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FOLKLORE AND TRADITION IN ETHNOMUSICOLOGY. A COMPARISON OF THEIR USE AND MEANING IN ITALIAN AND CROATIAN THROUGH ENGLISH

The terms *folklore* and *tradition* (and the derived adjectives) in relation to music have been employed to define the subject of ethnomusicologists' study. In this article, the meaning of these words is considered in their historical use in ethnomusicology and akin disciplines, as well as in the common sense in English, Italian and Croatian, trying to identify the main shared elements as well as the differences. While *folklore* is a word of foreign origin integrated in several languages, where it assumes diverse connotations also in terms of esthetical and moral value, the related adjective *folk* has local equivalents in Italian (*popolare*) and Croatian (*narodni*), which have been employed with reference to national musical expressions. *Tradition* is semantically partly overlapping with folklore, and in recent years the derived adjectives (*tradicionalan*, *tradicijski*) have been preferred in Croatian, while in Italian the word *traditional* (*tradizionale*) can be used to refer to non-European musics, and in general the locution *musiche di tradizione orale* is today favoured to define the subject of ethnomusicology. It appears that the national use of these words has marked their local understanding, as well as the related scholarship, and thus a reflection on the use of English in present academic and non-academic contexts is necessary.

This article presents quite an ambitious title, aiming to compare in three languages some of the most discussed words in ethnomusicology: *tradition* and *folklore* – and the relative adjectives. A wide literature in different languages has described, discussed and contested these terms. Indeed, since some decades, a debate about these words is going on within the discipline but, notwithstanding some suggestions for alternative terms and the conception of new paradigms questioning the very definition of ethnomusicology, better words seem yet to be

found and to gain an established use. Furthermore, the fact that most scholarship is today produced in English demands non-English native speakers to deal with the variations of those terms' meaning and to the corresponding translations in their native language, both to understand the literature and to write meaningful contributions. At the same time, *folklore* and *tradition* are often used by music-makers, thus urging researchers to confront with the local meanings and concepts of these terms.

My purpose is not to provide permanent definitions of these terms, but to portray some of the uses and meanings of these words in the languages that I have used both to read and write scientific publications, as well as to conduct field-work. In this article, I will draw on my own research experience and on my personal reflections about this topic; so, while using English language both as a means to articulate my thoughts and as reference for comparison, I will retrace my moving in different academic, linguistic and ethnomusicological areas, from Italy, through Africa, to Croatia and Bosnia.

Folclore e tradizione in Italy

Having been educated in Italy, where for centuries an eminent history of classical music, as well as of church music, has entertained complex relations of influences and borrowings with 'other' musics (think for instance about the continuous and mutual exchange of melodies and styles among opera, folk songs and dances) and where during the last century 'high' and 'folk' musics have usually been politicized, I learnt to approach words such as *tradition* and *folklore* with prudence.

Folklore is a term created by the British antiquary William J. Thoms in 1846 and soon adopted internationally to define a discipline and a subject of study dedicated to local believes, culture and customs. The use of *folklore* (or in the Italianized spelling *folclore*)¹ and *folk*, as well as the derived adjectival forms in Italian (*folclorico*, not to mention *folcloristico* that has an openly derogatory sense), have a quite complicated history in the Italian language, in what concerns both their use and conceptualization. Since the last decades of the 19th century,

¹ Both the substantive and the adjective can be used in Italian with two possible spellings: *folklore* and *folclore*, *folclorico* and *folclorico*. In this text I will adopt the Italianized spellings *folclore* and *folclorico* to clarify their use in the Italian context.

even before it was recognized in the academia (where it was later called in Italian *demologia*), *folclore* was used to define a field of research dedicated to rural peasant culture. Similarly, the adjective *folclorico* defined peasant and pastoral, rural customs, beliefs, music and dances. A fundamental contribution to the formation of folclore as a field of studies came from Giuseppe Pitrè (1841 – 1916) who published 25 books dedicated to Sicilian folklore, among which two volumes were consecrated to folk songs, presented as transcriptions of the lyrics, *Canti popolari siciliani* (1891). Pitrè defined the subject of his researches mostly as *popolare*, the Italian word corresponding to *folk*. Similarly did Costantino Nigra with his important songs collection *Canti popolari del Piemonte* (1888).² Since the last decades of the 19th century, it seems that the substantive *folclore* was consistently used to indicate both the discipline and the rural (music) traditions, while in the adjectival form *popolare* was preferred to *folclorico*.

In the common speech, *folclore* and *folclorico* are today usually employed with a partly negative connotation, denoting the artificial emphasizing of some local features that results in depicting more the *couleur locale* than the genuine elements characterizing an event, a ceremony, a performance. This sense given to folclore is somehow related to the initiatives that Fascism encouraged in the field of folk culture – although the regime preferred to use an Italian word,³ *popolaresco*,⁴ to define it. In particular the *Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro* (OND – National Recreational Club), founded by Fascism to bridle potentially dis-

² As noted by Agamennone (2009: 12–13), this use of *popolare* in Italian is reflected by the employment of the corresponding French and Spanish terms (*populaire*, *popular*) in publications dedicated to folk music (especially vocal repertoires) that appeared between the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. Agamennone (2009: 15) reports a similar use of the term *popular* in the 19th century sources in English; however, the word *folk* was soon preferred and *popular* was later used to refer to different genres of mediated music that appeared during the 20th century.

³ This was part of the Fascist policy of establishing the Italian language as unique national idiom in the territories under Fascist control. It involved the use of Italian equivalents or neologisms instead of foreign words, as well as the artificial procedure of Italianization (*italianizzazione*) directed to transform foreign words, surnames and toponyms to make them appear Italian.

⁴ *Popolaresco* can be translated as ‘of folk derivation’ and it properly defines mostly urban repertoires derived from peasant musics, and performed by the artisan class. An example of proper *musica popolaresca* are some trends of the Neapolitan song (*canzone napoletana*), see De Simone 1983.

The sense in which Fascism used this term is not totally corresponding to a subdivision between *popolare* and *popolaresco* as it is in the scientific writing, but it refers to a sort of overlapping of the two concepts, where the most conventional musical expressions were privileged.

Carpitella (1964) defined the performance of the groups created during Fascism as “reconstructed folklore”, and strongly argued that it existed a stylistic and social differentiation between *musica popolare* and *popolaresca* (see, for instance, the so-called Carpitella-Mila controversy about folk music in Italy, in Carpitella 1973: 257–266; also Giuriati 1995: 109–110 concisely reports Carpitella’s view on this point).

sident associations by managing workers' free time,⁵ fostered the creation of musical associations, some of which were instrumental in promoting a positive conception of the peasant world, one of the essential aspects of Fascist ideology. Most of these groups performed spectacularized shows of folk music and dance conceived expressively for the stage, where emphatic archaic costumes were combined with elaborated choreographies.⁶ The adaptations of folk repertoires conducted by the Fascist regime through its associations are to be interpreted as a way of presenting recreational shows to workers (Giuriati 1995: 106). It is especially the employment of costumes during performances that even today characterizes the ensembles that define themselves as *gruppi folcloristici*.

The very development of ethnomusicology as a discipline in Italy has marked the meanings that the terms *tradizione* and *folclore* have assumed. As outlined by Giorgio Adamo (2000: 514–515), Italian ethnomusicology lacked the elements that characterized the emergence of this field of studies in German-speaking countries, where it developed from a systematic interest in music that led to a comparison of musical expressions outside Europe; it was also different from the American context, where non-Western music could be researched through a fieldwork conducted 'near home', and from Eastern European countries where the discipline received a boost connected to national identity. Indeed, Italian ethnomusicology developed from a primary interest in local rural musics, which presented a great variety due to the complex cultural history of the country, and it was marked by civil engagement.

Despite the derogatory use in common speech, *folclore musicale* was used by Diego Carpitella (1959 and 1976) to define his primary subject of study: folk, peasant and pastoral musics conceived as clearly differentiated from 'high' music, as well as from artisan urban musical expressions. Pioneer of ethnomusicology in Italy, since the 1950s Diego Carpitella worked at the Centro Nazionale di Studi di Musica Popolare (National Centre for Folk Music Studies) in Rome and conducted fieldwork with the anthropologist Ernesto De Martino and with

⁵ Leydi (1996: 5) notes that the OND opposed especially the activities of some musical associations, like brass bands, which were rooted in local communities and had Socialist, Republican and Catholic traditions.

⁶ However, Leydi (1996: 6) noted that some groups created during Fascism were very conservative in their activities and deeply rooted in local communities, like for instance several groups in Sardinia and in the Alps.

Alan Lomax. The cooperation between Carpitella and De Martino was marked by their shared political stands and civil engagement in facing the so-called *questione meridionale*, i.e. the disadvantaged economical and social condition of Southern Italy. Their research was focused on the *musica e cultura popolare* (folk music and culture), where the word *popolare* not only defined peasant and pastoral rural expressions, but was interpreted within the frame of Gramsci's thinking: as pertaining the subaltern classes that were the bearers of a culture historically alternative to that of the hegemonic classes (Gramsci 1950: 215–221).⁷ In this sense, the research on Southern peasant culture and music was connoted with activism, by the engagement in researching those expressions and acknowledging their peculiar features and existence, thus giving them new dignity (Carpitella 1992: 31). This connotation of *popolare* referred to Italian folk music has characterized for some decades Italian ethnomusicology, comprising the researches and ethnomusicological activities conducted in Northern Italy (Adamo 2000: 522–525), although based on a partially different background and vision of the engagement. Roberto Leydi, the “father” of ethnomusicology in Northern Italy, first focused his interest in folk music – channeled into the activities of the Nuovo Canzoniere Italiano with the main cooperation of Gianni Bosio – on the folk repertoires connoted by a social content (Giuriati 1995: 111).⁸ It was on these musics, and especially on songs, that the activities of documentation in the field, analysis and dissemination (through a journal, a records series and some shows) were directed (Bermani 1997: 43–95).

The very adjective *folk* is used in Italian to refer to a specific phenomenon – started in the 1960s, but which had different consecutive waves – labeled as *folk music revival*,⁹ drawing inspiration from the parallel American and British phenomena. The Italian folk music revival originated in the North of the country

⁷ The anthropologist Cirese (1974) deepened the reflection opened by Gramsci about cultural differences within stratified societies and his work was very influential on the Italian ethnomusicology of the time.

⁸ In his outstanding work, *L'altra musica* (1991: 143–160), Leydi extensively discussed the concepts of *folklore* and *popolare*, as well as the opposed poles of high (*colta*) and folk (*popolare*) music, touching the related issue of the apparently neat division between writing and orality that has marked this opposition in music. Leydi showed how these categories have been constructed by the hegemonic classes, while in Italian music these two polarities have been characterized by fluidity and mutual exchange. On this point, Leydi's positions are partially different from Carpitella's (see note 4). The issue of the different perspectives within Italian ethnomusicology as epitomized in the views of the two fathers of Italian ethnomusicology, Carpitella and Leydi, is extremely complex and cannot be easily summarized here. The contributions on this topic are quite rare, but some observations can be found, for instance, in Ferraro 2015: 214–241.

⁹ On this topic, see Leydi 1972.

driven by the musical group of the Nuovo Canzoniere Italiano and later spread to the Centre and South. It was based on an engaged research in the field, motivated not only by the specific interest in the *musica popolare*, but also in a re-evaluation of the expressions of the subaltern classes, and on their performance with the technique by-then called *di ricalco* (lit. tracing, i.e. imitating the recorded model, as well as assimilate features of improvisation, vocal timbre etc.)

Carpitella's and Leydi's experiences, different but both motivated by civil engagement, laid the bases for the establishment of ethnomusicology as an academic discipline in Italy.¹⁰ Until the early 1980s, the word *popolare* 'folk' was generally used to describe the musics studied by ethnomusicologists in Europe, whereas the word *etnico* 'ethnic' was employed to identify non-European music¹¹ – a double terminology reflecting what in German speaking countries is the subject of study respectively of *Volkmusikforschung* and of *vergleichende Musikwissenschaft*.

Since the late 1980s a shift in terminology took place. The new generation of Italian ethnomusicologists had started conducting fieldwork outside Europe (Central and Eastern Africa, South-Eastern Asia, etc.)¹² and confronting more and more frequently with literature in other languages. The label *etnico* started to seem inappropriate, since it could hint at a far away, backward and tribal world.¹³ Similarly, *popolare* was less and less used because of its weighty historical and political connotation, which was no more representative of the scientific role of academic ethnomusicology. Thus, the term *tradizionale*, which gathered together European and non-European music and had also been inserted in the name of the main institution representing the discipline (ICTM),¹⁴ started to be preferred. However, it was perceived as quite problematic because of its relation

¹⁰ The first chair of Ethnomusicology was established at the University La Sapienza in Rome in 1976 and held by Carpitella; in 1980, Leydi took the one created at the University of Bologna.

¹¹ The subtitle of Leydi's book *L'altra musica* (1991) is telling: *Etnomusicologia: come abbiamo incontrato e creduto di conoscere le musiche delle tradizioni popolari ed etniche* (Ethnomusicology: how we met and thought to know the musics of folk and ethnic tradition). Previously, Leydi used the word *primitivo* to refer to folk or traditional music of non-stratified extra-European societies, with a connotation similar to the one that primitive music took in the ethnomusicological literature in English until the 1960s.

¹² The first outcomes of these researches were published in 1986–1987 in the journal *Culture musicali*.

¹³ However, Agamennone (2009: 22–23) reports the more recent use outside the academic context, of the adjective *etnico* to connote different sorts of music revival and hybridization movements involving various folk styles from both Europe and other continents that have emerged during the last decades.

¹⁴ The change in the name of the institution from IFMC, International Folk Music Council, to ICTM, International Council for Traditional Music, took place in 1981 and reflected years of discussions within the academia around the terms *folk* and *traditional*.

with the Romantic idea of tradition as unchanging heritage, its apparent immobility and its historical connection with concepts like authenticity (*autenticità*). Today it is more and more common to use the locution *musiche di tradizione orale* (musics of oral tradition), which shifts the focus from the identification of a corpus (as *musica tradizionale* could lead to think) to the main process defining these musics, i.e. oral transmission.¹⁵

In the field – *canti popolari* within the folk music revival

My first research experience, in 2005, focused on a folk music revival group, the Gruppo Padano di Piadena, which is based in Piadena, a small town in the Po flat.¹⁶ Founded in 1962, also thanks to Leydi's advice, the group researched in the field, learnt and then performed local folk songs, as well as other expressions of folk creativity, like puppets. Soon it became engaged in the wider Italian folk music revival movement and took part in shows structured on folk musics, like *Pietà l'è morta* (1964), *Bella ciao* (1964) and *Ci ragiono e canto* (1966), which had a determinant (and initially also scandalous) impact on sensitizing Italians to folk music, on giving new dignity to musical expressions that were considered 'low' and 'backward' by the middle class devoted to consumerism, and on re-evaluating local cultures and the people who bear them. The members of the Gruppo Padano di Piadena have consistently defined the songs that they collected in the field as *popolare*. This reflects the use of the word in the contemporary Italian academic literature referring to Italian folk songs, with which some of them were familiar, as well as a local, group-based awareness of the word, rooted in its derivation from *popolo* 'people'. This was represented by fellow villagers, workers and elders with whom the group's members shared the rural, local culture; in addition *popolo* was also conceived politically, in terms

¹⁵ This is the locution adopted by most of the Italian ethnomusicologists to define their field of study, as can be seen in the various interviews collected in Rizzoni 2001. More recently, the same locution was used for the title of the 2010–2011 PRIN (Projects of Relevant National Interest) in Ethnomusicology: *Processi di trasformazione nelle musiche di tradizione orale* (Transformation processes in the musics of oral tradition).

¹⁶ The Gruppo Padano di Piadena has its background in the Second Postwar experience of Resistance, in the experimentations in didactics by the famous school teacher Mario Lodi, and in different forms of artistic expressions, like photography, filmmaking and, of course, music. In this rural area such artistic means were re-interpreted with the purpose of rediscovering a local peasant world, a model of life, knowledge and expression, which was considered as alternative to the mass culture brought in Italy by the economic boom started in the 1950s.

of the subaltern class (Gramsci was part of their political and cultural readings), and as opposed to bourgeois and aristocratic, city-based classes.¹⁷

I cannot summarize here the long history of the activities and engagement of the Gruppo, but I want to remark that for decades they constantly used in their publications, shows, exhibitions and concerts the word *popolare* to define the repertoire that they perform. However, very recently the main animator of this group, Sergio Lodi, wrote to me that he got convinced that the most appropriate definition for their songs is *canti della tradizione contadina* ‘songs of the peasant tradition’, but he underlined that he did not like the word *tradition*, implying that he perceived it as connoted by immobility.¹⁸

Interlude: Fieldwork in Uganda – tradition or culture?

English was the main language I used for fieldwork in Uganda, where it is one of the two official languages (the other one being Swahili) allowing the communication between a population speaking more than 40 different local idioms. The use of English in Uganda is characterized by a mixture of British features and indigenous languages’ influences, both in pronunciation and vocabulary, and it is spoken as a second language by the people who received at least a primary education.¹⁹

I found the words *tradition* and *traditional* employed especially in the Ugandan academia, mainly in the works of the researchers of the Department of Performing Arts at Makerere University in Kampala. On the other hand, both in written texts (official or academic) and in common speech, *folklore* as a noun is rarely found. Institutions like the Ministry of Education, which organizes the music

¹⁷ When I met the members of the group, in which I also took part for some years, the use of the word *popolare* was converging with my own academic readings. I sometimes tried to introduce the word *tradizionale* with reference to the local way of singing (two voices singing in parallel thirds), as opposed to standardized singing (the interval of fifth disseminated by pop music). This sense of *tradizionale* was understood, but generally the discussion was brought back to a political and social dimension, where influences on the *canti popolari* were understood as caused by the commodification of these repertoires, by the great dissemination of the *musica leggera* (‘light music’, i.e. Italian pop music) of the Festival di Sanremo, etc.

¹⁸ E-mail received by the author on the 20 May 2018.

¹⁹ To interact and have interviews with performers and interlocutors that were not fluent in English, I was facilitated by a friend translating from and to Runyoro-Rutooro, one of the local languages in Western Uganda, the region where I conducted my fieldwork.

and dance schools' festival, employ jointly the adjectives *folk* and *traditional* in order to emphasize the definition of indigenous repertoires. In particular, two categories featured in the schools' festival deal with indigenous repertoires, i.e. *Uganda traditional folksong* [*sic*] and *Uganda traditional folk dance*.²⁰ According to the schools' festival's guidelines, the performances within these two categories must follow the 'traditional' style, tone, rhythm, etc., but they also have to contain elements that imply some creativity, like costumes, props and action on the scene. The aim of these directives is at the same time to implement the representation (not only sonic, but also visual and theatrical) of the various local traditions on the stage and to 'improve', embellish and finally make their performance captivating for the audience. Notwithstanding the emphasis on the local, indigenous, traditional and folk features, this conception of tradition has a mainly representational character, where the performance is meant to depict folk life and thus inform the young pupils about it, who are not so aware of old customs. In this sense, the concept of tradition fostered through the Ugandan schools' festival is close to the idea of heritage, intended as the complex of practices that are still significant in the present. However, this word has started to be employed only quite recently in Uganda and in a partly different context, that is the recognition of local practices as intangible cultural heritage by UNESCO.²¹

Interestingly, the words *tradition* and *traditional* were understood by my interlocutors in Western Uganda when I used them, but the terms *culture* and *cultural* were usually preferred by them. Chosen as an equivalent to the Nyoro-Tooro word *nzarwa*, *culture* is conceived by common people as well as by music makers and dancers as local, indigenous, 'ours'.²² In the Ugandan context it stands for the opposite of foreign Western customs, while it also implies the multiethnic heritage of the country. In this sense, local songs and dances are in common speech, as well as in performers' words, *cultural*, and the folklore groups that can be found almost in every Ugandan town are indeed called *cultural groups*.

²⁰ This was the official definition during the 2011 schools' festival.

²¹ From 2008 to 2016 six Ugandan traditional practices have been acknowledged by UNESCO in the List of Intangible Cultural Heritage.

See: <https://ich.unesco.org/en/lists?text=&inscription=&country=00164&type=> (Accessed on 24 November 2018).

²² Discussion of the author with Misinguzi and Sunday, 14 June 2011. Unfortunately, there is not, to my knowledge, any literature dealing with the concept of *nzarwa*. Apart from my doctoral dissertation (Cimardi 2013: 274–284), it can just be traced in the dictionaries (e.g. Davis 1938: 140).

It appears that the colonization and, in general, the Western presence (in musical terms also through music dissemination via the radio, the Internet, digital files, etc.) contributed to this very situated conception of culture. Indeed, the way in which English is understood and used in Uganda is modelled on local ideas and has localized meanings.

Croatia: *narodna, folklorna, tradicionalna-tradicijska glazba*

In various articles Naila Ceribašić (2009, 2012, 2014) has described the terms used to indicate the subject of ethnomusicology in Croatia. According to the Croatian scholar, from 19th century until the 1960s, it was defined as *narodna glazba*, where *narodna* ‘folk’ identified the musical products characterized as *hrvatsko* ‘Croatian’, *seljačko* ‘peasant’, *starinsko* ‘old-time’ and *domaće* ‘local’, according to a Romantic national conception that was grounded on the assumed authenticity (*izvornost*) of folk repertoires (Ceribašić 2012: 1).

However, in the Croatian literature concerning folk dances, the adjective *narodni* has been employed well after the 1960s. An eminent example is the work by Ivan Ivančan who consistently used, from the 1950s to the late 1990s, the adjective *narodni* to connote the dance repertoires he researched in Croatia.²³ Similarly, in his three books dedicated to the repertoires of Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina, published in the 2000s but resulting from extensive research conducted in the previous decades, Miroslav Šilić (2001, 2003, 2008) uses *narodni* to define their music, dance and customs.²⁴

Ceribašić (2014: 1; 2009: 70) identifies a revision within ethnomusicological terminology that happened during the 1960s and 1970s, when the locution *folklorna glazba* ‘folk music’ started to be preferred to define the subject of research. The change was dictated by the discipline redefining its theoretical framework and focusing on musical phenomena freely performed and carried over by communities of performers and listeners, thus including also urban genres and rep-

²³ The last of Ivančan’s books dealing with folk dances was published in 1996: *Narodni plesni običaji u Hrvata*.

²⁴ Also the Bosnian ethnochoreologist Jelena Dopuđa, active until the 1980s, defined folk dances with the adjective *narodni*.

ertoires connoted by external influences as subject of ethnomusicology. On the other hand, today *folklore* is generally used to refer to the (peasant, rural) folks' music and dance heritage, mainly considered in its active preservation and performance through organized groups on stage (Ceribašić 1998 and 2000). It is thus usually employed, both as a noun and as an adjective, to identify festivals' types, as in *Međunarodna Smotra Folklor*a (International Folklore Festival), *Smotra folklornih amatera grada Zagreba* (Festival of folklore amateurs in the city of Zagreb), etc.²⁵

Since the 1990s, Croatian ethnomusicology has progressively abandoned the adjective *folklorni*. According to Ceribašić (2014: 2–3), this shift reflected the above mentioned change in the official name of the ICTM, the international reference institution for the discipline. The term *traditional* was felt as more able to describe musical phenomena that previously were not considered as subject of ethnomusicology, like the construction of traditions and power relations, the continuity of changes, the community identification and the performances of individuals.

The Croatian language has the peculiarity of having two words corresponding to *traditional*: *tradicionalan* and *tradicijski*. *Tradicionalan* has been used since the 19th century to define the conventional handing down of knowledge and has been connoted either positively or negatively according to different political stands and disciplinary perspectives. On the other hand, the word *tradicijski* reflected a new, neutral conception of tradition and a turn in Croatian ethnology starting in the 1970s, which focused on social processes and dynamics of change (Ceribašić 2012: 436–441). Since the 1990s Croatian ethnomusicology drew from this new approach in ethnologic studies and generally adopted the term to define its subject of research, although today the term *tradicijski* is not so semantically connoted like in the past. Indeed, already since the 1980s the specific connotations of *tradicijski* started to evaporate and in some disciplines it was used as related to the old, unchanging conception of tradition (Ceribašić 2012: 443). Notwithstanding this heterogeneity in defining semantically *tradicionalan* and *tradicijski* in different fields of knowledge, Croatian ethnomusicology prefers the term *tradicijski* as connoting its contemporary subject of research.

²⁵ Furthermore, like in Italian and English, the term *folklorizam* 'folklorism' exists. See Ceribašić 2008.

In the field – folklore of Bosnian Posavina in Croatia

I confronted with the use of some of these terms during my fieldwork with people from Bosnian Posavina settled in Zagreb. My research focused on their circle dances (*kola*) and the related music (Cimardi 2016). In particular, I was interested in the different ways of dancing these repertoires according to their ‘typology’ (i.e. a traditional *kolo*; a choreography created from those circle dances; free dancing among friends) and the venue of the performance (on stage, at festivals or during community parties). This variety in their dancing is reflected by the ways the musicians and dancers identify the different performing styles. A *kolo* performed with small steps and a concord *drmanje* (vertical vibration of the rotating circle), wearing original costumes, and accompanied by *šargija* and violin is considered *izvorni* ‘authentic’ and *po starinski* ‘in the old way’. This union of traditional, authentic music, dance and costumes – very close to the conceptualization that *narodna glazba* had in early Croatian ethnomusicology – is defined as *folklor* by the various performers and supporters of the groups from Bosnian Posavina in Zagreb. Today, this kind of performances take place mainly on stage, within the frame of festivals (thus corresponding to the meaning of *folklor* in common Croatian). However, this kind of venue is not what really connotes *folklor* for the people from Bosnian Posavina. It is rather its authenticity (*izvornost*), intended as the ancient, original way of performing the *kolo*, which they relate to the customary life in the *selo* ‘village’ in their abandoned homeland. In this sense, *folklor* is considered a precious heritage – which must be codified and transmitted in its essential, connoting features – to be handed down to younger generations and to represent in front of an audience to show Bosnian Posavina identity in its present diaspora. For this reason, folklore has for this community a more emotional and dramatic connotation compared to the logic of the ‘preservation of tradition’ on which folklore festivals rest.

Besides this conception, *folklor* is also used, with a less reverent attitude, to indicate *kola* that are elaborated in choreographies for the stage, where individual dances are usually combined in suites and present other figurations than the circle, while original costumes and accompaniment are kept. This is the way *folklor* is normally conceived by the general audience and it reflects the present integration of Bosnian Posavina groups living in Zagreb in the Croatian folklore festivals’ system.

Curiously, no specific word is employed to mean the dancing when it is rich in choreutic variations, as it happens when performed at community parties and gatherings where there is no real border between dancers and audience. The performers, when I directly asked how they called that kind of dancing, mentioned it just as *slobodno igrati* ‘dancing freely’. As the liveliest, and thus most unstable, aspect of Bosnian Posavina repertoires, it seems that it cannot be framed in any peculiar term; it thus represents an example of how tradition moves and changes.

Finally, the word *narodno* is used by the Bosnian Posavina community in reference to the pan-Yugoslav *kolos* that derived from traditional ones and during Socialism were arranged mainly for accordion. This use of *narodno*, which is neatly contrasting with the meaning that the term had in the Croatian academic writing, is consistent with its employment in the popular press during the Socialist period, i.e. the time when these pieces were elaborated and disseminated in former Yugoslavia.

Conclusions

In this article I have tried to trace the historically and culturally connoted meanings and uses of *tradition* and *folklore* in Italian and Croatian. *Folklore*, a word of foreign origin integrated in both idioms, assumes diverse connotations in each of them, also in terms of esthetical and moral value. The related adjective *folk* has direct derivations in these languages (*folclorico* and *folklorni*), as well as local equivalents in Italian (*popolare*) and Croatian (*narodni*). These adjectives have been employed with reference to national or European musical expressions, but in the two languages they were based on different historical, epistemological and ideological backgrounds. In recent years the adjectives derived from tradition (*tradicionalan*, *tradicijski*) have been favoured in Croatian, while in Italian the word traditional (*tradizionale*) can be used, but in general a locution (*musiche di tradizione orale*) is today preferred to define the subject of ethnomusicology.

If numerous works have dealt specifically with the concept of tradition and contributed to redefine its meaning (‘invented tradition’, tradition as a process of selection, etc.), it seems that a deep and conscious reflection about a specific

semantic and epistemological connotation of the terms to be used in defining the subject of ethnomusicology has still to be developed.

The national (Italian, Croatian, Ugandan) use of the words *tradition* and *folklore* has marked their local understanding, as well as the scholarship in languages other than English. These concepts, and the derived adjectives, are relevant for ethnomusicologists in particular when researching types of music that have passed through the nowadays common processes of revival, revitalization, institutionalization, spectacularization (and these words would also deserve a discussion). It is while facing these processes that the question about what tradition and folklore are comes to the fore, at least on two levels: the practical one, concerning which is the musical model assumed as a reference for reviving, institutionalizing etc.; and the theoretical one, touching the abstract meaning of these two concepts. At this point the ‘emic’ views are essential to understand the situated significance that *tradition* and *folklore* have in relation to musical expressions, where they convey particular conceptions of music and of performing it. The process of understanding is for us a process of negotiating the meaning, as theorized by Clifford Geertz (1973). And, as Geertz outlined, this applies not only in the field, but also when writing about our research. In this sense, Ceribašić (2014: 4–5) has recently suggested the concept of ‘going pidgin’, as a new way of conceiving the production of knowledge as situated, reflexive and creative, as well as the status of in-betweenness in the use of English by researchers. This is a central point in dealing with our multilingual condition in studying, researching and writing, and I think that our moving between (or among) different languages should acknowledge the *multi-local* dimension of our work (fieldwork, academia, international scholarly contexts), as well as it should be *multi-vocal* in voicing peculiar, local, and sometimes controversial, conceptions and uses of the language(s).

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***Folklor i tradicija* u etnomuzikologiji. Usporedba njihove upotrebe i značenja u talijanskom i hrvatskom kroz engleski**

Sažetak

Ovaj se članak bavi upotrebom i značenjem naziva *tradicija* i *folklor* te njihovim izvedenim pridjevima na talijanskom, engleskom i hrvatskom jeziku. S obzirom na akademsku literaturu na talijanskom i hrvatskom jeziku zaključuje se da se upotreba tih naziva promijenila tijekom vremena. Čini se da je *folklor* (*folclorico* i *folklorno*) prošao razvoj preko odgovarajućih pridjeva izvedenih iz lokalne etimologije (*popolare* i *narodni*) do tradicije (*tradizionale* i *tradicionalno-tradicijsko*). Ti su nazivi ipak snažno konotirani i različitim nijansama značenja i vrijednostima na talijanskom i na hrvatskom jeziku. Štoviše, upotreba tih pojmova u zajednici glazbenika i plesača često ne odgovara upotrebi u akademskom kontekstu.

S obzirom na njihovu diferencijaciju u različitim jezicima i potrebu korisnika da komuniciraju na engleskom jeziku u međunarodnome akademskom kontekstu treba upotrebljavati engleski jezik kao fleksibilan, što znači da istraživač mora prilagoditi upotrebu naziva u različitim značenjima i kontekstima.

Keywords: tradition, folklore, Italian, Croatian, English

Ključne riječi: tradicija, folklor, talijanski, hrvatski, engleski

