

FEMALE TO MALE — MALE TO FEMALE: THIRD GENDER IN THE MUSICAL LIFE OF THE GYPSIES IN KOSOVO

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Third gender in this article refers to the alleged homosexual Gypsy musicians, seen as mediators between female and male musical and cultural domains in Kosovo. Due to their alleged homosexuality, these musicians, unlike other men, had access to the female repertoire and manner of performance, out of which they created a new genre known as *talava*. They transferred the female music sung indoors by women to the frame drum accompaniment to the public scene, where it is performed in a modified form by a male singer to the accompaniment of an amplified ensemble. The *talava*, performed by men, is most appreciated by women, who see it as the success of "their" music within the public domain.

Introduction

Studies related to gender are rather rare and quite recent in Croatian ethnomusicology as well as in its relative-disciplines such as

ethnology/cultural anthropology and musicology.¹ Their subjects are based on distinguished female musicians, e.g. Lujza Kozinović (Doliner 1991) and Dora Pejačević (Kos 1982); discuss the role of women in the context of a traditional regional culture (e.g. Bezić 1982); or look for representations of gender roles in the context of the war in Croatia in the 1990s (Ceribašić 1995). In 1995 the annual meeting of the ICTM's² Study Group on Music and Gender entitled "Music, Violence, War, and Gender" took place in Punat (the island of Krk, Croatia). Several Croatian ethnomusicologists prepared papers for that occasion. An earlier version of this article has been presented at the meeting in Punat, too.³

The present topic leads further from the specifically female or specifically male issues. I find myself in agreement with Jane C. Sugarman who states in her review of the book *Music, Gender, and Culture* (Herndon and Ziegler 1990) that in ethnomusicology "there is still a surprising dearth of articles documenting musical activities that inhabit the space beyond binary notions of gender: music specific to those who identify themselves as homosexuals or as a *third gender* category, or of the many transvestite or transsexual performers who serve prominently as entertainers in many world areas" (1993:149). The musicians whom this article speaks about are seen as homosexuals by their audiences; I am not certain about their true sexual orientation. However, it was due to the widespread notion of their homosexuality that these musicians were interested and allowed to cross the border line between the female and male domains in a society which can be described as sexually segregated in several respects. This article discusses their contribution to the transfer of music from the female to the male domain and their impact on the creation of a new, distinctive genre which the Gypsy audience in Kosovo - - and above all women - accepted with unprecedented enthusiasm in late 1980s and early 1990s .

Kosovo is a Balkan region, which until 1989 had the status of an autonomous province within Serbia and Yugoslavia; in the 1990s it is an integral part of Serbia against the will of the majority of its population

¹ The issue of gender is to various extent present in Dunja Rihtman-Auguštin's work throughout her scholarly career, from her 1968 translation of Margaret Mead's 1935 classic *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies*, to her article on the female subculture in Slavonian *zadruga* extended family (1982), all the way to her most recent editorial work on the book *Konji, žene i ratovi* (1996), that comprises the texts written by the prominent feminist-scholar Lydia Sklevicky (1952–1990).

² International Council for Traditional Music.

³ Another version has already been published in Finnish (Pettan 1996/2).

dominated by ethnic Albanians.⁴ At the time of my research (1983—1991) Kosovo was home to seven ethnic groups (Albanians, Serbs, ethnic Muslims,⁵ Gypsies, Montenegrins, Turks, Croats), three religious branches (Islam, Orthodox Christianity, Roman Catholicism) and four languages (Albanian, Serbo-Croatian, Turkish, Romani).⁶ This article points to the importance of gender as the identity marker in a society which - from the 1980s on - has been increasingly polarized primarily along ethno-political lines.

Music in Kosovo in terms of gender

The level of sexual segregation in Kosovo is related to ethnic and religious affiliation of its inhabitants, to the very important rural - urban distinction, and to the regional and local folkways, among other reasons. It means that beyond the shared patriarchal and patrilocal cultural patterns, this segregation is more emphasized e.g. among the Albanians than among the Serbs, it is more strongly emphasized among the Muslims than among the Christians and it is more present in the countryside than in the cities.⁷

In music, one can in many cases distinguish between the female and male styles and determine their particular features.⁸ This is due to the traditional way of life in which the female (wife's) domain is mainly private, i.e. taking care of the household,⁹ and the male (husband's) domain is primarily public - from traditional occupation (agricultural or cattle breeding) outside the immediate household within Kosovo to the widespread guest-work in the economically richer North-West of what used to be Yugoslavia, and further abroad in Western European countries.

⁴ The current Serbian government names this territory Kosmet (shorter form of Kosovo-Metohija), while its predominantly Albanian inhabitants use the term Kosova. Kosovo is the term most often used in literature in English.

⁵ A distinctive Slavic ethnic group related to ethnic Muslims (Bošnjaci) of Bosnia-Herzegovina. I worked with affiliates of its sub-groups Goranci and Torbeši in Kosovo.

⁶ Presently, Serbian and Croatian, as well as Bosnian, are widely recognized as separate languages.

⁷ My fieldwork experience confirms these opinions expressed by the Gypsy musicians in Kosovo.

⁸ In his article on the folk music of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo Lorenc Antoni immediately distinguishes between the lyrical female songs and the predominantly heroic male songs. "It never happened that e.g. men sang female songs and women sang male songs. This would be considered shameful. This shows that men and women did not sing together at all. Singing together was exceptional; it may have occurred only in the cities and among the Catholics" (1974:109). Miodrag Vasiljević who in the late 1940s collected and analysed Kosovo songs, other than Albanian, Turkish and Gypsy, distinguishes between "female" (lyric, 5+5) and "male" (epic, 4+6) decasyllables in text structures of the Kosovo materials (1950:343).

⁹ As a popular proverb suggests, "the wife holds up three corners of the household".

While working far away from home, men from economically poorer parts of Kosovo used to leave their wives and other family members in Kosovo for longer periods of time to take care of the household.¹⁰ Consequently, women were less exposed to foreign influences in comparison to their male counterparts, and are widely regarded as keepers of the traditional folkways. On the other hand, men were those who supplied the domestic environment with novelties. In some rural areas in Prizrenka Gora¹¹ men - unlike the women - abandoned traditional costume and do not practice the traditional two-part vocal diaphony in narrow, non-tempered intervals.¹² A man in this area wears Western type urban dress and sings solo to his own accompaniment on a long-necked lute. The vocal quality is - unlike the loud and "harsh" female diaphony - quite smooth and the musical idiom as a whole more closely reflects Turkish music.¹³ Since there is not much evidence about the Kosovo music prior to the Turkish period, there is a notion shared among the local population and scholars that the style here presented as "female, rural, and of the highlands" is in fact an old Balkan pre-Turkish style.¹⁴ Aside from the vocal diaphony, there are specifically female genres (e.g. lullabies, bridal songs) that require rather soft and smooth voice quality. In addition, songs of the women in the lowlands and in urban settings "sound simpler" than those of their male counterparts (to paraphrase Ursula Reinhard's observations from Turkey, 1990:109), while the men's style is "more developed, varied and brilliant than the women's style" (as Susanne Ziegler experienced it in Turkey, 1990:97).

The difference between the female and male domains in Kosovo is evident in the use of instruments, too. Women generally do not play any melodic instruments. If they use instruments at all, they just provide

¹⁰ This kind of situation in the region of Opolje (Opoja) has been described by Janet Reineck (1986:35–39).

¹¹ The mountainous South of Kosovo, populated mostly by ethnic Muslims and also by ethnic Albanians.

¹² Birthe Traerup found only traces of this diaphony in the male songs during her research in Prizrenka Gora that started in 1959 (1974:213).

¹³ In spite of the Turkish inspired musical idiom, the intervals used by ethnic Muslim male musicians from Prizrenka Gora resemble to some extent the local female tradition, thus creating a meeting point between the (male) Turkish tradition and the local (now female) ethnic Muslim tradition.

¹⁴ The evidence in the music of the Dinaric Alps of Bosnia-Herzegovina presented by the ethnomusicologist Ankica Petrović (1987, 1988/89) supports this notion, though she pointed to some other distinctions in terms of gender in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The stylistic distinction between rural and urban music has been pointed out in several writings on music in the Balkans. For instance, Radmila Petrović distinguishes between "old rural", "new rural" and "urban" music in a region in Serbia (1961) and Cvjetko Rihtman describes "old Bosnian" and "small city" music in a part of Bosnia-Herzegovina (1963).

rhythmic accompaniment for singing either on a frame drum (*def, daire, dahira*) or on an ordinary household copper pan (*tepsia, tepsija*). The *tepsia* is used either as a drum substitute or is spun on a low round table (*sofra*), producing a low rumbling-sounded accompaniment for singing.¹⁵ Other sources indicate *tepsia* as a female instrument *per excellence*, which is used by women of all ethnic groups in Kosovo (for a detailed description see Vukanović 1956).

Men in Kosovo perform mainly on aerophones and chordophones. Aerophones include shepherd flutes (e.g. *fyell/frula, kavall/kaval*) and accordion (*harmonika*), while chordophones include plucked lutes (melodic *çiftelia* and accompanying *sharkia* among the Albanians, *tambura* among ethnic Muslims,¹⁶ *saz* among Turks) and a bowed lute (*gusle* among the Serbs and Montenegrins).¹⁷ Men may be seen playing membranophones only within the ensembles.

Children of both sexes engage in music and dance in certain traditional contexts and at school. In urban settings and to a lesser extent in the countryside they also perform within the amateur folklore ensembles. For the female population in particular, however, it is likely that public performances will end with marriage.¹⁸

Gypsy music in Kosovo in terms of gender

According to Bálint Sárosi the term "'gypsy music' refers strictly to the gypsies' own folk music, but in its broadest sense it has become a general term for music performed and cultivated by gypsies, though not by them exclusively" (1980:864). In this article I am considering "Gypsy music" in its broader meaning i.e. all music performed by the Gypsies.¹⁹ The research in Kosovo does not confirm some earlier claims that Gypsies

¹⁵ This musical practice is known as *tepsijanje*.

¹⁶ Unlike in e.g. Croatia, where *tambur(ic)a* is a distinctive plucked lute, the term in Kosovo nowadays often refers to the Turkish *saz*, modified and played by ethnic Muslims.

¹⁷ In general, the Islamic men of Kosovo seem to prefer plucked lutes, while the Orthodox Christian men a bowed lute. In areas of closer long-time contact between the two religions this is less strict (e.g. the Albanian Muslims in Rugova do play the bowed lute - *lahuta*).

¹⁸ The exception in a number of cases are those female singers who made a career as recording artists, such as e.g. Shkurte Fejza or Shyhrete Behluli. For the description of similar circumstances in Turkey see Reinhard (1990:107).

¹⁹ In the course of my fieldwork I came to the conclusion that there is no sharp difference either in attitudes or in musical contents between "their own music" and "the music they just perform" as suggested by some authors (e.g. Gojković 1982). I am interested in their manner of performance of any music - like some other authors (e.g. Silverman 1981).

predominantly sing their own tunes and use musical instruments for performance of non-Gypsy tunes (Đorđević 1910:39, Gojković 1982:63). In Kosovo they both sing and perform on musical instruments tunes of different origin aimed at both Gypsy and non-Gypsy audiences.

Similarly to non-Gypsy ethnic groups and musicians in Kosovo, Gypsy men are oriented towards the public domain, while Gypsy women primarily towards the private domain. Their private domain is, however, extended in comparison to most non-Gypsy women (like in the neighboring Macedonia, comp. Silverman 1996). At some feasts related to the annual cycle (e.g. Saint George's Day) and life cycle (circumcision, wedding), Gypsy women take part in dancing in the street.²⁰

Male musicians perform either instrumentally in a shawm-and-drum ensemble which is associated primarily with a rural setting or sing to the accompaniment of the urban *čalgija* ensemble, which may include some of the following instruments: clarinet/saxophone, violin/electric guitar, banjo/electric bass, accordion/synthesizer, (frame or goblet shaped) drum/drum set.²¹ Female musicians, usually two together, sing to the frame drum accompaniment.²² The audience of male ensembles may be female, male or mixed, depending on the specific location and community. The audience of female duos are almost exclusively women. Male ensembles usually perform in public - outdoors (on an improvised stage, e.g. a terrace of a house) or indoors (in a hotel or a large city hall hired for the specific feast). Women perform in a private setting, in a closed female circle - indoors (in a room) or outdoors (in a garden).²³

As with the non-Gypsy ethnic groups in Kosovo, engagement of Gypsies in music and dance within the school or amateur ensembles ends with marriage. This is more strict with the female part of the Gypsy population than with its male counterpart.²⁴ In their adolescent years many

²⁰ This is true for sedentary Gypsy communities. Women associated with nomadic Gypsy branches are much more publicly exposed through activities such as fortune telling, selling herbal medicines and - in some cases - begging. For further comparison between the sedentary and nomadic Gypsy women in Kosovo see Vukanović (1961).

²¹ Shawm-and-drum ensembles do perform in the cities as well, while the *čalgija* is more seldom heard in the countryside. In some regions rich weddings require both ensembles in alternating performances. Within the realm of *čalgija*, acoustic instruments are used for processions and the amplified ones accompany the dance at banquets. The term *čalgija* is nowadays rarely used.

²² The exception is the context of a bar, in which a female singer is accompanied by a male amplified ensemble. The audiences generally regard the morals of such singers as being very low, in some cases comparable to those of prostitutes.

²³ Gardens in Kosovo are usually divided from the streets by high walls. Therefore, the fact that performance may take place outdoors does not imply its public character at all.

²⁴ I know of a young Gypsy woman who used to sing at weddings with an amplified ensemble and became a recording artist. After she married, her husband strongly

male Gypsy musicians neglect their duties related to school and free-of-charge musical involvement in amateur folklore ensembles for the sake of paid music-making at weddings and/or in bars. Their public exposure is widely regarded as engagement in a regular public domain occupation. It is acceptable that female Gypsy musicians get paid for their musical skills, too, but their exposure is expected to be related to female circles only.²⁵

Talava: the contact of female and male domains

Talava (*telovas*, *taleva*; lit. translation from Romani is "under the arm") is the distinctive musical genre developed and performed by Kosovo Gypsies.²⁶ For the present discussion it is important that *talava* originates in the female domain (female singing to the frame drum accompaniment), while in the early 1990s it started to dominate the male domain (male singing accompanied by amplified instruments).²⁷ How did the two otherwise separated musical domains come into contact? The connection was provided by the alleged homosexual musicians. There is no doubt about their male sex, but their physical appearance (long hair, sometimes in the past also a specific kind of dress), behavior (feminine gestures, specific verbal expressions) and above all musical preferences (performance of female repertoire in a female medium - singing to the frame drum accompaniment) made people think of them as homosexuals. Their regional center was the city of Peć (Pejë) and their popularity was limited to the Western part of Kosovo.

Local Gypsy audiences sometimes commented that these men were indecent and impolite, but on the other hand they gave them credit for their capability as frame drum players and especially for their excellence in creating lyrics on the spot. This sense of ambiguity was present in many statements I collected during my fieldwork.

opposed the continuation of her musical career, so now she sings only in a private setting for family and friends.

²⁵ Regional cultural patterns allow certain variations of this stereotype. For instance, in the city of Peć (Pejë), female musicians wait at the market place (next to male musicians) for potential patrons who will hire them to perform at a feast, while in the city of Prizren this would be considered indecent for women (though not for men), so the patrons have to make arrangements at the female musician's place. In the area of Peć it is customary that female musicians perform for a short while for male guests, and one of the musicians sometimes even dances. In the area of Prizren, female musicians perform exclusively for women and do not dance.

²⁶ *Talava* in the context of the music market in Kosovo is presented in detail in Pettan (1996/1). There, the discussion on musical features is supplemented by a musical transcription and recordings on an accompanying compact disc.

²⁷ The lyrics are in most cases in the Albanian language, more seldom in Romani.

As long as these men sang to the frame drum accompaniment their popularity was more or less limited to the local/regional level. At some point, some of them abandoned frame drums as the symbols of a rather private, female domain, and adopted amplified accompaniment of male musicians that automatically provided a shift to the public domain. This shift was paralleled by musical adaptation to a new medium, which proved to be successful to the extent that the new genre - the *talava* - quickly earned popularity Kosovo-wide and earned recognition outside of Kosovo as the Kosovo Gypsy music.²⁸ Consequently, the other male singers and other Gypsy musicians had to learn to perform *talava* since there was much demand for it from their audiences. And so the shift from the female and private to the male and public domain was completed.

Musical analysis suggests that this shift resulted in several changes within the genre i.e. in reductions of expressive means within particular musical elements. This reduction is most obvious in melody, meter, rhythm, and tempo. The variety of these four musical elements found within the otherwise limited medium of (both female and male) singing to the frame drum accompaniment gave place to a rather limited number of standardized patterns within the medium of singing to the amplified ensemble accompaniment which objectively has greater expressive capacity. Instead of several melodies (of both Gypsy and non-Gypsy origin) - often connected within the form of a medley - there was a shift to few melodic patterns, or - as some informants suggested - "to a single tune". Instead of a rich variety of meters and rhythms, the amplified *talava* was reduced to just a few rhythmic patterns in the standardized 4/4 meter. The former variety in tempo was reduced to one steady standard tempo with customary acceleration towards the end of a block of music. The lyrics of particular tunes with occasionally improvised parts gave place to the largely improvised lyrics addressing individuals in the audience. Instead of a female solo dance, the dance standard to the amplified *talava* became the communal round dance (*horo*).

The following table shows the development of *talava* from the female domain (female singers to the frame drum accompaniment) via the "transitional" domain of the alleged homosexuals (male singers to the frame drum accompaniment) to the male domain (male singer to the amplified ensemble accompaniment):

²⁸ As a consequence, both female and male singers to the frame drum accompaniment Kosovo-wide were asked by their audiences to perform the *talava* rather than traditional tunes.

DOMAIN:	FEMALE	TRANSITIONAL	MALE
MEDIUM:	2 singers w/drums	2 s. w/drums	1 s. w/ens.
FORM:	Medley, open	Open	Open
MELODY:	Variety	Standard	Standard
METER:	Variety	Variety	Standard
RIITIM:	Variety	Variety	Standard
HARMONY:	None	None	Drone
TEMPO:	Variety	Variety	Standard
LYRICS:	Of songs, improvised	Improvised	Improvised
DANCE:	Solo	None	Communal
PLACE:	Indoors	In- and outdoors	In- and outdoors
AUDIENCE:	Female	Female, male	Female, male
FUNCTION:	Ritual, entertainment	Entertainment	Entertainment

Individual perspectives²⁹

1. Tima: a perspective from the female domain

Tima (b. in 1952) is a Gypsy "defatora" (frame drum player) from the city of Peć. I met her in 1990 during the market day at the specific point at the market place while she was waiting with her female companion to be hired by a patron from the broader area of Peć. The two are usually hired to perform for a birthday, circumcision, engagement and wedding party by Gypsies, Albanians, Turks, and ethnic Muslims. Their principal audiences are women, but at some point during the feast they may perform for men for a couple of hours. Aside from the repertoire of various songs among which are also the most famous *talava* prototype tunes "Mihone" and "Dada Sal", they also improvise lyrics about "the jewellery of the host woman, the working place of her husband, his skills as a driver, etc.". The most respected female frame drum players and improvisers of lyrics in Kosovo are the sisters Tona and Ziza from the city of Đakovica (Gjakova).³⁰ They and the other women do appreciate the *talava*.

²⁹ I use the first names of the musicians only, since the musicians themselves and their audiences refer to particular musicians in this way.

³⁰ My unusual presence at their performance in a context of the female feast in the city of Prizren (unusual for being a male, a kind of foreigner, and for filming the event) made them create verses about me on the spot.

2. Tahir: a perspective from the transitional domain

Tahir (b. in 1960) was sitting in close proximity to Tima and her companion at the market place in Peć, selling some goods and waiting to be hired by a local patron. He performs alone or with another frame drum player at various feasts, almost exclusively for Gypsy audiences, female, male, or mixed. The repertoire he performs is similar to that of the women, but different in that it includes a number of tunes otherwise performed by male singers to the amplified ensemble accompaniment.³¹ A large part of the repertoire is based on improvised lyrics related to the guests. Not as famous and skillful a singer/improviser and frame drum player as e.g. the singers known as Tafa and Uka, both from Peć, Tahir sometimes takes phrases he heard from the mentioned stars of *talava*, changing only the names according to the needs of a specific situation. He is appreciative of *talava*.

3. Fadil: a perspective from the male domain

Fadil (b. in 1956) is a popular Gypsy singer from the city of Uroševac (Ferizaj) in Kosovo. He is a recording artist³² who performs with his amplified ensemble mainly for the Gypsy audiences in Kosovo, southern Serbia and Macedonia. In the summer period he sings predominantly for mixed audiences at circumcisions, departure and arrival feasts for army recruits, weddings and other festive occasions, while during the winter for male audiences in bars. Fadil - who has never been assumed to be a homosexual - performs the *talava* to please the audience, although he strongly dislikes it. He says: "These are nonsensical 'aman aman songs' using Albanian words and Gypsy rhythm just to extract money from the audience. Is it Gypsy music? Yes, it is our music here in Kosovo, but somewhere further away from here people would probably laugh at it" .

Conclusion

The clear chronological order of the three stages within the development of *talava* from the female indoor music performed by women for female audiences to the outdoor music performed by men for the general audience, does not imply that the initial and transitional stages are now obsolete. To the contrary, female musicians who accompany their singing with strokes on their frame drums are still in demand for female festivities.

³¹ For instance, the song about the American television series *Dynasty*, which was popular at the time.

³² One of his most popular cassettes is titled "Break Dance" (Sarajevo Disk SBK 3.545).

Though some of the alleged homosexuals adopted accompaniment by amplified ensembles as superior to self-accompaniment on frame drums, there are still individuals among them who continue singing to the frame drum accompaniment. Within the realm of amplified performances most musicians are men with no alleged homosexual background who perform the *talava* simply because this genre is in great demand among the Kosovo audiences of the 1990s and therefore a *sine qua non* for Gypsy musicians in Kosovo.

Male musicians in general³³ evaluate the amplified *talava* very low. Milit from the city of Prizren criticizes the attitudes reflected in lyrics: "It is enough that somebody from the audience mentions his or her sick child and the singer is ready to sing about it". In the sentence "They perform the same tune all night long" Hadi from Đakovica points to the predominance of the lyrics in *talava*. Hamza from Prizren says "*Talava* is dead music for a clarinet player - nothing for feelings, nothing for fingers". Naser from Mitrovica agrees with them saying that *talava* is "corrupted music enormously loved by women". This statement points to the female audience which is largely responsible for such considerable popularity of (the amplified) *talava*.

In the course of my research in Kosovo I found (male) Gypsy musicians very adaptable towards the demands of their non-Gypsy audiences. This adaptability relates to their repertoire, instruments and ensembles, and even to the dress they wear at certain (non-Gypsy) feasts. Therefore, it is interesting to learn about so many negative attitudes related to the musical choice of their own (Gypsy) stock, in this case, of Gypsy women.

A scholar - on the basis of listening, comparison and analyses - is likely to support male Gypsy musicians in their negative notions about the *talava*. It does reduce the performance to two basic elements: the lyrics and the rhythm which is suitable for dance. On the other hand, Gypsy women enjoy the new situation in which the music widely considered as "female" has found its way out and dominates the general Gypsy music scene in Kosovo. In a way, the success of *talava* means their own success in the public domain. The fact that it is not women but men, i.e. the carriers of the public domain, who perform the *talava* further emphasizes this success.

³³ Except those with the alleged homosexual background.

Coda

There are several facts about *talava* which may be understood as a contribution to the better comprehension of Gypsy music and Gypsy musicianship in general:

1. *Talava* is a distinctive regional genre conceptualised (both musically and textually) and performed exclusively by the Gypsies.
2. *Talava* is aimed primarily at Gypsy audiences.
3. *Talava* is regarded by the Gypsies themselves as music aimed at profit-making.
4. Lyrics are often not in Romani, but in Albanian, which is the dominant language in the region.³⁴

This evidence points to the fact that some stereotypes related to Gypsy music and culture in general need to be re-examined. Evidently, Gypsy musicians do make profit from other Gypsies, suggesting that the dichotomy between Gypsies and non-Gypsies is not as essential as suggested in several accounts from other parts of the world (e.g. Sutherland 1975, Silverman 1988). Furthermore, the study of *talava* shows that a Gypsy genre aimed at Gypsy audience may be in a language other than Romani, and accompanied by instruments not considered as "Gypsy instruments".

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³⁴ Many Kosovo Gypsies consider Albanian their mother tongue.

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OD ŽENSKOG K MUŠKOM - OD MUŠKOG K ŽENSKOM:
"TREĆI SPOL" U GLAZBENOM ŽIVOTU ROMA NA KOSOVU

SAŽETAK

Kao što mnogi radovi slavjenice Dunje Rihtman-Augustin upućuju na nove tematske sklopove, tako i ovaj tekst upućuje na istraživanje umnogome zapostavljene uloge glazbenika koji na poseban način povezuju ženske i muške glazbene i kulturne sfere. Štoviše, romski glazbenici, o kojima je u članku riječ, uspjeli su upravo zahvaljujući tom povezivanju kreirati moderni glazbeni žanr *talava*, koji u ranim 1990-ima predstavlja najizrazitiju odrednicu specifičnoga glazbenog identiteta Roma na Kosovu. Kao navodni homoseksualci, ovi su glazbenici, za razliku od drugih muškaraca, pristupili ženskome glazbenom repertoaru i načinu izvođenja, te su, usvajajući i mijenjajući značajke ženskog izraza, ostvarili novu kakvoću, što su je potom prihvatili i muški glazbenici koje općinstvo ne povezuje s homoseksualnošću. Raznovrsnost ženskog izraza (pjevanje dviju pjevačica uz okvirne bubnjeve - defove) reducirana je prilikom prenošenja u novi medij (pjevanje muškog solista uz ozvučeni ansambl), ističući u prvi plan improvizirani tekst i plesni ritam. Nasuprot stanovitoj profesionalnoj rezerviranosti muškaraca, napose instrumentalista, prema ovom žanru, žene su ga zdušno prihvatile, te *talava* doživljavaju kao potvrdu prelaska "njihove" glazbe iz privatne u javnu sferu.