
/:have black eyes.:/

Jakl16 1. Jaká to šumná vec,
jaká to šumná vec,
ket žena pijana,
ket žena pijana.

2. Vlasi má strapaté,
vlasi má strapaté,
kidľa roztaraná,
kidľa roztaraná.

3. A kec pridze domu,
a kec pridze domú,
taj še zrobí chorá,
taj še zrobí chorá.

4. Amuž še jej zľekňe,
a muž še jej zľekňe,
idze po doktora,
idze po doktora.

5. A jak doktor prídze,
a jak doktor prídze,
staňe gu posceli,
staňe gu posceli.

6. Ach mužu moj mužu,
ach mužu moj mužu,
jakí ši šaľení,
jakí ši šaľení.

7. Jak doktor odejdze,
jak doktor odejdze,
muž veľňe palicu,
muž vežňe palicu.

8. Ňebudzeš už ti pic,
ňebudzeš už ti pic,
vecej šľivovicu,
vecej šľivovicu.

Jakl19 1. Sušeda, sušeda,
sušeda, sušeda,
dze váš kohút šedá,
dze váš kohút šedá.

1. /:What a nice thing:/

/:when the woman is drunk:/

2. /:Her hair is unkempt:/

/:her skirt is ragged:/

3. /:And when she comes home:/,

/:she pretends to be sick:/

4. /:Her husband gets scared:/

/:he calls for a doctor:/

5. /:And when the doctor comes:/

/:he stands near the bed:/

6. /:Oh, husband, my husband:/

/:your are so foolish:/

7. /:When the doctor is gone:/

/:the husband takes a stick:/

8. /:You will not drink anymore:/

/:any plum spirit.:/

1. /:Neighbor, the neighbor:/

/:where is your cook sitting?:/

2. F komore na bance,
f komore na bance,
varuje strokance,
varuje strokance.

3. F komore na šice,
f komore na šice
varuje bloščice,
varuje bloščice.

2. /:In the pantry on a bench:/

/:he takes care of bread crumbs:/

3. /:In the pantry on a shelf:/

/:he takes care of the bedbugs.:/

Kojšov – Fieldwork 2001

English translation:

The texts sung to *svadobná nôta Koj-2**(from the church)*

Koj2 Popater ti Marčo,
na kojšovski koscel,
ej, na kojšovski koscel,
šak si čarovala,
svoj streberni persceň,
ej, svoj streberni persceň.

Look, Marčo,
at the Kojšov church,
ej, at the Kojšov church,
because you exchanged
your silver ring,
ej, your silver ring.

*(after the bride parted with her mother and
was led to the groom's house)*

Koj9 1. Pomal'i me vecce,
pomal'i strel'ajce,
ej, pomal'i strel'ajce,
bo Kojšov slamení,
ta ho ňepodpal'ce,
ej, ta ho nñepodpal'ce.

1. Lead me slowly,
shoot slowly,
ej, shoot slowly,
because Kojšov is made of straw,
so do not fire it,
ej, so do not fire it.

2. Pomal'i me vecce,
ces to širo poľo,
ej, ces to šire poľo,
naj sa mi najpatria,
tovariški mojo,
ej, tovariški mojo.

2. Lead me slowly,
through that broad field,
ej, throug that broad field,
so that they can look at me,
my girlfriends,
ej, my girlfriends.

3. Tovariški mojo,
pekňe vám dzekujem,
ej, pekňe vám dzekujem,
s tovariškej láske,
sa vám vistupujem,
ej, sa vám vistupujem.

3. My girlfriends,
thank you very much,
ej, thank you very much,
from all my friendly love,
I am leaving you,
ej, I am leavin you.

4. Popater ti Marčo,
na sredni oblaček,
ej, na sredni oblaček,
jak za tobu plače,
ocec ňeboraček,
ej, ocec ňeboraček.

4. Look, Marčo,
at the middle cloud,
ej, at the middle cloud,
how your poor father
cries for you,
ej, your poor father.

5. Ocec ňeboraček,
aj mať segiňica,
ej, a mať segiňica,
ďe sa nám poďela,

5. Your poor father,
and your mother,
ej, and your mother,
where did disappear,

naša robotníca,
ej, naša robotníca.

our worker,
ej, our worker?

6. Ňeplač ti Marinko,
tebe dobre budze,
ej, tebe dobre budze,
ke ľotiki f ploce,
s kaŕdou ce bit budze,
ej, s kaŕdou ce bit budze.

6. Ej, do not cry, Marinko,
you will be doing well,
ej, you will be doing well,
how many pales in a fence,
with each one of them
ej, he will beat you.

7. Boritaš, boritaš,
ŕeleni boritaš,
ej, ŕeleni boritaš,
ja ti me novotná,
mamičko previtaš,
mamičko previtaš?

7. Boritaš, boritaš [?]
the green boritaš,
ej, the green boritaš,
how will you, my new
mother welcome me,
ej, mother welcome me?

8. Kebi me vıtala,
vıtaj robotńico,
ej, vıtaj robotńico,
aľe me prevıta,
vıtaj parádńico,
ej, vıtaj parádńico.

8. If she welcomed me,
„Welcome, worker“
ej, welcome, worker,
but she will welcome me,
„Welcome, pretty,
ej, welcome, pretty.“

9. Zamikajce, mamu,
komoru, pivńicu,
hej, komoru, pivńicu.
Bo mi vım veďeme,
do domu kvarńicu,
ej, do domu kvarńicu.

9. Lock, mother,
pantry and basement,
ej, pantry and basement,
because we bring you,
a lazy girl to your house,
ej, a lazy girl to your house.

*(after the song comment, that many strophes
were sung depending on how long was the
way to the groom's house)*

The texts sung to svadobná nıta Koj-3

(ked' prišli do domu bral'ty)

Koj3 Ej, druška, som ja druška,
ej, na kaŕdım vešeľu,
ej, dajce mi pálenki,
ej nak vıs rozvešeľu.

(when they came to the bride's house)

Ej, I am a bridemaide, a bridemaide,
ej, at every wedding,
ej, give me some spirit,
ej, so that I can make you happy.

Koj4 1. Ej, kerýši na chiŕa,

1. Ej, that-and-that cabin,

ej, dokola beľená,
ej, šar mi ju vižeňe,
ej, ňeška do koreňa.

ej, all white-painted,
ej, we will eat it through,
ej, today to the roots.

2. Ej, ňeška do koreňa,
ej, na utre do žemi,
ej, azdaj še najed'á
ej, tie kojšovske ženi.

2. Ej, today to the roots,
ej, and tomorrow to the earth,
ej, hopefully they will have enough
to eat, ej, those Kojšov women.

3. Ej, a či vám mamičko,
ej, za mnu žal' ňebudze,
hej, ked sa druhá matka,
ej, vo mňe kochať buďe.

3. Ej, my mother,
ej, will you not be sorry?
Ej, when another mother,
ej, will like me?

4. Ej, kebi sa kochala,
ej, čo me vichovala,
ej, aľed to tá budze,
ej, čo mi sina dala.

4. Ej, if that one liked me,
ej, who raised me,
ej, but it will be another one,
ej, who gave me her son.

Koj5 Ej, špievajce dzifčatká,
ej, jak bih ja spevala,
hej, len to ňedokašce,
ej čo ja dokazala.

Ej, sing, girls,
ej, I would also sing,
ej, only do not do
ej, what I did.

Koj7 1. Ej, bodaj sa vidala,
ej, bodaj bola slava,
ej, bodaj moja hlavka,
ej, bola zaviazaná.

1. Ej, I wish I got married,
ej, I wish there was a glory,
ej, I wish my head
ej, was tied up [in the bonnet].

2. Ej, bola zaviazaná,
ej, až na veky, amen,
ej, jak bi bol uďerel,
ej do vod'ički kameň.

2. Ej, was tied up,
ej, infinitely, amen,
ej, as if the rock bumped
ej, into the water.

3. Ej, ňemišli ti Marčo,
ej, že tvoj Mižo hlúpi,
ej, šak on si počíta,
hej, do harčička krúpi.

3. Ej, Marčo, do not think,
ej, that your Mišo is stupid,
ej, he counts for himself
ej, the grains to the cup.

4. Hej, do harčička krúpi,
ej, do vareški prosa,
ej, nachod'íš sa Marčo,
ej, i holá i bosá.

4. Ej, the grains to the cup,
ej, the millet to the scoop,
ej, you will, Mariška,
ej, walk naked and barefoot.

(during the cap ceremony, the bride girls sang)

Koj19 1. Ej, zvolujce, dziefčatá
ej, kim sce na šlobodze,
ej, kim vás ňeulapia
ej, jak ripku ve vodze.

2. Ej, bo ripka vo vodze,
ej, chodzí, pľasajúci,
ej, to i vi dziefčatá,
hej, choďá spievajúci.

1. Ej, do whatever you want, girls,
ej, until you are free,
ej, until you are caught
ej, like a little fish in the water.

2. Ej, because a fish in the water,
ej, swims happily,
ej, so do you, girls,
ej, walk singing.

The texts sung to *svadobná nôta Koj-14*

(during the hajdukovanie, variant of the song in neighboring villages)

Koj14 1. Ach, švekričko moja,
prečo me ňechcece,
šak vám ja porobím,
čo mi rozkážece.

2. Ohňa vám rozložím,
vodi vám navarím,
a jak voda zovre,
oči vám viparím.

1. Oh, my mother-in-law,
why you do not want me?
I will do everything,
you ask me to do.

2. I will prepare the fire,
I will cook the water,
and when the water starts to boil,
I will steam out your eyes.

(when the sister-in-law went)

Koj15 1. Švegerinko moja,
buď ti so mnu dobrá,
keď ja ochorejem,
kto mi vodi podá.

2. Bud'em sa ja volať,
s tej uskej lavičky,
švegerinko moja,
podaj mi vod'ički.

1. My sister-in-law,
get along with me,
when I get sick,
who gives me some water?

2. I will need to call
that thin bench,
my sister-in-law,
please, give me some water.

Koj18 1. Kec ce budu čepic,
kukaj do poval'i,
žebi tvojo d'eťi,
čarne očká maľi.

2. Keď ce budu čepit',
pa'er perše za pec,
žebi sa narod'el,
same pervše chlapec.

1. When they put the bonnet on your head,
look at the ceiling,
so that your children
have black eyes.

2. When they put the bonnet on your head,
look first behind the fireplace,
so that you first
give birth to a boy.

Veľký Folkmár – Fieldwork 2001

English translation:

The texts sung to *svadobná nôta VFol-2*

(from the groom to the bride)
(first this same song without ej was sung to another melody VFol1, then the woman said „or also on another hlas“ with the comment, that this is the typical folkmarska melodia)

VFol1&2

1. Ej, nežľeknice še nás,
 ej, svadobná mamičko,
 ej, šak nás tu nežidze
 ej, veľo, ľen kušťičko.

2. Ej, ňevelo nás idze,
 ej, ňevelo nám treba,
 ej, po židľu páľenki,
 ej, po faľatce chľeba.

1. Ej, do not get scared,
 ej, the wedding mother,
 ej, it is only a few of us
 ej, who are coming.

2. Ej, only a few are coming,
 ej, we do not need a lot,
 ej, a little bit of spirit,
 ej, a piece of bread.

(on the way to the groom with the bride)

VFol3 Hej, Ledvákova chiža,
 hej, žlto obielená,
 ej, šak mi ju vižreme,
 ej, ňeška do koreňa.

Hej, the Ledváks' cabin,
 hej, yellow-painted,
 ej, we are going to eat it through,
 ej, down to the roots.

(to the church, not to her (in 1962) mostly with music, little singing, but before)

VFol8 Ej, do kostola jedno,
 ej, a s kostola dvojo,
 ej, už sme paňi mamko,
 ej, obidvojo svojo.

Ej, to the church single,
 ej, and from the church two,
 ej, we are already, Mrs. Mother,
 ej, we are both yours.

(na ktoru nuotu žebi to bolo, tak už ľen tu našu)

VFol9 Ej, už idzeme z doli,
 ej, zakrivajce stoli,
 ej, stoli javorovo,
 ej, obrusi kvetovo.

(to what melody was this, well, only that one of ours)

Ej, we are coming from the lower end,
 ej, cover the tables,
 ej, the tables from a maple tree,
 ej, the flowery tablecloths.

VFol10 Ej nežľeknice še nás
(the same as VFol2)

Ej, do not get scared...

The texts sung to svadobná nôta VFol-1
(when they came to the mother-in-law)

VFol14 A či sce nás radzi,
či sce nás ňeradzi,
ket sce nás ňeradzi,
ta pojďeme stadzi.

Do you like us
or not?
If you do not,
we will go away.

The texts sung to svadobná nôta VFol-5

VFol15 Načo ti tu prišla,
načo ti tu šedla,
ti tu ňerobela,
ňebudzeš tu jedla.

Why did you come here,
why did you sit here?
You did not work here,
you will not eat here.

(vižierki – during the wedding games, the
next day, when the women were podkívané
by men)

VFol13 1. Svatka, ja som, svatka,
svatka ja som svatka,
aľe ňepítaná,
aľe ňepítaná.

1. I am a mother-in-law,
I am a mother-in-law,
but a not wanted one,
but a not wanted one.

2. Čepec požičení,
čepec požičení,
sukňa dotarhaná,
sukňa dotarhaná.

2. A borrowed bonnet,
a borrowed bonnet,
a ragged skirt,
a ragged skirt.

(pri čepení, ešte aj ona bola čepená)

VFol16 1. Kec ce budu čepic,
kec ce budu čepic,
kukaj do poval'i,
kukaj do poval'i.

(during the cap ceremony, the woman
interviewed had this ceremony on her
wedding)

16. 1. /:When they put the bonnet on your
head:/ /:look at the ceiling:/

2. Žebi tvojo dzeci,
žebi tvojo dzeci,
čarné oči maľi,
čarné oči maľi.

2. /:So that your children:/
/:have black eyes:/

VFol-20

(when they had a village dance, it was sung
to those who were already married)

VFol20 Hej, poce vi, ňvesti,
hej, ku dziefkom do kola,
ej, pridze vám na mišel',
tá dzievecká zvol'a.

Hej, come, all the brides,
hej, come to dance among the girls,
ej, you will remember
your maidhood days.

VFol21 1. Ej, Gitko Ledváková,

1. Ej, Gitka Ledváková,

ej, pod s nami do kola,
ej, pridze ci na mišel',
tá dzievecká zvol'a.

2. Ej tak sebe ňevešcím,
ej, jak bi som dziefčila,
ej, ja bi som žel'enom
vienočku chodzela.

3. Ej, vienek moj žel'ení,
ej, rozum moj šal'ení,
ej, mohla ja ce nošic ,
koľom do ješeňi.

VFol23 Ej, Janičko, ľuterán,
hej na tebe voľ'u mám,
hej, al'e me moja mac,
za tebe nechcú dac.

ej, come to dance with us,
ej, you will remember
your maidhood days.

2. Ej, even as a married woman
ej, I behave as a young girl,
ej, how I wish I had
worn my green wreath.

3. Ej, my green wreath,
ej, my crazy mind,
ej, I could had worn you
until the fall.

Ej, Janičko the Lutheran,
ej, I would like to be with you,
ej, but my mother does not allow me
to marry you.

**Žakarovce – archive of the ÚHV SAV,
no. 15041**

Translation

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>6. Do koscela jedno,
a s koscela dvojo,
už sme, paňi matko,
obidvojo tvojo.</p> | <p>6. To the church [we go] as single
from the church as two,
we are already, Ms. Mother,
both yours.</p> |
| <p>7. Už idzeme z doli,
zakrivajce stoli,
stoli javorovo,
obrusi kvetovo.</p> | <p>7. We are coming from the lower end,
cover the tables,
tables from the maple wood,
flowery tablecloths.</p> |
| <p>8. A na to tie stoli,
poklaccce kolači,
že še od prišahi,
nazad nam ňevraci.</p> | <p>8. And on those tables
put the cakes,
because she won't return
to us from the oath.</p> |
| <p>...</p> | <p>...</p> |
| <p>12. Ach mamičko moja,
či ja už ňe vaša,
že vi me tam daľi,
dze vieter zanaša.</p> | <p>12. Oh, my dear mother,
am I not yours anymore?
That you gave me to the direction
where the wind blows.</p> |
| <p>13. Dze vieter zanaša,
za hlboku vodu,
žebi ja ňeprišla,
ku vam na žalobu.</p> | <p>13. Where the wind blows,
behind the deep water,
so that I cannot come [back]
to you to lament.</p> |
| <p>14. A ja to tu vodu,
z d'aleka obejdzem,
a ku vam, mamičko,
na žalobu pridzem.</p> | <p>14. And I will that water
pass from far away,
and to you, my dear mother,
I will come [back] to lament.</p> |
| <p>15. Pojdzem ja, pojdzem ja,
s kadzi ja chodzila,
pojdzem ja pozbierac,
co ja potracila.</p> | <p>15. I will go, I will go [back],
whence I used to go,
I will go to pick up,
What I have lost.</p> |
| <p>16. Bo ja potracila
kvietki ľalijovo,
co mi prekvitali,
u oca mojoho.</p> | <p>16. For I have lost
my lily flowers,
that blossomed
at my father's [house].</p> |

17. Na dvore na harbe,
mili šeno hrabe
šla bi mu pomahac,
ale tam joho mac.
17. In the yard on a pile,
my darling collects the hay,
I would love to help him
But his mothers is there.
18. Jak ja bi hrabala,
bi me ohvarjala,
že nežnam nič robic,
l'em paradne chodzic.
18. As I would collect the hay,
she would gossip on me
that I cannot work,
only care about nice clothes.
- ...
25. Porvitaš, porvitaš,
želeni porvitaš,
jak že ma novotna
mamičko privitaš?
25. Porvitaš, porvitaš (?)
the green porvitaš (?),
how are you going, my new mother,
welcome me?
26. Ńebudzem ce vitac,
vitaj robotnico,
l'em ce budzem vitac,
vitaj frejovnico.
26. I am not going to welcome you like,
'Welcome, a worker,'
I am going to welcome you like,
'Welcome, a mistress.'
27. Ńebudzem ce vitac,
vitaj dziefko moja,
l'em ce budzem vitac,
vitaj kurvo moja.
27. I am not going to welcome you like,
'Welcome, my girl,'
I am going to welcome you just like,
'Welcome, my whore!'
28. Kukala na oblak,
kukala na šibu,
ach, mamičko moja,
už to po mñe idu.
28. She looked at the cloud,
she looked at the ?
oh, my dear mother,
it is them who are coming for me.
29. Idu oñi, idu,
z hentej strany verška,
ach, mamičko moja,
budzem tam ñevesta.
29. They are going, going,
from that side of the hill,
oh, my dear mother,
I will be a daughter-in-law there.
30. A kebi ja znala
dze ja budzem bivac,
išla bi ja, išla
lafki poumivac.
30. And if I only knew,
where I would live,
I would go, I would go,
To wash their banks.
31. Lafki poumivac,
šparečki zabelic,
išla bi ja, išla
švekru rozvešel'ic.
31. To wash their banks,
to white the spots on their walls,
I would go, I would go,
To gladden my mother-in-law.

32. Ach švekričko moja,
preco me nechcece,
šak ja vam navarim,
co mi rozkažece.
32. Oh, my mother-in-law,
why you do not want me?
I will cook for you,
If you order me.
33. Ohňa vam rozložim,
vodi vam postavim,
a jak voda zovre,
oči vam viparim.
33. I will prepare the fire,
I will bring the water,
And when the water is boiling,
I will steam out your eyes.
34. Ket me moja švekra,
na valala' a stretla,
tak ona patrila,
jak ten d'abol z pekla.
34. When my mother-in-law
met me in the village,
she gazed at me
like a devil from the hell.
35. Ja jej povedzila,
pochval'eni Ježiš,
ona povedzila,
skara tebe Ježiš.
35. I said to her,
'God bless you'
and she replied,
'God punish you.'
36. Vindzi von, vindzi von
svadobná ma'ičko,
šak nas tu neidze
veľo, ľem kušičko.
36. Come out, come out,
the wedding mother,
there are not a lot of us coming,
just a few.
[see the text Ž3 below]
37. Ňevel' o nas idze,
ňevel' o nam treba,
po rumpl'u palenki,
po falatku chl'eba.
37. Just a few of us are coming,
we do not need a lot.
Just a little bit of brandy,
and a slice of bread.
38. Družba ja som, družba,
kratka moja služba,
dňes po družbovaňiu
a utre na baňu.
38. I am the bride's man,
my service here is short.
Today I have a bride's man job,
tomorrow I get to go to the mine.
39. Šušeda, šušeda,
dze tvoj kohut šeda,
f komore na šice,
varuje bloščice.
39. Neighbor, neighbor,
where is your cook sitting?
In the pantry on a shelf
he watches the bedbugs.

Žakarovce – fieldwork 2001

The texts sung to *svadobná nôta Ž-1*

- Ž1** Na Žakarovskej turni
Švieci še križičok,
Kerí šumní chlapec
Bude moj mužičok?
- On the Žakarovce tower
a bright cross is shining,
which one of handsome boys
will be my husband?
- Ž2** Už idzeme z hori,
zakrivajce stoli,
stoli javorovo,
obrusi kvetavo.
- (same text as no. 7 above)
- Ž3** 1. Otvorže, nám, otvor,
svadobná matičko,
veď nás tu ňeid'e,
veru ľem kuš'ičko.
1. Open us, open the door,
wedding mother,
there are not a lot of us coming,
just a few. [see text no. 36 above]
2. Ňevel'o nás id'e,
ňevel'o nám treba.
Po pekľu pálenki,
po palátku chleba.
2. Just a few of us are coming,
we do not need a lot.
Just a little bit of brandy,
and a slice of bread.
- Ž7** 1. Vibíjaj, Haničko,
zo steni kolečki,
co na ňe viešala,
zelené vienečki.
1. Remove, Hanička,
the nails from the wall,
on which you used to hang
your green wreaths.
2. Cobi ja zo steni,
kolki vibíjala,
mám ja mladšú sestru,
co bude viešala.
2. Why shall I remove
the nails from the wall?
I have a younger sister,
who will hang [her wreaths].
3. Ach, zelení vienku,
moj zelení vienku,
budem ja ce nošic
z piatka do pondzelku.
3. Oh, green wreath,
my dear green wreath,
I will wear you
from Friday till Monday.
4. A v ten ponedzelek,
dám ho šuhajovi,
a ja si zaviažem,
[?] novi.
4. And on that Monday,
I will give it to my lover,
and I will put on,
new [?] on my head.
- Ž8** 1. Poklekni, Haničko,
jak zajde oblaček,
jak za tobu plače,
1. Kneel, Hanička,
after the cloud will move away,
how your poor father

otec ňeboraček.

cries for you.

2. Otec ňeboraček,
a macer ?
dze še nam pođela,
naša robotňica.

2. Your poor father,
and ? mother
'Where did disappear
our worker?'

Ž9 Do kostela jedno
a z kostela dvojo,
už sme paňi matko,
obidvojo tvojo.

(same text as no. 6 above)

The texts sung to *svadobná nôta Ž-17*

Ž17 1. Kec ce budu čepit,
kukaj do poval'i,
žebi tvojo dzeci
čarné oči mali.

1. When they put the bonnet on
your head, look at the ceiling,
so that your children
have black eyes.

2. Kec ce budu čepit,
kukaj ľen ti za pec,
že še ci narodzi
sami perší chlapec.

2. When they put the bonnet on
your head, look behind the stove,
so that your first child
is a boy.

Ž18 Vlasi moja, vlasi,
mojo žlté vlasi,
už ja vas predala
za falat klobási.

Hair, my hair,
my yellow hair,
I exchanged you
for a stick of kielbasa.

Ž21 Svatka som ja svatka,
jak na rici plátka,
ked' mi ňeveríce,
ta mi opatrice.

I am a mother-in-law
like a patch on a buttock,
if you do not believe,
check it out.

Ž22 Družba ja som družba,
hodná moja služba,
dnes po družbovaňu,
a utre na baňu.

I am the bride's man,
my service is valuable,
today I have a bride's man job,
tomorrow I get to go to the mine.

Ž23 Ach, mamičko moja,
či vaša ňebudzem,
ked' še druhá matka
vo mňe kochac budze.

Oh, my dear mother,
won't I be yours,
when another mother
will enjoy my beauty.

Ž25 Švegerinko moja,
buc ti ku mñe dobra,
ked ja ochorejem,
kdo mi vodi podá?

My sister-in-law,
be good to me,
when I get sick,
who does offer me a glass of water?

Ž26 Šušeda, šušeda,
dze váš kohút šedá?
F komore na šice,
varuje bloš'ice.

Neighbor, neighbor,
where is your cook sitting?
In the pantry on a shelf,
he watches the bedbugs.

Appendix A

Alphabetical list of villages with reference to the transcription numbers

Village	Region	Abbreviation	Transcription	
			Melody no.	Texts page
Bzovík	Hont	Bzov	0	-
Čičmany	Trenčín	Čič	7,8,9	315-318
Dolný Badín	Hont	DBad	6	311-314
Fačkov	Trenčín	Fač	10	319
Jaklovce	Spiš	Jakl	34,35	358-361
Jelisavac/Jelisavec	Slavonia, Croatia	Jel	25	341-343
Josipovac /Josipovec	Slavonia, Croatia	Josip	26,27	344-346
Kojšov	Spiš	Koj	36,37,38	362-365
Klubina	Kysuce	Klu	15	329-330
	Kysuce region	Kys	15-24	
Ledeník/Ledeník	Slavonia, Croatia	Led	28	347-349
Miljevci/Milovec	Slavonia, Croatia	Milj	29,30,31	350-354
Malé Zálužie	Nitra	MZál	1,2,3	297-301
Nová Bystrica	Kysuce	NB	15,16,17	331-333
	Nitra region	Nit	1-6, esp. 4,5	302-310
Ochodnica	Kysuce	O	19,20	334-335
Radôstka	Kysuce	R	21	336-337
Selec	Trenčín	Sel	11,12,13,14	320-328
	Slavonia region (Croatia)		25-33	
	Spiš region	Spiš	4-44	
Stará Bystrica	Kysuce	SB	22,23	338-339
Veľký Folkmár	Spiš	VFol	39,40,41,42	366-368
Zborov nad Bystricou	Kysuce	ZnB	24	340
Zokov Gaj	Slavonia, Croatia	ZGaj	32,33	355-357
Žakarovce	Spiš	Ž	43,44	369-374

Appendix B

List of significant events in the history of Slovakia

623-658	Samo's Empire – the first independent state of the Slavic tribes
833-907	Great Moravian Empire centered around the Czech-Slovak border
897	arrival of the Magyar tribes
1000	the origin of a new feudal state, Hungary, under the rule of Stephen I
1000-1918	Slovakia as a part of the Hungarian Empire
1222	King Andrew II of Hungary granted the Golden Bull to the nobility, giving them rights to administer the territory entrusted to them without the intervention of the King
1458	election of Matthias Corvinus as a King by Hungarian parliament, introduction of reforms in support of the towns
1526	the Battle of Mohács, the Hungarian army defeated by Turks
1520-1830	Bratislava (then Pozsony) becomes the capital of the Empire
1740-1780	the rule of Maria Theresa who introduced many important reforms, including the primary education in villages
1785	abolition of serfdom by Joseph II
1792	the foundation of the Slovenské Učené Tovarišstvo (Slovak Learned Guild), beginning attempts at developing the Slovak literary language
1848	Revolution in Vienna and Pest; the representatives of the Slovak national movement formulated the <i>Žiadosti Slovenského Národa</i> (Demands of the Slovak nation)
1867	defeat of Austria by Prussia, the Vienna court forced to hand over all power in Hungary to the Magyars, foundation of the Austro-Hungarian Empire
1875	Koloman Tisza became the prime minister of Hungary, started the strong magyarization in the country

- 1914-1918 World War I
1918 the origin of the Czechoslovak Republic, president Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk
- 1929-1933 the Great Depression, severe effects on the economy, large-scale emigration
- 1938 the Munich Agreement among the four great powers about the cession of the Czech frontier regions inhabited by a half million Germans to the Nazi Germany; November – the Vienna Arbitration, Czechoslovakia forced to give up a part of Slovakia and Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia to Hungary, and borders of Tešín to Poland
- 1939, Mar. 14 the Nazi occupation of the Czech lands; the origin of the independent Slovak State as the Nazi puppet state
- Sept. 1 the Nazi invasion of Poland;
- 1939-1945 World War II
- 1948 the victory of the Communist Party, totalitarian regime in Czechoslovakia
1968 Prague Spring, democratic reforms
- Aug. 21 the Soviet occupation, the beginning of the period of “normalization”
- 1989 “Velvet revolution”, fall of Communism
- 1993, Jan 1 the constitution of the Slovak Republic

Appendix C

List of informants

<i>Name</i>	<i>Village</i>
Katica Aichimber (b. 1926)	Ledeník(Croatia)
Etelka Bakoška (b. 1948)	Zokov Gaj (Croatia)
Pavĺína Brandisov	Radstka
Anna Chodoň (b.1923)	Ledeník(Croatia)
Emĺlia Chrenov	Radstka
Anna Chupekov (b. 1928)	imany
Adela ervinek (b.1940)	Zokov Gaj (Croatia)
Mria iakov, b. Luptkov (1932)	Doln Badn
Mria Dendišov, b. Kohtov (1930)	Bzovk
Sidnia Dubovick (b. 1930)	Star Bystrica
Cecĺlia urišov (b. 1936)	Fakov
Katarna Fuskov (1907)	Mal Zlužie
Justna Gborov (b.1926)	Ochodnica
Viktria Gplovsk (b. 1931)	imany
Jozef Hadvig	Kšinn
Angela Hašov (b. 1924)	imany
Božena Hašov (b.1939)	imany
Evica Hološ (b. 1946)	Zokov Gaj (Croatia)
Mria Hrbckov (b.1924)	imany
Anna Janculov (b. 1922)	Nov Bystrica
Katica Jedink (b. 1928)	Ledeník(Croatia)
Rozlia Jurikov	Kojšov
Jaroslav Kamas (b.1937)	imany
Hanka Kanderov (b. 1913)	Jelisavac (Croatia)
Mria Knapcov	Radstka
Alojzia Koňuchov (b. 1929)	Klubina
Marica Koplar (b. 1935)	Zokov Gaj (Croatia)
Anuška Kralik	Zokov Gaj (Croatia)
Anna Krlov	Jaklovce
Rozika Kukukov (b. 1947)	Josipovac (Croatia)
Katica Kuric (b.1944)	Zokov Gaj (Croatia)
Katica Kuricov (b.1953)	Josipovac (Croatia)
Tonka Kuricov (b. 1940)	Josipovac (Croatia)
Ms. Labakov	Zborov nad Bystricou
Rza Labakov (b.1935)	Josipovac (Croatia)
Katica Ladňak (b.1927)	Ledeník(Croatia)
Margita Ledvkov	Velky Folkmr
Stanislav Liška (1939)	Kubra

Anna Lišková (1944)	Kubra
Matija Lukaček (b. 1944)	Miljevci (Croatia)
Zlata Lukaček (b. 1945)	Miljevci (Croatia)
Štefan Macanga	Ledeník(Croatia)
Ms. Mariančíková	Žakarovce
Anna Mitterová, b. Janovská (1928)	Dolný Badín
Katka Ondrišková (b. 1918)	Selec
Agnesa Oremová, b. Kováčová (1929)	Dolný Badín
Ludmila Panáková	Radôstka
Mária Papcunová (b. 1933)	Jaklovce
Alžbeta Piešová (b. 1935)	Čičmany
Slavko Pochyba (b. 1940)	Miljevci (Croatia)
Katica Pochybová (b.1945)	Miljevci (Croatia)
Eva Ševčíková (b. 1923)	Fačkov
Tonka Tončaleková (b.1927)	Miljevci (Croatia)
Katica Veršeg (b. 1919)	Ledeník(Croatia)
Júlia Vlková (b. 196?)	Selec
Anna Vydrová (b. 1929)	Ochodnica
Róza Zníková (b. 1933)	Miljevci (Croatia)
Anna Žovincová (b. 1939)	Selec
František Žovinec (b. 1932)	Selec

Appendix D

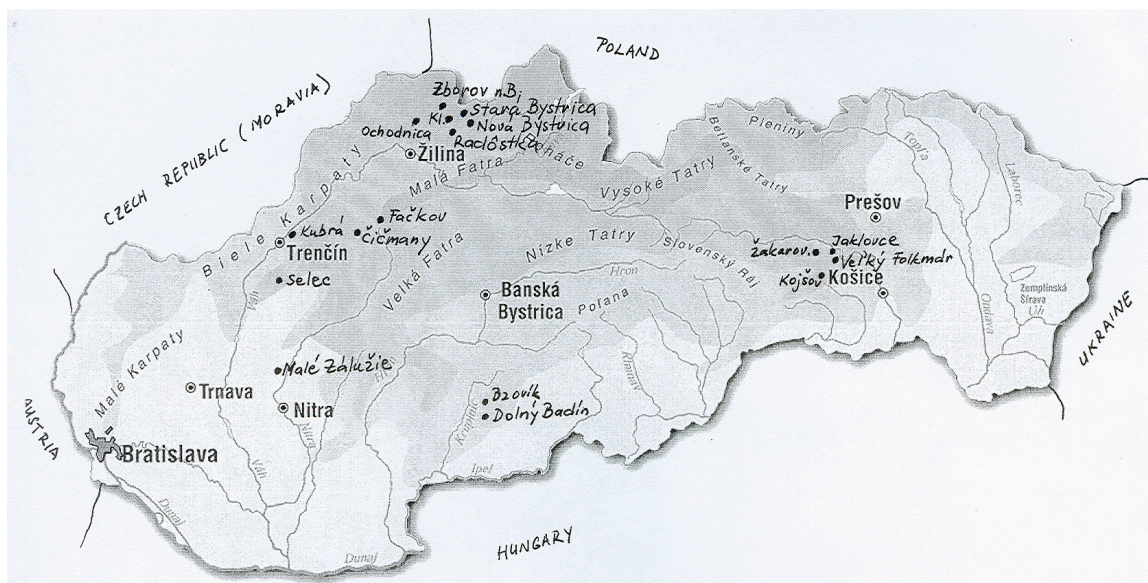
GLOSSARY

<i>aria</i>	tune, melody (among Slovaks in Slavonia/Croatia)
<i>basa</i>	double-bass or violoncello in a traditional string ensemble
<i>braľtovski</i>	bridal dance (eastern Slovakia)
<i>brana</i>	gate, an obstacle placed across the road in front of the wedding procession
<i>cestou / po ceste</i>	on the way
<i>chorovod</i>	girls'/women's circle dance
<i>čepčenie / čepenie (verb: čepiť)</i>	capping ceremony, when the bride's head is covered with the bonnet or scarf, the symbol of a married woman
<i>čepiec</i>	bonnet, cap worn by a married woman
<i>do kola</i>	to dance (lit., to the circle)
<i>drevená muzika</i>	traditional instrumental group in north-western Slovakia consisting of two fiddles and a small bass (lit., wooden music)
<i>družba</i>	groomsman
<i>družbovský tanec</i>	groomsman's dance with the bride before or after the removal of her <i>parta</i>
<i>družica, (pl., družice /družičky)</i>	bridesmaid(s)
<i>duchnárske</i>	songs sung during the transportation of the bride's trousseau
<i>duvaj</i>	a distinct way of rhythmic accompaniment of the second violin and the bass, based on the bowing technique and accentuation
<i>frišký</i>	fast dance
<i>fujara</i>	large shepherd overtone bass-flute typical of central Slovakia
<i>hajducky</i>	men's dance with a sword
<i>hocikedy</i>	anytime
<i>karička</i>	girls'/women's circle dance in eastern Slovakia
<i>kočky</i>	women who transported bride's trousseau (lit., cats)
<i>koncovka</i>	end-blown shepherd flute
<i>kontra</i>	the second violin (viola) in a traditional string ensemble
<i>kroj</i>	traditional costume
<i>krucena / do krutu</i>	whirly dance

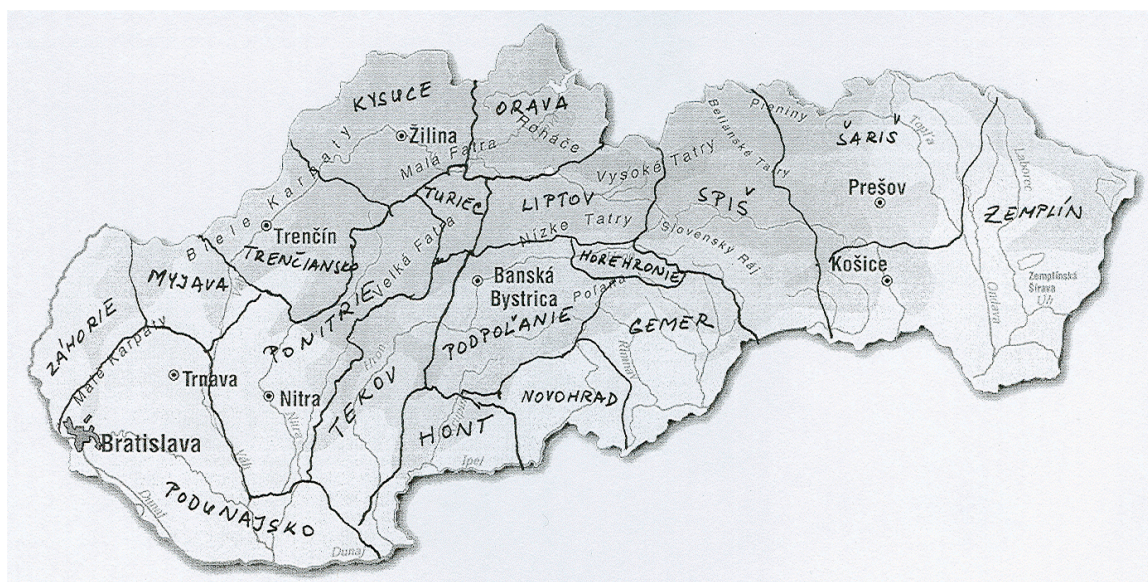
<i>k sobášu, zo sobáša</i>	song sung on the way to and from the church wedding ceremony
<i>lúčne nôty</i>	meadow tunes, tunes of haymaking songs
<i>na želení</i>	lamenting songs sung in the area of Trenčín during the pre-wedding evening
<i>obradné</i>	ceremonial, ritual songs
<i>obyčajové právo</i>	customary law
<i>oddavač</i>	one who gives the bride over (usually the <i>starejší</i>)
<i>odzemok</i>	shepherd's dance with a hatchet
<i>opáčky</i>	post-wedding feast (lit., checking, trying, visiting)
<i>otrusky</i>	post-wedding feast (lit., bread crumbs)
<i>parta</i>	an ornamented bridal headdress
<i>pohárkové</i>	glass songs
<i>poprávky</i>	post-wedding feast (lit., alignings, amendments)
<i>perinárky</i>	women who transported bride's trousseau (lit., eiderdown women)
<i>perinárske</i>	songs sung during the transportation of the bride's trousseau
<i>pesničky</i>	songs
<i>pohárkové</i>	glass songs, drinking songs
<i>pred muziku</i>	in front of music, with instrumental band
<i>prekáračky</i>	humorous teasing songs
<i>priezvedy / priepačky</i>	preliminary negotiations between two families initiated by the third party
<i>primáš</i>	the first violinist (or a cymbalist)
<i>pri zavíjaní, pri vpletaní, pri čepení</i>	songs sung before and during the cap ceremony
<i>pytač</i>	one who asks
<i>pytačky</i>	ritual of asking for the bride; wooing
<i>radostník</i>	ceremonial wedding cake cut and distributed among the guests at the end of the wedding (lit., cake of joy)
<i>redoví</i>	bridal dance in eastern Slovakia
<i>rozlúčkové / na rozlúčku</i>	parting songs
<i>rúcho</i>	bride's trousseau
<i>rukovinské</i>	songs sung during the betrothal
<i>rukoviny</i>	handshake ritual confirming the marriage agreement between the parents; betrothal
<i>starejší / starý svat</i>	master of the ceremony (lit., an elderly man)
<i>starobabská</i>	old women's dance
<i>suky</i>	women who transported bride's trousseau (lit., bitches)
<i>svaďebske / veselárske / vesel'ské</i>	wedding songs

<i>svadobná nôta, s. nuota</i> (pl., -é -y)	wedding tune (lit., note)
<i>svadobný hlas = svadobná nôta</i>	
<i>sviečkový tanec</i>	bride's dance with a candle
<i>šelijaké (všelijaké)</i>	various, diverse [songs]
<i>šikovná</i>	type of dance
<i>široká</i>	married elderly woman, often bride's godmother who carried out most of the rituals
<i>škaredá nevesta</i>	"ugly bride"
<i>škriňárky</i>	women who transported bride's trousseau (lit., wardrobe women)
<i>tanierový</i>	bridal dance (lit., plate dance)
<i>trávnice</i>	women's haymaking songs
<i>večarky = zábavy</i>	dance evenings, dance parties
<i>vencové</i>	songs sung during the preparation of the bridal wreath (<i>veňec, veniec</i> =wreath)
<i>veselárske / veselské</i>	wedding songs
<i>veselie / svadba</i>	wedding
<i>vitie venca</i>	weaving of the bridal wreath
<i>výbava</i>	bride's trousseau
<i>vydaj</i>	bride's getting married (lit., giving over)
<i>vydatá</i>	married (about the bride; lit., given over)
<i>výslužka</i>	food and wine from the feast distributed to the guests at the end of the wedding (lit., a compensation for service)
<i>zábava</i>	dance party
<i>zabavne</i>	entertaining, humorous songs
<i>zásnuby / zásluby</i>	betrothal (<i>sľub</i> = promise)
<i>zbohom ostávajúťe</i>	farewell
<i>zdavanky</i>	putting together; betrothal
<i>zváč</i>	one who invites the guests to the wedding (usually <i>starejší</i> or <i>groomsman</i>)
<i>žartovné</i>	humorous songs
<i>ženatý</i>	married (about the groom; lit., coupled with woman)

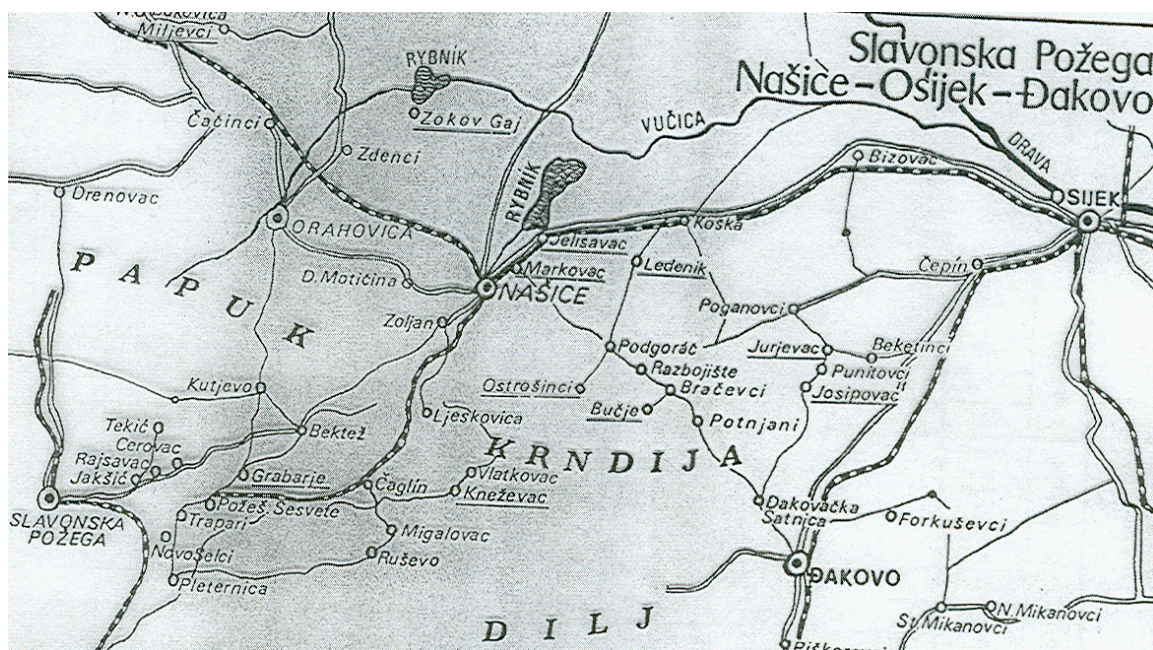
Appendix E



Map 1a
Slovakia and the villages covered in the fieldwork



Map 1b
Ethnographic regions of Slovakia



Map 2

Eastern Slavonia (Croatia) with Slovak villages Jelisavac, Ledenik, Josipovac, Miljevci, and Zokov Gaj

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