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TEASING AS A SUNG SPEECH GENRE OF VLACH GYPSY COUPLES IN THE SUB-CARPATHIAN REGION

The article describes several aspects of a Sub-Carpathian Vlach Gypsy teasing song genre, for the first time discussing Gypsy groups living in this area. The speech genre of teasing in egalitarian societies, as well as in Gypsy communities, is an important means of exercising social control. The performers of teasing songs are spouses or substitutes for spouses. Other members of the community who are present accompany the singing or serve as scaffolders in the event. The main purpose of these performances is to resolve the couple's conflicts or to console in the case of the loss of one partner. The main reasons for conflict in these songs is the husband's drunkenness and the quarreling nature of the wife. The words consist of both permanent and improvised elements which are segmented by regulated formulas. The success of teasing, namely, to avoid hurting one another, is ensured by a large variety of verbal and non-verbal cues. Musically speaking, the teasing texts are sung to typical Vlach Gypsy songs which are slow, lyrical 6-syllable songs with rich intertextual connections. The author suggests that the popularity of this genre is a result of endangered traditional family values due to the sudden prosperity experienced by some communities as a consequence of perestroika. This genre serves as a means to restore these values.

Keywords: teasing songs, Vlach Gypsies, Sub-Carpathian region (Ukraine)

According to data collected at various points of the world certain speech acts serve to exercise social control over an individual's behaviour in an entertaining way. According to the linguistic anthropologist Schieffelin (Schieffelin 1986:166) these genres are part of a culturally conventionalised system of social control. They play an important role, especially in societies where the appropriate way of speaking is the primary way to be social, and a primary indicator of social competence (ibid.:168). Ethnomusicologists and musical anthropologists have already

taken notice of musical genres controlling an individual's behaviour. In his summarising study, Alan P. Merriam states that the purpose of exercising control is to avoid irresponsible behaviour since people hold the view that the spreading of social irresponsibility leads to the eventual breakdown of social institutions or the whole of their society (Merriam 1964:205).

In egalitarian societies and social groups where an individual enjoys the advantages of warm family and friendship bonds, mutual help, and considerable autonomy at the expense of individual achievement, speech acts may be the main means of keeping individual behaviour within the socially acceptable limits. Mocking and teasing as speech genres, applied in an appropriate way, are effective means in the hands of both the community and the individual: The community controls the individual while giving her/him a chance to use it if s/he feels the criticism is overdone, or if s/he does not consider her/his act as a mistake, or if s/he can prove that her/his non-conventional behaviour is of an innovative nature (Merriam 1964:303) and serves the whole of the community.

The prose and musical genres of a folk community serving as mocking and teasing are often of a competitive nature. Teasing a village, a trade, social or family status, an unusual or antipathetic quality, or the other sex are typical genres both in some peasant (Szemerényi and Lajos 1977:538) and tribal cultures. At the same time, although these genres probably all serve to maintain and reinforce the identity of the performer, only some of them exercise control, the importance and the efficiency of which can also vary.

It seems to be a characteristic of talk-centred egalitarian societies that their members constantly use these genres over a range of everyday situations in a manipulative way. In her study of the closed village community of the Kalulis in Papua New Guinea, Schieffelin explained this phenomenon in the following way: given the difficulty individuals in this society have compelling one another to do something, regardless of their age, verbal manipulation with threats that speakers cannot act on reduces the direct confrontational nature of social control while maintaining a high level of drama (Schieffelin 1986:176). Studies made in egalitarian ethnic communities and social groups of low status (for example in industrial worker groupings) show, on the other hand, that acquiring manipulative talk helps to maintain inner equality, and also to get along in the outer society which generally despises them (Miller 1986).

Various researchers have noticed the social control function of teasing and mocking in diverse Gypsy communities. Among the anthropologists, Leonardo Piasere states of the *xoraxano* group living in Italy that "they use mocking as a defense against those who want to surpass the others, as a perfect means of keeping competition in a socially acceptable framework. It blocks the way of any act which could disturb the balance where mutual gift-giving allows the creation and increase in the prestige of the opposing parties" (Piasere 1997:92). Miriam Lee Kaprow

noticed in a Spanish Gypsy community that the mocking and teasing talk of the person informing her served, on the one hand, to cheer up the teaser's sick relatives and to show how conscientious the teasing person was by keeping social engagements; on the other, the same style of speech in the outside world was used to acquire certain goods. According to the researcher, this is one of the proofs of those "without power adjusting in a wise and daring way" (Kaprow 1982) to the extent that they can resist both assimilation and proletarianisation.

Michael Stewart was the first person in Hungary to describe a *mašari* Vlach Gypsy community where mocking and teasing are means of maintaining social equality and defending its members against the outside world (Stewart 1997). He did not, however, focus his attention primarily on this aspect, but on the performance of slow male lyrical songs at social events. In this context the shared performance of the songs is meant to demonstrate men's social equality (Stewart 1989, 1997). Teasing performed partly in a formalised way, and thus meant to be polite, is addressed to people who disturb the fulfilment of the ideal of brotherhood. Concerning the slow lyrical songs Irén Kertész Wilkinson observed in another *mašari* Vlach Gypsy community that the songs performed at events less formal than men's gatherings have ironic-manipulative nature. In her book (Kertész Wilkinson 1997), while analysing various versions in various contexts of a more or less standardised tune and words, she demonstrates that the slight but constant changes and reinterpretation of singing, tune and words can be a means of representing and resolving social and family conflicts, not only among men but among men and women as well. According to a third study made in a *cerhari-čurari* Vlach Gypsy community, the style of a narrative genre — the folk tale performed at men's gatherings — is openly of teasing nature and the folk term by which the performance style of the tale is known is "catching" (*xuteripo*). Story-telling in this form is not monologue-like but a constant entertaining dialogue between the story-teller and the audience, who mutually check one another's knowledge of the story and of the world and, within it, the Vlach Gypsy values (Grabócz and Kovalcsik 1988, Kovalcsik 1993).

Zita Réger studies the speech act of teasing and the narrative role of teasing sequences in various Hungarian Gypsy language groups in the framework of contributing to an ethnography of speaking. Integrating the results of the above-mentioned linguistic anthropologists (Schieffelin and Miller), she studies the structural and pragmatic qualities of teasing, primarily in adult-child interaction (Réger 1999). According to her observations, teasing is an important and culturally defined means of linguistic socialization in Romani-speaking communities. Teasing occurs in a variety of situations and genres in the speech addressed to babies and young children. One of the most frequent topics in child-directed teasing sequences modelled by adults and/or older children is the behaviour

expected from the baby or the child according to their future gender role. This may well illustrate the educational importance of teasing.

This present study is directly connected to the results of the above-mentioned researchers. Writing this paper was primarily motivated by meeting a narrative teasing between couples in two Sub-Carpathian¹ *cerhari* Vlach Gypsy communities in 1989-1990, in the form of 6-syllabled slow lyrical songs which primarily exist in dialogue form in both formal and informal context similarly to the stories told in the Hungarian *cerhari-čurari* groups. It was new for me especially because, although the earliest collectors of Gypsy folk music recognised the characteristic dialogue structure of the words in slow lyrical songs (e.g. Hajdú 1962), the dialogues were never sung by several people. Most often one singer performed the dialogues between husband and wife, parent or child or between brothers or sisters. Since I collected my data using ethnographic methods, except for one spontaneous women's meeting, all I can say about the formal contextual role of the songs is what was said to me by the performers. The present study therefore is primarily the linguistic and musical ethnographical description of the material. First there will be a brief overview of the Sub-Carpathian Gypsy groups and, among them, two Vlach Gypsy communities, then a presentation of the speech act of teasing follows. After analysing the Vlach Gypsy genre from several angles, as well as the examples, the summary of the paper lists the possible social and economic reasons which might explain the popularity of the genre.²

¹ The official name of the region is Transcarpathia but since the English equivalent of the name used by the population living there is Sub-Carpathia, the literature uses this latter term.

² In the first place I would like to thank Zita Réger who offered me the linguistic literature on teasing and thoroughly read my paper. Endre Tálos went through the translation of the words in the songs. Csaba Prónai made Miriam Lee Kaprow's study available to me. Finally, I want to thank the people who accompanied me on my journeys when I collected the material, or who work with me: József Kovalcsik, Mihály Szöllősi, László Felföldi and Miklós Teszáry from Budapest, János Perduk from Uzhgorod and Lajos Pál from Vari.

The Sub-Carpathian Gypsy groups

Sub-Carpathia (in Ukrainian: *Zakarpatska oblast*, in Hungarian: *Kárpátalja*) is an autonomous administrative region in the West part of the Ukraine between the River Tisza and the Carpathians. Before the Treaty of Trianon concluded in 1920 it belonged to Hungary. With the Treaty it became an autonomous administrative region of Czechoslovakia, called *Podkarpatska Rus*. After World War II it became part of the Soviet Ukraine. Its major towns are Uzhgorod (Ungvár in Hung.), Mukačevo (Munkács in Hung.), Beregovo (Beregszász in Hung.) and Vinogradov (Nagyszőlős in Hung.). Its population consists mainly of Ukrainians whose ethnic groups and dialects are known, Hungarians who primarily live outside of towns in the plainlike countryside, and Rumanians who mainly inhabit the East and the South edge of the countryside (Filep 1987:84). There were no known data on the Gypsy ethnic groups living in Sub-Carpathia. During my field trips I became aware of the following groups:

Table 1: Gypsy groups met during my field trips to Sub-Carpathia

<i>Name of the group</i>	<i>Main area inhabited</i>	<i>Mother tongue</i>
Hungarian	Uzhgorod region, Vinogradov region	Hungarian
Vlach (<i>cerhari</i> subgroup)	Vinogradov region	Romani
Slovak	Uzhgorod and environment	Romani
Rumanian	Maramures	Rumanian

Estimated number of Gypsies living in Sub-Carpathia in 1989 was 12,131 (0.98%).

Source: Statistichni zbânik. Uzhgorod 1990:1-16. Quoted by Csernicskó 1998:57.

Since I made my field trips in the South-Southwest part of the region I did not meet groups which would have called themselves after an Ukrainian ethnic group. I collected musical material among the groups shown in Table 1, except for the Rumanian Gypsies. The majority of the Gypsies are the Hungarian Gypsies living basically from agricultural seasonal work, but historically known for their services of instrumental music. They can be found at the edge of almost every Hungarian village. Their music is closely related to that of the Hungarian Gypsies of Northeast Hungary (County Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg) (Víg 1984). One part of the slow lyrical songs in both regions are similar in type, while stick songs (*botoló nóta* in Hung.) and dances (*botoló tánc* in Hung.) (Pesovár 1987) can also be found with them. Among the Hungarian folk customs they performed a Christmas play called Bethlehem as late as the 1970s, as a service to the Hungarian population living in that region. Their instrumental music is no longer in demand and they do not play these instruments for themselves. That is why no young musicians can be found among them. The few Slovak Gypsies moved from Slovakia to their present place after 1920. I met their community in Radvanka (Radvác in Hung.), part of Uzhgorod,

and they worked mainly as factory workers at the time I was there. Their song repertoire consisted of well-known Slovak Gypsy types of songs (Davidová and Žižka 1991) and Russian Gypsy songs of the popular repertoire. The Vlach Gypsies have two big living quarters interrelated by bloodlines and separate from the surrounding population in Korolevo near Vinogradov (Királyháza in Hung.) and in Podvinogradov (Szollosvégardó in Hung.). They call themselves *cerhari*, that is, wandering Gypsies, and they are linguistically and culturally related to the *cerhars* of the north-east of Hungary.³ One man who was 66 years old at that time of my field trips remembered that they came from "Hungary" to their present place of abode when his parents were young, that is some time at the beginning of the 20th century. It is probable that some of them were in close connection with Transylvania: this is shown in their female costumes very similar to those of the *kelderáši* and *colari* Vlach Gypsies of Transylvania, and no less by their music which is related to old Transylvanian Hungarian and Rumanian styles. Their two song genres are also the slow lyrical song and the dance song, the performance style of which is similar to the old style of the Hungarian Vlach Gypsies. They do not play any musical instruments. A part of their slow tunes called lament style by Hungarian researchers (Dobszay and Szendrei 1992) is the same as or related to those of the Vlach Gypsies of the north-east of Hungary and, similarly to the repertoire of Transylvanian Vlach Gypsies, is of 5 lines. Two lined halfmelodies are also common. Their special genres are the stick songs, the Vlach Gypsy *colinda* (Christmas song) versions sung in Romani and known from Transylvania (Bartók 1967:135, 78/a-b), and the Hungarian Calvinist laments sung in vigil for the dead. They distinguish their own songs from the lament songs. The Gypsy songs are called *gilja* in Romani ("songs") while the latter are mentioned as *ejneka* with a Hungarian coined word (*ének* in Hung.).

The people in Korolevo live in a village with streets. The houses of the people in Podvinogradov are located in a bushlike form. There is no yard, fence or garden around them and a narrow path leads from house to house. They have Hungarian surnames in both villages and they consider Bogár as a typical one ("Here everyone is Bogár" several of them said), but other common surnames are Erős, Farkas, Lakatos, Kiss and Samók. The men between the two World Wars cast bells for the Hutsul (that is an ethnic group of Ukrainians) while the women obtained food in exchange for fortune-telling and peddling. After World War II the men started to do tinsmith work in co-operative form. During Perestroika they earned more money which resulted in their enlarging their houses and also the buildings of new ones. Their job was mainly to make decorated gutters in large quantities. Their strategy was to "undertake" a whole village, that is, to obtain several orders at the same time. They travelled long distances for

³ For a representative presentation of the *cerhari* dialect of the Hungarian north-east see Grabócz and Kovalcsik 1988.

the raw material. The people informing me said they brought the tin (*pleho*) from the Moscow region, but it did happen that they went as far as Siberia. It is worth noting that the representative of the communities towards the outside world is the so-called Gypsy Judge, while order within the community is still maintained by the traditions of *romani kris* ("Gypsy law"). Both communities are traditionally Calvinist but, especially in Korolevo, the Sabbatarian Church has many followers. The older generation is illiterate while the middle-aged have finished a few classes. The adults speak Hungarian relatively well but the children go mainly to Ukrainian schools so talking to them in Hungarian was not easy. However, the dominance of the Ukrainian language still could not be felt in their folk song repertoire. Everyone sang most of all in Romani or Hungarian.

General characteristics of the speech act of teasing

It was the sociolinguist Ann Eisenberg (1986) who described the main characteristics of teasing as a speech act, on the basis of which Zita Réger outlined it in her analysis of her Gypsy material. My description primarily uses Réger's summary.

In a teasing sequence there are two protagonists: the teaser (the one who "hurts") and the receiver (the responding person). There are further potential participants: the helper(s) of the teaser and/or the helper(s) of the receiver. Teasing per definition is a conversational sequence the main feature of which is "that the teaser's intention is not to make the accepting party believe that the statement is true although he may have the intention that his partner should believe it at the beginning" (Eisenberg 1986:184). That is why teasing sequences are considered fundamentally ambiguous and they produce uncertainty: the person teasing is addressed to has to decide in each case whether the sequence established by the speaker is serious or not or whether s/he is just joking.

A teasing sequence can proceed effectively in two ways: If the receiver recognises the teasing right away and responds accordingly, or if the receiver does not recognise the teasing and falls into the trap.

The receiver is helped to understand the teaser's intention by the teaser's verbal or non-verbal cues concerning the text. The types of verbal cues may be:

1. Connected to the discourse (e.g. when the teaser or her/his helper negates the hurtful sounding statement right away);
2. Suprasegmental (e.g. the teaser uses a special singsong intonation);
3. Paralinguistic (e.g. the teaser makes her/his statement with a volume or style of performance which are different from everyday talk).

The types of non-verbal allusions are mimicry (smile, laugh, squint) and/or certain typical gestures.

The characteristics of the Sub-Carpathian Vlach Gypsy genre

Definition and folk terms

This genre can be defined as a teasing and competing kind of musical dialogue between husband and wife. Its name primarily is to make turns or points (*pontozaši* with a Hungarian word *pontozás* — borrowed) or competing (*kompetalás* in Hung.). "Making a point" covers various meanings:

1. The first meaning refers to the root point — the points are the words or turns of the speakers in their dialogue (*turns* in linguistic terminology);
2. Its second meaning is the musical narrative performance, a process made up of the two parties' turns or words;
3. The performers did not refer to this but it is obvious that the turns are not just words but also mean the unity of the words and the music intertwined. The two protagonists take turns at the beginning or the middle of the strophes after the main cadence, and both of them sing at least two lines and maximum three to four strophes. The quantity of the material collected does not allow for establishing a more precise set of rules;
4. In a wider sense, making points means the adequate speech and performance style in speech acts. One of the performers, for example, avoided story-telling in Hungarian by saying that he could not make points well in Hungarian.

The term "point" or "to make a point" has been known so far in an ethnographic sense in the Hungarian dialects of the Tisza and Central Transylvanian regions and in standard and literary Rumanian, used for certain features of form and structure in dance and music (Martin 1981:259-260). Structuring music and words and linking them to each other structurally are also very important requirements in this sung speech act, but they can only make up the desired narrative by adjusting the two singers' verbal and musical words in their contents and performance. The wider meaning mentioned under point 4 refers to this: the performer considers his performance appropriate only if it is sung according to the traditions of their small community. In this case form and the style of performance join the contents, the medium of which is the mother tongue.

Roles

The above genre is performed by two singers only if there are no more people present. The purpose to offer social entertainment is built into the performance. Two kinds of roles can be distinguished in the genre: narrative and performance roles. The narrative roles are the husband and the wife who can be both teasers and receivers. The helper(s) of the teaser and the receiver can be called "interveners" since the singers mentioned

them as those who "intervened in the song". Narrative research calls this role "scaffolder" since an intervention of this kind influences the proceeding of the narrative.

According to their function, the performing characters are the so-called leading characters and their helpers. The people playing the husband and the wife's part are the leading characters who sing in turns in a dialogue form. The helpers consist of the interveners who always make their short and succinct remarks in prose. The other people present join the two leaders as neutral insiders, singing the way that is usual in Vlach Gypsy tradition: they listen to the beginning of a line and then join in. At the same time the leaders may also act as helpers since the harmony of the performance is assured by one singer singing with the other one, or even continuing her/his words if the other one does not remember them. To support the rival this way is a special kind of verbal allusion, related to the discourse used only in music.

The performers are primarily the husband and the wife according to their real roles with the relatives in accompanying roles. Substituting for either the husband or the wife has rules. The wife can only be substituted by another woman in the wife's presence. It seems that a young childless woman or a woman with just one child is not supposed to sing this genre, that is to "have a row" with her husband in other people's company. That is why an older female relative plays her role while the young woman takes part in the performance in an accompanying role. In the absence of the husband, he can be substituted by another woman. In the dialogical songs performed by women, all the accompanying roles were played by women. These three kinds of situations are illustrated in Table 2:

Table 2: The possible roles in the genre of making points

"leaders"	"helpers"	
	<i>song</i>	<i>prose</i>
1) husband - wife	accompanying people	"interveners"
2) husband - female substitute of the wife	+ (wife + others)	+
3) female substitute of the husband - wife	+ (only women?)	+

The Vlach Gypsy ideal of helping each other (Stewart 1997, Kertész Wilkinson 1997) can be seen in many ways in these songs: the real couple help each other when they sing together and they remind each other of the possible ways of continuing the song by singing the words. People help one another by assuring the personal conditions for substituting one or the other member of the couple while everyone takes part in shared singing. Therefore, the dialogues are not always precise, that is, the singers do not always sing just their own parts. One reason for this may be that helping, substituting, or taking over when one of the singers at one point takes over someone else's role, is one of the properties of this style. On the other hand, making points can be a part of a slow lyrical song performed by one leader when, with another leader joining in, it becomes a dialogue song. In this case the song ends as a dialogue song, but it is also possible that one of the leaders joins the accompanying people, or that the song goes on with another leader. These examples show that making points had become an integral part of the genre of slow lyrical songs, not just in the music but also in the words, which is shown by the rich intertextual connections (Briggs-Bauman 1992).

Occasion and function: folk definitions

According to the performers, major occasions for performing making points are community events. *When we drink a little, when we feel good.* The material recorded in a collecting situation shows, however, that the genre was very much on the surface in the given period. It came up in the first half an hour of the first day of collection, and from that time on it came up from time to time. The man-woman versions can be performed both at bigger and more public occasions, as well as in small family circles. The media for versions performed by two women are only formal or spontaneous women's meetings. The explanations of the narrative which the singers gave as a sort of definition are worth classification according to the various functions.

The first category can be called narrative control function which attempts to get rid of the mistakes of the couple emerging in the words of this genre. This kind of performance places playfulness of the narrative in

the foreground and shows the co-operation and the harmony between the competing parties. A young man said this of the man-woman version:

Hat pontozines, kaha maj giljabares. Voj giljabarel, jekh phenel tuke, e kever phenes lake. Pontozines, akanake kempel te giljabaras, phenau⁴ lake: Tu na hal laSi – ande gilji. Akkor voj phenel mange, me na hom laSo, vadj ma laSo hom ma. Kade zal o pontozaši. (Podvinogradov, Sept. 19, 1989. Gyuri Bogár "Fira", b. 1966. AP16742/a.)

So you make a point with the person you sing with. She sings, she says one turn to you, the other turn you say to her. When you are making a point (let's say) we've got to sing, I say to her: you are not good – in the song (I say). Then she says to me that I am not good or that now I am good. This is the way making points go. (Translated from Romani.)

The next two categories refer to the fact that this genre is in close connection with the conflicts in real life either by standing for them, or by helping to resolve them. The outcome of the narrative performed with the intention of provoking a conflict is dubious. The singers mentioned the possibility of the receiver falling into the trap: *One says this and the other says that. We upset him so much that he leaves.*

The conflict-managing function is more complicated: it tries to resolve conflicts and allows preparation for facing potential future problems and it serves as consolation in case of a loss. A middle-aged woman mentioned that in connection with a version performed by three women:

Ez kompetálás, tudja? No, te tudod a te bajod, éjn tudom az én bajomat, és az megyen össze. Ojtet elhagyott az ura, ennek az ura a tyurmába van, oszt az vóut. És éjn veszekedek a nóutába. (Podvinogradov, June 22, 1990. Anna Erős "Vilma", b. 1943. AP 17353/a.)

It is competing, you know? You know your problem and I know my trouble and the two go together. She was left by her husband and the other woman's husband is in prison, this is what it was. And I am having a row in the song. (Translated from Hungarian.)

The fourth category consists of songs performed by women which aim at mocking men in a hidden way. In this case the party in the most vulnerable position takes revenge on the stronger one.

In connection with the narrative, three levels of reality are usually set apart: the reality of the narrative (the reality of the participants of the narrative); the imagined everyday life reality (which did not take place or will not necessarily take place); and everyday life reality (the events happening to the singers and/or their relatives in the past or in the future). As in every narrative the ambiguity and the interplay of these three levels

⁴ Vowel connections ending in *u* are diphthongs where *u* is a semi-vowel. These are not marked for typographical reasons.

bring excitement which can further be enhanced by the options concerning the roles and the mimicry.

The main elements of the contents

The improper behaviour of the couple serves as a reason for the conflict within the couple which is actually approached in the case of both the husband and the wife from the same starting point. The improper behaviour of the man viewed by a woman means his irresponsibility towards family engagements: his overuse of alcohol leads him to neglect his family. A woman behaves in an improper way for a man if she does not accept the man's way of having a good time and has rows with him.

A row is meant by using words like *prosti vorbi* ("simple/silly/idiot words" pl.) in opposition to proper behaviour when the woman favours her husband with "nice talk" (*šukar vorba* sg). The word *prosto* is usually a form of name-calling and the competing parties often use it in various forms (e.g. *prosto šero* — "disputing head", *prosto romnji* — "disputing woman", etc.). For the words *vorba* and *duma* ("word and talk") Stewart set up a dichotomy based on the way the community he studied used them: *vorba* is formal and emphatic speech while *duma* means informal conversation (Stewart 1989, 1997). In our case *vorba* meaning "talk" refers to formal and public speech but both expressions, *vorba* and *duma* are used meaning "word". *Dumas* (pl. *dumi*) can be the building blocks of the narrative (e.g. the singers encourage each other to sing words: *phe' o dumi!* — "say the words!", instead of just accompanying) or they can refer to the contents.⁵

The primary way to approach the conflict from both sides is to use provocative threats. The husband may start the song with a covered up provocation, coming home from a long journey or from the pub in good spirits, but feigning innocence. After the woman's open provocation, he switches to open forms and stays with them throughout, or he can start the song with a clear threat. His clear threat towards the woman is part of his boasting his power and independence, consisting of elements like: I am going away, I am leaving you, I will swap you, I'll live with someone else, show up with someone else and you are going to cry, and the rest follows this train of thought. The woman who is defending the unity of the family threatens him primarily with scolding and mocking as a consequence of her disadvantaged situation. When she mockingly threatens him she is using a more open form where she, too, boasts, saying that he is dependent on her: "I'll draw you back (I'm stronger than you are), in the end you'll

⁵ See for example the magic contents of the following words: *T-aulas man tji voja, / Phenos tjiri gili, / Phenos tjiri gili, / Lelas tute lindri, more, / P-adal šukar dumi*. "If I were in such a good mood as you are, / I would say your song, / I would say your song, / That it would take away your sleep, *more* (here: husband), / With those nice words." (Podvinogradov, Nov. 19, 1989. 30-year-old Kati Bogár, AP 16741/e.)

come back (you won't be able to stand it without me)"; and a more covered form in which she tries to discourage her husband from leaving by apparently agreeing with him: "you are right" (in going away etc.). When she has a parallel train of thought to her husband, she wants to swap her drunkard husband for a more family-oriented man.

According to what the singers said, this genre refers to a wider range of problems within the couples but the song-collecting situation did not allow this kind to emerge. The words of the songs meant to console are in closer connection to the type of text in other slow-type songs. Through recalling memories, the man's social engagements, shown from the woman's point of view as drunkenness, have a more important and positive role in these types of songs.

The formal elements and the structure of the words

Form. As for its form, the narrative is similar to that in the six-syllabled slow songs. The different variants can enlarge the four-lined musical form into a five-lined one by repeating the fourth line, while the five-lined one can become a seven-lined one by repeating the first two lines. In each line the basic number of the syllables can from time to time be enlarged with two or three syllables. The biggest enlargement is to double the line. The supporting sounds at the beginning of a line are the exclamations and conjunctions well-known in the Hungarian Vlach Gypsy tradition, as well as words marking the narration and the addresses (see later).

On a formal level, the narrative is made up of formal dialogues in narrative frameworks with the active participation of the audience. Beside the well-known textual elements, the singers have the possibility of using their own variants or creating new elements. In order to do this, they have to know the variative way the structural elements can be used.

Formal language. The narrative framework of the narrative is provided by the formula "says" (*phenel*) according to the rules of performance of the slow lyrical songs. The singers in the man-woman version often use this formula while it is more rarely heard in the women's version. This formula allows the singer to consider the contents as the words of the narrative participants or as quotes from real participants and also to make a generalisation of what they have to say.

The singers talk about themselves in first person singular and call their partner by their status name. The status names display stylised polite formulae and from the man towards the woman hurtful formulae. The polite stylised formula is parallel and their adjectives are interchangeable: "my black wife" / "my black husband" (*muri kali gazi; kali muri gazi / muro kalo gazo; kalo muro gazo*). The formulae showing politeness are of different kinds. The man always uses the different variants of the formula "my wife" (*romnjej*, vocative case, *kurve*, vocative case, *muti gazi*, nominative case) but the wife always responds with a more general formula

used for male relatives (*more*). A parallel address from the woman was only heard in a variant meant as a consoling song (*muro gazo*, nominative case).⁶ The woman does not sing openly hurtful formulae. The man singer can turn towards the audience to demonstrate that he is in the right. In such cases he talks about his wife in the third person singular.

Greeting formulae also serve politeness. The men say them at the beginning of songs addressed to their wives, or in songs meant to console which are addressed to the members of the community. In this latter case the man addresses them, too, with the formula *Savale, romale* ("boys, Gypsies", vocative case). If it occurs in the song, the wife's greeting is parallel to the man's version.

Further elements of formal speech are the swear and curse formulae. Swear formulae are used to justify either the man or the woman. The most common variants are "Let sorrow devour me!" (*Xal man o banato!*), "May I perish!" (*Me te pustisajvau!*) and "May I be operated on!" (*Man t-operalinen!*). The curse formulae are first used by the wife, since it is the wife's curses which provoke the husband's anger, and he then takes over the formulae. The most typical formula is "Let sorrow devour you!" (*Xal tut o banato!*).

It is also worth noting that these swear and curse formulae are weaker than the formulae of other narratives (e.g. other slow songs, stories) or the ones used by the singers in real life. God's name was not mentioned in any variants, neither was a strong swear formula like "may I die" or "may my children die".

Structure. The structure of the narrative is simple but, owing to the rich variety of variants and meanings, each performance is different from the others. The performance starts with the husband asking his wife's permission verbally or non-verbally, which will be discussed in the next subchapter. The parts of the song are the opening dialogue of the two main characters, further dialogues and then the ending. Singing always starts with the person playing the husband's part issuing an open or hidden provocation. The content and formal linguistic structure of the husband's words in the case of an open or hidden provocation at the beginning of the song is the following:

- a) addressing the wife and the people present with a polite stylised formula;
- b) formal greeting (Be lucky, etc.);

⁶ The connection of the narrative performance and the formulae with the views on ritual cleanliness of Vlach Gypsies is not discussed here. For details see Stewart 1997, Kovalcsik 1998. Michael Stewart found in the community studied that the masculine form of the formula *muti gazi* (*muro gazo*) is not used in the narrative genres. The material collected over a wide range of the Vlach Gypsies show however that parallel address can be found in the narratives of several communities.

- c) hidden provocation with the help of an epic element (The husband has just got home and apparently expects to be welcomed. Instead, as we know from following the content rule of the narrative, the wife will have a row with him).

The structure of the husband's open provocation and its possible formal linguistic elements are the following:

- a) threatening the wife (I'm going away, I'm leaving you, etc.);
- b) justifying the threat by showing how right the man's acts are and/or the wife's provocative nature;
- c) justifying the reasoning with a swear formula;
- d) although not general, it often occurs that the wife's formal address becomes hurtful.

The wife always responds to the husband's provocation with a stronger open form at the beginning of the song, usually a curse formula. The formal linguistic structure of her provocation is the following:

- a) cursing the husband in a formal way;
- b) justifying the curse by showing how improper the husband's behaviour is.

The woman protecting the family does not have to defend herself for having a row. The mocking threats, which are overt or hidden in turn, are often accompanied by curses. There are no curses in songs where there is sequence in which the wife politely greets her husband, but she reinforces her statements of swapping her husband with swearing formulae. It seems that versions performed by the husband and the wife need this highly formalised language and structure: in versions with substitutes singing, cursing and especially swearing formulae are less common.

Successful competition is marked by the couple's reconciliation. The husband allows his wife to have the last word, that is, he simply does not respond or the wife, as a sign of reconciliation, starts to sing words concerning having a harmonious enjoyable time with her husband. There were no prose greeting formulae at the end of the recorded songs.

The interveners in the collected songs always made their presence felt at the beginning of the song after the first or the second line by encouraging the singing husband. After that, they made their remarks to encourage their *protégé* or to describe the other party's declining state of mind.

Verbal or non-verbal cues helping teasing to be successful

This dangerous game in the man-woman versions can only remain play if a sense of solidarity, playfulness and safety is insured from as many angles as possible. To achieve this, it is necessary slightly to modify the traditional formal and performance framework of the Vlach Gypsy slow songs.

The narrative is started by the participants knowing that it is about a game. In performing slow songs, it is common for the singer to start in prose with a greeting formula where he asks for the audience's permission; only when accorded permission may he become the leader of the song (Kovalcsik 1985, Stewart 1989). At public events women may only lead the song if their husband, father or brother asks the other men's permission in formal language (Kovalcsik 1993), thus providing protection for them. In the case of male and female singers, it is not possible for the man to turn to his female partner in formal language to ask for her permission. The nature of teasing songs places the woman in an extremely vulnerable position. Therefore, the man-woman versions can only occur with the wife's prior consent, so no man can start to provoke his wife unexpectedly. The man asks for consent in informal verbal ways (e.g. by a request or persuasion) and/or by non-verbal means (e.g. with a smile or by turning towards her). Then he starts to sing. Here are two examples of possible ways of starting a song (the two narratives are shown in subchapter "Examples"):

- 1) The husband (25) asked his wife (20) to make points with him which the wife first refused, saying that she did not feel like it. Then she said her husband should start since he was the one who would be thinking of women. The man required some persuading but his wife took pity on him and, as a sign of her consent, she hurt him with a ritual curse formula. The man then smiled, repeated the curse formula addressed to his wife, but talking about her in the third person. He sat right beside her and then started the song with a hidden provocation (see text on music example 1);
- 2) In the hosting couple's room there were four other women and quite a few children. The six adults sang a slow song. First a woman lead off and then passed the song over to the husband (32), who sang a few strophes by himself. When he had no more words to sing he turned to his wife (19) with a smile, she smiled back at him and called him closer. The man went up to the woman and hugged her. He started the song with an open provocation and a woman (30) sitting on his wife's other side responded.

The couple sat or stood closely together in both cases. When the young wife was substituted by an older woman, the real couple hugged each other. The husband reassured his wife by embracing her and saying that his wife could only be substituted by a third person in a song. In the first case the narrative was successful because, although the woman did get angry after some time and stopped singing, her husband finished the song with a female part. In the second case the successful narrative was sung through by the couple with a happy smile on their faces. The helpers also participated at the event with a smile.

No permission had to be sought for the versions sung by two women. The singers sat or stood beside each other, but not particularly

close. In the performance, which the female singer described as troubles "coming together", no-one laughed or smiled. In opposition to that, the performance sung by two young women who apparently had not yet been struck by personal loss, their smile were not just happy but a bit teasing as well.

Verbal cues of teasing can be classified in two groups: informal (request, persuasion/consent) and formal cues. In the case of the narrative, the latter consists of formulae to keep distance or to be polite, of verbal help aimed at solidarity, and of verbal encouragement. It remains to be decided whether the provocation in prose prior to the song belongs to the narrative or to verbal cues. The formal language of the provocation reinforces the fact that it belongs to the narrative.

In the context of the musical narrative, suprasegmental cues are often given. Transition from speech to song does not start with the beginning of the song since performing in *parlando* with this Vlach Gypsy group definitely means songtalk. The intonation changes when the singers switch into formal language and its special intonation, but in prose.

Paralinguistic cues stem from the musical nature of the genre. Since teasing sequences are sung with commonly used slow lyrical songs, the functional differences can be detected in the style of performance. As a result of the dialogue based on textual improvisation and competition the singers become uncertain from time to time. That's why there can be longer breaks at middle closures or at the end of the strophes. At other times the singers almost interrupt each other. This effect is achieved by the fact that the rival does not always wait for the other singer to complete her/his turn but starts singing earlier and lengthens the starting note. It is common with the Hungarian and Vlach Gypsies of the region to leave out the strophe completing note in slow songs which results in a longer pause. This pause can be filled in with the rival's entry.

Among non-verbal cues, as we have seen, both mimicry (especially smiling) and gestures (turning towards each other, embracing) can occur.

Examples

Text

I chose from the collected material two examples of verbal and non-verbal cues which helped to ensure successful performance, as analysed in the previous chapter.

The text of the first music example starts with the husband's hidden provocation. In the first two lines, coming home from the pub, he addresses and greets his wife politely. The question in line 3 and 4 is provocative because he asks his wife how she spent the evening, although he is the one with something to account for. The intervener makes her presence felt after line 2 by assuring the husband of her support. The

husband's text in prose following the strophe encourages the wife to go on with the song.

The wife repeats half of the question and starts to scold her husband. After the curse formulae she mentions drunkenness as the husband's "crime". The intervener on the husband's side makes herself heard again in the middle of the wife's turn: she makes a remark to fuel the husband's competing spirit.

The husband in his next turn changes the tone. He repeats his wife's curse and addresses her less politely. He explains that he likes to have a good time and repeats the curse. Since amusement is men's privilege he does not have to swear to show he is right. The formula "Woman, don't be ashamed!" is an aside within the narrative to the real wife. The husband follows the above mentioned train of thought, outlining the wife's mournful future when the woman will not be able to enjoy rides in the Zhiguli car to be bought in the future, and he then justifies himself by mentioning the woman's rows. He demonstrates the seriousness of his idea and the irritation he feels due to the woman's rows with a swear formula. The intervener expresses her satisfaction at the end of the turn that the husband has managed to upset the woman.

At this point the wife does not feel like singing any more. The audience rushes in to pacify the woman, several of them say "it does not refer to you" (*na asadjol pe tute*). As a sign of his good intentions the man sings three possible strophes for her. The woman says parallels to the way the man started his song: she addresses and greets her husband and then asks him what might be the reason for him being bored with her. She shames him for drinking up all the money sent home with a friend, and threatens to swap her husband for his friend. As a reason for the swap she mentions the terrifying effect the drunkard has on his children, and mentions the husband's friend as an example of a man who always stays home and does not go to pubs. Although the narrative stopped here, no anger resulted since the husband took over the wife's role so that the woman "won".

The second music example is included from the part where the husband switches onto words making points at his wife's encouragement. He starts with an attack: he threatens his wife with leaving her and addresses her with a hurtful formula without making the reason known. The woman substituting the wife responds with an openly mocking threat which refers to the husband's being brought home.

The husband then arrives at the thought of exchanging his wife. The female substitute in her response uses both open and hidden forms of mockery. The husband finds this answer comic and turns towards the audience, ridiculing his wife by talking about her in the third person. He threatens her by saying that one day he will test whether the wife means what she says. He becomes comical to such an extent that he accuses his wife of being a drunkard. In the closing strophe he gets his answer: the

woman shames him for making a fool of himself. In the text there are no swear formulae and only one curse formula said by the husband. The success of the narrative is ensured by the fact that both parties are able to take it as a joke all the way through. The male singer could have fun since his wife's interests were protected physically by him hugging her, and verbally by another woman in the narrative arena.

Tune

There is a difference between the current geographical spread of the two 6-syllables lament styled songs. The first one which is a 5-lined tune with the exception of the first 4-lined strophe is wide-spread among the Vlach Gypsies of Transylvania. This type of enlarging the lines has disappeared from use among the Hungarian Gypsies. Only one such Vlach Gypsy type from the collection of the Csenki brothers in Püspökladány with epic texts (Csenki and Csenki 1980) is known. In our example, the lines of the tune are very much varied through the frequent changing and enriching of the note pairs. (I noted the variations of the note pairs in the music of the tune.)

The second tune is of a well-known Hungarian, and especially Vlach Gypsy type. The characteristic of the Sub-Carpathian version is the octave-break: the descending melody starts low and then goes up either on the third note in line 2 or on the third note in line 3. Strophe 1 is an exception to this rule where in line 2 the octave-break falls on the fourth syllable. The number of variants is small and they are primarily of a rhythmic or decorative nature. To enlarge on the words is more common on supporting notes and rare in the main text. In both cases enlargement results in fragmenting notes.

Concluding remarks

Independently of the fact that, in the future, Ukrainian or Russian patterns of a teasing genre might be discovered which may have led to the appearance of this genre, the Vlach Gypsies developed their genre along the lines of their own traditions. The reason for its boom can probably be traced back to the sudden but uncertain improvement in the group's financial position. Material wealth was not accompanied by elevation to a higher social class, due to the Gypsy's educational and ethnic segregation: their houses are built on lands set aside for Gypsies, away from villages. Since the number of children is still high, the movement of the families is limited because they are not welcome in the villages. The men earn a lot of money all of a sudden but possibilities for women to earn money are still limited, perhaps even more limited than previously, although traditionally it is the women who have to take care of providing food and clothing for the family. Following the traditional rules, men are not obliged to give

their money to their families because the primary purpose of a man having money is to keep up brotherhood among men. However, to improve the financial situation of their families, the men have changed their views. The change in the traditional view of brotherhood is illustrated by remarks made by older men saying that it is not right that these days men sing songs where they make points with women; in the old days this genre served to keep the framework of men's gatherings for brothers competing.

A change in views can also be traced by the fact that the texts of the studied narratives differ from the view found in traditional old slow songs. In Vlach Gypsy slow songs it is not typical to find a woman accounting her husband for his deeds in an open way. On the other hand there are a lot of examples on the sides of the men to threaten their wives with physical aggression. The archaic songs of the above mentioned man of sixty-six from Korolevo are full of threats with physical abuse. In making point there was no example for this: men nowadays threaten their wives not with beating but with leaving or sharing material goods (luxury item) with other women.

The disappearance of men for long periods, their travelling to faraway lands widens their scope but also adds to the distance between themselves and their families which is reinforced by the women's jealousy. The real motivation behind the passionate play must therefore be fear: the fear of disintegrating family ties and of individual way of life becoming dominant at the expense of the family. The members of the endangered egalitarian society obviously tried many ways to keep control in the given period among which we know of two: joining small churches uses outside help and shows efforts towards integration. The other attempt for an internal solution is to use the traditional narrative for a new situation when the couple and the community can decide together why the couple is not "good" for each other and how they could become "good".

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Example 1

Husband: <i>No, phen man! Kaj si, hodj t-aven te pontozinas, taj naj kedve.</i>	Come on. (They ask us) how come, let's make points and she does not feel like it.
Wife: <i>Naj man voja te giljabarau!</i>	I don't feel like singing.
Intervener: <i>Ker tuke voja!</i>	Get yourself in the mood.
Husband: <i>Te kezdi la!</i>	Start it.
Wife: <i>Tu te kezdin, ke tuk-aula khajnjako šero!</i>	You start it because you'll have women on your mind. (Literally: Your head will be of hens.)
Husband: <i>Me te kezdi mange. Szóval me te kezdi mange. No...</i>	I should start it. So you want me to start it.
Wife: <i>Me' koro mukhej!</i>	Come on, become blind!
Husband: <i>Voj e kori! So naj buder!</i>	She is the blind one. It's over.

Variants of the lines from strophe 2

Husband:

1. *ëm no de* Muri kali gazi,
Taj t-aves baxtali!

1. My Black Wife,
Be lucky!

Intervener:

[Za ča', de!]

[Let him go!]

Phenel, hodj no, So kerdjan tu ratji,

he says What did you do tonight

Ratji pe pašra(tji)?

Until midnight?

[No, ta phe' o dumi!]

[Come on, say the words!]

Wife:

2. *ëm de* Ratji pe pašratji,
Muri kali gazi!

2. Until midnight,
My Black Wife!

ëm de Xalë tut o banato,

Let sorrow devour you,

More, Tjo matjardo šero

more, Let your drunken head

Te xal o bana(to)!

Be devoured by sorrow!

3. *ëm de* Tjo matjardo šero

3. Let your drunken head

Te xal o banato!

Be devoured by sorrow,

ëm de Kan-ek šera pijes,

If you drink a beer,

Sa čikalo phires,

You walk muddy,

Unglavestut o(pre)!

I wish you'd hang yourself!

Intervener:

[Na, Sin lake, šougor!]

[Give her one, brother-in-law!]

4. *de j*Unglavestut opre

4. Hang yourself

*d*Ande tjinjarika,

In the dark,

ou Šoha te na dikhau tut,

So that I'll never see you again,

ëm de O skamin hi jando suno,

I am dreaming of that

*d*Odol prostija(ko).

Prosto's chair. (?)

Husband:

5. *phenel, no de* Xal tut o banato,
Kurve, muri gazi!

5. *he says* Let sorrow devour you,
Woman, my wife!

phenel, hodj Zanes muro sokaši,

he says You know my nature,

phenel, ho Drago-j te mulatinau,

he says That I like to have a good time,

Xal tut o bana(to)!

Let sorrow devour you!

6. *phenel*, Na laZatut, romnjej,

6. *he says* Don't be ashamed, woman,

Xal tut o banato!

Let sorrow devour you!

phenel, ho romnjej, *j*Andre paruvou tut,

he says Woman, I'll exchange you

Phenel, Tja cinna kirvaha,⁷

he says With your little woman friend

Xal man o bana(to)!

Or I'll be devoured by sorrow!

7. *phenel, hodj* Tja cinna kirvaha

7. *he says* I am going to exchange you

hodj Opre kerla tuha,

For your woman friend

Phenel, hodj Š-avla, romnjej,

he says Maybe, woman, she is going to sit

and ek žihuli bešla, hej,

In the Zhiguli,

phenel, hodj Tu bar-asva peravej,

he says You can cry your tears

Me te pustisaj(vau)!

Or let me perish!

⁷ Literally: With the godmother (of our child).

<p>8. <i>phenel, hodj</i> Xal tut o banato, Tjuro prosto šero! <i>phenel, romnjej</i>, Vaš odol but prosti vorbi Na kampuves mange,</p>	<p>8. <i>he says</i> Should sorrow devour you, Your disputing head! <i>he says, woman</i> Because of the many rows I don't want you any more (Or) may I perish!</p>
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Intervener:

[Mišto, ma' xoljajvel!]	[O.K. she is angry.]
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The husband sings in the name of the wife:

<p>9. <i>jaj de, more</i>, Muro kalo gazo, Taj t-aves baxtalo! <i>phenel, hodj</i> Phen man mange dauri, Soske durindjom tut, Me te pustisaj(vau)!</p>	<p>9. <i>more</i> My Black Husband, Be lucky! <i>she says</i> Tell me Why did I get so bored with you. (Or) may I perish!</p>
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<p>10. Tradjal odol panZ ezera, Piljom le tje kirveha,⁸ hej, <i>phenel, hodj</i> Piljom len tje kirveha, hej, <i>hodj</i> Opre kerla tuha, Me te pustisaj(vau)!</p>	<p>10. The five thousand you sent me I drank it all with your friend, <i>she says</i> I drank it all with your friend, I'll exchange you for him, (Or) may I perish!</p>
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<p>11. <i>phenel, more, hodj</i> Kana khere daves, Daral tutar tjo čalado, <i>Phenel, hodj</i> Taj tjo cino piko kirvo Mindig khere hi-lo, Me te pustisaj(vau)!</p>	<p>11. <i>she says, more</i> When you're coming home Your family is afraid of you, <i>she says</i> But your little friend Is always home, (Or) may I perish!</p>
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Podvinogradov, June 22, 1990. Husband: Józsi Farkas, b. 1965, wife: Rita Bogár
"Ribi", 20 years old (AP 17356/e-f)

⁸ Literally: With the godfather (of our child).

Example 2

Wife (before singing in prose):

Na, za majpaše! Za, ža!

Come closer, come on, come on.

Husband:

1. *phenel*, Zautar la lumaha,
Sar te bešau laha,
jaj de Sar te bešau laha,
hej Zungalja kurva(ha).

1. *he says* I am going away,
Not to live with her,
Not to live with her,
With the ugly woman.

The wife's substitute:

2. *phenel*, *taj* Opre rodavou tut,
Taj vi khejr-avesa, more!
Taj khejre janou tut, hej,
Ke tjire Savo(ra).

2. *she says* I'll find you
And finally you'll come home, *more!*
I'll bring you home
To your children.

Husband:

3. *phenel*, Žasno phenau take,
Na kampuves mange,
ke Nasulě tjo sokaši, hej,
Na bešau me tu(ha)!

3. *he says* I am telling you
I don't want you any more,
Because of your bad temper,
I am not going to live with you!

4. *hodj* Lou me mange romnja,
Cinnja taj šukara,
jaj de dOpre kerau tuha,
hej Zungalja kurva(ha).

4. I'll buy myself a woman,
A little and beautiful one,
I'll exchange you for her,
Ugly woman.

The wife's substitute:

5. *hëm de* Mišto kerejs mange,
te N-avo romnji take,
jaj more, *ke* Khejre janavou tut, hej,
le Bare xarkalen(ca).

5. Well done,
I am not going to be your wife,
more Because I'll get you home,
With the big policemen.

Husband:

6. *phenel*, Soski zoraki-j pe mande,
Xal la jo banato!
V-anel la je bida, haj,
Zumavau la je(khfar).

6. *he says* How she is insisting with me,
Let sorrow devour her!
Let sorrow take her away,
I'll try this one day.

7. *taj* Te mejg tu matjuvejs,
Šoha n-avou pale,
Mejg jekhfär matjarle, hej,
romnjej, Athe me mukhou (tut)!

7. And if you become drunk once more,
I'll never come back,
If they get you drunk once more,
woman, I'll leave you!

The wife's substitute:

8. *phenel*, Žan do phabarde asva
Te xajn tjire jakha,
jaj de Na kampuves mange, hej,
Tje dile šere(ha)!

8. *she says* Burning tears
Eat up your eyes,
I don't want you
With your crazy head!

Podvinogradov, Nov. 19, 1989. Husband: Béla Bogár, 32 years old, the wife's substitute: Anna Samók, b. 1959, accompanying people: Marija Bogár, 19 years old (wife), Katica Lakatos, b. 1951, Katica Bogár, b. 1955, Nadia Kiss "Virág", 22 years old (AP 16740/c)

ZADIRKIVANJE KAO GLAZBENI ŽANR BRAČNIH PAROVA VLAŠKIH ROMA U ZAKARPATSKOJ OBLASTI

SAŽETAK

U članku se razlaže nekoliko aspekata glazbenog žanra zadirivanja u zakarpatskih vlaških Roma, čime se prvi put raspravlja o romskim skupinama s toga područja. Govorni je žanr zadirivanja važno sredstvo društvene kontrole i u egalitarnim društvima i u romskim zajednicama. Izvođači zadirivajućih pjesama su supružnici ili njihovi zamjenici, dok ostali prisutni članovi zajednice prate pjevanje ili podupiru cijelu izvedbenu situaciju. Osnovna je svrha takvih izvedbi razriješiti konflikte među supružnicima ili pak utješiti u slučaju gubitka jednoga od njih. Glavni su razlozi konflikata muževljevo pijanstvo i ženina svadljivost. Tekstovi pjesama se sastoje od stalnih i improvizacijskih elemenata razdijeljenih propisanim formulama. Uspjeh zadirivanja, tj. izbjegavanje međusobnog otvorenog vrijeđanja i nanošenja boli, osiguravaju veoma raznolika verbalna i neverbalna sredstva. U glazbenom se pogledu zadirivajući tekstovi pjevaju na tipične napjeve vlaških Roma — radi se o sporim, lirskim šesteračkim pjesmama bogatih intertekstualnih veza. Autorica smatra da popularnost ovoga žanra proizlazi iz njegove sposobnosti obnavljanja tradicijskih obiteljskih vrijednosti ugroženih *perestrojkom* i posljedičnim naglim prosperitetom nekih zajednica.

Ključne riječi: zadirivajuće pjesme, vlaški Romi, Zakarpatska oblast (Ukrajina)