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Folklore and Folk Narrative in Latin American Contexts

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Introduction to the Special Issue on Folklore and Folk Narrative in Latin American Contexts

María Inés Palleiro

Foreword

Latin American folklore and, specifically, Latin American folk narrative, have distinctive features, one of which is the coexistence of vernacular and indigenous narratives with narrative folk expressions from migrant and Créole groups, whose combination mirrors the plural profile of local societies. The aim of this special issue of *Folkloristika* is to enhance such plural profile, by presenting interdisciplinary contributions that show this cultural blend.

Covering a large range of topics that include both narrative versions of diasporic and migrant groups and vernacular folktales in different contexts, the contributions offer an overview of the richness of Latin American local identities framed in narrative forms. This issue includes comparative studies of Latin American as well as European folk expressions.

From narrative performances dealing with Slovenian and Jewish migration in Argentina, to indigenous and Créole narratives that show the intertwining between fictional and ritual discourse in different Latin American countries, such as Brazil, Chile, México, Perú and Argentina, the articles are aimed to mirror the diversity of Latin American folk narrative expressions. Some of these contributions highlight the European cultural heritage, while others show the relevance of indigenous narratives. Majority of the texts have been collected in the field by the authors themselves or by other collectors, while others have been retrieved from written and virtual sources, such as folk narrative collections, folk narrative archives and the world wide web. Some articles focus the attention on the development of folk narrative studies, offering an overview of the different trends and topics of folk narrative research in Latin America. Other contributions include both narrative texts

and narrative analysis dealing with contemporary global epidemics such as AIDS and Covid, and with folk narratives circulating in the Internet. All the texts are verbal aesthetic expressions of local identities framed in narrative forms, either displayed in narrative performances or stored in archives and written collections. Overall, the issue shows the mosaiclike composition of Latin American cultures, and the blend between European and vernacular folk traditions.

Folklore, narrative and performance are the key words of the articles herein included, classified into three sections. The first one comprises three contributions, dealing with folklore studies and folk narrative collections in Argentina and Chile. In *Revisiting Folklore Disciplinary Narratives Produced by Scholarly Community in Argentina. Social Dimension in Focus*, Ana María Dupey underlines the changes in the narratives that constitute Argentinian Folklore as an academic discipline in relation with the social dimension of folklore, from the second half of the 20th century to the beginning of the 21st century. The author highlights the role of these narratives as vehicles of knowledge that contribute to explanation of phenomena with complex social, historical and causal connections. *Argentinian Folktales in the Latin American Context: Collections and Belief Narratives* by María Palleiro focuses the attention on Latin American belief narratives, in the context of Latin American folk narrative studies. The article starts by offering a diachronic itinerary of the most relevant Argentinian folk narrative collections, noting the trends in Folklore Studies in each period. It goes on to present an example of how the focus of collecting folk narrative in Argentina can change, by making more flexible the boundaries between tale types and belief narratives. Such example deals with globally spread infective diseases such as AIDS and Covid-19. The last contribution of this section, by Cristian Yáñez Aguilar, is focused on *Traditional Culture and Folklore Science: Two Approaches in the Discursive Construction of the Cultural Field of Folklore in Chile*. The author presents a historical review of how the cultural field of folklore was built in Chile since the second half of the 20th century. He thus identifies two conceptual approaches in the discursive construction of folklore in Chile since the second half of the 20th century: one oriented to legitimize folklore as a science, with its goals and methods, and the other one, connected with a humanistic and philosophical perspective, incorporated the notion of traditional culture as a framework to interpret ethical values and cultural manifestations from the popular and rural world.

The second section deals with Latin American indigenous narratives from México, Perú, Brazil and Argentina. As the author himself summarizes, *Folkloric Narratives of the Peruvian Amazon* by Daniel Orlando Díaz Benavides is focused on Amazonian folk narratives of Peru, which make visible

the singular conceptions of its population about substantial elements in their lives. It shows as well the Amazonian people as human beings with cultural singularities in contrast to the stereotyped image of them as exotic or primitive creatures. *Reflections on How to Study Folktales and Legends From Oral Indigenous Heritage of México* by Mercedes Zavala Gómez del Campo affirms that oral tradition collections of tales and legends of Mexican indigenous peoples are expressions of a deep syncretism between indigenous and Hispanic cultures. Through the analysis of themes and motifs from a wide corpus of tales and legends collected in indigenous languages – especially Nahuatl, Purépecha, Otomí, Maya, and Tzeltal published in bilingual editions from the 1950s to the present – the article is aimed to underline the coexistence of indigenous and Hispanic cultural heritage in Mexican vernacular folk narrative expressions. This section comprises as well a contribution dealing with the performance of orality in Brazilian contexts by Luciana Hartmann and Renata de Lima Silva. As the authors explain, through an interplay of ethnographic data obtained with two different groups of storytellers, gauchos of the Brazil/Argentina/Uruguay borders, and Angolan Capoeira practitioners of Bahian tradition, the article, titled *Between Borders and Crossroads: the Performance of Orality in Different Brazilian Bodies and Contexts*, proposes a discussion of the meanings that emerge from traditional performances produced by subjects who are situated within these different borders and crossroads. The last paper of this section, *Narratives of Pilagá Native Societies in the Argentinian Context* by Alejandra Vidal and Sabrina Maciel, is focused on Argentinian indigenous narratives. It describes a corpus of folk narratives and tales of healing and shamanism from the Pilagá culture, collected in fieldwork in the Northeastern Argentinian province of Formosa. These narratives mirror the symbolic construction of a cultural landscape, which reflects the worldview of this indigenous community.

The last section deals with migrant groups, such as Jewish and Slovenians ones, in Latin American contexts. *Jewish Traditions in a Latin American Background. Enacting an Intercultural Diaspora in the Context of Argentine Identity Politics*, by Fernando Fischman, analyzes the contextualization of traditional Jewish practices in public performance events in Buenos Aires City that were began to be held in the 1980s. As the author himself underlines, the article focuses on the social and political implications of the staging of traditional forms related both to a precedent diasporic Jewish culture and to the intercultural dialogues accomplished from the beginning of Jewish immigration to Argentina to the present. Migrant culture is also the subject of the contribution *Elements of Latin American Culture in the (Folk) Narratives of Slovenes in Argentina* by Barbara Ivančič Kutin, based on field research conducted among Slovenes in Argentina in 2019 with the purpose of document-

ing their folk narrative material. The article is aimed to determine which elements from Latin American culture appear in their narratives at the level of Slovene language or content and what differences between Slovene and Latin-American culture are most emphasized in their narrative discourse.

These three sections, dealing with folk narrative studies, indigenous and Créole narratives, Hispanic cultural tradition and other migrant European and Asiatic cultures – such as the Jewish and the Slovenian ones – show the richness and complexity of Latin American folklore. Through these contributions, the aim of the issue has been to highlight the multicultural profile of Latin American communities and to underline the relevance of folk narrative as intangible cultural heritage.

Cordial acknowledgement is due to the coeditor, Professor Dr. Ana María Dupey, for her important cooperation in the task of inviting the authors from México and Chile, who have enriched the map of this Latin American issue, and for her collaboration in revising their articles. A special acknowledgement is as well due to Smiljana Đorđević Belić and Barbara Ivančič Kutin for the encouragement to prepare this issue, and to Sonja Petrović whose editorial work made this publication possible.

María Palleiro

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Revisiting Folklore Disciplinary Narratives Produced by Scholarly Community in Argentina: Social Dimension in Focus

Ana María Dupey

The work deals with the changes in narratives that constitute Folklore as an academic discipline in relation to the social dimension of folklore. The study is aligned with the current critical Folklore studies. It includes a review of theoretical productions in relation with the limits of the field of Folklore developed by Argentine researchers between the second half of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century. The analysis takes into account current perspectives on the geopolitics of knowledge and colonial legacies that address the construction of otherness in today's society in a prospective manner. It is assumed that narratives can become vehicles of knowledge appropriate to various disciplines, particularly those that try to understand and explain phenomena with complex social, historical and causal connections, in a plausible way. The narrative texts are presented from a deconstructive reading about how the notion of group has changed, highlighting its implications and derivations.

Keywords: folklore theory, Argentina, social dimension, disciplinary narratives, history folklore, folklore field studies, otherness, identity, social class.

Introduction

This work deals with the academic narratives in which Folklore theories were elaborated focusing on the social base of the folklore, theories that shaped the beliefs, practices and research habitus[1] of folklorists in Argentina. It is a contribution prepared for the special dossier about *Folklore and Folk Narratives in Latin American Contexts* that the *Folkloristika* editorial board generously welcomed.

[1] In the sense that is defined by Bourdieu 1995: 87–97.

We understand narrative activity as a discursive means for exploring and solving problems, but also as an instrument to instantiate social and personal identities (Murphy, cited in Ochs 1997: 296). We use the term in a broad sense of narrative discourse that includes the expository, argumentative and verifiable reference formats of scientific discourse (Bruner 1996: 24). For his approach, we focus on the argument about the otherness that Folklore's own narratives put forward, with a special reference to the social base. This work takes into account the reflection on the folk group that has been addressed in the past by A. Redfield (1947), A. Paredes (1966), R. Dorson (1970) R. Bauman (1971) A. Dundes (1977), C. Keil (1978), R. D. Kelley (1992), and recently D. Noyes (2012).

It has been investigated how the folk has been raised, as well as lore relation in the accounts of Argentine researchers, whose lines of inquiry focused on the social dimension of folklore and covered the period from the second half of the twentieth century and the twenty-first century.

Previously, the evolving field of Folklore in Argentina is developed to the light of the geopolitics of knowledge.

Disciplinary Narratives

As J. Bruner (1996) and K. J. Gergen & M. M. Gergen (1986) point out, the narratives on the development of scientific disciplines have had and still have a great configuring power in relation to the identities of scientific disciplines but also to sustain and legitimize the continuity of communities of scientists as they provide a sense of continuity within the discipline and among researchers.

Narratives that have operated and operate in terms of the concatenation of a set of events – be they dissonant or concordant – temporally ordered and with a sense of direction, in the case of the study of folklore with the description/explanation/understanding of the otherness that folklore displays. These stories are thought to be truly related to the world they refer to.

The forms of these narratives comprise progressive schemes not exempt from dramatic tensions (trying to clarify and solve a problem, make understandable something that is difficult to decipher, introduce competing paradigm shifts, formulate epistemological breaks, establish rescue actions against the disappearance of folklore, denounce the factors that distort folkloric expressions and impact in the survival of folklore over time, highlighting the challenge of entering a distant world different from one's own, assuming the defense of disciplinary specificity, manifesting nostalgia for the past, etc.). Narratives that establish dialogic relationships with other narratives by citing stories from other written and/or oral sources that can be supported

by graphs, diagrams and other figures, weaving relationships between the author and the receiver.

Then a new story about the theoretical development of Folklore based on the strength of deconstruction of previous narratives is presented.[2] This story starts from the idea that scientific knowledge of the world referred to by folklore is mediated by the concepts with which researchers approach that world, and on which discursive conventions affect it. This narrative addresses the otherness that folklore displays, emphasizing the changes produced in the sense assigned to the social base and its relevance in opening new frontiers of folklore.

Foundational Narratives of the Discipline of Folklore in Argentina

The foundational narratives of the discipline of Folklore in Argentina are associated with the geopolitics of knowledge that accompanied the European colonial expansion since the 16th century, which assigned otherness (identities different from the Modern one) to various populations of the world, classifying them hierarchically by their greater proximity or distance to Modern parameters, like rationality, progress, innovation, dynamism, mediated communication, worldview linked to the present and the future rather than to the past and established socially territorialized agencies for them.[3] In the attribution of otherness to the different populations, racial criteria were adopted for native peoples, and in other cases cultural ones for social sectors different from modern elites, such as the folk group. In this way, social groups whose lore as expressions, meanings and values differed from Modern values, were characterized within civilized societies as folk and the union of these terms the folklore neologism created by W. J. Thoms in 1846 arose. This narrative, initially developed by antiquarian scholars, spread in colonial areas of the United Kingdom and in independent nations in which England had great influence, such as Argentina. Quite early did Juan B. Ambrosetti introduce the term to refer "to (intellectual) culture, if this term that the people has drawn from their own resources can be used" (Ambrosetti 1893: 129). In this approach, a recursive relationship between the folk (the social group/people) was established that by itself generates the lore and the latter iden-

[2] The strategy for its study has been based on deconstruction through the analysis of textual logic.

[3] The Author developed the subject more extensively in Dupey 2017 (Folklore in the Framework of the Construction of Modernity. Geopolitics of Knowledge and the Politics of Otherness, in Spanish).

tifies the group. A recursive link between folk and lore was proposed. The former was defined as an independent agent of the production of lore and the latter would account for the otherness of folk with respect to the modern civilizing system. The folk was empirically identified with populations settled outside the metropolitan centers that culturally responded to values different from those of the civilized world, with expressions that would have been preserved through time. The researcher's encounter with the other was captured by Ambrosetti in his travel narratives, where he recounted the experiences he had with cultures from other places than the metropolitan to which he belonged. These narratives were also the formats by which the folklore was detached from its producers and disseminated, through a printed medium, to a modern audience, expanding its circulation.

Disciplinary Narratives that Highlight the Social Dimension of Folklore in the Second Half of the 20th Century

The foundational narrative of the discipline, with focus in terms of the otherness displayed by folklore, was consolidated from the middle of the 20th century through theoretical and research works exposed in argumentative academic discourse formats, supported by sources, with a specialized formal language such as those developed by Augusto R. Cortazar.

Following the intellectual tradition represented by Ferdinand Tönnies, who differentiated two types of societies: community (*Gemeneischaft*) from society (*Gesellschaft*). While Émile Durkheim distinguished organic society from mechanicistic, and Robert Redfield applied the urban folk continuum theory, the functionalist approach and the theory of traditionality, Cortazar stated that the otherness that folklore displays is the result of a specific social structure – the folk society. This is a kind of society that would mediate between the primitive and the modern urban ones, and would be characterized by its geographic isolation, economic self-sufficiency, social and cultural integration and a high degree of cultural conservatism. Cortazar based the integrity of folk culture on the functional character of folkloric traits, their adaptation to the environment, and their sustainability in work on intergenerational transmission, which is tradition. These factors would keep the folk society away from the influences of the institutions of the state or/and modern civil society. The proposed social matrix would have heuristic value for the researcher and he should verify its empirical correlation, the starting point for the investigation of the lore.

The otherness that folklore displays, according to this perspective, would present great variability given the diversity of environmental set-

tings and cultural traditions that are processed by folk society, and would be marked by a localized rurality. It was considered that the members of the folk society participated homogeneously in the lore, and concentrated their work on the process of cultural integration, environmental adaptation and traditionalization of folk culture.

The centrality of the Cortazarian proposal in the functional integration of folklore and the systemic balance of folk society favored a static analysis that privileged permanence and conservatism, which limited its heuristic and explanatory value for the investigation of social change.

In addition, the Cortazarian narrative tried to explain the circulation of folklore outside the context of folk society, thus incorporating conceptual boundaries (transplantation, projection and transculturation) for the categorization of the different instances, which in other theoretical contexts were called folklorisms (Bausinger 1999 re-elaborates the concept formulated by Hans Moser).

In the 1960s, one of the topics that aroused great interest was related to:

> la problemática del cambio social, producido a partir de los procesos de urbanización, industrialización y modernización de la sociedad argentina. En su abordaje los jóvenes antropólogos asumieron distintas posturas y concibieron de modo diferente las contribuciones de las investigaciones folklóricas (Blache & Dupey 2007: 307).
>
> [the problem of social change, produced by the processes of urbanization, industrialization and modernization of Argentine society, generated different positions that conceived the contributions of folkloric research in a different way (Blache & Dupey 2007: 307).]

Folklore was understood to provide the basic information that enables determination of the changes that took place in the traditional lifestyle.

> A partir de la Primera Convención de Antropología, realizada en Resistencia en 1965, se hace visible una perspectiva centrada en el carácter relacional y dependiente de la sociedad folk con respecto a la estructura económica y social del país que cuestionaba los estudios folklóricos de la época (Blache & Dupey 2007: 307).
>
> En las décadas de 1970–1980 se tornó cada vez más evidente que la sociedad folk, aislada y autosuficiente, se correspondía más con una representación ficcional que con un entramado social concreto. Ficción que permitía constituir al grupo folk en sujetos fijos

> entre quienes se efectuaban las recolecciones de material folklórico para su posterior análisis. Sujetos anónimos en quienes reposaba la elaboración de la tradición, en la que los folkloristas anclaban su nostalgia por el pasado y por un estilo de vida vernáculo, idealizado como "armónico" y al margen del conflictivo cosmopolitismo (Blache & Dupey 2007: 308).
>
> [However, starting with the First Argentine Anthropology Convention, held in Resistencia in 1965, a perspective focused on the relational and dependent nature of folk society, with respect to the economic and social structure of the country becoming visible, which questioned the folk studies of the time (Blache & Dupey 2007: 307).
>
> In the decades that followed 1970–1980, it became increasingly evident that the folk society, on which the folkloric otherness was based, corresponded more to a fictional representation than to a concrete social framework. This fiction allowed constituting the folk group into fixed subjects among which the collections of folk material were made for later analysis. Anonymous subjects, upon which the elaboration of the tradition rested, in which the folklorists anchored their nostalgia for the past and for a vernacular lifestyle, idealized as "harmonious" and outside the conflictive cosmopolitanism (Blache & Dupey 2007: 308).]

Susana Chertudi, a specialist in the study of folk tales with great experience in fieldwork, observed in the 60s of the last century that "Culturas que respondan exactamente al tipo ideal formulado por Redfield es muy difícil que puedan ser halladas en nuestra época (si es que realmente subsiste alguna)" (1964: 9). Objections, such as the one mentioned, destabilized the disciplinary field in relation to the general scientific academic field.

Therefore, in the 70s and 80s of the 20th century, the narratives of the discipline were reoriented in a different direction. The otherness that folklore displays was attributed to the groups that, due to their position within the capitalist social economic system, constitute the subaltern classes. These classes would possess a worldview – although it would be fragmented and not entirely systematized – that accounts for a particularity that would limit the universalist impulse of the hegemonic vision, since it puts into play the divergence between the universalizing discourse and the different particular discourses, questioning the recognition of the leading condition of the hegemonic group.

Folklore would express a vision, a mode of reasoning, an identification that does not fit within the identifications proposed in the hegemonic pro-

cesses. Therefore, the latter would lose their universality if they fail to accommodate all the particularities within it, either by incorporating or eliminating them. In this sense, the disciplinary narrative puts into play categories for the identification of the subordinate sectors, proposed by the hegemony, and the consciousness that these get from the estrangement caused by this identification (Butler et al. 2000).

These analytical concepts were developed in academic circles of Argentina, based on Antonio Gramsci's thought, disseminated by Luigi Lombardi Satriani through his work *Cultural Anthropology: Analysis of Subaltern Culture* and *Folklore and Popular Cultur*e, published in Spanish in 1975. The dissemination of these theoretical orientations introduced power relations as a constitutive dimension of the otherness that folklore displays, for not only social but also ideological domination.

A local variant of this approach is the one formulated by Rita Segato (1976), who takes into account the *dependentista* theory.[4] This theory, which was dominant in Latin America from the 1960s, postulated that the polarization between centers and peripheries was immanent in the expansion of world capitalism, implying a subordinate relationship between the economic and political processes operated in the peripheral countries and those developed in the central countries.[5] Within this framework, precapitalist modes of production and their respective social formations were articulated. According to these thoughts, Segato (1976: 111) argued that folklore, in the case of Latin America, would occur in economically lagging social sectors that would correspond to pre-capitalist modes of production surviving marginally with respect to modern industrial organization and the value system it imposed. Therefore, the conformation and flow of folklore would be inextricably linked to its correlation with precapitalist social and economic relations, subordinated to the mode of centralized capitalism that occurred in Latin America.

Considering the type of social relations, a specification was established in the case of the aforementioned region, with respect to the generic category of subaltern class, in terms of its differential integration into industrial capitalism, that distinguished it with respect to the same sector in the central countries.

Researchers from Argentina who adopted these approaches chose to differentiate themselves from previous theories of folklore and integrated the term of Popular Culture in their field of study. Essayists on popular culture considered mestizo cultures as a specific subject of Folklore (Colombres 1984: 20). Others continued with studies under the name of Folklore, con-

[4] Theory has arisen during the crisis of the colonialism of the 50s of the last century.

[5] Precursors of this theory are José Carlos Mariátegui, Gilberto Freire, Josué de Castro, Caio Prado Junior, Raúl Prebisch, Florestán Fernández, among others.

ducting research in topics like the struggles of the peasantry, marginalization, social bandits and the political folk songs, among others.

Subsequently, faced with the emergence of processes of ethnogenesis, the production of new forms of heterogeneity, the radicalization of established identities, demands for gender, minorities, regional groups, etc., folklore positions centered on social class were questioned for homogenizing and hiding under this category ethnic, linguistic, gender, regional, age, local, and other diversities. Other decisive factors were also the policies on diversity and multiculturalism installed through international and national organizations that placed the centrality of political conflict not only in the classes but also in the demands related to subordinate identities. Along with the proliferation of government programs on diversity and the development of constitutional multiculturalism to sustain the political governance of society, they led to the disengagement of folk group from class structures.

In the 80s and 90s, the folklorist Martha Blache and the semiologist Juan Ángel Magariños de Morentin,[6] applying communicational, semiotic, pragmatic and philosophy of language approaches, developed a narrative in an argumentative academic discourse format, with a high degree of formalization of specialized language, for the purpose of defining folklore. In it, the notions 'folk' and 'lore' and their relation were reformulated in order to disambiguate the terms of the discipline, and delineate its boundaries within the academic field of social sciences, due to what they consider the lack of axiomatization and formalization that affected much of the local production that was referred to as folklore.

Within the framework of this narrative, the authors hypothesized that the man in his social interaction tries to integrate physically, culturally and emotionally with those closest to him to form groups of belonging. Therefore, they did not only place folklore in the field of social behavior, but also considered its identifying effect. In this way, they incorporated the question of identity – a notion emerged with intensity in the broader field of social sciences of the 70–80s. Identity will settle in a double game of affirmation of intragroup membership and inter-group differentiation. To address the identifying effect of folklore, they proposed to analyze current social discourses with respect to a referent. That is, the representation and interpretation of something carried out by a given community at a certain time and place. These discourses were studied in terms of the communication process. So far nothing would indicate the specificity of folklore. What is required to acquire the quality of folklore, according to these authors, is that the discourse should be acted in the communicative process and that in perceptual terms, or mean-

[6] In the following analysis on the theoretical proposal of Blache and Magariños de Morentin, their works published in the years 1980, 1986 and 1992 are taken into account.

ing, or context indicate a differential value with respect to the current use of the code active in the society. The differential that is housed in the perceptual form, or in the meaning of the discourse, or in the context, resulted from cognitive processing of information available in society, but which was carried out in a different way. Through this process other alternative worlds would be created. For this reason, the folkloric would be in producing this difference between discourses based on institutional codifications (code) and discourses that are organized with alternative codes called metacodes, and because they have an identifying effect that affirms belonging to a group and a difference with respect to other/s. So far, the authors formulate two aspects that limit the folkloric: the relationship between discourses based on different codes and a certain process of affirmation of belonging and differentiation (identity). But the authors added three more conditions to consider in relation to folk behavior: a) its validity in the present, b) its roots in the past (traditionality), the continuity of the homologous structure of meaning of folk behavior to be maintained. Although variations in form or content or context may occur, they should not affect the identifying effects each has for the group today as it was in the past; and c) that this behavior is performed by a group that has cognitive and communicative skills in relation to the metacode. For them, all these requirements should be given; if any were missing, it would not be folklore.

Ana Maria Cousillas, in a study carried out in 1989, related the notion of communicative competence of Dell Hymes with the conceptualization that Blache and Magariños de Morentin called metacode, to refer to the cognitive components and rules of use that regulate and differentiate popular behavior, with respect to other social behaviors, and to delimit the folk group.

Blache and Magariños de Morentin in their conceptualization take up the interpretants of Charles S. Peirce (2002 [1897]) as key element in decoding and encoding processes to explain how a social discourse that establishes a certain meaning can be object of resignifications that respond to alternative codes.

The authors took identity as a key concept to reformulate, on the one hand, the notion of folk in terms of the group not defined a priori – as folk society, class, or by some special characteristic of a group – but is the result of the shared performance and interpretation of speeches that respond to a special code (metacode), that is, because of the communicative competence the group has over the metacode and, on the other, that the meaning of lore is an alternative regular discursive production with an identifier-differentiator effect. The relationship between both terms would be given by the performance of the regular discourses that respond to a metacode that would have a differentiating identifying effect.[7]

[7] For other studies on this approach, see Fischman 2020: 36–52.

In the 80s and 90s, in the Seminar on Folk Narrative Martha Blache, together with the teaching team of the General Folklore course, both courses taught in the Philosophy and Letters Faculty at Buenos Aires University, disseminated Performance Studies within the trends in the Ethnography of Communication by Dell Hymes. She directed a collection of translations of works carried out within these orientations in the USA, several of them correspond to the book by Paredes and Bauman *Toward New Perspectives in Folklore* (1972). The local appropriation of this orientation was translated into numerous investigations in which performance, as situated interaction of practice, has a central role in the delimitation of the folk group and in its articulation within the larger societal context, in the characterization of the agency of the actors and in the recognition of their responsibility in carrying out the performance. Lore was related to the communicative and expressive skills necessary and relevant to carrying out the performances. But local researchers did not limit the study of folklore referred to verbal art – dominant in the studies of this orientation carried out by researchers from the USA – but rather included non-linguistic expressions. A prominent dimension in local research from this period has been the social significance of performance and its broader social implications, as well as the expressive and cognitive dimension of lore.

In these approaches to performance studies, local researchers had reactions similar to those formulated by José E. Limón and Mary J. Young (1986). On the one hand, they observed the emphasis on the synchronic perspective and lack of integration of the historical context, and on the other hand, noted that they concentrated on exhaustive microanalysis and presented minimal comments from the larger sociocultural and political context.

Reorientations of the Disciplinary Field in the 21st century

In 2000 Richard Bauman and Beverly Stoeltje gave a series of lectures at the José Hernández Museum of Argentine Motives and at the Buenos Aires University, Philosophy and Letters Faculty, both in Argentina. The conferences were academically coordinated by Dr. Fernando Fischman, who translated into Spanish the lecture on Mediational Performance given by Bauman. Translation was published by José Hernández Museum of Argentine Motives. In this paper, Bauman analyzed the circulation of forms of folklore through different channels and formats, and explained the processes of socialization, traditionalization and authorship of folklore. The conceptualizations about the processes of entextualization, decontextualization and contextualization

developed in this paper contributed to overcoming the criticism that of Performance studies. These concepts were expanded and replicated in relation to different problems, in various settings, with complex socio-cultural and political contexts based on ethnographic materials and/or archival documents by different local researchers.

These Semiotic and Performance orientations considered folk as a dynamic flexible social construction based on processes of communalization of folk participants through performance, who shared distinctive communicative and expressive competencies and performed a work of traditionalization of the lore that comprised the emergence of new productions woven into a global socio-political fabric.

At the beginning of the 21st century, the author of this paper set out to investigate how the otherness that folklore displays is socially constructed in the case of so-called urban artisans, a group never before included as an agent of folkloric manifestations in studies carried out in Argentina. In this sense, she became interested in one of the frontiers of folklore, many times mentioned but rarely explored, which reveals the relationship with the institutional. it is also the topic that Blache and Magariños de Morentin had addressed before (1980), and Bialogorski & Cousillas (1999) later.

Dupey adopted a theory on the construction of institutionalized social life not subjected *a priori* to structuralist perspectives of society or to theories of transcendental subjects.[8] The position would be in line with reflections on common sense as an essential foundation in the construction of identity, and "as a constellations of received ideas and ways of living in tandem with individual practical experience of self", formulated by Gencarella (2009: 180). For this, she took into account the regulated social practices that comprise a continuous period of time and that, when routinized; reach institutionalism and legitimacy, according to the theory of the constitution of society by A. Giddens (2006). Institutionalism makes the standardization of social life, which in the case of artisans corresponds to a series of categorizations with which they are labeled as urban artisans. Throughout the investigation, she showed how these institutionalized practices, that reproduce artisans' own life, were taken up by them and transformed in their contents and/or contexts of execution to spontaneously display their self-identification as artisans in a way different from the institutionally assigned. Also based on this proposal, she formulated several hypotheses. The first is that the otherness which folklore displays is related to an institutional device that challenges a group – it constitutes it and places it socially, and reacting to this challenge members of said group, not necessarily all of them or to the same extent, socially construct their alternative self-identification as folk group.

[8] A more extensive development in Dupey 2012.

The alternative differentiation will be prolonged in time as long as the institutional conditions are sustained. In other words, it would be an identification that would not be ephemeral or contingent, as has been objected to in studies focused on performance. The second hypothesis is that the identification/differentiation process cannot be reduced to the mode of games of oppositions and combinations in accord to a virtual system[9] formulated by structuralism theory, but must contemplate the articulations of sociocultural practices, social interaction, positions and social inquiries, and access to resources owned by the agents. Third hypothesis, active self-identification processes are embodied in practices, commitments, beliefs, values, and significant meanings that are not univocal and often operate as dynamic references between those who participate in said processes, which leaves aside positions that consider identity as a conglomerate of uniform and assertive components, favoring a flexible and debatable constellation of ideas and practice about what is shared. In brief, she took into account the active process of identification to define folk in its relationship with institutional conditions and, in its articulation, with society.

Preliminary Conclusions

The analyzed narratives are displacing the social configuration of the folk and providing different explanations about the social dynamics and the generation of lore. Narratives in their plots have tensions and dramatic knots that guide them and give them meanings. In the case of Cortazar, the tension that makes up the story is the maintenance of a lifestyle – which by traditional and environmental adaptation process explains the diversity of the human race – that is altered by forces endangering the integrity of the system. In this case, the folk group acts through the lore that imposes conditions for the action and its meaning to ensure the reproduction of said lifestyle.

The Gramscian stories present an agonistic plot in which subaltern social sectors are constituted from the struggle against material and ideological domination. In the field of ideological battle, the diversity of which folklore accounts for and characterizes capitalism is made visible. It is the battle that, for Latin American researchers, also falls within the framework of an asymmetric spatial domination between the center and the peripheries.

The tension of the performative and semiotic formulations is related to the struggle for meaning in the construction of social life, based on communicative competences that include languages and their aesthetics that explain

[9] The idea that all meaning is given by the difference within the framework of a system of relationships, which takes up the Saussurean notion that signs are defined only by their relationships with other signs.

the ways of making different worlds. Through socially produced communication skills, social agents and their agencies are constituted. Contributions such as that of Blache and Magariños de Morentin and Dupey raise the tension between the institutionalism of social life and the social production of other ways of making/interpreting social worlds, arguing that folklore is related in the cracks and develops differentially from the constraints of socially institutionalized life.

The theories here presented have been built at the crossroads between the academic epistemological reflection of the folklorists and the experience – through fieldwork[10] – of how knowledge and ways of life are socially produced by different groups, since the latter constitutes the basis for reflection and the construction of scientific knowledge of Folklore. The status of the group and its delimitations has been transformed into a political category highlighting "the political face of folklore" (Conrad 1998, as cited in Gencarella 2009: 174). This has led not only to the progressive questioning of essentialist approaches inherited by Folklore studies but has also contributed to highlighting how folk is socially instituted in relation to social identifications, the flow of political power and the construction of hegemony. These guidelines complement the current questions about the role of rhetoric in the enunciation of a folk ("often it is the discourse that names a folk and not vice versa", Gencarella 2009: 177), and of who is included/excluded in the studies on beliefs, rhetoric and performances developed by Palleiro (2008, 2018).[11]

This review has followed a set of stories based on the dramas and the tensions that shape them. It could be said, following Algirdas Julien Greimas (in Barthes et al. 1976), that throughout the different statements of the tension in the plot the relationships of the different actants and their actions have been defined, identifying the folk group, and that this varies, according to the stories of the different authors. The dramatic variations proposed by the authors summon readers to the display of transactions, including the deconstructive one, formulated in this work. Simultaneously, these dramas expose the evaluations around knowing the otherness of which folklore accounts.

Said narrative will only be completed through the meeting with the acting readers and their interpretive work by which they not only interpret connections, arguments, axioms, disjunctions, questions, conjectures about the exposed narrative but also put their own academic narratives on the subject into play.

[10] This is documented by the investigations of Cortazar 1949, Blache 1979, and Dupey 2012.

[11] Palleiro in her article: Argentinian Folktales in the Latin American Context: Collections and Belief Narratives, in this special issue of *Folkloristika*, addresses these orientations that relate rhetoric, performance and folklore.

However, based on the impact of Information and Communication Technology and the development of the digital world, digital communication has taken place, forming virtual folk communities in terms of the circulation of vernacular, local and traditional knowledge, which rethink relations of political power and the authority of institutions, which is developing new narratives around the relationship between folk and lore in Folklore studies (Dupey & Urbano 2019).

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Revisitando las narrativas disciplinarias del Folklore producidas por la comunidad académica en Argentina. La dimensión social en foco

Ana María Dupey

Resumen

El trabajo aborda los cambios en las narrativas que constituyen el Folklore como disciplina académica en relación con la dimensión social del folklore. El estudio está alineado con los actuales estudios críticos de Folklore, e incluye una revisión de producciones teóricas en relación con los límites del campo del Folklore desarrolladas por investigadores argentinos entre la segunda mitad del siglo XX y principios del XXI. El análisis tiene en cuenta perspectivas actuales sobre la geopolítica del conocimiento y los legados coloniales que abordan de manera prospectiva la construcción de la alteridad en la sociedad actual. Se asume que las narrativas pueden convertirse en vehículos de conocimiento apropiados para diversas disciplinas; particularmente, aquellas que intentan comprender y explicar de manera plausible fenómenos con complejas conexiones sociales, históricas y causales. Los textos narrativos son intervenidos desde una lectura deconstructiva sobre cómo ha cambiado la noción de grupo, destacando sus implicaciones y derivaciones.

Palabras clave: Teoría del Folklore, Argentina, Narrativas disciplinarias, Otredad, Identidad.

Преиспитивање наратива о дисциплини насталих у научној заједници у Аргентини: друштвена димензија у фокусу

Ана Марија Дупеј

Резиме

У раду се разматрају промене у наративима који утемељују фолклор као академску дисциплину у односу на друштвену димензију фолклора. Студија је усклађена са савременим критичким студијама фолклора. Она садржи преглед теоријских поставки у вези с границама подручја фолклора које су развили аргентински истраживачи у периоду од друге половине 20. века до почетка 21. века. У анализи се узимају у обзир савремене перспективе о геополитици знања и колонијалном наслеђу које се обраћају конструкцији другости у данашњем друштву на проспективан начин. Претпостављено је да наративи могу да постану средства за стицање знања у различитим дисциплинама, посебно у онима које покушавају да разумеју и објасне феномене са сложеним друштвеним, историјским и узрочним везама, на прихватљив начин. Наративни текстови су посредовани из деконструктивистичке перспективе – разматра се како се променио појам групе и осветљавају се последице и деривације тог процеса.

Кључне речи: теорија фолклора, Аргентина, друштвена димензија, наративи о дисциплини, историја фолклора, теренско истраживање фолклора, другост, идентитет, друштвена класа.

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Argentinian Folktales in the Latin American Context: Collections and Belief Narratives

María Inés Palleiro

To Manuel Dannemann,
In memoriam

This contribution focuses its attention on Argentinian belief narratives in the Latin American context. Following on from a panoramic overview of Argentinian and Latin American folklore studies, this article proposes an approach to belief narratives based on the flexible boundaries between folklore genres. It starts by offering a diachronic itinerary of the most relevant Argentinian folk narrative collections, noting the trends in Folklore Studies in each period, and goes on to present an example of how the focus of collecting folk narrative in Argentina can change, by making boundaries between tale types and belief narratives more flexible, taking into account the changed ones as well. This example, which connects tales and motifs ATU 332 "Godfather Death", and Thompson Z 111 "Death personified" with AIDS and Covid narratives, shows porous limits between folk narrative genres, establishing "belief narrative" as an umbrella term open to new itineraries for types and motifs.

Keywords: folk narrative, social beliefs, Argentina, Latin America, AIDS, Covid-19.

Argentinian Folk Narrative Studies in the Latin American Context

This first section presents a diachronic overview of Argentinian folk narrative studies in the Latin American context, to show to which extent belief narratives have been taken into account, and how they have been considered. Such diachronic approach will lead to proposition, in the second section, of a new approach which widens the framework of these collections, involving not only printed and oral texts, registered in rural contexts, but also

urban and digital, which need to be placed in a global context, nowadays affected by pandemic of Covid-19.[1]

Latin American nations share colonial heritages, with Créole people, European immigrants and indigenous groups. Folklore studies in this context can be divided into three stages. The first one can be dated from the last decades of the nineteenth century – when the first collections were published and the first folklore associations were founded – to the 1920s in which national identities have been constructed (Fischman 2012: 267). The first folklorists, with philological or other scientific backgrounds, registered folktales and belief narratives such as legends with a criterion focused on the collection rather than on the interpretation of folk texts. In Argentina, the ethnographer and naturalist Juan Ambrosetti (1865–1917) published *Supersticiones y leyendas: región misionera. Valles calchaquíes, las pampas* [*Superstitions and legends, Misiones region, Calchaquí valleys and the Pampas*] (1917), a volume in which belief narratives were considered to be "superstitions". During this period, the first folklore association in Latin America was founded in Chile in 1909. In 1911, the Folklore Society was also promoted in Panama, and similar associations were founded in Brazil and Venezuela (Fischman 2012: 268–269). The German folklorist Lehmann-Nitsche recorded Araucanian texts – historic narratives, myths, fairy tales, fables, songs and riddles, in vernacular language, and his studies of South American beliefs, which included mythology, culture and literature, were published in German in 1939. Also, Eric Boman (1867–1924), Swedish expert in Anthropology, dealt with the folklore of the pre-Hispanic cultures of Northwestern Argentina (Boman 1908), and the folklorist Adán Quiroga (1863–1904) studied local beliefs of the Calchaquí zone (Quiroga 2017/1897). In all these anthological works, belief narratives were presented as samples of different vernacular cultures, placed in local contexts.

In the second stage of Latin American Folklore studies, from the 1920s to the 1970s, the academic field of Folklore Studies in the continent was established mainly through conferences, where the International Folklore Congresses held in São Paulo in 1954 and in Buenos Aires in 1960 (Fischman 2012: 269) are particularly worth mentioning. Another relevant conference was the International Congress of Americanists held in the Argentinian city of Mar del Plata (1966) in which dialogue between folklorists from Argentina and the United States set off (Fischman 2004: 167, in Palleiro 2004a). In this period, Latin American scholars considered that folklore is comprised of material produced in a rural environment, and devoted their efforts at rescuing these expressions, aiming to preserve them from an imminent disappear-

[1] Gentle acknowledgment is due to Professor Terry Adrian Gunnell for his clever suggestions regarding the structure and contents of this article.

ance. Despite the romantic slant of this perspective, they carried out pioneering work in the reevaluation of folklore (Blache and Dupey 2007: 300–301), their main goal being to contribute to a reconstruction of the nations through the homogenization of their cultural traditions, as the Argentinian Ricardo Rojas has stressed in *The Nationalist Restoration* (*La restauración nacionalista* 1922/1909). Rojas proclaimed the necessity of preserving Argentinian Créole cultural heritage as a result of the flood of immigrants that Argentina started receiving at the beginning of the 20th century, belief narratives being seen as part of such heritage.[2] Folk beliefs were closely associated with Créole traditions and considered to be symbolic resources against cultural cosmopolitanism. Among the researchers who followed this trend, it is worth mentioning Carlos Vega (1898–1966) and Juan Alfonso Carrizo (1895–1957), the first director of the Argentinian Institute of Tradition (Instituto Nacional de la Tradición), founded in 1943. Carrizo, author of the *History of Argentinian Folklore* (Carrizo 1953), stressed out that the aim of Folklore Studies was to favor national cohesion, and Latin American Folklore Studies at the time clearly shared this paradigm. In *Danzas populares argentinas* [*Argentinian Popular Dances*] (1986/1936), Carlos Vega focused his attention on Latin American traditional music and dances, the narrative dimension of which is found by the organization of the choreographic sequences. The musical rhythm is also organized sequentially and, thus, narratively. Folk expressions and folk beliefs have been thus associated with rural local contexts, and this trend was reflected in the 1921 Folkloric Survey.

In 1921, the Argentinian Council of Education sent a Questionnaire to the teachers of public primary schools, along with a brochure of instructions for collecting folk material, to be registered in a survey. This survey was conceived as part of an educational plan directed at reconstructing Argentinian cultural memory, founded on Hispanic and indigenous roots now threatened by the flood of immigration. That is why teachers were requested not to collect traditions from immigrants. The survey's format of a questionnaire, in which teachers had to address to their students and families, implied a polyphonic enunciator – that is to say, a choral ensemble of voices, which comprised not only the voice of the authorities of the National Council of Education, but also that of the teachers along with those of the "informers" whose oral testimonies were turned into a textual re-writing. Teachers were asked to collect all cultural products comprising crafts and games, beliefs and superstitions [sic], customs, rites, techniques, instruments, manufactures[3] [sic], and decorative elements, as well as literary forms in verse and prose and,

[2] Following this trend, The High School of Argentinian Folk Dances was created in 1948, with the aim to unify national choreographiesand to safeguard their authenticity.
[3] In an etymological sense, *manufacture* refers to any object made with the hands.

among the latter, I. Tales or fictions, II. Legends, III. Cases and events[4] [sic], IV. Traditions, and V. Explanatory Narratives or Myths. In these instructions, the beliefs of folk communities were classified as "superstitions", separate from tales and legends. The folkloric paradigm on which this questionnaire was based, was that of William Thoms' letter (1846), according to which the aim of Folklore Studies was to collect the customs of ancient times. The result was a collection of some 40,000 pieces, rich in folktales, legends and other belief narrative genres.[5] This manuscript archive, housed nowadays in the Argentinian Institute of Anthropology and Latin American Thought (Instituto Nacional de Antropología y Pensamiento Latinoamericano), has now been completely digitalized.[6] The first collection of Argentinian folklore, therefore, takes the form of a written survey in which beliefs have been associated with superstitions of rural communities.[7]

Starting the 1950s, the Argentinian Augusto Cortazar, in *Bosquejo de una introducción al Folklore* [*Outline for an introduction to Folklore*] (1942) formalized a theory, grounded in the functionalism of Bronisław Malinowski, that highlighed the relevance of folkloric expressions as a whole and emphasized the centrality of fieldwork. He characterized the folk group as a homogeneous, small, isolated community, located in rural areas, steeped in ancestral traditions and with simple technology. In *Los fenómenos folklóricos y su contexto humano y cultural* [*The Folkloric Phenomena and Their Human and Cultural Context*], Cortazar (1975: 53) also outlined eight traits, according to which folkloric phenomena should be popular, collective, traditional, oral, anonymous, empirical, functional and regional. Such characterization, used widely in Latin America, was based on the notion of a "folk society" – in the sense used by Robert Redfield in *The Folk Society and Culture* (1940). Like Ricardo Rojas, Cortazar considered folklore to be a tool that could be used to fight against cosmopolitanism, underlining the influence of Hispanic traditions. According to this theory, folk narratives and beliefs were cultural expressions of rural communities.

During this period, the dominant trend of collectionism – that is to say, the trend of collecting folk material without an interpretative analysis – encouraged scholars to publish several anthologies of folk tales, songs and

[4] Even if these terms could refer to memorates and chronicates, the literal translation from Spanish to English is the one provided in the text.

[5] Catalogues of this archive were published in 1925 and 1929.

[6] The educational authorities promoted two other questionnaires, in 1939 and 1951, which resulted in a monumental compilation of Argentinian folkloric material which was used in publications aimed at developing contents in schools.

[7] A reference to the contents of these manuscripts, available for pedagogical uses in schools, is given in a recent work by Marta Ruiz (2021). For further considerations dealing with the contents of this Survey, see Palleiro 2014: 67–104.

dances.[8] Such a trend can be identified in regional collections such as *Cuentos populares de La Rioja* [*Popular Tales from La Rioja*] by Juan Agüero Vera (1965), with a preliminary study by Cortazar, and a tale type classification by Susana Chertudi. Other regional collections including a tale-type classification was *Cuentos de la Tradición Oral Argentina* [*Folktales from Argentinian Oral Tradition*] by Jesús María Carrizo and Guillermo Perkins Hidalgo (1948). All these lists of prose narratives, directed at reconstructing a universal model of which the different regional (rural) manifestations constituted versions and variants, followed the historic-geographic method.

In these times, similar nationalist ideologies were spreading elsewhere in Latin America. An exception was the Brazilian scholar Paulo de Carvalho Neto (1953) who, in *Folklore y psicoanálisis* [*Folklore and psychoanalysis*], attempted to provide psychoanalytical explanations of folklore materials, linking folk beliefs – such as those referred to witchcraft and popular medicine – with superstitions. While he attempted to go beyond the essentialist paradigm, his ideas were ignored (Fischman 2012: 270–272).

In this context, vernacular artistic expressions and local beliefs, either "spontaneous" or aesthetically recreated by élites, were still considered as being superstitions. Such orientations of Latin American studies have been considered in *Teorías del Folklore en América Latina* [*Theories of Folklore in Latin America*] edited in 1975 by the Chilean Manuel Dannemann. According to Fernando Fischman (2012: 274–275), this volume, which displayed similar notions influenced by the ideas of Cortazar, was the Latin American counterpart of *Toward New Perspectives in Folklore* (1972) edited by Américo Paredes and Richard Bauman, which presented innovative approaches, stressing the idea of differential identity as a distinctive feature of folklore (Bauman 1972).[9] In the following years, there had been a systematic transla-

[8] Folk songs – many of them, with a narrative development of the verbal plot – were collected in *Cancioneros* [*Songbooks*], such as those by Juan Carrizo (1926, 1933, 1934, 1937, 1942) and Orestes Di Lullo (1940). The collectionist method was also used to register folk dances, such as those collected by Ventura Lynch (1953), Jorge Furt (1923, 1925, 1927) and Carlos Vega (1950, 1986). Based on space limitations, no mention is made in this article to new editions of the works here mentioned.

[9] When stressing the idea of differential identity as a distinctive feature of folklore, Richard Bauman (1972) focuses the attention on the process by which social life of a community constantly subdivides and reorganizes itself in social interaction, rather than on a homogeneous sense of community. He thus affirms that "as long as folklore is conceptualized as a self-contained realm of cultural products abstractly connected with some homogeneous body of people identified as folk and participating in it collectively, the use of folklore in situations involving differential identity will be obscured from view." Therefore, "once the necessary reorientation is made it becomes apparent that folklore may be found in both symmetrical and asymmetrical relationships; members of particular groups or social categories may exchange folklore with each other on the basis of shared

tion of scholarly works published in English into Spanish, although no substantial translations were made from Spanish to English.

During this period, in Argentina, Susana Chertudi stood out for her research into legends and folktales. She also studied other expressions connected with vernacular beliefs such as popular devotions (Chertudi & Newbery 1978) from the perspective of the historic-geographic method. As Martha Blache and Ana Dupey (2007: 304) underlined, Chertudi acquired her experience in fieldwork, which allowed her to notice the limitations of transcribing the texts outside their narrative context, thus anticipating the relevance of a communicative approach to folklore. In 1960–1964 she published *Cuentos Folklóricos de la Argentina (*1960–1964) (*Argentinian Folktales*), a work in two volumes in which she included narrative material from the Folkloric Survey of 1921, as well as versions collected in fieldwork and yet others recorded by different collectors. These volumes comprised one hundred narratives each, classified, according to AT thematic parameters, into "animal", "marvellous", "religious", "human" [realistic] and "formulaic" tales. Covering all Argentinian regions, Chertudi provided readers with an anthology of folktales which privileged the selection of versions rather than analytical interpretation. Comments and notes dealt with the structural and poetic style of folk narrators, illustrating the gap between a paradigm based on the collection of folk material and a paradigm centered in the communicative performance of the folklore message. With an innovative criterion, this scholar considered the legend as a narrative genre, which refers to an extraordinary event regarding periods, persons and places that are considered as truly happened (Chertudi 1957), and she studied specifically the "belief legend" (Chertudi 1975), underlining the relevance of beliefs when classifying folklore genres.

To sum up, as Blache and Dupey (2007: 304) affirmed, in this period, the experience of over two centuries allowed Argentinian folklorists to approach oral narrative with a more refined theoretical background, paving the way for directing folk narrative analysis towards the social context. However, folktales and belief narratives remained considered as separated folk narrative genres, still associated with rural communities.

According to the aforementioned period-classification, the third stage of Latin American folklore studies runs from the 1970s up to the present days (Fischman 2012: 276). While until the 1970s, folklore had been seen as being anonymous, oral and rural, in this decade scholars attempted a rup-

identity, or with others, on the basis of differential identity" (Bauman 1972: 38). This idea of differential identity is also underlined by Alan Dundes (1983), when he stresses that identity depends as much upon differences as upon similarities, being connected with forms of social behaviour. Thanks to this process of differentiation between social groups, folklore acts as a marker of belonging of community beliefs and norms (Bronner 1998).

ture with this paradigm, and opened up for the consideration of semiotics, communication and the study of social context. In previous works, Palleiro (2004a, 2004b, 2008a) dealt with these trends of folklore studies, the first being based on thematic, structural and stylistic similarities between different folkloric expressions. Thematic similarities correspond to historic-geographic, evolutionist, diffusionist, functionalist, psychoanalytical, and mythic-archetypical methods; compositional regularities refer to formalist and structural studies based on the proposals of Propp, Barthes and Greimas; while stylistic regularities deal with the epic laws of folk narrative established by Olrik (1992/1909). Once similarities in Folklore Studies have been demarcated, one can see a change of paradigms towards considerations of contextual variation reflected in theoretical trends. Such trends followed Boas's guidelines regarding historical particularism,[10] and were first developed as part of the ethnography of speech pioneered by Dell Hymes, continued in Richard Bauman's studies regarding verbal art as performance, and nurtured as well in Hermann Bausinger's contributions to considerations of the theory of contexts.[11] According to Hymes (1972, 2000/1975), Folklore Studies made a valuable contribution to Sociolinguistics because while linguists studied the grammatical dimension of speech, folklorists connected expressive forms and their organization with genres, which were influenced by social beliefs and cultural contexts in which they take shape.

In Latin America, the study of folklore developed several new theoretical approaches headed by the Chilean Manuel Dannemann (1976), who affirmed that folklore was behavior in which each person participated in a certain context. Starting the 1980s, these new orientations began to spread in Argentina, where folklore began to be associated with knowledge about situations and contexts, in which a group, from its interaction with others, attains a sense of differential identity (Fischman 2012: 276). Following Dannemann's break with aprioristic definitions of the folk group, the Argen-

[10] The approach of historical particularism developed by Franz Boas affirms that each society has its unique historical development and must be understood based on its own specific cultural context. Such approach considers fieldwork as a method of cultural analysis and tends to gather information from individual informants, considering such data valuable enough for cultural analysis (Darnell 2013).

[11] Contextual theories consider not only textual interpretations to understand folklore events, but also the context of their development. Hermann Bausinger focused the attention of the contexts of utterance of folklore events, and he distinguished between the textual context (for instance, a storytelling communicative act), the situational context (the circumstances in which such act takes place, the group of belonging and the group with whom the narrator interacts), and the societal context, referred to the relationship with the main society to which all the participants of the communicative act belong. For an interesting application of Bausinger's categories regarding contexts to a corpus of Argentinian folk narrative, see Coto 2009.

tinian Martha Blache, along with the semiotician Juan Magariños de Morentin, also broke away from essentialist conceptions, characterizing folklore as a social discourse focused on behaviours, valid for those who shared a code in a specific context (Blache & Magariños de Morentin 1980, 1993). They underlined the relevance of the historic dimension involved in the notion of tradition, something understood as the process by which folkloric behaviors can be modified over time in terms of form, meaning and performance.[12] Unfortunately, as Fischman (2012: 278) wisely pointed out, these scholars never put their works together in a volume that would have placed them in a dialogue with contemporary trends in folklore studies. However, as Blache and Dupey (2007: 311) pointed out, these trends have since been enriched by the contributions of Ana Dupey, in charge of the Folklore Section of Buenos Aires University; Fernando Fischman (2005), in his works regarding performance and social memory; and María Palleiro (2004b), in her analysis of belief narratives. Significant contributions were also made by César Quiroga Salcedo, first director of the Institute of Linguistic and Philological Research of the National University of San Juan, nowadays headed by Aida Gonzalez. Under her direction, the Berta Vidal de Battini Fund (Fondo Berta Vidal de Battini – FONVIBA), which keeps original manuscripts of the questionnaires used by Vidal de Battini in her research, was organised.

Berta Vidal de Battini (1900–1984) was both a researcher in Dialectology at Buenos Aires University and a Supervisor of Argentinian Primary Schools, a role which allowed her to obtain aid from educational institutions with regard to collecting folk narrative throughout the Argentinian territory. Her work *Cuentos y leyendas populares de la Argentina* [*Folktales and Popular Legends of Argentina*] (1980–1995) is the largest Argentinian corpus of folk narrative, containing more than 3000 versions and variants, all ordered on the basis of a criterion which privileged register rather than interpretation of folklore texts, collected in anthologies.[13] This collection of ten volumes focused on two genres: folktales and legends, the latter involving social beliefs. In spite of being published at this time, the method used to classify folk narrative here corresponded with that in the 1921 survey, which had used the questionnaire as a pre-text for collecting folk material. Like Chertudi's, Vidal de Battini's collection was organized according to a typological criterion, providing different versions along with a general comment of each tale-type, as well as maps of geographical distribution. In line with a personal interpreta-

[12] As Blache and Dupey (2007: 311) underlined, these proposals regarding the cultural construction of tradition were later developed by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (1983).

[13] I deem anthological criterion the one focused on registering texts and putting them in collections rather than offering an analytical interpretation of the texts selected. Such criterion is stuck to the aforesaid collectionist paradigm.

tion of AT parameters, she classified folktales in terms of animal, marvellous, human [realistic], cumulative, and moral tales; and then tales about popular characters, jokes, riddles, *novellae,* and indigenous narratives. When classifying legends, she deployed criteria based on vernacular parameters, refering to places, stones and hills, lakes and rivers, lost cities, hidden treasures, plants, animals, and Heaven. While Chertudi's had been a neat and narrow collection classified in line with precise thematic categories, Vidal de Battini provided a larger corpus, the distinctive feature of which was a huge quantity of narratives, flexibly classified.

To sum up, one can consider the field of Folklore Studies in Latin America to have been shaped between the 1920s and the 1970s. Some collections in this period reflected a break with the earlier paradigm focused on collecting rather than on interpreting folk material. Scholars began to pay attention to narrative analysis, and the result of this analytical turn was a shift from the study of thematic similarities to that of contextual variation and performance. Following these guidelines regarding the flourishing of Folklore Studies, an Argentinian law introduced by Senator Magdalena Odarda in 2019 now guarantees the right to receive education in folklore in all Argentinian schools.

However, a focus on collection still persists at present in those institutions devoted to teaching "folk" dance and music, seen as expressions of "genuine" folk culture. In fact, essentialist notions affirming the inward, or essential nature of folk culture as invariable, reappeared since the 1990s under the concept of intangible heritage, aimed at preserving the "genuine" legacy from the past threatened by globalization (Fischman 2012: 281). In fact, globalization has been considered by those who follow such trends as a serious peril for vernacular cultures, which deserve to be preserved as invariable expressions of genuine tradition. Belief narratives and other discursive expressions circulating in the media, as the ones analyzed in a following section, are still deemed as spurious manifestations that threaten genuine tradition.[14]

Once the monumental corpus of Vidal de Battini came to be published, the trend of Argentinian collections began to be focused more on regional contexts, as had previously been done by Carrizo, Perkins Hidalgo and Agüero Vera. Contemporary scholars opened up interest in contextual variation and focused their attention in the texture and the discursive strategies used by the narrators. Blache's works were an example of this change. Although the main part of her contributions dealt with theoretical proposals, she also provided a collection of folk narratives *Estructura del miedo. Narrati-*

[14] For further considerations regarding "genuine" and "spurious" tradition, see Handler & Linnekin 1984.

vas folklóricas guaraníticas [*Structure of fear. Guaranytical Folk Narratives*] (Blache 1991/1982), based on her PhD thesis defended at Indiana University in 1977 under the supervision of Richard Dorson. This consisted of a corpus of legends recorded from Paraguayan migrants in Buenos Aires city, which served as a means of understanding contextual social beliefs. In this pioneering work, Blache adopted a new analytical approach to folk narrative texts, grounded on semiotic studies.

A contemporary local collection that exemplifies the tension between different paradigms is *Cuentos y leyendas de La Pampa* [*Tales and Legends from La Pampa*] by Nélida Giovannoni and María Inés Poduje (1988), organized according to classification parameters similar to Vidal de Battini's ones, based on the Aarne-Thompson Tale Type Index.[15] Like those of Vidal de Battini, these authors registered folktales and legends in accordance with an anthological criterion, that is to say, a criterion based on the collection of selected texts rather than on an analytical interpretation. As in earlier collections, animal tales were the first category, this collection also including marvellous, religious and moral tales. In the Prologue, the authors nonetheless highlighted the gap between universal categories and vernacular narratives. Similar to the format of Chertudi's collection, the versions were based on re-writings of manuscript texts of the 1921 survey, along with new ones recorded in fieldwork which showed an interweaving with belief narratives, those transcribed in the 1921 survey being corrected to fit with "pure" classificatory categories. The vernacular category of *lo pampeano* ("all that what belongs to La Pampa"), used as a taxonomic parameter regarding legends, was, for example, bound to local beliefs.

Other collections are the ones authored by María Palleiro, researcher in Hispanic Philology and Argentinian Folklore, whose main interest has been the intertwinning between folktales and belief narratives in different contexts and channels of discourse. Such collections contained the results of more than twenty years of fieldwork carried out in rural and urban Argentinian contexts. The first two anthologies, *El escondite mágico y otros cuentos*

[15] The Aarne–Thompson–Uther Index is a catalogue of folktale types, in which folktales are classified, according to thematic criteria, with a tale type number. The tale type index, first created by the Finn Antti Aarne, and then revised by the American Stith Thompson, author of the *Motif Index of Folk Literature*, provides a short thematic description of each tale type. Published in 1928, it has been expanded firstly in 1961 (named since then AT Index) and most recently in 2004 and 2011 by the German Hans-Jörg Uther (lately named ATU Index). It is worth pointing out that the description of each folktale, product of a comparative work of different folktales of the most distant parts of the world and of different historic periods, is a generalization based on thematic features. When Vidal de Battini published her collection, the last updating of the Tale Type Index by Uther was not yet made, so her classification follows AT parameters. For further considerations regarding the classification system into tale types and folk matrices, see Palleiro 2019.

folklóricos riojanos [*The Magic Hiding-Place and Other Argentinian Folktales*] (1990) and *Los tres pelos del Diablo* [*The Three Hairs from the Devil's Beard*] (1992), included marvellous tales, while the third, *La fiesta en el cielo* [*The Heavenly Banquet*] (1998), comprised of animal tales. Along with these anthologies, Palleiro edited five critical editions. The first two (Palleiro 2004b, 2011) included both marvellous and religious tales along with belief narratives, while the third one (Palleiro 2016), *El cuento folklórico riojano: una aproximación a la narrativa oral* [*Folktales from La Rioja, Argentina: An Approach to Oral Narrative*] comprised animal, marvelous and realistic tales, all of them classified according to AT and ATU parameters. Such parameters are based on the thematic concept of *tale type*. Thompson (1946: 415) defined the tale type as "a traditional tale that has an independent existence" that may be told "as a complete narrative and does not depend for its meaning on any other tale". Each tale type may consist in only one or on a combination of thematic minor units or 'motifs', which are the building blocks within the plot-patterns, repeated in different folktales of different times and places. The fourth collection, *La dama fantasma. Los laberintos de la memoria en el relato folklórico* [*The Lady Ghost. Labyrinths of Memory in the Folktale*], encompasses only belief narratives (Palleiro 2018), while the fifth (Palleiro 2020) contained animal tales intertwined with belief narratives.[16] The main critical edition, which was the first one *Fue una historia real. Itinerarios de un archivo* [*It was Real: A Dossier with Different Itineraries*], contained diverse versions of the matrix "Meeting Death", which shares thematic features with the motif classified by Thompson in his *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature* (1955–1958) with the number 332.3.3.1, The Vanishing Hitchhiker, in different contexts and channels of discourse (Palleiro 2004b, 2018). Using the theoretical guidelines of semiotics, performance (Bauman 1975), and French genetic criticism which deals with registering the process of writing (Grésillon 1994), reformulated for the textualization of oral discourse, the aim was to provide both a register and an interpretative analysis of folk narrative texts, highlighting their fictionalization processes and the relevance of social beliefs. The concept of *narrative matrix*, as a classificatory issue, served to put together folktales, legends and other belief narratives under the same pattern, including not only thematic types and motifs but also compositional and stylistic features. Such concept of narrative matrix adds to the thematic features of tale types, structural and rhetoric ones identified by intertextual comparison of different narrative versions. Thus characterized, each matrix constitutes a pre-textual pattern stored in the memory of folk narrators. Such pre-textual patterns, comprising thematic, compositional and stylistic fea-

[16] Owing to limitations in length, only individual works are mentioned here, while works published as an editor and collective works are not listed.

tures stabilized along the diachronic process of oral (and written) tradition, are transformed with the addition, suppression, substitution, or displacement of these changing details, generating alternative itineraries in different communicative situations. The matrix served in fact as a pre-text for alternative narrative itineraries, similar to the ones of a virtual hypertext (Palleiro 2004b: 54–55). This concept is aimed to open the one of tale types based only in a thematic classification to other aspects, such as the structural and rhetoric construction of folk narrative texts. It is also oriented to highlight the relevance of contextual transformations, including those connected with social beliefs. As it will be explained in a following section, such transformations include new envirnonments and channels of discurse, such as urban and virtual narratives.[17]

Another trend in Argentinian collections at this time is that of registering indigenous narratives, some of them in bilingual editions, in both Spanish and the vernacular languages. An antecedent of this approach is Berta Koessler Ilg's *Tradiciones Araucanas* [*Araucan Traditions*] (1962), printed in 2006 under the title *Cuenta el pueblo mapuche* [*The Mapuche People Tell*]. The work of this German folklorist, who became the wife of a medical doctor who worked in a Mapuche community, includes folk narrative texts, organised into three volumes: the first containing "traditions", the second, "myths and legends", and the third, "tales and fables". Koessler Ilg provided not only a Spanish version of the Mapuche narratives but also ethnographical information about the cultural representations and vernacular beliefs of this aboriginal community from Southern Argentina and Chile. An analytical approach was also used in the pioneering work of Else María Waag, doctor in Anthropology and university professor, *Tres entidades weküfu en la cultura mapuche* [*Three Weküfu Entities in the Mapuche Culture*] (1965), centered on the study of the cultural representations of evil entities and other local beliefs of the Mapuches. This study is based in a fieldwork experience regarding vernacular beliefs among Mapuche people. *Cuentan los mapuches* [*The Mapuches Tell*] is another anthology of indigenous narratives in Spanish put together by César Fernandez (1995), doctor of Literature whose main interest is the study of Mapuche culture. His work also included a preliminary study dealing with Mapuche poetics and beliefs. An outstanding bilingual collection is that by Ana Fernández Garay, doctor in Linguistics and professor at Buenos Aires University. This collection, whose title is *Testimonios de los últimos ranqueles* [*The Testimonies of the Last Ranqueles*], provides different level of transcription ranging from Ranquelin Mapuche to Spanish, a method also followed by Marisa Malvestitti, whose doctoral thesis, *La variedad mapuche de la línea*

[17] A first approach to classification problems, connected with Argentinian folk narratives circulating on the Internet, has been included in Palleiro 2003.

sur [*The Mapuche Language Variety of the South*] (2005) was supervised by Fernández Garay. The Mapuche language and culture were also studied in *El pueblo mapuche: poéticas de pertenencia y devenir* [*Mapuche Folks: Poetics of Belonging and Becoming*] (2006) by Lucia Golluscio, a work containing a foreword by Claudia Briones, PhD, Professor of the University of Río Negro, located in Argentinian Patagonia. Lucía Golluscio is an expert in indigenous linguistics, and Claudia Briones is a researcher whose main research field deals with indigenous Mapuche culture. These collections, the main goal of which was to register the linguistic variants of indigenous languages facing extinction, reveal the impact of the new communicative approach to folklore, based on the aforementioned ethnography of speech. In most of these works, folk beliefs are taken into account along with folktales, as narrative expressions of these vernacular communities, mainly placed in rural areas.

Another innovative collection was *Cuentos de las tres abuelas* [*Tales of Three Grandmothers*] by Silvia García and Diana Rolandi (2000/1995), the distinctive feature of which is a recording of the different phases of textualization of folk narratives. While the first part included contextual information, the second provided references to vernacular beliefs, both parts then being rewritten in the format of "tales for children", which are now classified into "marvellous", "animal" and "human" tales. Although these tales have been written in Spanish, most of them originally circulated in the Quechua language. The hallmark of this work, accomplished by two anthropologists of the Argentinian National Institute of Anthropology and Latin American Thought, was once again that of including different stages of transcription of oral material, mirroring the intertextual gap between orality and written culture. Such intertextual gap shows the rhetoric work of recreating vernacular narrative expressions; whose texture reflects not only the voice of folk narrators but also the voice of the collectors who transform the spontaneous oral discourse into a text.

All of these trends have been reflected not only in folk narrative collections but also in those of folk music, such as that by the Argentinian Isabel Aretz (see Aretz 1952, 1978), who followed Cortazar's ideas regarding traditional culture produced in rural areas, and served in Venezuela as a director of the INIDEF (Instituto Interamericano de Etnomusicologia y Folklore). Similar guidelines were followed by the researcher in *Chamamé* folk music Rubén Pérez Bugallo (see Bugallo 1996). Contextual paradigms, meanwhile, were followed by the ethnomusicologist Ercilia Moreno Chá, whose outstanding research into the spontaneous musical folklore of Argentina and Uruguay was published in 2016, and by Nilda Castelluccio (2015), who dealt with aesthetic recreation of Argentinian folklore in musical expressions such as *Zamba*. The Colombian Carlos Miñana Blasco (2000), meanwhile, record-

ed traditional music in fieldwork collections in the 1960s, underlining the relevance of the *Nuevo Cancionero* movement, in which singers recreated folk expressions now contextualized in political discourse (Fischman 2012: 280). In Argentina, Ricardo Kaliman (2003) and Carlos Molinero (2011) published the results of their research dealing with the recreations of folk motifs and folk patterns in poetic and political songs of the 1970's, the words of which expressed social beliefs. Folk music collections reflect the tension between the trend of collecting folk material in rural areas and the aesthetic work of recreating folk motifs in political or artistic musical discourses, performed as well in urban contexts.

As this diachronic overview has shown, philological and historic-geographic approaches dominated in the earliest collections in a period during which the main goal of folklorists was that of recording texts rather than analyzing contextual performances. Contemporary work, on the other hand, reflects the impact of performed-centered paradigms focused on the discursive construction of the narrative message, something that includes work on belief narratives. Others, meanwhile, have focused on recording indigenous narrative genres facing extinction, some adding information regarding the social beliefs of vernacular communities. While the first collectors used questionnaires to document a wider range of narratives in the whole country, nowadays folk researchers tend to restrict their work to specific contexts, using an accurate methodology of registering and analyzing a smaller range of narrative texts.

Among other things, this overview has revealed the richness of Argentinian folk narrative that mirrors the distinctive features of different local contexts. One of these distinctive features is the particularly Argentinian multiethnic profile, which is connected to the convergence of vernacular indigenous groups, European migrants and Créole cultures. The overview has also shown how belief narratives, previously reduced in the first collections to minor categories such as "superstitions", have now gained new space in more contemporary works, illustrating how the *a priori* criteria of collectionism has now been gradually replaced by performance-centered ones.

Although "belief narratives" have been taken into account in some of these approaches and folk narrative collections, a different approach, aimed at widening the framework, is still needed. Such new approach would involve not only printed and oral texts registered in rural contexts, but also digital and urban ones, placed in global contexts.

To provide an example of how belief narratives, neglected in the main collections, deserve to gain even more space in Argentinian Folklore Studies, the next section will deal with narratives that circulate in contemporary urban environments, not only told orally, but also passed around digitally.

From "Godmother Death" to Contemporary Legends: Belief Narratives in Argentinian Urban Contexts

An example of how some tale types classified in Argentinian folk narrative collections as fictional folktales also pass around in modern urban contexts in the form of belief narratives related to disease and conspiracy theories, is the one of Aarne-Thompson (AT) 332, "Godfather Death".[18]

In the fourth volume of her collection, the abovementioned Berta Vidal de Battini had versions 948 to 952, titled "Godmother Death" (*La muerte por madrina*), mainly recorded in rural contexts, and classified as "Tales of magic". She added a "Note" to this group of versions, underlining the thematic relationship with AT 332, stating: "Death at the feet of the sick man: Death is at first tricked by the man, and then avenges herself by tricking the man." In this "Note", Vidal de Battini highlighted as well the connection of these versions with the Hispanic tradition.

Contemporary versions, such as the one whose title is "Welcome to AIDS club", recorded in fieldwork in Buenos Aires in 1990 by Palleiro from Nando, a young university student aged 19, in a dialogue with Paula and Mary, aged 19 and 20, have been classified under the matrix "Meeting Death" (Palleiro 2004: 156–158). As explained below, this matrix shares thematic features with the aforesaid AT and ATU tale types, along with other structural and rhetoric features, some of which are similar to the ones described by Vidal de Battini in her "Note" referred to the group of versions she dealt with. In this version, the protagonist, a foreign young girl infected with AIDS who has sex with a local young man, is presented as a metaphor of Death personified and as a symbol of external dangers transmitted to local people:

> Nando: The following was told to my sister. That a guy went...
> Paula: He met a girl...
> Nando: He went to Brazil, he met a Brazilian girl, a *garota.* He invited her to a hotel, they spent the whole night together, they had sex, everything OK. And the morning after, when he woke up, the girl had disappeared, and in the mirror, he found that she had written: "Welcome to AIDS club".
> Mary: It is also said that in European beaches, some advertisements can be found, fixed to syringes put in the sand, saying: "Welcome to AIDS world".

[18] As affirmed in a previous study (Palleiro 2020), the thematic description of AT tale type 332 is actually more similar to South American versions than the later ATU type 332, whose description is: "A poor man (...) wants a (just) godfather for his newborn son (...) and chooses death (angel of death, plague) because he treats everyone alike".

In this narrative, the young girl who transmitted this disease through a sexual rapport is associated with dangerous foreign places, such as Brazil or Europe (Palleiro 2004b: 327–342). Interestingly, the thematic content has common features with ATU and AT 332, "Godfather Death", the climactic point of which is the recognition of the lively love affair as a deathly threat. Moreover, this oral version, told by the narrator as a belief narrative, shares as well thematic features with the motif described and classified by Thompson (1955–1958) as Z 111, "Death personified". Along with these thematic features, it presents as well structural ones such as a sequential development involving the combination of the following episodes: "The (erotic) encounter" between a guy and a young woman, "The farewell" of the couple; "The quest" for the woman who has enticed the guy; "The finding" of her grave (or her deathly message); and "The recognition" of the erotic encounter as a deathly one (Palleiro 2018: 9–10). The rhetorical structure involves the antithetical dynamics of erotic and deadly forces, along with the metaphorical personification of Death, represented by the (foreign) Brazilian girl. The contextual transformations of the matrix, as described in Palleiro (2004b: 327–343; 2018: 9–10) are here directly connected with AIDS threat. Apparently irrelevant details, such as the mention of the Brazilian girl or *garota* are discursive markers that provide an interpretation of this single event as a representation of a global threat to local identities such as that of the Argentinian one. As analyzed in previous works (Palleiro 2004b), the rhetoric construction of this and other similar narratives is based on a synecdochic logic, connected to global apocalyptic threats to local cultures (Briggs 2001, Briggs and Mantini-Briggs 2003). In fact, the synecdoche is a rhetoric strategy dealing with a dynamic tension between the part (the local case) and the whole (an entire nation). This and other versions associated with such social beliefs can be seen as as examples designed to warn local audiences about global perils.

Belief Narratives in Covid Times

The message noted above can also be recognized in versions of more recent legends dealing with the Covid-19 infection. In recent times, conspiracy theories regarding a Chinese threat to local security are associated with the spread of Covid all over the world. Fear of infection has dominated since 2020, and humanity has been compelled to develop new habits. City streets have been emptied because of this pandemic, and the infection has become a dominant semantic field in all forms of discourse, ranging from everyday conversation to newspapers and TV news. Conspiracy rumors, such as those noted above, have provided simple explanations for this complex situation.

As Anastasiya Astapova (2015) affirmed, such rumors fall into the category of contemporary legends which are based on older traditional themes, these modern motifs that circulate orally being told as if they were true or at least plausible. The same structure of the narratives dealing with AIDS, with the synecdochic connection with global external attacks to local identities, can also be found in those legends dealing with Covid. The United States President Trump in particular demonstrated hostility towards Chinese government, assigning it the responsibility for spreading Covid. Asian people living in the US soon reported signs of hostility towards them, and the spread of a discursive net of rumors, fake news and virtual messages was obviously aimed at finding a target responsible for the global threat, reference being made in particular to the habit of people buying living animals such as bats at open markets. It was presented as the mechanism that spread the lethal virus from animals to humans. It was principally associated with Asiatic cultures, as can be seen in the following testimony:

> The fucking Chinese dirty habit of buying living animals in open markets, so dangerous, without any care, provoked this damn pandemic. The whole world has to suffer the consequences of this fucking habit[19] (Stella, aged 50, Buenos Aires, September 2020).

The repetition of the adjective "fucking" attributed to Chinese people who are also said to have "dirty" habits such as that of buying living animals in open markets "without care", shows their stigmatization, according to synecdochic logic, according to which a single case is linked to the whole community of an entire nation.

Other testimonies, like the one that follows, show the same tension between the local and the global:

> I believe that this virus has been the result of an experiment made in a local laboratory, which has gone largely beyond the limits of what expected, crossing all national boundaries (Eugene P., aged 50, Argentinian, December 2020).

This testimony, introduced by the modal verb "I believe", places the interpretation about the conspiratorial origin of Covid virus clearly within the area of a belief legend.

[19] In the Spanish original: "La puta sucia costumbre de los chinos de comprar animales vivos en ferias al aire libre, tan peligrosa, sin ningún cuidado, provocó esta maldita pandemia. El mundo entero tiene que bancarse las consecuencias de esta puta costumbre."

Memes and short videos circulating throughout the internet, such as the following ones, recorded in Argentina via WhatsApp, also mirror these ideas:

> Hello, how are are you? I am acquainted with your carelessness.
>
> […] Since you don't believe in the virus, you are telling your friends that it doesn't exist.
>
> […] Hello, how are you? I am Covid-19, I have been created by Chinese people, I am a lethal virus.
>
> […] Hello, how are you? Today I praise your imprudence, and I want to infect you right now.
>
> (Sent by Argentinian citizen Silvia Chevel, aged 62, in January 2021)[20]

The video that accompanied the first sequence of this narrative has a colourful background in green and yellow, and a red icon of a personified Covid, pursuing a man who is walking freely down the street without any mask, an antithetical image compared to that of a mother and child, who are shown to wear masks. After the encounter with the virus, the climactic sequence shows Covid entering through the mouth of the man who collapses, but crashing ineffectually against the masks of the mother and child.

This text, which contains an apparently innocent warning message, also alludes to the Chinese people as having created the lethal virus. Such message can be considered to be a micronarrative, whose pre-text is the abovementioned matrix of "Meeting Death", also seen in the oral account regarding AIDS. In a way similar to the AIDS version, the personified virus has an encounter with a healthy person, which turns out to be an invitation to meet Death, something emphasized by the repetition of the greeting formula "Hello, how are you?". The virus can thus be said to take the role of a metaphor, focusing on meanings dealing with a global disease, the lethal effects of which are intensified by the use of words relating to the idea of infection.[21] As suggested above, the matrix shares thematic features with Thompson's motif Z 111 "Death personified", the climactic point of the story being the episode in which Death, in the shape of a Covid icon, infects the man. The rhetorical construction seen here involves an antithetical tension between activities relating to daily life, which are shown to have deathly consequences, and the threat of infection. In the same way as in the previous version regarding AIDS, such rhetorical structure involving the antithetical dynamics of erotic

[20] This verbal message was linked to the video film noted above.

[21] For further considerations regarding metaphors and rhetoric of disease, see Palleiro 2016 (in Krmpotic and Saizar 2016).

and deadly forces, along with the metaphorical personification of Death, is also a distinctive feature shared with Stith Thompson's motif Z 111, "Death personified".

A central point in these narratives is that of believability (Astapova, 2015; Palleiro 2008b). In a lecture dealing with belief narratives based in part on research made in Iceland, Terry Gunnell (2021) has pointed out that the semantic field of belief deals with "trust", "acceptance" and "persuasion". He also underlined that to believe is to accept a statement as being true on the grounds of authority, testimony or logical inference, adding that "trust" and "acceptance" highlight that more than one party is involved, and that belief can be seen as a form of knowledge.[22] From a semiotic perspective, belief is a modal expression of certainty, that is to say, a subjective (or intersubjective) expression in which the true value of a statement depends on an interpersonal agreement or social consensus (Greimas and Courtès 1982). With regard to social beliefs, Gunnell also affirms that, although being naturally contestable, beliefs provide a sense of identity and connection with a community. Being the true value dependant of a social consensus, it is easy to understand that believability can be contestable, but it is also evident that the agreement about such true value provides a connection with those who share such consensus. These affirmations can be applied to narratives discussed here, in which the acceptance of a form of discourse as being true can help reinforce a sense of local security being threatened by external forces. Narratives dealing with conspiracy theories which explain the origin of AIDS or Covid as a being the result of global activities, are based on forms of social agreement, in which statements made by interlocutors, be they politicians or common citizens, are presented as undeniable truths in order to obtain consensus from a wide audience.[23] Such narratives are often based on real life events and real life behavior, a typical feature reflections of living beliefs, prejudices, values, and stereotypes (Kalmre 2013: 131). All these aspects are also contained in messages contained in the AIDS and Covid narratives. They are stereotypical account of happenings experienced as real, a typical feature here being that of the suspicious "Chinese people". To summarize, the axis of all these discourses is the element of believability. Considering belief as a social consensus about certainty, these narratives can be seen as being constructed as warning messages against illness such as AIDS and Covid, which are both presented in the form of threatening biological conspiracy weapons.

The versions considered in this section show the intertwining of folktales and belief narratives, already studied in a previous work (Palleiro

[22] For further conceptualizations regarding belief narratives in folk discourse, see Valk (2012): 350–368.

[23] Further discussion regarding rhetorics of truth in virtual narratives dealing with AIDS and Covid-19 has been included in Palleiro 2021: 82.

2004b), here revisited, in which AIDS was considered as a global pest affecting local identities such as the Argentinian one, threatened by "Brazilian" or "European" external groups. In the same way as in the versions classified by Vidal de Battini under AT 332, in which Death is personified as a woman, in the AIDS version, the Brazilian girl is a metaphor of Death personified. Apparently irrelevant details, such as the mention of the *garota* (Brazilian girl), are discursive markers that provide an interpretation of this single event as a representation of a global threat to local identities, such as that of the Argentina. As Jan Mukařovský (1977: 180) pointed out, details are the basic semantic units of folk messages, providing new meanings, in this case dealing with the metaphoric force of AIDS, here associated with the global "world" of infection, nowadays represented by Covid, whose origin has been associated with exogroupal Chinese people.

Turning to the initial discussion concerning belief narratives in folk narrative collections, although belief narratives have been put to one side in the main Argentinian folk narrative collections such as Vidal de Battini's one, due to the aim to make the collected texts accomodate types and motifs, the same narrative patterns can be identified in contemporary narratives, not only dealing with ghosts and spirits, but also with AIDS, Covid and conspiracy theories. Even if in the most of the first Argentinian folk narrative archives and collections the topics of belief narratives have been considered and classified as "superstitions", some monographic studies associated them with cultural representations of local groups, connected with indigenous or rural cultures. However, similar narrative patterns can be recognized in contemporary narratives circulating in urban contexts, not only orally but also digitally, in a tension between local and global.

Urban and digital versions, connected with belief narratives, which have been neglected in the main Argentinian folk narrative collections studied in the first part of this article, mirror this dynamic tension between local and global. These days, it seems that such a dynamic is the clue of the life of folk narrative, whose flexible patterns can be adapted to different places, times and historical contexts.

Conclusion

The aim of this article has been to provide both a general overview of Argentinian folk narrative studies in the Latin American context, focusing the attention in belief narratives not included in the main Argentinian collections, and to offer an example of how these belief narratives of various kinds nowadays pass around not only orally but also digitally. Many of these narratives, which circulate not only in rural but also in urban environments, are organized around the same narrative patterns upon which folktales have

been classified in Argentinian folk narrative collections. These discursive expressions are transmitted not only through printed and oral messages, but also via email, WhatsApp and Internet, opening the boundaries of local communities towards the global context, nowadays threatened by the Covid-19 pandemic situation.

In the context of the Covid infection, global threats and conspiracy theories acquired special relevance. Not only narratives regarding ghosts and spirits, but also legends relating to disease and global intrigues have gained space both in rural and urban environments, and the digital world has proved to be a channel of discourse in which these narrative expressions circulate widely. Many of these narratives use folk motifs such as that of "Meeting Death" as pre-texts to construct discursive messages. This and other thematic patterns can be found in the earlier folk narrative collections bound to a concept of Folklore connected with small communities that tended to include only motifs registered in rural contexts. Nowadays, new formats such as belief narratives of the kind discussed here seem to provide extensive shapes, suitable to incorporate topics such as global threats and global diseases. Belief narrative is evidently an umbrella concept, which makes the boundaries between folklore genres more flexible since, as Gunnell (2021) affirms, these narratives deal not only with different degrees of openness to persuasion, but also with the world and others around us. Such openness is often expressed through narrative patterns that can also been identified in fictional folktales. Perhaps the future of Argentinian collections might be the incorporation of belief narratives, merged with folktales in a bendable combination.

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Abbreviations

AT: Aarne, Antti & Stith Thompson. *The Types of the Folktale: a Classification and Bibliograp*hy.
ATU: Uther, Hans-Jörg. *The Types of International Folktales: a Classification and Bibliography, Based on the System of Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson.*
INIDEF: Instituto Interamericano de Etnomusicologia y Folklore [Inter-American Institute of Ethnomusicology and Folklore].

Relatos folklóricos argentinos en el contexto latinoamericano: Textos, colecciones y narrativa de creencias

María Inés Palleiro

Resumen

Este trabajo propone una aproximación a las colecciones de relatos folklóricos argentinos desde la perspectiva de las conexiones con la narrativa de creencias, en el contexto latinoamericano. A partir de un breve recorrido por los estudios y colecciones de relatos folklóricos argentinos, en el contexto de los estudios latinoamericanos de Folklore y narrativa folklórica, el artículo subraya las interrelaciones entre cuentos folklóricos y narrativa de creencias, como punto de partida para una reflexión sobre los límites entre géneros narrativos folklóricos. La primera parte ofrece así un itinerario diacrónico por las colecciones y archivos más relevantes de narrativa folklórica argentina, en el marco de las tendencias y paradigmas de los estudios folklóricos en Latinoamérica. La segunda ofrece un ejemplo concreto de las interconexiones entre cuento folklórico y narrativa de creencias, a partir del comentario de versiones contemporáneas de la matriz "El encuentro con la Muerte", en las que pueden reconocerse elementos del tipo temático folklórico ATU 332, *Godfather Death* ("La Muerte por padrino/madrina") y del motivo Z111 de Thompson, *Death personified* ("La Muerte personificada"). Los itinerarios de la matriz tienen que ver con la introducción de tópicos tales como el SIDA y el Covid-19, tanto en versiones orales, como en el espacio virtual de Internet. El trabajo traza una línea de continuidad entre registros de colecciones reseñadas en la primera parte y los nuevos registros, para poner de manifiesto transformaciones e interrelaciones con la narrativa de creencias. La narrativa de creencias es considerada como un "concepto paraguas" (*umbrella concept)* que evidencia la apertura de tipos y motivos folklóricos estereotipados hacia la nuevos tópicos, formas y estilos, en el contexto argentino contemporáneo.

Palabras-clave: Relato Folklórico, Narrativa de Creencias, Argentina, América Latina, Sida, Covid-19.

Аргентинске приповетке у латиноамеричком контексту: Збирке и предања

Марија Инес Палеиро

Резиме

У овом прилогу пажња је усмерена на аргентинска предања у латиноамеричком контексту. Полазећи од панорамског прегледа проучавања фолклора у Аргентини и Латинској Америци, у раду је понуђен приступ предањима заснован на флексибилним границама између фолклорних жанрова. Рад отпочиње хронолошким прегледом најзначајних збирки аргентинске народне прозе, указујући на правце развоја у проучавању фолклора у сваком периоду, и затим на примерима показује како фокус у сакупљању народне прозе може да се мења кад се границе између типова приповедака и предања учине још еластичнијим, при чему се узимају у обзир и они већ измењени. Пример у ком се спајају приче и мотиви ATU 332 "Godfather Death" („Кума смрт"), и Thompson Z 111 "Death personified" („Персонификована смрт") с причама о сиди и ковиду, показују порозне границе између приповедних жанрова, чиме се предање успоставља као кровни термин отворен за нове путеве кретања типова и мотива.

Кључне речи: народне приповетке, друштвена веровања, Аргентина, Латинска Америка, сида, ковид 19.

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Traditional Culture and Folklore Science: Two Approaches in the Discursive Construction of the Cultural Field of Folklore in Chile

Cristian Yáñez Aguilar

The objective of this work is to address two conceptual approaches that have been quite relevant in the discursive construction of folklorists in Chile since the second half of the 20th century. On the one hand, an approach determined to legitimize folklore as a science with a determined and determinable object and method, and, on the other, a perspective cultivated from the field of aesthetics that incorporated the notion of traditional culture as a framework for interpretation from a perspective much more humanistic and philosophical, indicating the presence of certain ethical values of the popular and rural world in cultural manifestations. Both conceptions were disseminated through folklore schools where the primary, and to a lesser extent secondary teachers of the country participated, thus facilitating the social reproduction of certain concepts and conceptions that today are part of a widely disseminated discourse among folklorists: Traditional Culture, Folklore-Life, *Proyección del Folklore*, make up a varied, complex body, sometimes contradictory, but which was fundamental in the discursive construction of the cultural field of folklore in Chile. Through the following research, we are going to review historically how the cultural field of folklore was built in Chile and later: both currents, their concepts, dissemination instances and main exponents will be addressed historically and conceptually.

Keywords: discourse, folklore, traditional culture, folklore science, folklore in Chile.

The Proposal of This Work

This article seeks to describe and understand two theoretical trends that were very relevant for the construction of a folklorists' discursive framework linked to the trend of the folklore projection (*Proyección del Folklore*)[1]

[1] In this work I will use expressions: 'folklore projection', 'folkloric projection', 'projection

in Chile. Although the conceptual development of folklore in Chile starts by the beginning of the 20th century, with the influence of researchers of cultural manifestations from the perspectives of philology and ethnography, the second half of the same century was marked by folklorist-protagonists who dedicated themselves to collecting and staging dance, music and other folklore expressions supported by theoretical perspectives, among which we identify two that bequeathed concepts that were later reproduced among folklorists, festivals, public programs and some university abodes linked to teaching and university extension: folklore as science and the notion of Traditional Culture. As the vertex of both appears the notion of projection of folklore, which is a third perspective reproduced through formative exponents.

We identify two currents originated in Chile but at the same time mutually permeated and unified, in generalized discursive use, by Augusto Raúl Cortázar's perspective on the projection of folklore. In this way, what we aim to show is that although there is a discursive field common to folklorists in Chile, these concepts respond to different epistemological perspectives and even contrast each other in logical terms, although both have bequeathed forms of "naming", reconciled through usage in exponents nowadays hosting the cultural field in which folklorists operate in Chile.

Our work holds a constructivist perspective and therefore we propose the following exposition: 1) exposition of the historical context of folklore agents since the second half of the 20th century in Chile; 2) exposition of the two conceptual currents manifest in Chile, reproduced in Argentine as well, that served as vertex and discursive synthesis; 3) exhibition of the exponents of reproduction of such concepts, and 4) reflections on discursive uses and their epistemological bases in the case of folklorists in Chile.

of folklore' or 'projections', a term proposed by Augusto Raúl Cortázar, that has been very relevant not only in Chile but also in Latin America. In the body of this work we will propose its definition; however, for now the proposal made by Fernando Fischman seems pertinent: "He [Cortázar] relativized these ideas when he sketched out his *deslindes conceptuales* (conceptual demarcations) as a way of broadening his framework's scope. He thus included within the purview of Folklore Studies what he termed *transplantes* (transplants) – that is, the expressions that were originally performed in "folk" communities and are performed in urban contexts when their inhabitants move to the cities, *elementos folklóricos transculturados* (transculturated folkloric elements), expressions that were originally folk, but are currently performed by urban dwellers, like proverbs, sayings, and superstitions, and *proyecciones* (projections), expressions produced outside the folk community and transmitted by mechanical and institutional means" (Fischman 2012: 282).

The Field of Folklore in Chile Since the Second Half of the 20th Century

From the beginning of the 20th century, folklore was established as an instance of research on popular culture, marked by the creation of the Chilean Folklore Society in 1909, under the direction of the German philologist Rodolfo Lenz. By the middle of the same century, there was a relevant confluence between agents from different fields: the university through research, teaching and extension institutions; the cultural industries through radio and the record industry; folklorists and a Welfare State that, in the midst of the developmentalist policies of the period, had repercussions in the creation of a cultural field where the figure of the folklorist was consolidated. People from the city who entered the peasant world to collect songs, dances and music typified as folkloric. In line with an informative approach, it should also be noted that on February 3rd 1943 the Chilean Folkloric Association was founded, linked to the National Historical Museum, from where a series of works were published and where the figure of the author Oreste Plath, one of the greatest disseminators of folklore in Chile, stands out. In the field of academic research, the theory of types and motifs in the publication of *Cuentos Folkloricos de Chile* by dr. Yolando Pino Saavedra, composed between 1960 and 1963, should be highlighted. However, these approaches were not directly connected with the folklorists' organizations that emerged in the second half of the 20th century throughout the country, as was the case with the theories of folklore projection, folklore studies as a science, or the traditional culture's perspectives.

For the purposes of this work, we shall emphasize the role of the universities[2] for the emergence of conceptual proposals, always attempted to be socio-historically and structurally contextualized.

For historical background, we must point out two very relevant milestones prior to 1950, in relation to the construction of a cultural field in which the activity of folklorists in Chile was legitimized.

1) Institute of Musical Research of the University of Chile

The Folkloric Research Institute was created in 1943, founded as a private entity, although relied on the support of the Faculty of Fine Arts of the University of Chile. It was attended by prominent intellectuals from the field of classical music, but focused on the knowledge of popular and folk musical expressions. In 1944 this institution became officially dependent

[2] We have previously addressed incipiently the role of cultural industries in the configuration of the folkloric field in some regions of Chile (see Yáñez Aguilar 2020; 2021).

on the Faculty of Fine Arts of the University of Chile (Barros and Danneman 1960). In terms of the performance of a work about folklore from music and its concepts, it should be remembered that the Institute of Musical Research organized and published a brochure called *Chile*, where an explanation of the concerts was given. According to Barros and Danneman, "this brochure is the first attempt to offer an organic vision, both of the folkloric-musical material, and of concepts and study methods related to this specialty, with the constraints of the limited space available" (Barros and Danemman 2002: 85). Salas (1945) recalls that the people of the Institute took advantage of the second tour of the Symphonic Orchestra of Chile, to which they added a Commission formed by the musical composer and ethnographer Carlos Isamitt, who in April 1944 visited a number of cities located throughout the south of Chile, where he gave lectures and talks in order to systematically explain "the scientific and cultural purposes pursued by the Institute of Musical Folklore" (Salas 1945: 20). He ends the journey stating its value, because it allowed old forgotten musical and dance forms to be found, generating expectations for new research.

This institution developed research and informative activities, that traced an epistemological and discursive route for the new generations. Only as a significant example, we expose that one of the activities of the first period of the Institute was the preparation of a map with provinces and departments, where "traditional winds are still preserved with purity" (Salas 1945: 20). This terminology is interesting because it reveals the relevance of romantic concepts associated with purity and tradition, that is, with an idea of authenticity. The author reveals that she is working based on files numbered from 1 to 200, establishing what she calls an Explanatory Map Index: "Files that contain technical documentation of sites, ceremonies, dates and melodies that are sung there, references that are carefully organized and serve as a guideline for future research" (Salas 1945: 20).

A milestone that linked the Institute's activity with the development of a record industry was the publication of the album *Aires Tradicionales y Folklóricos de Chile* [*Traditional and Folkloric Winds of Chile*] in 1944 (Universidad de Chile, RCA Víctor). González, Ohlsen and Rolle (2009) remember that this collection consisted of 10 78rpm records that were presented in a bound album. It will be followed by other publications of record labels for the dissemination of folklore. "Those developed by Odeón in the fifties and sixties, with the series 'El Folklore de Chile' and 'Fiesta Chilena', will be central in the incorporation of repertoire, genres and collectors of Chilean folklore to the national industry" (González, Ohlsen and Rolle 2009: 314). This album had an impact on the diffusion of unknown music and fueled the search that new actors began.

2) Seasonal Schools of the University of Chile

In 1936, the Popular Front [El Frente Popular][3] came to power under the Chilean presidency of Pedro Aguirre Cerda (1936–1941), a relevant milestone in the world context framed in the Cold War.

Along with the work oriented towards people from popular segments of society it is necessary to always remember the link with the aforementioned Institute of Musical Research, since, following the story of one of its founders, professor Filomena Salas (1945), who remembers an episode that, although it may be anecdotal, clearly links both institutions with primary teachers in Chile and the emergence and massification of activities related to folklore in Chile. In her narration, Filomena Salas quotes an audition held at the Law School of the University of Chile on the occasion of the National Congress of Women, with the harmonization support of Jorge Urrutia Blondel and René Amengual on the basis of "various folk melodies that were printed by the machines of the Institute of Musical Extension and distributed to teachers in Santiago and Provinces and in the Summer Courses of the Seasonal School of the University of Chile" (Salas 1945: 20). The quotation ends by clearly expressing the social reproduction present in school institutions: "the choral harmonizations to which we allude have become part of the repertoire of ensembles for voices from different high and primary schools in the country" (Salas 1945: 20).

The Seasonal Schools of the University of Chile undertook, as one of its projects, led by their head director, professor Amanda Labarca, the realization of folklore classes. These schools were held throughout the country, at the headquarters of the organization, and a number of prominent intellectuals supported this initiative. Professor Hiranio Chávez (2021) highlights the impulse of the composer linked to the Institute of Musical Research, Eugenio Pereira Salas, and several other teachers and folklorists who were invited to participate in these schools. In addition to people linked to the first institution, there were folklorists who came from the from popular segments of society and they, little by little, began to be identified as folklorists who, in

[3] The Popular Front was an electoral and political conglomerate composed of the Communist Party of Chile (PC), Socialist (PS), Social Radical (RS) and democratic parties, as well as social organizations such as the Confederation of Workers of Chile (CTCH), Araucanian Unique Front (FUA), Movement for the Emancipation of the Women of Chile (MEMCH). During the government of the Popular Front, a set of policies were carried out that favored industrialization tackled by the State (Import Substitution Model), promotion of education and, in the cultural field, the creation of experimental initiatives in the arts amassed to the bulk of the population of Chile through the mediation of teachers of primary and secondary education. In this context, it is necessary to understand the emergence of the Seasonal Schools that favored the creation of folkloric groups that traced a route for the subsequent work.

the long run, became icons in Chile, such as Violeta Parra and Margot Loyola. The latter had participated in activities organized by the Institute of Musical Research.

The implementation of these university extension courses was important for the emergence of two groups that linked music and dance and became known as *Conjuntos Folklóricos* [*Folkloric Ensembles*]: Cuncumen (1955) and Millaray (1957). What is relevant is that from these courses and from both groups emerged folklorists who came to play a fundamental role in the establishment of a cultural field focused on folklore and the popular world in Chile, such as, for example, Victor Jara, who was trained in theater at the University of Chile and, as a student at the Seasonal Schools, became the theater and dance director of Cuncumen. This theatrical dimension[4] became very important in the folkloric groups. The role of Victor Jara was developed in Cuncumen, as the director of emblematic plays related to the popular, and later as a composer linked to the movement La Nueva Canción Chilena. He was brutally assassinated in 1973 by the right-wing civil-military dictatorship established by Augusto Pinochet (1973–1990). The Cuncumen Group, closely linked to the work of Margot Loyola, became one of the fundamental artistic agents in the "institutionalization of the concept of folklore and the consolidation of repertoire, performative practice, and a way of approaching folklore. [They] will have the support of the university, but also of the music industry, especially radio and records" (González, Ohlsen and Tolle 2009: 311).

Thanks to these courses, the field of folklore spread from the academy to the communities throughout Chile and the practice of collecting and staging began to be legitimized and reproduced through different channels, having in its genesis a relevant impulse from the University of Chile, the state university by excellence in the country. Hence the relevance of the link between the Seasonal Schools and an important view of the State materialized in the policies of the Popular Front, which at the level of institutions, created in the same period, materialized in the creation of the *Teatro Experimental* [*Experimental Theater*] of the University of Chile in 1941 and the *Teatro Ensayo* [*Rehearsal Theater*] of the Catholic University in 1943. There, popular themes and folkloric elements were incorporated in the so-called Generation of 1950.

In the 1960s, the boom of the recording and radio industry, as well as the social processes that mobilized the search for political alternatives to im-

[4] González, Ohlsen and Tolle maintain that already at that time a modernized theater influenced by five elements proposed by Ochsenius will predominate, two of which will be fundamental for the folk ensembles: "the respect for the authenticity of the representation in relation to the original text; and the collective rather than individual sense of the theatrical representation" (quoted in González, Ohlsen and Tolle 2009: 314).

prove the situation of deeply rooted inequalities in the country, generated the conditions for the emergence of new trends linked to musical folklore, such as *La nueva Cancion Chilena* [*The New Chilean Song*], *Neofolklore*, *Typical Music* (an expression linked to the stereotypes of the countryside elite, located in the central valley of Chile, which helped the dominant sectors to symbolize a concept of national identity based on the image of the *huaso* (cowboy)). On the other hand, the developmentalist policies of the sixties provided the framework for training establishments that were nurtured by the contribution of Latin American authors of the time, particularly authors who sought to circumscribe the object of folklore such as Augusto Raúl Cortázar from Argentina and Paulo de Carvalho-Neto from Brazil.

Given their relationship with the institution of university and also with the already institutionalized practice of folklorists, as well as their link with teaching, these perspectives were elaborated by authors such as dr. Manuel Danneman, who was linked to the Institute of Musical Research of the University of Chile since his youth. His work stands out together with the folklorist Raquel Barros, Chilean folklorist who, in 1952, formed the *Agrupación Folklórica Chilena* [*Chilean Folk Group*], the longest-lived of this nature that exists to date in Chile, influenced by groups of this type formed in Spain at that time. Along with the research and staging work, his publications in the *Revista Musical Chilena* [*Chilean Musical Magazine*] stand out. Subsequently, the academic Manuel Danneman was linked to the major of Anthropology of the University of Chile, to the formative exponents in the field of folklore designed at national level and to the creation of an interfaculty seminar of the university that facilitated the reproduction of his theoretical proposals.

On the other hand, it is worth mentioning the work of the intellectual Gaston Soublette of musicological formation who, having had Violeta Parra as a teacher, was also connected to the Institute of Musical Research, as well as to the Chilean Radio as a producer whose work *Chile en 4 Cuerdas* [*Chile in 4 Strings*] should be pointed out, elaborated during the government of the Popular Unity (*La Unidad Popular*) led by Salvador Allende (1970–1973); Soublette was later linked to the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, from where a relevant musicological trend arose carried out by figures such as the musicologist Samuel Claro Valdés and dr. Fidel Sepúlveda. Simultaneously, a field of thought more closely linked to philosophy will emerge here, which will also achieve an important degree of socialization among Chilean folklorists in the second half of the 20th century.

Next, we present the two approaches developed in Chile together with a brief overview of the perspective of Augusto Raúl Cortázar from Argentina, that can be considered a base point between two Chilean perspectives. Previously, Donoso (2009) analyzed these approaches from an important

socio-political and historical perspective, that we seek to deepen with a view to their epistemological background. Thus, the theoretical panorama can be summarized as follows:

1) A concept of folklore as a science that studies a particular kind of behavior.

2) Traditional Culture as a privileged field linked to cultures of oral tradition located preferably in the peasant environment prior to the processes of modernization.

3) A distinction between authentically folkloric manifestations that would constitute the true object of folklore (folklore-life) versus a non-authentic field that would be constituted by the projection of folklore, although, as we will develop throughout the work, it became the space where the aesthetic practices linked to this field currently predominate.

Folklore Studies as a Science

The Chilean author who has represented this perspective, derived from positivist epistemology, that states that folklore is a science, is dr. Manuel Danneman. According to his proposals, folklore constitutes a science that is part of the social sciences but, therefore, it should not be limited "como todavía ocurre con prodigalidad, a construir catastros o registros descriptivos de las cosas, por muy útiles que ellos sean, ya que así no se llegará nunca a penetrar científicamente en ellas para explicarlas y sistematizarlas en su universo al cual pertenecen" ["as it still happens with prodigality, to build cadastres or descriptive records of things, however useful they may be, since in this way one will never be able to scientifically penetrate them in order to explain and systematize them in their universe to which they belong"] (Danemman 2007: 52). To circumscribe folklore to a scientific discipline presupposes defining its object and method.

In relation to classic distinctions between "folk=people" and "lore=knowledge", Danneman criticizes the definition of its object to a predetermined vision of what would be the people, and thus strongly criticizes what he considers as a "presunta diferencia social y cultural entre personas folclóricas y no folclóricas, demostrando cómo en cada ser humano coexisten estas dos clases de conductas, pudiéndose comprobar grados de uso de ambas en un individuo o en un grupo, y en todas sus formas de vida" ["presumed social and cultural difference between folkloric and non-folkloric people, demonstrating how in every human being these two kinds of behaviors coexist, being able to verify degrees of use of both in an individual or in a group, and in all their forms of life"] (Danneman 2007: 48). Two relevant issues arise from this: on the one hand, the object of study of folklore is deprived of the

popular dimension as a preconceived factor, since it is a matter of accounting for a "type of behavior" that could be transversal from the social point of view (Donoso 2009). However, an aspect of his approach has been recognized as positive at Latin American level: it no longer starts from *a priori* categories to define the folkloric quality of a manifestation (Fischman, 2012), such as, for example, that they are anonymous, traditional, preferably oral, vernacular or rustic (Fischman 2012; Dupey 2008; Luyten 2006). As a counterpart, Danneman posits that:

> "en el universo de los bienes culturales, que éstos sean anónimos o de autor conocido, de forma arcaica o moderna, de gran antigüedad o recientes, rústicos o refinados, que gocen o no de gran popularidad, que sean de práctica colectiva o individual, de uso oral u otro, constituyen atributos secundarios para calificar la folcloricidad de ellos" (Danneman 2007: 49).
>
> ["in the universe of cultural goods, whether they are anonymous or of known author, of archaic or modern form, of great antiquity or recent, rustic or refined, whether they enjoy great popularity or not, whether they are of collective or individual practice, of oral use or other, constitute secondary attributes to qualify their folkloricity" (Danneman 2007: 49).]

It turns out that folklore constitutes a type of culture that, by manifesting itself through phenomenologically determinable behaviors, is expressed in different degrees. Hence, it proposes a set of categories that allow the positivist scientific study of folklore phenomena to be circumscribed. The first of them is the notion of "folkloric community" which does not depend on permanent or stable cohesion due to factors related to "razones étnicas, geográficas, históricas, económicas, idiomáticas, educacionales, ideologías, además de las socioculturales generales, causantes todas ellas de una idiosincrasia, más los caracteres folclóricos que le pudiesen conferir uno u otro especialista" ["ethnic, geographical, historical, economic, idiomatic, educational, ideological reasons, in addition to the general socio-cultural ones, all of them causing an idiosyncrasy, plus the folkloric characters that may be conferred by one or another specialist"] (Danneman 1976, in Danneman 2007: 51). On the contrary, for the author, it is about the participation of people in a "customized and consecrated behavior by the traditional usufruct of goods with an autonomous function of common, proper, agglutinating and representative, with respect to those people" (1976, in 2007: 51). Hence, in his perspective, when the folkloric behavior concludes, the folkloric community also disappear. That is to say, "there is no ensemble of properly folkloric individuals" (Blache 1980: 39), instead, there are situations propitious for the subjects to

participate in a folkloric behavior[5]. Manuel Danneman synthesizes his perspective by identifying the following components:

> "1) Instancia de la conducta humana. 2) en la cual una o más personas de un grupo o de más de un grupo, 3) recurren al uso de cualesquiera bienes que, después de procesos de selección y de re-elaboración de algunos de sus componentes, llegan a ser: 3.1) de su pertenencia recíproca, 3.2, de su más intensa correspondencia de identidad, 3.3) de su propia, específica y local tradición. 4) Para constituir una comunidad transitoria, la folclórica, que existe mientras se produce la práctica de dichos bienes, y cuyos miembros adquieren, durante ese evento, una condición de fundamental homegeneidad y logran una intertransferencia de sus comportamientos de comunicación y acción" (Danneman 1991: 16, citado en Danneman 2007: 52).
>
> ["1) Instance of human behavior, 2) in which one or more individuals of a group or of more than one group, 3) resort to the use of any goods that, after processes of selection and re-elaboration of some of their components, become: 3.1. of their reciprocal belonging, 3.2. of their most intense correspondence of identity, 3.3. of their own, specific and local tradition. 4. To constitute a transitory community, the folkloric one, which exists while the practice of such goods takes place, and whose members acquire, during that event, a condition of fundamental homogeneity and achieve an intertransference of their communication and action behaviors" (Danneman 1991: 16, in Danneman 2007: 52).]

Proposal above suggests that in this conception of folcloric community characteristics that in other aspects appear as aprioristic, such as the representativeness and identity of the manifestations, are now reorganized to become a part of pragmatic process that reminds us of the theories of the sign.

Considering the scope of the recent Chilean history, Donoso (2009) links this perspective with the cultural policy developed by the right-wing civil-military dictatorship (1973–1990) in Chile, since the quality of folklore is not constituted by a set of *a priori* features or by a type of people with certain characteristics that would constitute the people, but by the usufruct that a community – temporarily constituted beyond the characteristics of its participants – creates concerning certain good that has the capacity of identification. In this way, the folkloric no longer refers exclusively to the

[5] The Argentine theorist Marta Blache underlines the ambiguities of these approaches since, under such a definition, for example, a military or school event in honor of the flag and patriotism could be considered a folkloric event, although many scholars would certainly reject it.

popular classes, therefore "en un estudio publicado en 1974, considera que las canciones 'Yo tenía un camarada' (marcha militar) o "Adiós al Séptimo de Línea (creada en la década de 1960) sean parte del patrimonio folclórico de la nación chilena, pues según su interpretación, contribuirían a fortalecer la identificación entre la comunidad nacional" ["in a study published in 1974, he considers that the songs *Yo tenia un camarada* [*I had a comrade*] (military march) or *Adiós al Séptimo de Línea* [*Farewell to the Seventh of Line*] (created in the 1960s) are part of the folkloric heritage of the Chilean nation, because according to his interpretation, they would contribute to strengthening the identification among the national community"] (Donoso 2009: 37). The same remarks were previously made from the scope of Blache's theory (1980). Even from the methodological point of view and in the same eagerness to delimit the characteristics of the object of study, in one of her academic works she argues that folklore differs from ethnology because its object of study focuses on communities that have achieved a greater degree of progress while ethnology focuses on the indigenous world. This conception, although justified from the methodological point of view, opens epistemological and ontological fissures, revealing an evolutionist conception that relates to the beginnings of folklore and the anthropological sciences since the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Ortiz 1989; Dupey 2008).

An Aesthetic Look from the Philosophical Reflection: Traditional Culture

Currently in Chile, one of the most widely used concepts among folklorists as reference to the cultural and expressive field that emerged linked to folklore, is that of Traditional Culture. The speculative development of the concept mostly benefited from a philosophical perspective anchored in the field of Aesthetics. This hermeneutic approach is located in a logical space different than one in the positivist approach defended by Manuel Danneman: humanist reflection oriented towards an ethics, also identified with a social segment – the scope of existence of the so-called Traditional Culture. In this sense, we will focus on two Chilean intellectuals who developed the work that has been contemplating and disseminating these perspectives during the last decades of the twentieth century and the first decades of the twenty-first century: namely the work of Fidel Sepúlveda and Gastón Soublette, based on development linked to the Institute of Aesthetics of the Catholic University of Chile.

First, we shall focus on some general aspects of the ideas of Fidel Sepúlveda Llanos (1936–2006), who developed a work of intellectual reflection, teaching and analysis of cultural expressions such as the folk tale,

the *Canto a Lo Divino y a Lo humano* [*Song to the Divine and the Human*], in addition to a facet of being also a prolific writer. His reflections arise from humanistic and hermeneutic perspective, specifically around the concept of Traditional Culture which, according to him, constitutes "el subsuelo donde se gestan y decantan las imágenes y los símbolos con los que un pueblo dice su modo de ser en el mundo" ["the subsoil where the images and symbols through which people articulate their way of being in the world are conceived and decanted"] (Sepúlveda 2002: 7).

Representative corpus has been decanted from Traditional Culture:

> "(…) Un nicho antropológico amplio y complejo que integra gran cantidad y variedad de factores creadores de cultura; por gestarse en un largo proceso de sucesivas rectificaciones y ratificaciones que depuran su expresión superando largamente la prueba del tiempo; Por ser una creación cultural dialógica, resultante del encuentro entre lo antiguo y lo reciente, lo autóctono y lo foráneo, lo particular y lo universal" (…) "la cultura tradicional es el laboratorio donde fraguan las imágenes y los símbolos expresivos de nuestra idiosincrasia. Las creaciones plásticas de la cultura tradicional, grafican magníficamente la relación del hombre americano con su entorno mineral, vegetal, animal" (Sepúlveda, 2002: 7).
>
> ["(...) A broad and complex anthropological niche that integrates great quantity and variety of culture-creating factors; for being conceived in a long process of successive rectifications and ratifications that refine its expression largely overcoming the trial of time; for being a dialogic cultural creation, resulting from the encounter between the ancient and the recent, the autochthonous and the foreign, the specific and the universal (...) Traditional culture is the laboratory where the images and expressive symbols of our idiosyncrasy are forged. The plastic creations of traditional culture magnificently illustrate the relationship of the American man with his mineral, vegetable and animal environment" (Sepúlveda 2002: 7).]

This cultural subsoil is at the basis of the expressive characteristics that, for example, music reaches by modulating pitch, melody and rhythm in communities in the north, south, east and west of Chile. The poetic word "creates the world and creates man. Poetry in decimas has written sacred and profane history as no historian has ever done. The narrative, in its stories, embodies a true treaty of 'education of the cacique', to lead the community from independence to autonomy, from loneliness to solidarity" (Sepúlveda 2002: 8). Finally, it is in the myth and in the rite where the gestures of everyday life are rescued for their permanence, where history achieves an endur-

ing dimension. This subsoil would be the basis of a genuine originality, from where the people drink wisdom and experience, so that it becomes part of the tangible and intangible heritage. On this notion of heritage, the Chilean aesthete argues:

> "Si el patrimonio cultural es el universo de monumentos que orientan acerca de las fronteras y direcciones cardinales de un pueblo, si es la muestra de lo mejor que ha creado, ciertamente la cultura tradicional debe tener ahí un sitial destacado. Sus monumentos son el doble simbólico más certero para saber qué somos, de donde venimos, a donde vamos. Todo este universo está en directa relación con 'el horizonte del pasado del que vive toda la vida humana y que está ahí bajo la forma de la tradición…donde lo nuevo y lo viejo crecen juntos hacia una validez llena de vida'" (H. G. Gadamer, en Sepúlveda 2002: 8–9).
>
> ["If cultural heritage is the universe of monuments that guide the borders and cardinal directions of a people, if it is the sample of the best it has created, certainly traditional culture should have a prominent place there. Its monuments are the most accurate symbolic double to know what we are, where we come from, where we are going. All this universe is in direct relation with 'the horizon of the past from which all human life lives and which is there in the form of tradition... where the new and the old grow together towards a validity full of life'" (H. G. Gadamer, in Sepúlveda 2002: 8–9).

In this hermeneutic reflection, tradition appears no longer as content but as horizon where the old and the new come together, which, in the words of the Chilean philosopher, it could be apprehended as metabolism that allows discerning what is vital and what is viable for the future. Hence, it is possible to establish a relationship between this reflection and the perspectives that emphasize tradition as the instance of selection around certain expressions.

In her deliberations on this perspective, Karen Donoso underlines that academic Fidel Sepúlveda reflects on human experience, and not on folklore considered as "facts", and, despite the fact that in his opinion a humanist matrix hybridized with the reflections of romanticism is evident, far from pointing to an essentialist view of folklore, he points out the foundations of an understanding of what would be an art-life arising from the crossing-over between the old and the new on the basis of a common horizon.

> "La tradición, para Sepúlveda, nunca es sólo pasado, la tradición vive cuando se nutre de lo nuevo y eso nuevo puede re-

> interpretar o revitalizar la forma de las tradiciones, al momento que se produce el encuentro de 'los signos del presente con los del pasado y desde ahí proyectar al futuro'. A partir de este diálogo es que este investigador plantea que la tradición se vive en un tiempo vital más lento, lo que denominó la 'transhistoria', el tiempo de las cosmovisiones culturales y sus ejes, que trasciende la intrahistoria (el tiempo personal de cada individuo) y la interhistoria (el tiempo de la sociedad), explicando la razón de por qué las tradiciones permanecen en el tiempo por varias generaciones" (Donoso 2009: 41–42).
>
> ["Tradition, for Sepúlveda, is never only the past. Tradition lives when it is nourished by the new and the new can reinterpret or revitalize the forms of tradition, at the moment that an encounter takes place between 'the signs of the present and those of the past and from there project into the future'. It is from this dialogue that the researcher proposes that tradition is lived in a slower vital time, what he called 'transhistory', the time of cultural worldviews and their axes, which transcends intrahistory (the personal time of each individual) and interhistory (the time of society), explaining the reason why traditions remain alive for several generations" (Donoso 2009: 41–42).]

In order to delve deeper into this view that was expressed through the Aesthetics Institute of the Catholic University of Chile in the last decades of the 20th century and the first decades of the 21st century, it is also relevant to understand the ideas of the Chilean philosopher and musicologist Gastón Soublette. This author explicitly grounds the ethical and aesthetic foundation in which the reflection on Traditional Culture is circumscribed, and distinguishes it from the scientific approach. To do so, he resorts to two categories originating in theology, such as the distinction between the Knowledge of Salvation and the Knowledge of Mastery. While science is circumscribed to the latter, traditional culture is linked to the former. Hence, traditional culture in Chile reveals a type of Wisdom that, as in other cultures of the world such as the Jewish or Greek, has been put in writing through texts that preserve a type of knowledge expressed through genres such as the folk tale and proverbs. Hence, it is a culture that was once also part of the elite, but which, gradually, due to its modernization, became established in the rural and popular social segments of population that preserved it through memory[6]. Therefore, through works dedicated to expressions such as the *Canto a*

[6] In an interview given about 20 years ago in a talk show, Gastón Soublette explains how decisive it was in the mid-twentieth century to meet Violeta Parra, in time when he was director of broadcasting at Radio Chilena. As a result of that joint work, he began to transcribe parts of the enormous compilation work of in the field carried out by the funda-

Lo Divino, *el Cuento Tradicional o los Proverbios* [the Traditional Tale or the Proverbs], they have sought to put in writing part of this wisdom in works by Gastón Soublette and Fidel Sepúlveda.

For Soublette, both the tale and the proverbs are expressions that reveal the wisdom present in the Traditional Culture in Chile. In this regard, he states that in the case of the folk tale, the narratives collected from the oral tradition fixed in a text have generally occurred when such traditions began to be interfered by ideologies and ways of life of modernity. The same author infers that in France this tradition was beginning to disappear due to the fact that King Louis XIV himself orders the collection of the oral tradition of the nation and subsequently, authors such as the Grimm brothers (Germany), Hans Christian Andersen (Denmark) and many others, began work on compilation "como un anhelo del romanticismo de recuperar la sabia inocencia del texto hablado popular" ["as a longing of romanticism to recover the wise innocence of the popular spoken text"] (Soublette 2017: 14). In case of Chile, Soublette argues that part of the transfer that occurs from an oral tradition to the written texts of the recollections

> "podemos hallarla comparando las recopilaciones realizadas por investigadores desde fines del siglo XIX con las realizadas a mediados del siglo pasado. Es un hecho que entre esas dos épocas comenzó un lento desvanecimiento de la memoria que sostiene la cultura oral, porque ésta es incompatible con los modos de vida del actual modelo de civilización" (Soublette, Robles y Veloz 2017: 9).
>
> "can be found by comparing the compilations made by researchers since the end of the 19th century with those made in the middle of the last century. It is a fact that between those two eras began a slow fading of memory that sustains the oral culture, because it is incompatible with the ways of life of the current model of civilization" (Soublette, Robles and Veloz 2017: 9).

Writing stories in formats that the written text implies, a type of format that works according to different logic from the one coming from the oral tradition, since the former is a part of the illustrated culture, while the latter comprises manifestations that previously lived in "la oralidad y sus modos de transmisión, con lo que se quiere decir que la comunidad cultural

mental Chilean artist into music sheets. The relevant part of the quote is that, in Soublette's words in interview, Violeta Parra's great merit lies in the fact that "she shows the face of traditional culture in all its dignity" (available at: Gastón Soublette in *The Beauty of Thinking* (2003) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=em14Hs8SKko). It is about people that possess a traditional culture different from the bourgeois culture, in a way that provokes much greater social cohesion than the latter. In the narrative he argues that Violeta Parra's great merit was to have revealed traditional culture to the Chilean bourgeoisie.

se fue alejando del narrador y del particular modo de entregarnos su versión del patrón narrativo básico de los cuentos, con las variantes ocasionales del relato" ["orality and its means of transmission, meaning that the cultural community moved away from the narrator and the distinctive way of delivering its version of the basic narrative pattern of the stories, with occasional variants of the tale"] (Soublette 2017: 10).

It is precisely from the characteristics of the folk tale, enunciated by Vladimir Propp, that Soublette reflects on the importance of the hero in the several tales and how these constitute a way through which the concern for what he calls sensible behavior is expressed. For this reason, according to the author, the hero who is called to fulfill a very important mission constitutes a character that exists in all cultures: "podemos decir que la humanidad siempre se ha contado los mismos cuentos, y eso porque al fin todos los hombres son en esencia iguales" ["we can say that humanity has always been telling itself the same tales, and that is because in the end all men are in essence the same"] (Soublette 2017: 13). He adds that the marvelous tales are derived from heroic myths and therefore can be considered minor myths since, as social changes took place, they disappeared from the upper strata of society. These strata at some point – the author points out – also had spoken texts, but later they went into writing in an effort to recreate the ancient traditions: "Esto realizado especialmente por clérigos de gran erudición. Es lo que ocurrió con las historias del Santo Grial; del rey Arturo y los caballeros de la mesa redonda; las proezas de Rolando, el Cid campeador, Tristán e Isolda, y otras de la misma naturaleza" ["This was done especially by clergymen of great erudition. This is what happened with the stories of the Holy Grail; of King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table; the exploits of Roland, the Cid Campeador, Tristan and Isolde, and others of the same nature"] (Soublette 2017: 13). These texts were known thanks to the recitations of court jugglers while members of the clergy and the bourgeoisie were able to acquire copies of these already written texts. If these expressions were collected by a descriptive anthropology in their prime, later "los cuentos como los mitos y otras formas narrativas de la antigua tradición oral, son procesados con criterios de interpretación con los aportes de las otras ramas del saber" ["the tales like the myths and other narrative forms of the ancient oral tradition, are processed with criteria of interpretation with the contributions of the other branches of knowledge"] (Soublette 2018: 15). Thus, while the first deals with the collection, dissemination and formal and thematic analysis, as Vladimir Propp does, the second is hermeneutically linked to the interpretation of narratives fundamentally stemming from the analytical psychology, and points to authors such as Karl Gustav Jung, among others, "quienes tendieron a ver en la aventura heroica un sentido de maduración psicológica

denominado por Jung proceso de individuación" ["who tended to see, in heroic adventure, a sense of psychological maturation that Jung named process of individuation"] (Soublette 2018: 15). This perspective differs from the approach of science which, aimed at accounting for the phenomenon, exhausts the object of study itself, while in interpretations based on a complex reading of myths and tales a more pervasive interpretative approach has been expressed, giving an account of the importance of the human message they provide. The distinction between knowledge of salvation and knowledge of mastery[7] is revisited here, but the relevance of the expressions of traditional culture lies in the fact that they account for a wisdom understood as

> "conocimiento vivencial referido al sentido de la vida, se puede emplear también el término salvación en el entendido que el hombre debe acceder de algún modo a ese conocimiento para vivir sensatamente, pues existe una legalidad inherente a la vida humana expresada originariamente en lo que hoy podríamos llamar la ley de las sociedades primitivas, pero enseñada después de toda su profundidad en loa mitos heroicos y los cuentos, y posteriormente en las enseñanzas impartidas directamente por los sabios; conocimiento que el hombre siempre corre el riesgo de perder y caer en la insensatez y sus graves consecuencias pues ocurre que ignorar la sabiduría no puede hacerse impunemente, y de esa igno-

[7] In the same text the author states that: "Esta distinción procede de la teología, y fue adoptada después por la antropología. En la teología se usa el calificativo saber de salvación para definir el saber que es propio de las sagradas escrituras, a fin de diferenciarlo del que es propio de las ciencias y la filosofía. Resulta particularmente claro si se considera, por ejemplo, que en las sagradas escrituras hebreas está incluida una parte considerable de la historia del pueblo de Israel, y no por eso la Biblia puede ser considerada sin más como un texto histórico como lo entiende hoy la ciencia de la Historia. Esto se entiende bien si se compara esta historia teológica hebrea con las célebres Historias de Herodoto. Este autor, considerado el padre de la Historia, hace la cuenta descriptiva del pasado de muchos pueblos, con el solo propósito de difundir ese conocimiento, en tanto que la Biblia aborda la historia del pasado del Pueblo de Israel solo desde el hecho de la irrucoon de Dios en el destino del pueblo" ["This distinction comes from theology, and was later adopted by anthropology. In theology, the qualifier knowledge of salvation is used to define the knowledge that is proper for the sacred scriptures, in order to differentiate it from the knowledge that pertains to the sciences and philosophy. It is particularly clear if we consider, for example, that the Hebrew sacred scriptures contain a considerable part of the history of the people of Israel, and that the Bible cannot therefore be considered simply a historical text as historiography understands it today. This is well understood if we compare this Hebrew theological history with the famous *Histories* of Herodotus. This author, considered the father of History, gives a descriptive account of the past of many peoples, with the sole purpose of spreading this knowledge, while the Bible deals with the past of the People of Israel only because God is involved in their destiny"] (Soublette 2017: 16).

> rancia y sus consecuencias deriva el carácter de saber de salvación de la sabiduría" (Soublette 2017: 17).
>
> ["experiential knowledge referring to the meaning of life. One can also use the term salvation comprehending that men must somehow access this knowledge in order to live sensibly, because there is a lawfulness inherent in human life, originally expressed in what we today could call the law of primitive societies, but taught, in all its depth, through heroic myths and tales, and later on in the teachings imparted directly by the wise men; knowledge that men is always in risk of losing, thus falling into foolishness and its serious consequences, for it happens that ignoring wisdom cannot be done with impunity, and from that ignorance and its consequences the character of wisdom's salvation knowledge is derived" (Soublette 2017: 17).]

In this context then appear figures of the popular wise men who become "lords of the word", anonymous narrators who are, in community contexts, sheltered in a long tradition, generating a process where the reception of metaphors without being explained penetrated in the collective unconscious, which is placed where, from this perspective and according to the author, the symbolic patterns reside. In this way, a knowledge of salvation was established through the wisdom contained in such stories.

The same author, in a book dedicated to proverbs, maintains that wisdom constitutes a type of superior and experiential knowledge through which the meaning of life is grasped. There he explicitly points out that "ciencia está bajo ella ya que solo se ocupa de los fenómenos" ["science is under it since it only deals with phenomena"] (Soublette 2009: 10). Hence, the theoretical and methodological approach is circumscribed to a long-standing humanist tradition rather than to science, since "con solo la ciencia el hombre no puede asumir su destino como ser humano, por esa vía será siempre sólo un testigo del acontecer. Pero la sabiduría trasciende la dimensión de los fenómenos y va más allá de la percepción ordinaria de los hechos y las cosas" ["with science alone, man cannot assume his destiny as a human being, he will always be only a witness of events. But wisdom transcends the dimension of phenomena and goes beyond the ordinary perception of facts and things"] (Soublette 2009: 10). Soublette points out that this wisdom emerges from an instance of human consciousness and spirituality that people precisely possesed, and that necessarily contradicts today's dominant utilitarian, technological and economic knowledge. For example, while studying the proverbs in Chile, he argues that they have lost their validity in the country that has lost precisely that wisdom as a result of modernity. Therefore, this wisdom should share take its place in the field of humanities and social sci-

ences within university education, as a way of promoting a more cohesive society than the prevailing modern one, shaped by current happenings in the country. Hence also a concept reflected and developed from the Institute of Aesthetics of the Catholic University of Chile: Traditional Culture.

A Bridge in the Discourse of Folklorists: Projection

The synthesis of both conceptual perspectives is found in an approach previous to those exposed above and it may contradict them even in its epistemological scope. However, the discourse of folklorists elaborated a synthesis that has allowed the indistinct coexistence of concepts and visions in spite of the distinct meanings evoked by the concepts. The reason might be the relevance and pervasiveness in Chile of the Argentine author's, Augusto Raúl Cortázar's approach to folklore, in which allegedly authentic folkloric phenomena are being differentiated from others that lack this condition. His perspective stems from aprioristic conceptual efforts to define folklore, but such concepts have also coexisted, in an unproblematic way, in the use of Chilean folklorists, because they provide clarity for normative definition of what would or would not be folklore. Their perspective on the distinction between Folklore-life, projection of folklore became so relevant that in Chile a whole wave of artistic groups linked to folklore acquired the name *Conjuntos de Proyección Folklórica* [Folkloric Projection Ensembles]. This synthesis is achieved in the discourse of folklorists and in the spaces of cultural production linked to public, municipal and even communicational policies and is reproduced through formative exponents where folklorist teachers and managers of folkloric groups have been nurtured, thus orienting both the compilation practices and those linked to the artistic staging of expressions later typified as folkloric.

Augusto Raúl Cortázar proposed the existence of expressions that can be conceived as authentically folkloric with respect to others that lack this condition. This author proposes an approach that was later replicated in Chile in the academic production among those who were trained in the categories of folklore as a science as well as among those who received training from the aesthetic-philosophical reflection based on the notion of Traditional Culture. It is a phenomenological distinction that will constitute the element of union between the previous approaches and that will constitute the theoretical basis on which the symbolic wealth of "to know or not" about folklore is built among Chilean folklorists of the second half of the twentieth century and the first decade of the twenty-first century. The source is the distinction made by Augusto Raúl Cortázar between folklore itself and the projection of folklore (any staging that is outside the ethnographic context or, in the words

of Chilean folklorists, where "its context" is found, thus making a notion that has long been flexible in the humanities and social sciences more rigid). For Cortázar, the projection of folklore corresponds to the

> "manifestaciones producidas fuera de su ambiente geográfico y cultural, por obra de personas determinadas o determinables, que se inspiran en la realidad folclórica cuyo estilo formal o carácter trasuntan y reelaboran en sus obras e interpretaciones destinadas al público general, preferentemente urbano, al cual se transmite por medios mecánicos e institucionalizados" (Cortázar 1976: 50).
>
> ["expressions produced outside their geographical and cultural context, by determined or determinable people, who are inspired by the folkloric reality whose formal style or character they transpose and reelaborate in their works and interpretations destined to the general public, preferably urban, to which it is transmitted by mechanical and institutionalized means" (Cortázar 1976: 50).]

Exponents of Discursive Reproduction of the Previous Perspectives in the Second Half of the 20th Century

Proliferation of Folkloric Ensembles in Chile, by the second half of the 20th century brought about grouping in exponents such as the *Confederación Nacional de Conjuntos Folklóricos de Chile* (CONACOF), *la Asociación Metropolitana de Folklore* (AMFOLCHI), *el Festival Nacional de Folklore de San Bernardo*, which had a jury specialized in folklore that evaluated the level of performances based on field descriptions – or the *Federación de Folklore del Magisterio de Chile* (FEFOMACH), composed of teachers who were central agents in the reproduction of a folkloric repertoire, the creation of artistic folklore groups and the dissemination of concepts cultivated academically in this area in Chile.

The discursive reproduction took place through training exponents for folklorists where mainly primary and secondary school teachers in Chile participated and which allowed socializing in the different regions of the country and later in public tenets, concepts and discussions that circulated in academic spaces such as academic journals (*Revista Aisthesis* at the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, or the *Revista de Investigaciones Folklóricas* in Argentina) and seminars. Among these exponents, crucial for the socialization of folklore cultural field beyond intellectual elite, that were crucial concerning concepts that today circulate around folklore, we can mention the following:

1) *Escuela Nacional de Folklore* (ENAFO) [*National School of Folklore*]

Towards the 1980s with the support of the University of Concepción, 20 courses were planned giving life to ENAFO, an institution that received Chilean folklorists among its students, mainly normalist teachers from all over the country who then replicated their learning in their respective regions. After some years the direction of ENAFO was in charge of dr. Fidel Sepúlveda from the Institute of Aesthetics of the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile and some years later the director was dr. Manuel Danneman, at that time linked to the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chile. Prestigious teachers and folklorists in Chile participated in the National School of Folklore, such as the Mapuche intellectual and university academic Domingo Curaqueo, the anthropologist María Ester Grebe, the folklorists Oreste Plath, Raquel Barros, Carlos González, the ethnomusicologist Hiranio Chávez, among others. From Argentina, the participation of academics Félix Coluccio and Marta Blache, among others, is recalled. Continental Chile has a territory of 4,200 kilometers of coastline and the ENAFO opened branches in cities in the north and south of Chile, so it counted on secondary offices that allowed the participation of folklorists and primary and secondary school teachers to be expanded even further.

2) *Jornadas de Arte y Cultura Tradicional* [*Days of Art and Traditional Culture*]

It arises around 1986 and was developed under the umbrella of the Institute of Aesthetics of the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile. This workshop was attended by academics such as Fidel Sepúlveda, Hiranio Chávez, Juan Estanislao Pérez and Jorge Cáceres, among others. In the wake of these workshops, educational work was carried out with teachers from all over Chile and academic publications were also produced that helped to reinforce and disseminate the concept of Traditional Culture even further. Just as an example, we can cite that on the occasion of the Educational Reform that took place in Chile in the early 2000s, the book *Cultura Tradicional, Identidad y Reforma Educacional* [*Traditional Culture, Identity and Educational Reform*] was published as part of the collection of the Magazine of Aesthetics *Aisthesis* of the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile framed in the XVIII Season of Art and Traditional Culture of the same University. This text is only an example of the relevance of the theoretical perspective that authors such as Gastón Soublette and Fidel Sepúlveda developed mainly through this educational exponent.

In relation to the university programs that included the area of folklore, these were mainly concentrated in training programs for basic edu-

cation teachers, pedagogy in Musical Education and Pedagogy in Physical Education through different Chilean universities and that were dictated by university professors who, generally, participated directly or indirectly in educational exponents such as those mentioned above. For example, during the second half of the 20th century, dr. Manuel Danneman taught folklore in the anthropology program at the University of Chile. Also, in that department he developed the theoretical foundations of the Interfaculty Seminar called "Folklore as Culture", where he reproduced these perspectives to students of different majors of the University, as well as through the extension courses organized by the *Ballet folclórico Antumapu* [Folkloric Ballet Antumapu] of that University, which mainly trains directors of new folkloric artistic groups and teachers in Chile. On the other hand, the impact of the work of the late dr. Fidel Sepúlveda is expressed in the presence of courses on Aesthetics and study programs in Traditional Culture at the Catholic University of Chile, as well as in the bachelor's degree program in Aesthetics offered by the same University.

Final Reflections: Discursive Affinity – Conceptual Gap

Before concluding, it should be noted that in the cultural field of folklore in Chile other perspectives existed, as is the case of Chilean anthropologist María Ester Grebe who proposed a viewpoint anchored in structuralism, which has been mentioned, for example, by the Chilean folklorist Margot Loyola (Loyola and Cádiz 2014), the most recognized in the area of the so-called folkloric projection. However, dr. Grebe's work has had resonance in circles linked to Chilean anthropology more than to the field of folklorists.

The 1980s was a decade in which a market-based economic model was installed in Chile through neoliberalism. This system was implemented in the midst of the civil-military dictatorship (1973–1990) in an extremely violent scenario for many folklorists coming from the popular world, such as Victor Jara, composer and theater director who was part of the *Conjunto Cuncumen* [Cuncumen Group], one of the first folkloric ensembles in Chile and who was violently murdered by the Pinochet dictatorship, as well as other folklorists. As a result of these circumstances, the dictatorship focused an instrumentalization strongly introducing the imaginary of national identity associated with folklore. With the return to a democratic regime after 1990, new cultural institutions began to be installed, which went from a Division of Culture of the Ministry of Education to the creation of a Ministry of Cultures, Arts and Heritage, as it exists today.

Through the Funds for proposals, concepts such as folkloric music or folkloric roots have been institutionalized to allude to creations that follow

musical forms considered as folkloric. The same happens with the concept of Traditional Culture that appears linked to that of Popular Culture in other funds coming from the State through the Ministry of Cultures already mentioned.

Mainly linked to the representation of dances and music, an artistic field has been generated that circulates through public exponents, festivals and summer seasons, recontextualizing terms such as folklore and traditional culture and incorporating in such concepts meanings more related to the artistic fields referred to than to the epistemological discussions in which they were held in Chile.

At university level, the study of folkloric manifestations has lost ground to the development of disciplines such as anthropology, cultural studies, communication studies, linguistics and semiotics and the approaches to heritage that have unified public policies referring to the material and immaterial. Epistemologically speaking, there is a lack of a scientific community that carries out research around an object and method, as well as publications exclusively in this field. In the Chilean scientific system, the field of folklore does not appear as a discipline financed for scientific research, nor as a subdiscipline of areas such as linguistics or anthropology. However, the artistic practice linked to folkloric expressions has remained a part of University Extension programs and a content of artistic training areas, both in fields linked to programs of Pedagogy in General Basic Education, Pedagogy in Musical Education and Pedagogy in Physical Education. However, the perspective on Traditional Culture from its philosophical and hermeneutic matrix does have a place through academic specialization programs at the Catholic University of Chile.

Folklore and/or Traditional Culture also appear in the names of international groups and institutions identified through acronyms such as *Consejo Internacional de Organizaciones de Festivales de Folklore y de las Artes Tradicionales* – CIOFF (International Council of Organizations of Folklore Festivals and Folk Arts), IOV World – *Organización Internacional de Arte Popular International* (Organization of International Folk Art) or *Federación Internacional de Danzas* – FIDAF (Federation of International Dance Festivals), in which new generations of young people prone to artistic training participate and, in some cases, related to folklorists of the generation that was part of the formative exponents such as the National Folklore Schools. In this sense, there is an emptying of the theoretical content that the quoted authors rendered to these concepts, as well as pragmatic resignifications associated with general ideas such as cultural heritage or national identity.

Currently, there are also exponents linked to the area of university extension such as the *Academia Nacional de Cultura Tradicional Margot Loyola Palacios* (Margot Loyola Academy of Traditional Culture), created in 2009

and training in some municipalities throughout Chile such as the *Escuela de Cultura Tradicional de Chiloé* (The School of Traditional Culture) that since 2019 has been organized by the Municipality of Castro, Great Island of Chiloé. Similarly, concerning contemporary disciplinary space, the domain of popular knowledge and oral tradition constitutes a field that is studied from other theoretical and methodological perspectives closer to the social sciences.

Traditional Culture is perhaps the concept that today achieves greater use among those who circumscribe themselves to the historically typified as folkloric scope. Nevertheless, it is clear that the epistemological gap, regarding the concrete uses of these concepts in the framework of exponents of production, circulation and consumption of cultural expressions, is an issue that should continue to be approached from perspectives such as the political economy of communication and culture, cultural studies, anthropology, communication sciences and, naturally, the current perspectives of folkloric studies.

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Cultura Tradicional y Folklore como ciencia: dos aproximaciones en el discurso de la construcción del campo cultural del folklore en Chile

Cristian Yáñez Aguilar

Resumen

El objetivo de este trabajo es presentar dos aproximaciones conceptuales que han sido relevantes en el discurso de las y los folkloristas en Chile durante las últimas décadas del siglo XX. Por una parte, se presenta una aproximación que busca legitimar el folklore como una ciencia con un objeto y método de estudio y, por la otra, una perspectiva cultivada desde el ámbito filosófico de la Estética que socializó ampliamente la noción de Cultura Tradicional como ámbito para interpretar, desde una vertiente mucho más humanista, ciertos valores éticos y formas de sabiduría presentes en las manifestaciones expresivas. Ambas concepciones fueron reproducidas a través de Escuelas de Folklore de las que participaron folkloristas y una enorme cantidad de docentes primarios y secundarios del país, facilitando así la reproducción de determinadas concepciones que hasta hoy forman parte del marco discursivo de los folkloristas más allá de las diferencias epistemológicas que estas conllevan. Cultura Tradicional, Folklore-Vida o Aplicación del Folklore conforman un cuerpo conceptual complejo, en algunas ocasiones contradictorio, que ha sido fundamental en la construcción social de lo que se entiende en Chile como "folklore". El abordaje también da cuenta de las instancias institucionales en que tales conceptos se reprodujeron y ayudan a institucionalizar lo que se concibe en Chile como un campo cultural del Folklore.

Palabras- clave: Discurso, Folklore, Cultura Tradicional, Ciencia del Folklore, Chile.

Традиционална култура и наука о фолклору: Два приступа у конструисању дискурса фолклора као области културе у Чилеу

Кристијан Јањез Агилар

Резиме

Циљ овог рада је да укаже на два концептуална приступа који су били врло значајни у конструисању дискурса фолклориста у Чилеу у другој половини 20. века. С једне стране је приступ који настоји да озакони фолклор као науку са утврђеним и одредивим предметом и методом, а с друге стране је приступ изникао из области естетике; он је увео појам традиционалне културе као оквир за интерпретацију из перспективе која је више хуманистичка и филозофска, с одређеним етичким вредностима и облицима традиционалног знања присутним у културним манифестацијама. Обе концепције биле су раширене посредством школа фолклора, у којима су учествовали наставници основних и, у мањој мери, средњих школа у Чилеу, и на тај начин олакшали су друштвену репродукцију извесних појмова и замисли који су данас део широко распрострањеног дискурса међу фолклористима: традиционална култура, народни живот, примена фолклора. Они данас чине разнолик, сложен корпус, каткад противречан, али он је био темељ у конструкцији дискурса фолклора као области културе у Чилеу. У истраживању које следи, приказаћемо историјски осврт на развој фолклора као области културе у Чилеу и, потом, размотрићемо оба приступа, њихове појмове, инстанце ширења и главне заговорнике.

Кључне речи: дискурс, фолклор, традиционална култура, наука о фолклору, фолклор у Чилеу.

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Folkloric Narratives of the Peruvian Amazonia

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Peru is a country geographically located in the central and western region of the American subcontinent. Its political, economic and demographic power is not historically founded on Amazonia: although it occupies 62% of Peruvian territory (equivalent to 782,800 square km), it is populated by a scarce 8% of the total number of inhabitants.

In epistemology of colonial West, Amazonia is an inhospitable and extremely aggressive territory, as is qualified in Western narratives, in images of green hell or virgin region devouring non-aboriginal men. However, it is inhabited by 1,786 indigenous communities, grouped into sixty ethnic groups and thirteen linguistic families, each with a singular strategy of territory occupation, and with narratives that present us abundance of cultural variables, including their conceptions of the world, of life and of human being.

In this essay I present four mythological stories that are part of the region's folklore: 1) the Amazon river, name that identifies the largest by water flow and the mightiest river in the world; 2) the Anaconda (*Eunectes murinus*), name of the largest constrictor snake in the world; 3) the Lupuna (*Ceiba Pentandra*), or the tallest and thickest tree in the Amazon; and 4) the creation myth. These stories will sustain the narratives circulating in the region and will be used to define vital aspects of constructed social sense or of universe with their own cultural logic; in addition, they will show the interconnections between living beings and animated nature. Their metaphors, inscribed in local aesthetics, will highlight the memories of the forest and the societies that inhabit it, to one of the most biodiverse regions on the planet, with a wide cultural plurality, but with differentiated cultural practices and conceptions.

Keywords: Amazon, Peru, folklore, aborigine, memory, myth, animated nature.

The Jungle or Amazon of Peru

Selva is a part of Peruvian territory located east of the Andes Mountain range and covered by the jungle biome. It comes in the form of huge plains extending beyond any human horizon and constitutes an important part of South American Amazonia.

Landscape presents abundant and lush vegetation, with high humidity and high altitude, rich in endemic species, and harbouring one of the most biodiverse areas in the world. Amazonia is the largest jungle region on the planet and it extends across several countries such as Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Brazil, Bolivia and Paraguay. Peru spreads on 1,285,000 km^2, and 62% of it is jungle (782,880 km^2), what represents 13% of the entire South American Amazonia. Moreover, we are referring to a region where 80% of territory consists of forests and the rest is fresh water in the form of rivers, lakes, lagoons and swamps.

The Amazonian soil is very heterogeneous. It had been formed as a product of the sediments that had been washed away from the Andes, throughout millions of years, and those processes and transformations had produced very varied and nutrient-rich soil. As is to be expected, the origin of this soil is exclusively fluvial.

The extraordinary vegetation that it houses some call the green sheet. It is also called the lungs of the planet due to the amount of oxygen it generates, balancing carbon distribution, and consequently safeguarding thermal and climate stability. Coincidently, it itself represents one of the most biodiverse regions on Earth.

At the same time, although the largest territory of the country, Amazonia is the most sparsely populated region, since it is inhabited by only 8% of the national population: population index is less than four people per square kilometer. It is interesting that population is equally dispersed throughout the territory and those who had been living there for long periods of time constitute differentiated ethnic groups. Thus, 1,786 indigenous communities, 76 ethnic groups and 68 languages are registered in the National Institute for the Development of Andean, Amazonian and Afro-Peruvian Peoples. These languages form no less than 13 linguistic families, and 21 of the total of ethnic groups are poly-ethnic; the most important of these are: Arawaw, Shipibo-Conibo, Machiguenga, Aguarunas, Aru, Cahuapana, Harakmbut, Huitoto, Jíbaro, Asháninca, Awajún, Pano, Peba-Yagua, Tacana, Tucano, Tupi-Guaraní, and Uro-Chipaya Zaparo.

Regarding its geographical location, the Amazon jungle of Peru is a territory that advances from the eastern slope of the Andes Mountain range in the central and western part of the continent, and extends to the Peruvian border with Ecuador, Colombia and Brazil. The part of the jungle that descends from the Andean Mountain range is known as high or mountain jungle, and the enormous plain covered in vegetation is identified as low jungle.

The region with the above-mentioned characteristics is no less than 20 million years old, and has been formed by movement of the tectonic layers that elevated the ground into what we now know as the Andes Mountain

range, stretching from the Pacific Ocean in the west, to the Amazon basin in the east. Latter is a system of lakes that had been progressively drying up until at least ten million years ago, and as a consequence gave rise to an immense green overlay called the Amazon Rainforest. In these newly attained ecological conditions, diverse species of animals and plants set up colonization of the territory, composing in process one of the most biodiverse regions in the world.

The two large areas in which we have divided the Amazon region are an aggregate of the various latitudinal floors that constitute it and are characterized by high and low jungle.

> High jungle. The mountain rainforest is found at average height between 800 and 3,000 meters above sea level, exhibiting warm temperatures at the base and increasingly colder as one ascends, as well as the highest levels of rainfall in the entire country, with up to 5,000 mm per year. Its relief is mountainous and complex, with deep ravines and narrow valleys, all covered with impenetrable jungle.
>
> Low jungle. Between 800 and 80 meters above sea level extends the Amazon plain, an extremely warm tropical forest (annual averages of 28°C) and a very high relative humidity (above 75%), given its frequent rainfall. It is a region of heterogeneous soils and abundant rivers (*Selva peruana* 2021).

Fauna and Flora of the Peruvian Jungle

The Peruvian jungle, as a region of high biodiversity, is inhabited by many species of birds, enough to make the country the second in the world, and the third for the greatest diversity of mammals. Overall, an average of 262 amphibians have been identified, more than 806 species of birds, about 300 different mammals, a total of 697 fish, 180 reptiles, and an impressive 2,500 species of diurnal butterflies. It is pertinent to indicate that the greatest amount of this biodiversity exists only in this region, that is, they are classified as endemic species. When it comes to flora, the region is habitat of at least 7% of the world's flowering plants, and 10% of the world's total fern species (*Selva peruana* 2021).

The Amazon River

The Amazon River is the largest and most powerful river in the world. Its flow-rate is higher than that of the Nile, Yangtze and Mississippi rivers together. It is born in the Peruvian territory from the confluence of Marañón

and Ucayali rivers and has, along its route, more than 1,100 tributaries. Its most important characteristics are the following:

> It is a freshwater river located in South America that flows from the Andes in Peru, where the ice provides water at a height of 5.998 meters, to Brazil, where it empties into the Atlantic Ocean. It is located approximately 192 kilometers east of the Pacific Ocean. Its watershed is larger than that of any other river with its 7.05 million km^2, that is, almost 40 percent of South America, and drains parts of Brazil, Colombia, Bolivia, Ecuador, Guyana, Venezuela, Peru and Suriname.
>
> The average water discharged to the Atlantic is about 209,000 m^3 per second, or 6,591 km^3 per year. Its depth varies; in some areas it ranges from 20 to 50 meters, and in others it reaches 90–100 meters. The river is 1.6 to 10 kilometers wide, although during the wet season it can reach up to 48–50 kilometers (*Río Amazonas* s.a.).

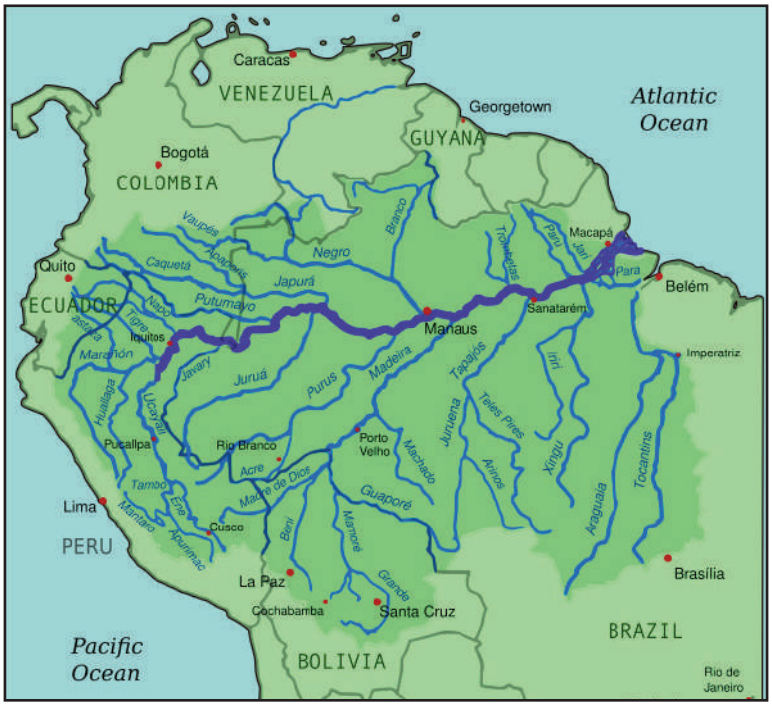

Figure 1: Map of the Amazon River drainage basin

The Population

According to the 2007 census organized by the National Institute of Statistics and Informatics of Peru, the Amazon population amounts to 3,672,292 inhabitants, 54% of which is urban and the rest is rural population; 52.2% of inhabitants are men and 47.8% women. Although there is exchange and historical interdependence between urban and rural populations, they are dichotomous and segmented as a result of the colonial experience that inaugurated new forms of settlement, such as taking advantage of the most strategic places for communication, close to the richest and most fertile land: it turns out that in all cases it was the riverbanks. Right there, since the invasion of the settlers, the most important cities of the Amazon region flourish today. However, the green plain, impenetrable to western gaze, is evidently prevalent in representations and the imaginary, although the perceptions from within favor the presence of wealth and transcendent stories, such as those that refer to vegetation as economic potential, as indicated by Dancé Caballero when he states that:

> The Selva presents an immeasurable wealth for its forests and associated resources (air, water, soil and biodiversity), but also for its indigenous populations that contain a great culture and ancestral knowledge little known and less valued.
>
> Deforestation and forest degradation, as well as indifference to native populations are the greatest scourges of the Amazon's natural wealth and social greatness, which attempts are being made to change, although there is still a long way to go (Dancé Caballero s.a.: 16).

The history of the region is controversial. The first readings speak of a mysterious, inhospitable, impenetrable region, a green monster, that provides the only clear and transparent places to orient oneself at the banks of the river, that are, at the same time, those responsible for the economic life of its inhabitants. On the other hand, when we refer to the population, it is percieved by the traditionally constructed social imagination as communities that live in primitive stages of development.

However, in recent decades, history and archeology have been collecting field information in which perceptions about the region acquire surprising connotations. It is the region with evidence of human presence of more than 5.000 years. There are archaeological remains of accomplished societies settled there for several centuries, whose habitat was a product of cutting and burning the forest, in addition to manipulation of soil to carry out a beneficial

redistribution of certain plant species that could be used by humans: those were also large-scale ceramic producing societies. The current state of land soil indicates that at least 11,8% of its vegetation is derived from anthropogenic activity that demonstrates technical prowess of natives in protecting biodiversity and adapting to local ecological requirements to maintain vegetation and sustainable agriculture that allows them to satisfy their needs.

The command post of the settlement was constituted by the riverbanks, and that remains the same in our days. Riverbanks provide efficient place for communication through possibilities of movement along the river, at the same time supplying abundance of fish to diversify the diet of inhabitants, and nutrient-rich alluvial soil, optimal for agriculture.

Figure 2: An area of the jungle in northeastern Peru
(Photograph by Álvaro del Campo)

For the European colonists of the early conquest, this was the area that they appropriated, while the indigenous people ran and hid into the thick of the forest, where they escaped persecution. The colonizers did not know how to orient themselves inside the thick vegetation, they could not endure high

temperatures, persistent humidity, effects of insect bites and the skin reactions to the touch of unfamiliar plants – in short, they did not have survival strategies for the deep forest. It is an element that the indigenous people turned into a narrative of protection against the settlers, by naming the region after white or non-indigenous men.

The Folkloric Narrative of the Peruvian Amazonia

The Amazonian folkloric narrative of Peru is part of a branch of regionalist narratives that have acquired legitimacy in recent decades, during which formal and institutionalized literature opened its doors to other types of literature. In case of Peru, that meant the surge of Andean, Afro-Peruvian and Amazonian literatures that, having existed for centuries, had remained excluded or belittled by the regulatory canons of literary criticism. Somehow, the Latin American "boom" (Donoso 1972; Levinson 2001; Martín 1984; Ocasio 2004), term that denotes the renewal of the Latin American narrative since the 1960s, incorporates such vital aspects of culture of the subcontinent as the magical realism, the fantastic and metaphysical tales and, above all, the critical perception of social reality.

The "boom" meant the abrupt downfall of the rigid writing of classical literary texts and the explosive opening to creativity, as well as for narrative and thematic originality. As a consequence, diverse narratives appeared throughout the continent. In particular, a set of heterogeneous narratives from different social realms in Peru came to light, including 'invisible' regions and their narratives, such as Peruvian Amazonia, for example. Provincial sectors of the Republic were also in a difficult position because the capital, the center of power, used to look with contempt at cultural production of the periphery, and used to exclude it therefore. In addition, Andean indigenousism monopolized the narratives of subalterns (González 1991) and, as a result, the Amazonian women had to wait more than three decades to be included and taken into account in literary criticism.

At present, it is impossible to ignore these diverse narratives because they represent culture of more than 60% of the national territory, and because they reveal fantastic, mysterious and exotic world integrated into national imaginary, and because their cultural particularity enriches the symbolic capital of the nation.

But social and historical exclusion of the region is also the result of its remoteness and physical isolation. Land connections are scarce for the most part of territory because it is a swampy, excessively humid and flooded area, where it rains most of the year, and all of that destroys land transit projects, except those close to the most important cities. Hence, the

fluvial and aerial communication - through rivers and the air - to few cities becomes privileged means of transport. In this context, state control is very limited and criminal activities, such as drug trafficking, abound in the region. This is another way of exploitation and aggression against the native population.

Even the most advanced pre-Hispanic Andean societies were unable to conquer these inhospitable lands. They failed every time they tried because they couldn't withstand the suffocating heat and humidity, they did not have an immune system capable to fight tropical diseases, because they frequently lost their way, disoriented in the Amazonian thicket, and finally because they could not apply Andean technical and agricultural systems to Amazonian lands. Consequences were even worse for European and Creole invaders, although they controlled the transport and exchange of goods of locals: their attempts at colonization failed every time because natives reacted with political strategy to withdrow into the forest depths, thus becoming unreachable. In spite of that, there is a number of stories about genocide of indigenous population, such those concerning exploitation of rubber, between the 1885 and1915 (Pineda 2003): it constitutes one of most dramatic historical experiences, when thousands of indigenous people were murdered (Pineda 2000) in their own forests.

The most audacious and accomplished colonizers were unable to enter the Amazon plains. Even after many expeditions into the jungle, in the course of several centuries, they failed miserably. At the same time, a stereotypical and fabulous image of the region was built: it is inhabited by people that live in a primitive state, with bodies barely covered by loincloth and women naked, some of them cannibals, brutal warriors who eliminate everyone who had the bad luck to find them; giant animals and plants, and rivers that look like seas whose opposite bank is too far to be seen, giant snakes that shoot fire from their jaws, destroying the bones of captured animals, and, when blowing, generate eddies that wipe out all signs of life; swamps that swallow up every living being trying to cross it; trees so huge that their crown is impossible to see; carnivorous and poisonous plants, some of them hallucinogenic, whose power could be controlled only by the shamans or wise men of the community; inter-ethnic conflicts are resolved in tribal battles in which the weapons of war are handcrafted spears and blowguns. There should also be included infinite myths and legends, accounts of the origin of the world, the origin of the river, the largest plants and animals of the world, as well as astronomical imaginaries, among others: the whole fabulous and bountiful world is created, inspired by the inhospitable region.

But these images or representations of the world are generated by two tendencies or conceptions. One elaborates how invaders were not able or

failed in their endevour to colonize Amazonia: therefore it is shown as aggressive, impregnable, and man-eating, as it has been called, in an attempt to explain why the settlers entering their 'virgin lands', exotic and mysterious, did not return. On the other side, and that is less known aspect, the indigenous people have their own version of the world they inhabit. Although they are culturally heterogeneous population, there is a number of common elements of their cultures such as hunting techniques and fruit gathering; positioning of the river as the nerve center of social, political and economic life; the technology for extraction of the fruits of the earth and its high but ephemeral productivity; and, in addition, extraordinary ideological world, expressed in their narratives, that are particular and distinctive characteristic of Amazonian culture.

From the abundance of those narratives generated in the same region, I will present four as evidence of their conceptions of the world – of *their* world – where people charged with humanism are shown, who establish relations of reciprocity and dialogue with the nature they share, who adopt an ecological behavior closely related to contemporary ecological discourses, and who are tributaries of a complex society that establishes unequal and dependent relationships with modern societies, rather than exotic and primitive.

Narrative About the Origin of the Amazon River

Many, many years ago, there in the jungle lived two orphaned twin brothers who were cared for by their grandparents. At that time, water was very scarce because there were no rivers, streams or lagoons.

The only person who knew where to find water was Grandpa, but he jealously kept the secret. Not far from the grandparents' house there was a pond that was overflowing every day, so every morning the grandfather filled it with water that he brought from that unknown place. The twins had to carry the water from the pond to the house so that their grandmother could cook and prepare the *masato*,[1] the favorite drink of the inhabitants of the jungle.

One day one of the brothers, tired of incessant carrying of water, followed the grandfather to find out where he got it from. He knew that if he asked, Grandpa would never tell him and he didn't want to be discovered while he was watching over him. After much thought, the boy decided to transform himself into a hummingbird so that his grandfather would not recognize him. Flying from flower to flower, he followed him down the path that led into the jungle.

[1] *Masato* is a fermented drink based on yuca (*Manihot esculenta*, commonly called *cassava* or *manioc*).

When they had walked quite a long way, they came to a gigantic tree from which an immense stream of water gushed out. The boy, happy to have discovered such a well-kept secret, passed it to his brother. The two of them gathered squirrels, rabbits, mice, toucans, and woodpeckers, and asked them to help cut down the tree.

The animals worked all day. But the tree was so big that they could not finish their task. Almost at dusk, when there was little left to knock down, they decided to continue the next day. They were really tired of so much effort. In the morning, they went to continue the work they had started and found the tree without a single scratch. They started again, but on the second day the same thing happened. And the third. And the fourth. The tree almost fell at dusk, but appeared intact in the morning.

Then the twins stalked Grandfather again and thus discovered that he, at night, heals the tree with great care so that the water can continue to flow without rest and therefore the next day it could wake up healthy.

– What can we do so that Grandpa doesn't cure the tree? – said the one who had turned into a hummingbird.

– We must prevent him tomorrow from reaching the tree, so the animals can finish cutting it down – replied the other of the twins, who turned into a scorpion the same night.

So, when Grandpa was secretly going to heal the tree, he stung him on the big toe of his right foot. At that moment, the wounded tree collapsed with a crash and the entire jungle rumbled.

As the tree fell, a large amount of water began to flow out of it. Its trunk became the Amazon River; the branches – its tributaries; the leaves and thorns became the various species of fish that swim in the great river. The multi-colored worms that crawled through the bark of the great tree fell to the ground and transformed into white people, black people, and mixed-race people. That was the origin of all the races that inhabit the Amazon jungle today (Dubovoy s.a.).

The Narrative of the Anaconda (*Eunectes Murinus*) or Yacumama

The narrative of Yacumama has been known for a long time among the inhabitants of the Peruvian jungle and they were the ones in charge of spreading this story by word of mouth, so that people learn about this gigantic snake that fills them with terror.

Her name means 'Mother of water' (*yaku* – water, *mama* – mother) and it is believed that her cradle is in the great Yarinacocha lagoon (Ucayali,

Peru). She prefers to swim at the mouth of the Amazon River, as well as in its nearby lagoons, since she is the Amazon's protective spirit.

This mythical giant snake is similar to the anaconda, but even larger, possibly more than fifty meters long and with a head two meters wide. She is blind, so she does not mind passing through the dark waters. Through her mouth she shoots huge jets of water that help her to knock down trees in order to move comfortably across the ground, and if she finds a sandwich a hundred meters away, she is able to suck it up.

However, at one point in her life, perhaps after a thousand years, when she reaches a certain size and weight that makes it difficult for her to move, she decides to make a clearing in the jungle, at the foot of the river, to settle there permanently.

She perches her head above the water, waiting for prey, and uses her great power of attraction to hypnotize her victims with her piercing eyes, to hunt them with ease.

Any animal or man that passes near her will perish, because even if they manage to spot her head and start running away, she moves like a flash, catches them with her powerful jaws and swallows them, surrendering afterwards to a placid sleep.

This is the Yacumama, protector of the waters of the Amazon, an overwhelming natural force that hunts during the rain and whose commotion can be heard from afar as she moves out of the water, knocking down trees on her path, giving evidence of her large size (*Leyenda de la Yacumama* n.d.).

The Anaconda in the Fishermen's Tale

1

Fishermen's tales refer to the Great Anaconda as the mother of all the waters of the Amazon. She makes her appearances when the river drops and produces eddies in the middle of the river.

It is said that the Yacumama protects the jungle from outsiders and people who come to deforest it and hunt taking no care of the consequences to the environment.

When a boat enters the jungle and begins to capture species of monkeys and birds for commercial purposes, the Yacumama hears their whistles and songs and comes to rescue the animals. She kidnaps the crew and causes strong storms of rain and mist until the ship is anchored to the shore (*Yacumama* n.d.).

2

A man had worked for many years in the Putumayo River basin and decided to return to Iquitos in a boat, bringing timber and cattle in a small raft. Later, a storm broke out and his indigenous helpers told him that it was surely the Yacumama, and that he rather should go to the shore and wait for the storm to pass.

The man decided to continue sailing, despite the difficulties. Suddenly they realized that they were inside a whirlpool in the middle of the river, and it threatened to sink the boat. The crew threw food and brandy into the river trying to calm the Yacumama, and luckily, they managed to escape.

The servants insisted on terminating the journey, but the man ignored it and wanted to go on.

Later on, the storm worsened, the winds became stronger, and a dense blue mist covered the waters of the river, preventing boatmen from seeing the fallen logs and plants hovering in the current.

Then a strong surf hit the boat against the shore, and it got caught between branches and roots of an old tree. Frightened, boatmen could see a gigantic red-eyed anaconda rising and falling from the middle of the river, splashing and creating huge eddies.

At dawn, the storm calmed down and they could confirm that their merchandise and livestock had been lost during the storm. The servants and their patron wept and lamented over their bad luck, and vowed never to underestimate the mystical power of the Yacumama.

According to the riparians, Yacumama has moved away from the rivers and lakes in recent times due to expansion of river transport and, but could appear at any moment so sailors must be prepared and tie their boats to the shore during storm to avoid losses of value (*Yacumama* n.d.).

3

According to an ancient legend from Peru, a terrifying reptile had been watching over the waters of the Amazon River and all its lakes since ancient times - a being called Yacumama, which means ‘Mother of water’.

Specifically, Yacumama rested in a lake with clear and calm waters, where no man should enter to fish.

But one day, a fisherman got lost and got there unintentionally. His surprise was immense. He had never seen anything like it. The waters of the lake were so clear and serene.

“This lake must be full of fish”, he thought.

And the fisherman then cast the nets, thinking of the wonderful booty that he would get. But soon after, his canoe began to stir.

The fisherman met Yacumama. At first, he did not give it much importance, but the shock was increasing and he grew scared. He was going to collect the nets, when the water began to form a strong whirlpool in front of him, and in the middle, he saw a huge snake with yellow eyes and a very long tongue rising from the depths of the lake.

The fisherman dropped his nets and began to row, using all his strength, in the opposite direction from the monstrous being. Terrified, he asked the god Inti for help. He hinted at her to head him towards Lake Titicaca, but, as she advanced towards him, the vegetation that fringed the river began to grow, blocking his way. The snake was following him under the water and the fisherman thought that his end had come.

However, when he had already thought that he was all lost, four tapirs came from the river bank and jumped into the water in an intense fight. The snake then turned around and the vegetation that closed the path returned to its place.

The fisherman took the opportunity to leave the place in a hurry, and after a great effort, he reached another lake where he finally felt that he was safe. The man returned without fish, but at least he had kept the most valuable thing: his life (*La Yacumama. La leyenda que la hizo famosa* n.d.).

The Anaconda in a Cosmogonic Myth, or the Origin of the Universe

One of the myths related to the great serpent, giver of life, guardian of the waters, as well as myth about origin of the universe, is the legend of the Desano, an Amazonian ethnic group that lives in the upper basin of the Vaupés River, in the border area between Colombia and Brazil, and specifically in the Colombian department of Vaupés and the Brazilian state of Amazonas.

A great ancestral anaconda entered the universe/house through the water gate and ascended through the Negro and Vaupé rivers, carrying within its body the ancestors of all humanity.

Throughout their journey, the remote ancestors transformed into humans. Upon arriving at the Ipanoré waterfall, formed by the flow of the Jirijirimo river, which in the indigenous language means the 'bed of the anaconda', the ancestors divided themselves on earth by what would be their particular territories.

The long body of this gigantic anaconda represents the place of residence, the house or *maloca*[2] and the way in which the different groups are integrated and act, defining their identity, that is, their name, their history and their language.

[2] A maloca is an ancestral long house used by the indigenous people of the Amazon.

In each clan of this patrilineal and exogamous group, open to the world, the children of the first ancestors of the great anaconda are organized according to a structure in which, chiefs are at the head of the anaconda, in the middle part are the shamans, and at the tail end are the people (Cartay n.d.).

The Narrative of the Lupuna Tree or the Tallest and Thickest Tree in the Amazon (*Ceiba Pentandra*)

The Lupuna is a gigantic tree which has recently been found useful, since decades ago it was not even used for firewood, and now it is valued for furniture. It is distinguished by protruding from the roof of the forest in the shape of a large mushroom, always swollen at the base of the trunk.

In the jungle, the latter feature is the cause for superstition and respect since, according to the beliefs of many ancient tribes, inside the tree's bulging belly lives the mother, or the spirit of the tree, although some mention her as a witch.

There are many families that say they have lost a female relative in previous decades for not having respected the tree, having absentmindedly approached or, worse still, having used the tree as a shade to relieve themselves.

There are many cases of women who have fallen under the wrath of the tree which was very jealous of the feminine presence. Apparently, the swollen belly of the tree tends to grow, bulge and burst, and breaks the silence of the jungle with a sound that resembles bursting of gigantic balloon. However, in a matter of days, the wound closes as if nothing had ever happened. But the woman who has inadvertently attracted anger of the Lupuna will begin to notice, as the weeks go by, that her belly begins to swell for no apparent reason, imitating the characteristics of the Lupuna. After several days, at the same time when the tree bursts in the jungle, the victim of the Lupuna also dies with her belly burst.

Now, apparently, with the advance of the man who uses the wood of the Lupuna to make furniture and plywood, the spirits of the tree have moved into the Lupunas situated deeper in the Amazon forest, hoping not to be inhabited by other spirits. It is because that the current bursting of the trees closest to man is almost not heard, since their spirits have changed, in search of peace; however, women continue to appear with swollen bellies (Sr. C. *El árbol de lupuna*, n.d.).

The Lupuna Spell

Figure 3: Kapok tree (*Ceiba pentandra*)
in the botanical garden in Rio de Janeiro

In the town we heard about the red Lupuna and we wanted to face it. We knew it was a tree frequented by evil sorcerers, so we went into the forest along a hidden path covered by wet leaves. We were jumping from trunk to trunk to avoid stepping on the spine of the *ñejilla*[3]. Its fine thorns scattered everywhere prolonged our painful walk.

We found palm trees stripped of their mature leaves and trees shedding their weeping sap as silent witnesses of the fact that many people trudged through this jungle. Scarred snakes slid by when they felt our presence, green iguanas and chameleons that change color looked at us in surprise, but did not dare to take a step.

[3] Ñejilla (*Bactris brongniartii*) is a species of palm native to southern tropical America, belonging to the family of Arecaceae, also known as *black cane*, *chacarrá* or *palm cubarro*.

The suffocating heat and the humidity of the forest made us sweat. And suddenly, under the shadow of the leafy *cormiñon*,[4] an intense relief and a breath of fresh air.

After hours of walking, we spotted the outstanding crown of the red Lupuna.[5] But it was not as close as we thought. We had to walk a few more hours.

Finally, the giant red tree with its characteristic potbellied stem was in front of us. Abnormal belly in the trees. Impressive belly, ready to burst with its sap when abundance allows it. Around the red Lupuna there was no one, neither living being nor spirits. We were struck by the perfect cuts of skillful scalpels on its thick stem. Apparently, someone was skinning its bark to extract some mystery from it.

We had heard that in solitary moments and deathly silence, a sorcerer skilled in binding and unleashing spells often visited her. They say that he hopes that there will be no visitors in the forest so that he can prepare his thick mate with the rope of drunkenness at the foot of the tree.

Then he takes a bowl of the bitter concoction and begins his rite conducted by nasal chants. He turns around in an imaginary circle around the Lupuna. He gestures with his raised hand begging the tree for favors. And from time to time, he moans, as if he were an injured animal, and attracts attention, the snake hiss that he emits when he enters a trance.

When the sorcerer is sure that the Lupuna will grant him the favor, out of his bag he takes a garment of the victim, wraps it with great care, spits a greenish phlegm on it, staggers as he approaches the belly of the tree, and, brandishing his machete, makes a perfect cut that opens the hard bark, so that he can, in the entrails of the Lupuna, hide the clothes of the unfortunate, whose days from that moment are numbered.

Soon, the spell takes effect, the victim, healthy man or woman, begins to swell, especially in the belly. And believing to have gained weight, no one notices the evil, until too late, when there is no longer a remedy for the patient.

We returned impressed after getting to know the Red Lupuna up close, and on the way, we met Don Shanti, a well-known sorcerer. And after having been in the hotbed of evil, annoyed I said:

– Hello, Don Shanti! People say you go to Lupuna every so often. What do you go for?

– I go to punish lack of affection, infidelity, deception. Now I'm going to do a little job for my niece. The poor thing, her boyfriend left her on her wedding day. That I do not forgive. For me it is a mockery. Here on earth, we pay for our mistakes and I make the wretches pay.

[4] *Cormiñon* (*Vitex pseudolea*) – rusby.
[5] *Lupuna colorada*.

After having listened to his lecture on good and evil, but before he gets upset, we bid farewell to the vengeful sorcerer (*El Hechizo de la Lupuna* n.d.).

The Creation Myth, or the Narrative of the Big Water Tree (Related by Wilson Ramos)

This is the story about the beginning of the world, when creation was yet to be completed, when there was no water, no light, and no man, at least, to take care of the things of the world. Only the earth, the sky, some animals and fruits existed. It was a confusion; the earth was dark because a huge tree covered it.

Thus, the moment came when Yoí, the first existing father on earth, considered giving up and putting an end to things. In this way he spoke to his brother Ipi, but the younger was very mischievous and contradicted everything that his older brother said, even though he was his sole company on earth.

The sky was covered with darkness. Yoí called his brother and said: "We are going to take all the extant fruits on earth and we'll call the existing animals and announce that we are going to knock down this immense tree called Lupuna."

Then all the living animals on earth began to sting, bite and scrape the tree. A whole multitude of animals that already existed on earth were about to knock down the tree. However, Yoi and Ipí were surprised because they still hadn't succeeded. Then, Yoí sent for the two kinds of squirrels that lived in the world. He ordered the greedy squirrel to climb to the top of the tree to see why it did not want to fall. The little squirrel couldn't make it to the top, only halfway.

Then Yoí sent up the other species of squirrel, which was the climbing squirrel. It was able to climb up tree trunk and discovered the reason of Yoí's and Ipí's surprise. The squirrel came down right away and told Yoí that it was a sloth[6] who with his hands held the sky and with his feet he held the top of the tree and that is why he did not want to fall.

Yoí sent the climbing squirrel back to the top of the tree with chili to throw at the sloth. The squirrel reached the stump of the tree, put the chili pepper in the sloth's mouth, but with no effect. The squirrel came back down and said that the chili was not doing anything to the sloth.

Then, she went back up with some small ants known in the area as *twnw*, whose bite is very strong. The squirrel arrived and scattered the ants on the sloth's body. The pain of the ant bites caused the sloth to let go of the tree he was holding.

[6] Slow and lazy animal inhabiting the trees (the *Pilosa* order of mammals, suborder *Folivora*, or *Phyllophaga* – 'leaf-eaters').

The tree fell on the world eliciting lightning, thunder and making waters flow. An immense flow issued from the trunk engendering the Amazon River, and from the branches lagoons and tributaries were formed.

Yoí's joy was so great that he got into the water and as the drops splashed him, he became a multitude of fish that filled the rivers. Then Ipí noticed his loneliness and saw that the heart of the tree floated on water. Out of curiosity, he took it, planted it and cared for it with great affection, being always mindful of it. After some time, he ate it and felt something wonderful. When he dropped the seed, a very beautiful lady appeared and told him that she loved him very much. Henceforth, Ipí considered her his wife. They were the first couple that existed in the world.

Yoí returned to the land where his brother Ipí already had a wife. But when Ipí's wife arrived, she disappeared and Yoí felt lonely and sad. One day he went to the port and sat down by the river when, suddenly, a very beautiful young woman emerged in front of him and stayed with him. Thus, Yoí got a partner, while his brother was left alone again.

Yoí thought of organizing all the beings that he had created by clans.

Yoí and Ipí were together when an iguana showed up. They killed it and cooked it right away. When iguana-dish was ready, Yoí distributed it among all the animals that he created. When he distributed iguana to each animal, he named the clan to which animal belonged: the *muchilero*,[7] the heron, the tiger, the macaw, the toucan, the black heron, the ant, the *cananguchо*,[8] fourteen clans in total. Likewise, he instructed each one about whom it could marry, making it very clear that, for example, a macaw with a heron could not, as it was a union of two feathers; but a macaw could marry a tiger, it was not a problem, it was skin with feathers. He also established the rule that the children would inherit their father's clan, and by uttering these words, he returned to the trunk of the stick and to the largest river, the Amazon (*El árbol de Agua Grande* n.d.).

Conclusion

To draw up the conclusions, it is necessary to emphasize that the narrative is employed as a research method that uses the story and testimony as ways to obtain knowledge of the imaginary of people. It is the reason why we have resorted to the narratives of the Peruvian Amazonia to account for a world relatively unknown to modernity, but one that offers original cultural forms that expand the recognition of contemporary cultural plurality.

[7] Cacique (bird – *Cacicus*), or New World blackbird in tropical South America north to Mexico.

[8] *Mauritia flexuosa* or the moriche palm, grows in tropical South America.

In Peru, Amazonian folkloric narratives have acquired relevance in the last four decades and became a part of a narrative renewal or an interpretive shift in which narratives, excluded in the past, are made visible again and brought to consideration of literary criticism. In the case we are dealing with, these are the narratives we identify as Amazonian marvelous or magical realism, because there are three variables combined within: the real, the magical, and the fantastic. To understand these terms, we turn to the *Diccionario Akal de términos literarios*, which defines them as:

> In a world that is ours, the one we know, without devils or vampires, an event occurs that is impossible to explain by the laws of that same familiar world. The one who perceives the event must choose one of two possible solutions: either it is an illusion of the senses, a product of the imagination, and the laws of the world remain what they are, or the event occurred. really, it is an integral part of reality, and then this reality is governed by laws that we do not know. Either the devil is an illusion, an imaginary being, or he really exists, like other beings, with the difference that he rarely meets him. The fantastic occupies the time of this uncertainty. As soon as one of the two answers is chosen, the realm of the fantastic is left to enter a neighboring genre: the strange or the wonderful. What is fantastic is the hesitation experienced by a being who knows only natural laws, in the face of an apparently supernatural event (Tzvetan Todorov, *Introduction à la littérature fantastique*. París: Seuil, 1970, Spanish translation: *Introducción a la literatura fantástica*. Trad. Silvia Delpy. Buenos Aires: Tiempo contemporáneo, 1972, as cited in: Ayuso de Vicente 1997: 152).

In the presented narratives we detect that the relationship between man, nature and divinity, as expressed in the worldview of the indigenous people of the jungle has never been contradictory. Rather, it has allowed man to understand that ancestral life testimonies have been maintained for centuries throughout literary texts converted into life testimonies of the Amazonian indigenous people. For this reason, the weight of the explanation falls on the myths, rites, stories, poems, where the vital forces and their divine correlate are reinstated.

The narratives show us a population that has found a form commensurate to its conception of the environment, able to offer a logical explanation for the presence of animals, plants and natural resources; to generate an internal culture of their principles and behaviors in the environment that surrounds them, to offer a culture of protection of their natural resources against external threats; all of which is synthesized by Ochoa, when he states that:

> That is why the indigenous people have a culture of life and a consciousness linked to Nature, an ecological and spiritual vision of existence. That is, a religious worldview of the world that surrounds them, of the world above and below: an animistic consciousness of Nature and the beings that inhabit it; a sacred vision of supernatural space and the forces of Heaven; a cyclical conception of cosmological time; and a spiritual belief in a place and a space in which to be what deep down they are, what every man is, a component of the whole of Nature, a seamless part, without great cultural contradictions or ego dilemmas (Ochoa 2002: 252).

Finally, narratives show us a vital society whose dynamics of life, in the forest, differ from lives of those in the West, and whose always active memories feedback as a result of the intensified communication with the outside world or as a result of their own social mobilization.

These narratives are shown as an alternative which allows us to glimpse and expand the literary plurality of the American continent, whose ancestral worldview has been minimized to ideological parameters of elitist national culture, and its natives considered to be chaotic subjects in literary representation.

By the way, orality is the privileged way in which the knowledge of the population of the Peruvian Amazon is active and transcends the time. Through oral narratives Amazonian people have been recognized and through them they have become intersubjective mediators that have charge of their lives as long as they have a coherent narrative explanation of the world that surrounds them, and that is a primary characteristic for to identification and recognition of Amazonian people as a population with particular ethnic characteristics.

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Illustrations

Figure 1: Map of the Amazon River drainage basin with the Amazon River highlighted. Date: 25 February 2013, 11:59:10. Author: Kmusser. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Amazonrivermap.svg (16.06.2021).

Figure 2: Photograph by Álvaro del Campo. https://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias-57404958 (01.07.2021).

Figure 3: Kapok tree (*Ceiba pentandra*) in the botanical garden in Rio de Janeiro. Date: 13 February 2016, 20:09:06. Author: Zezinho68. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Kapok_Tree_Rio.jpg (01.07.2021).

Narrativa folklórica de la Amazonia Peruana

Daniel Orlando Díaz Benavides

Resumen

El Perú es un país ubicado, geográficamente, en la región central y occidental del subcontinente americano cuyo poder político, económico y demográfico se encuentra históricamente alejado de su Amazonia que, ocupando el 62% de su territorio equivalente a 782,800 km cuadrados, está poblado por un escaso 8% del total de sus habitantes.

Para la epistemología colonial-occidental la Amazonía es un territorio inhóspito y sumamente agresivo, como expresan sus narrativas al calificarla de infierno verde o región virgen y devoradora de hombres no aborígenes; sin embargo, habitada por 1,786 comunidades indígenas, agrupadas en 60 etnias y 13 familias lingüísticas, con estrategias singulares de ocupación territorial, la Amazonía aporta concepciones del ser humano, de la vida y del mundo que, entre otras variables culturales, podemos percibir en sus expresiones narrativas.

Para este artículo se presentan cuatro historias mitológicas que forman parte del folklore de la región, cuyos tópicos principales son: 1) el mito de la creación; 2) el Lupuna (*Ceiba Pentandra*) o el árbol más alto y grueso del Amazonas; 3) la Anaconda (*Eunectes murinus*), nombre de la serpiente constrictora más grande del mundo y; 4) el Amazonas, nombre que identifica al río más grande y caudaloso del mundo. Alrededor de estos tópicos se agrupan expresiones narrativas que circulan en la región y definen aspectos vitales de su sentido social construido y de un universo que posee sus propias lógicas culturales. Tales expresiones muestran, además, las interconexiones entre los seres vivos y una naturaleza animada. Sus metáforas, inscritas en la estética local, resaltan las memorias del bosque y de las sociedades que habitan una de las regiones más biodiversas del planeta, con una amplia diversidad cultural; pero, con prácticas y concepciones culturales diferenciadas.

Palabras-clave: Amazonia, Perú, folklore, aborigen, memoria, mito, naturaleza animada.

Усмена проза Перуанске Амазоније

Данијел Орландо Дијаз Бенавидес

Резиме

Перу је земља географски лоцирана у централној и западној области америчког потконтинента. Политичка, економска и демографска моћ Перуа не заснива се историјски у Амазонији: иако она заузима 62% територије Перуа (што износи 782.800 километара квадратних), у њој је настањено једва 8% укупног броја становника.

У епистемологији колонијалног Запада, Амазонија је означена у западњачким причама као негостопримљива и крајње агресивна територија, са сликама зеленог пакла, или као девичанска регија која прождире неаутохтоне људе. Ипак, насељава је 1.786 домородачких заједница, груписаних у шездесет етничких група и тринаест језичких породица, свака са јединственом стратегијом запоседања територије, и с причама које нам представљају богатство културних варијабли, укључујући њихове представе о свету, животу и људским бићима.

У овом раду представићу четири митолошке приче које чине део фолклора овог подручја: 1) река Амазон, име које означава највећу по воденом току и најмоћнију реку на свету; 2) Анаконда (*Eunectes murinus*), име највеће змије удава на свету; 3) лупуна (*Ceiba Pentandra*), највише и најдебље дрво у Амазонији; и 4) мит о стварању света. Приче груписане око наведених тема распрострањене су у овој регији, и биће искоришћене да се одреде кључни аспекти конструисаног друштвеног значења или света с њиховом властитом културном логиком. Уз то, оне ће показати узајамне везе између живих бића и одуховљене природе. Метафоре у овим причама, усађене у локалну естетику, осветлиће сећања на прашуму и на друштва која је насељавају, на једну од најбогатијих регија на планети у погледу биодиверзитета, са широким мноштвом култура али с издиференцираним културним праксама и представама.

Кључне речи: Амазонија, Перу, фолклор, аутохтони народи, памћење, мит, одуховљена природа.

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Reflections on How to Study Folktales and Legends From Oral Indigenous Heritage of México

Mercedes Zavala Gómez del Campo

The article draws from the premise that oral tradition collections of tales and legends of our indigenous peoples are expressions of a deep syncretism between indigenous and Hispanic cultures; in other words, even the tales and legends enunciated in native languages reveal a deep-rooted cultural miscegenation of more than four hundred years. This quality has been frequently denied, especially by cultural policies that attempt at a redemptive function and some anthropological and ethnological studies that, incredibly, insist ignoring the fact that Hispanic presence is completely rooted in a large part of the folkloric collections of the predominantly indigenous communities. The analysis rests upon the study of motifs (as minimal narrative units) in a wide corpus of tales and legends collected in Spanish and indigenous languages, especially Nahuatl, Tének, Mixe, and Maya, published in bilingual editions from the early 20th century to the present. The purpose of the article is to review some of these examples in order to underline the relevance of miscegenation as a defining reality to study of our cultural heritage, as well as understanding ourselves without opening a gap between the indigenous and the Hispanic.

Keywords: syncretism, indigenous peoples, Hispanic peoples, oral tradition, Mexico.

In cultural and global context where there is a reevaluation of the so-called “aboriginal peoples” and their cultures as part of the heritage of humanity, a kind of ethnic equity would finally seem to be glimpsed. However, we continue approaching these cultures from somewhat external perspectives (Western and/or academic, where cultures are treated as objects of study, political or social causes, etc.) without paying attention to the particularities of the historical processes concerning each of these populations. Undoubtedly, the study of folklore has been a channel for gathering knowledge about these “aboriginal” cultures (as well as non-aboriginal ones) but it is of little value if we do not approach from the present standpoint, and if we

disregard an undeniable condition of cultural *interbreeding* that is perpetuated throughout the history of humanity. The intention of these notes is not to judge historical facts, but to accept that five hundred years ago Spanish culture, during wild conquest and after it, spread throughout the territory of Mesoamerica and parts of Aridoamerica. It is also assumed hereby that in Mexico, unlike any other county of the continent, from the inception of former colonial New Spain, a strong process of miscegenation both by means of marriage, forced or not, between Spaniards and natives and also by means of assimilation, forced or not, of cultural elements: from religion and language to artistic and culinary expressions; from agricultural products to the rearing of domestic animals, to name just a few. We should be mindful that the same aspects of African cultures are also present and enduring same processes.[1] It shouldn't be neglected that, in our land, there was already an inter-breed among the peoples. For example, at the time of the conquest, the Aztecs had already dominated a huge part of the territory and partially imposed their language, cosmogony, and customs on other groups.

Traditional Oral Literature of Mexico

In Mexico, more than sixty active indigenous languages are recognized,[2] but many more peoples are considered indigenous because numerous groups have lost their language and speak only Spanish. Despite the linguistic diversity and the level of precariousness and underdevelopment in which much of these communities live, their socio-cultural context has visibly changed. For example, around the 1940s, when Pablo González Casanova collected a sufficient corpus of tales from the oral tradition of indigenous peoples in their na-

[1] The presence of the artistic and cultural manifestations of black slaves in New Spain has been studied from different disciplines, although there is still a lack of knowledge about the element of the miscegenation, although there are regions of the country (central and southern) where African presence is evident, although in much lesser degree than Hispanic. From a cultural perspective, Aguirre Beltrán's 1958 work strives to resume research on this aspect. On the coexistence and interinfluence of literary traditions through popular singing in that sociohistorical context see, among others, the works of Masera (2006), Swiadon Martínez (2004), García de León (2006).

[2] The National Institute of Indigenous Languages (*Instituto Nacional de Lenguas Indígenas* (INALI), https://www.inali.gob.mx/) recognizes, studies, and disseminates 68 living languages in Mexico. The number of speakers of each varies greatly but according to data from the INEGI Population Census 2020 (https://censo2020.mx/, accessed 07.03.2021), the total number of indigenous language speakers is 7,364,645, just over 6% of the total population of the country exceeding 126 million, and of that 6%, 11.8% do not speak Spanish (865,972 people), i.e. out of seven million indigenous language speakers, more than six million are bilingual – a reference relevant to our position regarding the relevance of the miscegenation.

tive languages, most of the inhabitants of those communities were illiterate. Since the last decades of the 20th century, the literacy rate has significantly increased and, while the poverty condition is widespread, the isolation of these communities has declined and there is an increasing interaction between rural and urban areas. If the teaching of Spanish was previously privileged as the only way of accessing modernity, and at the same time detrimental for the original language and its culture,[3] some twenty-five years ago, a clear reevaluation of the native language occurred – both at the community and governmental level – that encourages oral and written bilingualism, proof that the strength of voice and memory withstood the onslaught of supposed development; we also have a broad heritage, in indigenous and Spanish languages[4], which reveals Mexico as a multicultural country. For this reason, terms such as amalgam, mosaic, weaving, among others, have been used to express the complexity of these cultures. As for the several traditional oral literatures of our country, I also find appropriate the comparison with the kaleidoscope, due to the dynamism and movement of its images.

Most studies on Mexico's indigenous literatures are written by anthropologists and ethnologists, while researchers of literature had not taken care of the subject. So, it often happens that researchers omit the literary value of tales and legends and consider them "probative documents of survival of pre-Hispanic elements and not traditional literary expressions that nowadays enforce cultural amalgamation" ["documentos probatorios de supervivencias de elementos prehispánicos y no como expresiones literarias tradicionales, vigentes hoy en día, de una amalgama cultural"] (González 2006: 191–192). There is another critical opinion: "they [tales and legends] only speak of myths and 'mythical' times without clarifying the nature of the specific accounts or prayers from which they extract or infer the mythical information in an attempt to build or imagine the 'worldview' of contemporary indigenous peoples" ["sólo hablan de mitos y épocas 'míticas' sin aclarar la naturaleza de los relatos o plegarias concretas de donde extraen o infieren la información mítica a partir de la cual intentan construir o imaginar la 'cosmovisión' de los pueblos indígenas actuales"] (Montemayor 2000: 101–102). That is why I propose that the study of the stories and legends should not be performed as

[3] As it is easy to assume, the pre-eminence of Spanish led the native language speakers to stop practicing their languages within their communities and in many cases, over the generations, the languages were forgotten.

[4] It should be remembered that in New Spain, unlike the other regions of Latin America, several of the first missioners and humanists took on the task of transcribing the native languages or translating them into Spanish – tales, beliefs, history, and customs from oral testimonies of the Indians, among others: Bartolomé de las Casas, Vasco de Quiroga, Motolinía, Sahagún, Diaz del Castillo. So, the first collected tales and legends in indigenous languages date back to that time.

they are only cultural and artistic manifestations, but as discourses poetically articulated in spirit of a collective aesthetics, at the same time particular and universal, forming the memory and tradition of the people. For this approach to narrative discourse, I find the study of constituent motifs relevant. Such an analysis allows us to understand the structure of literary discourse, how the subject is treated and the various meanings of a specific tale and, at the same time, to compare it with other expressions (versions) of the same folktale or different ones, both from the same region and culture as well as the others.

The Motifs

A motif should be understood as a minimal narrative unit; it conveys an action made by a subject, and is usually expressed with a verbal noun such as transformation, deception, revenge, confinement, or punishment. Antii Aarne, Stith Thompson and later Hans-Jörg Uther came up with this same idea decades ago; however, they understood the reasons why it is a minimal but not necessarily narrative unit: [a motif is] "one of the elements of a tale (that is, a statement about an actor, an object, or an incident)" (ATU 2004: 10). But as we said, neither actor nor an object could be a motif in itself because often they do not have any incidence in the narrative composition. A motif can exist independently and have a meaning (even a story could contain a single motif – it would be a short but complete story), while a magic ring or a certain space cannot do so, in our sense. The presence or absence of the other elements (a character and an object) may show particularities of one version or similarities with others from how the same motif is expressed. Including one motif or another and giving it greater or lesser development have a direct impact on the plot of the narrative, the character's settings, and the message and meaning the teller wants to convey. That is why I consider that studying minimal narrative units allows us to know and understand more deeply how the indigenous discourse is constituted, how it assembles different cultural periods and strata and, therefore, facilitates a better approach to its meaning, its universality and, at the same time, its uniqueness.

Below I review a number of motifs in traditional oral tales from different indigenous cultures of Mexico. In some cases, I bring versions collected in Spanish and, in others, versions transmitted in native tongue and translated by the storyteller or by the collector[5].

[5] It is essential not to dismiss the Spanish versions for several reasons. Firstly, many indigenous peoples speak only Spanish. Despite the policies undertaken to revive the original languages and, above all, the struggle for the same purpose of multiple communities whose members dedicated themselves to the task of studying their language, claiming it and standardizing it, Spanish continues to keep prevalence in many communities and is,

Deception is a recurring motif in all traditions; a modality of this one is what we might call "killing the messenger". It is the well-known biblical motif of Uriah's letter: King David, in love with the wife of one of his bravest and most faithful soldiers, sends a letter, with Uriah as a messenger, instructing to place his soldier on the front line of combat securing thus the Uriah's death and enabling the union with his wife: "The next morning David wrote a letter to Joab and sent it with Uriah. In the letter he wrote: 'Put Uriah at the front of the fiercest fighting, then withdraw from him so that he is struck down and dies'" (Samuel 11, 14–15).

Among the Teneks from the Huasteca region we find an example with the same motif: "An yetse'inik ani an alwa'inik", translated into English by the compiler as "The powerful and the innocent":

> In a very big place, where there was a lot of working men and women, the owner would pick the younger and prettier women to make them his. There was a young couple, the owner liked the woman but he couldn't find the way to have her. Days were passing by until one morning, when the richest man woke up, he decided to send the young man to take a message to God. That bad man thought that the young man would never find God… (Sánchez Flores 2010: 149).

The young man didn't get lost nor die. He found people and animals who helped him and an old man, who turned into a buzzard (zopilote), took him to God's place. God told the young man the boss's true intention and sent him back with a letter for his boss. When the rich man was reading the letter, the house was taken by fire and he died.

In some cases, the motif does not include the desire for another man's wife, but is simplified to the intention of getting rid of the messenger; this is the case in *El hijo del fantasma* (*The Ghost's Son*), a tale of the Mixes of Oaxaca. The extensive folktale talks about the troubles of a child, miraculously born of the spirit of his father's dead wife. He is left in the custody of a priest who, soon after, is unable to properly educate him. In addition to being very intelligent and strong, the child is not afraid of anything or anyone and behaves badly, so the priest decides to send him with a message for the devil:

paradoxically, the language used for the expression of the native tradition For example, among the Tepehuas of Veracruz, most of the stories are collected in Spanish although rural teachers, speakers of Tepehua, have translated them and published in bilingual editions aiming to revive the original language (Tesillos García 2015). However, I believe that if the stories live in Spanish, it will take a long time for the young population to master the language, assimilate the tales and give them life in Tepehua. Nevertheless, it is a commendable effort and the publication itself is an achievement in strengthening the original language.

> Y se puso a escribir el siguiente recado: – Hombre, Rey diablo, aquí te mando a Pioquinto, pues no tiene respeto a los demás y quiero que tú veas qué hacer con él. Y por favor, no le vayas a mandar por aquí.
>
> Llamó a Pioquinto y le dijo: – Pioquinto, ve al infierno a dejar este recado, por favor.
>
> Y se fue Pioquinto a dejar el recado al infierno sin saber lo que decía el mensaje. Se quedó allí para siempre, pues tal vez le dieron un castigo duro o tal vez se volvió más diablito en el infierno (Scheffler 1983: 86).
>
> [And he began to write the following message: – Hi, King Devil, I send you Pioquinto, because he has no respect for others and I want you to decide what to do with him. And please, don't send him back here.
>
> He called Pioquinto and said: – Pioquinto, go to hell to bring this message, please.
>
> And Pioquinto took the message to hell without knowing what the message said. He stayed there forever, maybe because they gave him a harsh punishment or maybe he became another devil in hell (Scheffler 1983: 86).]

This motif, in modality where things turn out less harmful to the bearer of the letter, is present in several versions of tales such as *John the Bear* and accounts for the incompatibility of two beings of different nature: human (the priest) and marvelous (*Pioquinto*, John the Bear), so it should come as no surprise that it is inserted into stories related to the shaping of heroes.

Similar story lives in the Tojolabal oral tradition – *The Wolf's Advice* (*El consejo del nahual*). Instead of a written message, there is a request for a task under deception, as operated by the Hebrew king, but fused with the *nahuales*[6] tradition. The patron asks his most faithful servant to seek medi-

[6] Although beliefs in *nahuales* and *tonas* differ in particularities in each culture, it can be said that the former are people with the ability to transform into a particular animal thus acquiring its characteristics and abilities. At the same time, this comes as a kind of gift. The *nahual* is an individual and non-transferable attribution, it is always protective and acts for the benefit of those who have it. They can be assaulted and, while in human form, show the wounds. As for the *tona*, it is an animal, the soulmate of an individual from his/her birth. Their bond is indissoluble, and functions as reciprocal protection. Belief in *tonas* is widespread in the south of the country, especially in Oaxaca and Chiapas (Weitlaner 1977: 169–171). A sharp difference between the transformations of these entities and witches is that the last are usually shaped by European or Christian conceptions in which the character is identified as someone related with the devil, a link that allows him to metamorphose. In folktales we can find the same reason for transformation but with different developments and meanings. Another important feature is that in the European

cine for his illness, but he plans to send his *nahual* to kill the servant, plotting to enjoy servant's wife. She knows patron's true intentions and, because she also has a *nahual* (her husband has not), she explains how he should hide from the patron's *nahual* and wait for the right time to return. The wife sends her *nahual* to attack the other, and her *nahual* accomplishes its mission. The servant manages to return safely, and the patron dies soon after, due to his *nahual*'s death (Gómez et al. 1999: 259–261). Despite the nuances in the plot, it is the same motif – with particular characteristics and combinations – present in five different stories and enunciated in diverse languages, settled in various spaces and times.

The motif of the marvelous or magic birth of a child, who becomes a founding hero or divinity, is virtually universal, perhaps because of the universal need to create and believe in superior being, marked from birth. There are multiple examples of this in the indigenous cultures. Some occur completely in a context of marvelous, like King Kontoy among the Mixe, to which I will return later, or Dhipák, in the Tének tales and Chikomexochitl among the Nahuas from the Huasteca. Both characters are the corn's spirits or the *elote* itself and were begotten by a young virgin (Van't Hooft & Cerda 2003: 23–26). Others are named using expressions of undeniable miscegenation; such is the circumstance, in Chiapas, of the different versions of *Juan López, a Tzeltal hero*. Like in many other cases, the genre ranges between the folktale and the legend. It is a real-marvelous character who acts on behalf of the Tzeltal Indians to defend them from the mestizos. The temporal location is diluted in the chains of events that we can locate, by the name of the character, in time after the conquest; at the same time, timeless references or allusions to remote times are included, giving the character an almost divine coating. He is a hero who has died and risen; he is placed in colonial times, in the processes of the Zapatista rebellion of 1994 and today, already old, walking some streets although young people "do not easily recognize him when he goes by". The events occur in several villages in the same region of Chiapas: Bachajón, Chilón, and Ocosingo, among others, and in natural locations that have acquired a sacred character for Tzeltals such as caves, mountains, and streams, but hero travels also to modern spaces such as a plane runway close to the community. Six collected versions from old Tzeltals include the magic birth, and some of them develop the motif:

current oral tradition, transformation occurs, most of the time, in folktales where the initial fiction pact eliminates any possibility of truth value of the real, contrary to what happens in many tales from Mexico where a 'rhetoric of truth' predominates (Oring 2008), so the texts are valued as true; hence there is a few legends about transformations of people into *nahuales* and *tonas*, and their occurrence is helped by the fact that this type of mutation generally lacks negative nuances.

> Por arte de magia se embarazó una jovencita. Mis abuelos contaban (pero no les pregunté, en ese momento, cómo se llamaba la muchacha) que la joven no había tenido ninguna relación con varón. Un día la madre la llevó al río para pepenar *xuti* o caracol en el lugar llamado Tz'ibaron Ch'en, que significa cueva o roca con letras. Cuando llegaron, la joven se acercó a la cueva, es decir, a la roca grande: "Eh, mamá, este lugar es agradable", dijo, "quisiera que fuera mi casa para siempre. Qué bonito está no tiene ni una gota de lluvia, es como una casa". Enseguida se puso de rodillas y se acostó. Un mes después de haber gozado de ese rato de sueño sintió síntomas de embarazo: lo que de grande fue Juan López (Gómez Gutiérrez 1996: 77).[7]
>
> [By magic a young girl got pregnant. My grandparents told me (although at that time I did not ask what the girl's name was) that the young woman had not had any relationship with a man. One day her mother took her to the river to harvest *xuti* or snails in a place called Tz'ibaron Ch'en, which means cave or rock with paintings. When they arrived, the young woman approached the cave, that is, the big rock: "Hey, mom, this place is nice," she said, "I want it to be my home forever. How beautiful it is, there isn't a single drop of rain, it's like a house". She immediately got down on her knees and lay down. A month after having enjoyed that moment of sleep, she felt first signs of pregnancy: how big Juan López was.]

Those versions also include the initial parent's enquiry and the truth revealed in dreams of both the daughter and the parents and grandparents.[8]

Some versions mention only that Juan López had no father or that, he was taken by the river as a baby and returned to his mother after eight years. The relationship of this motif with another miraculous birth (Jesus's of the Virgin Mary) is evident. The utilization of the biblical motif is very clear; mo-

[7] Miguel Vázquez, originally from Bachajón, transmitted in Mayan language his version entitled *Jwan Lopes, yajaw inyo* (*Juan López, Indian God*). Carlos Montemayor translated from Mayan into Spanish this and other versions collected by Gómez Gutiérrez.

[8] In the third version *Batsil ajaw Juwan Lopes, kanan chij* (*Juan Lopez, the shepherd*), the young woman's family, returning from the trip, spends the night in a cave by the C'antela River and the next day: "When they headed home, the girl began to feel pain in her womb and felt that something was going to happen. Those were the signs that she's pregnant with what King Juan López was going to be" (Gómez Gutiérrez 1996: 95). In the fourth version *Juan López, Xbojt'il chenek* (99–103) and in the fifth, *Ajaw Juan Lopes, jpas moch* (104–107), the young woman goes to work to the *milpa* (cornfield) with her family, and when it starts raining, she takes refuge in the cave where she sleeps for a while and gets pregnant.

tif stays the same, although the Tzeltal tradition strips it of Christian traits appropriating it and treating the birth of a hero as an event that is between human and divine. One of the narrators notes: "I keep thinking about the life of Christ who came to another country. It seems [Juan López] is the Tzeltal Christ" (Gómez Gutiérrez 1996: 89). The events look the same, but they're not. The hero was constructed from features that combine the Mayan's cosmology (of the Tzeltal group) and Christian elements (often narrated as tales by the first missioners) until an absolute fusion or articulation is reached

Another motif related to the marvelous aspect of the protagonist, which underlines his dual character (human/superhuman) is the one that develops the unfitness of the child (before becoming a hero) to human social context. This is the case with protagonists of folktales such as *Juan, the Bear* (son of a woman and a bear), but also with characters like Kontoy (born from an egg or by a young woman and a hill). His mother tries to introduce him into the community of children and to prepare him for school. On the Mixe hero's version:

> El niño seguía asistiendo a la escuela y seguía siendo un peligro para sus compañeritos porque era capaz de matarlos de un solo empujón […] En otra ocasión, en un descuido del maestro, el niño volvió a empujar a otro de sus compañeritos y lo mató; era ya el tercer niño que mataba, entonces se decidió que ya no podría seguir en la escuela porque era un peligro para los demás alumnos. Después de eso, el niño echó a andar para conocer otros lugares… (Díaz Pérez 2008: 32).[9]
>
> [The boy continued to attend school and still represented a danger to his classmates because he was capable of killing them with a single push […]. On another occasion, due to the teacher's carelessness, the boy again pushed another of his classmates and killed him; it was already the third child he had killed, so it was decided that he could no longer stay at school because he was a danger to the other students. After that, the boy set off on a journey to see other places (Díaz Pérez 2008: 32).]

In two versions of *Juan, the Bear* noted in communities outside indigenous cultures, the behavior and superhuman strength of the protagonist are the same:

> Entonces, como el niño era muy fuerte, se hizo peleonero y la gente iba y le daba quejas al cura: que a cada rato golpeaba a los

[9] The version was told in Mixe by Juan Díaz Vázquez, in 1985 in Santa María Ocotepec, Totontepec, Oaxaca and was translated into Spanish by Federica Díaz.

> otros muchachos y que ya le tenían miedo, pero el cura sabía por qué. Entonces, como en aquel tiempo de los reinados usaban pantaloncillos cortos abajito de las rodillas, los muchachos le tiraban de los pelos y le hacían enojar y él se defendía. Y así, hasta que al fin el cura le dijo que ya tenía muchas quejas y que hasta había golpeado al profesor.[10]
>
> [So, since the boy was very strong, he became a fighter, and people complained to the priest that he beat the other boys every so often, and that they all were already afraid of him; but the priest knew the reason. Then, at the time of the kingdom when short trousers below the knees were worn, the boys pulled his hair and made him angry, so that he defended himself, until finally the priest told him that many complaints had been filed against him, even that he had hit the teacher, among others.]
>
> Allí, la señora puso a su hijo en la escuela, pero los compañeros le jalaban los pelos y se burlaban de él y el osillo de una guantada los tumbaba. Entonces, el maestro le dijo a la señora que Juan ya no podía estar en la escuela porque era un problema. Entonces la señora se lo llevó a su casa [...] Allí estuvo mucho tiempo, pero cuando era un muchacho decidió irse a buscar aventuras por los montes.[11]
>
> [There [at the village], the lady sent her son to school, but the classmates pulled his hair and made fun of him, and the little bear-boy knocked them down. So, the teacher told the lady that Juan could no longer be in school because he was a problem. Then the lady took him home [...] He stayed there for a long time, but when he grew up, he decided to go to the mountains to seek adventure.]

We can assume that Juan Vázquez, who told Kontoy's tale, knew *Juan, the Bear*, and it would be easy to think of a narrator's mistake or, as purists would say: pollution. However, we may also think that the transmitter, or the person from whom he received the story (or previous links in the chain of oral transmission), chose a motif present in his traditional background for this version, which could perfectly function in the Mixe hero's settings. Both characters share a miraculous birth and a remarkable strength, so why not include the hero's conflicting childhood episode if it reinforces their char-

[10] The tale was recorded by myself on August 11, 1993, and was told by Serapio Prieto Delgado, 83 years old smith from San Pedro Piedra Gorda, Zacatecas.

[11] The tale was recorded by myself on April 5, 1994, from Alicia Guadalupe Cruz, 9 years old, Ejido San Francisco, Zaragoza, Nuevo León.

acterization? We could qualify this version as unique, but if the community keeps it in this form, it is because it responds to their idea of Kontoy and his many adventures.

Likewise, the presence of the same motif in different indigenous groups and languages is not unusual. In one tale, for example, it is mentioned as the reason for the transformation of a dog into a woman who secretly prepares food. In a Huichol and a Tének tale, the man decides to spy on what happens at his home while he is at work. Although the outcome is different, the main reason is shared. The Huichol tale says:

> La viejecita se volvió aire, y el indio fue a limpiar su campo. Vivía con la perra en una gruta, donde la dejaba de día cuando se iba a su labor. Como todas las tardes que volvía encontraba tortillas, tenía curiosidad de saber quién las hacía. A los cinco días se escondió detrás de unas matas, cerca de la cueva, para espiar, y vio que la perra se quitaba la piel y la colgaba, quedando convertida [en] una mujer que se arrodilló a moler. Entonces se acercó poco a poco por detrás, cogió el cuero y lo echó a la lumbre. 'Me has quemado mi ropa' gritó ella poniéndose a aullar como perro. El indio le lavó la cabeza con el agua del niztamal que ella misma había preparado; la refrescó así, y desde entonces, ha seguido siendo mujer: Tuvieron muchos hijos e hijas que se casaron y poblaron el mundo yéndose a vivir en las cuevas (Lumholtz 1904/II: 191).

> [Nakawe'[12] became wind, but the man went on with his work clearing the field. He lived with his bitch in a cave; during the day, while he was in a field, she remained at home. Every afternoon, on coming back, he found corncakes ready for him. He was curious to know who made them. After five days had passed, he seated himself among the bushes near the cave to watch. He saw the bitch take off her skin and hang it up. Then he noticed that she was a women, who knelt down to grind corn on the metate. He stealthily advanced towards her, approaching from behind, and quickly caught the skin and threw it into the fire. 'Now you have burned my tunic!' she cried, and began to whine like a dog. He bathed her with water mixed with the ground corn she had prepared, and she felt refreshed, and from that time on she remained a woman. He had a large family, and his sons and daughters married, and the world became peopled, and they lived in caves (Lumholtz 1900: 169–170).]

[12] Takutsi Nakawé is one of the oldest Huichol female deities, known as Grandmother of Growth and Germination. According to Lumholtz, "all vegetation (na'ka, 'to grow') is her product. She is also the mother of the gods, especially of Grandfather Fire. All the earth belongs to her, and she lives in the underworld" (1900: 13).

And the Tének tale, entitled *The Salt Woman*, says:

> Hace muchos años había un hombre que vivía solo con un perro. Este hombre salía todos los días a trabajar, y cuando regresaba, su perro lo recibía muy contento. El hombre estaba muy sorprendido porque siempre que regresaba de su trabajo, encontraba preparada la comida y las tortillas y muy triste porque no sabía quién las hacía. Un día el hombre decidió espiar para saber quién hacía la comida cuando él salía a trabajar. Hizo como que se iba a trabajar y, después de un rato, regresó, vio entonces que el perro se convertía en mujer. Cuando ya tuvo la forma de mujer, escondió su piel debajo de las piedras del fogón, sacó sal de los sobacos y se la echó a la comida. El hombre no pudo aguantar y entró corriendo a la casa para regañar a la mujer, le dijo que por qué salaba así la comida. La mujer muy triste le dijo al hombre: – Ahora porque me regañaste, me voy lejos de aquí. […] La mujer se fue al mar y por eso ahí el agua es salada (Sánchez Flores 2010: 45–46).
>
> [Many years ago, there was a man who lived alone with a dog. This man went out to work every day, and when he returned, his dog received him happily. The man was very surprised because whenever he returned from work, he found the food and tortillas ready but he was sad because he did not know who made them. One day the man decided to spy to find out who made the food when he went out to work. He pretended to go to work and, after a while, he came back, then saw that the dog was turning into a woman. When she was in the form of a woman, she hid her skin under the stones of the stove, drew salt from her armpits, and added it to her food. The man could not bear it and he ran into the house to scold the woman, he told her why she salted the food like that. The sad woman said to the man: – Now because you scolded me, I'm going away. […] The woman went to the sea and that's why the water is salty (Sánchez Flores 2010: 45–46).]

In both narratives, discovering the mystery eliminates its continuity and radically modifies the man involved. In the Huichol tradition, this motif is part of a much longer tale about the flood and the relationship of the old woman – goddess Mother Earth – with the Indian. On the other hand, in the Tének tradition, it lives as a short and independent tale, only in combination with the motif of salting the sea[13]. Although the reason for transformation is universal,

[13] It could be argued that the difference between two tales – one being a part of a more extensive narrative and the other living autonomously – has to do with time of collecting the corpus. The Tének tale was recorded in the early years of the 21st century, while the

the way it develops here reveals what we might call elements or traits of pre-Hispanic origin. It is the way that it is told, rather than the content: it is an animal that becomes human (in Western culture usually it is the other way around), and the event is linked with the etiological explanation of the world.

Among the many folktales and legends where topics, motifs, and characters clearly of indigenous origin predominate, there is a group of tales[14] that deals with beings who are the 'owners,' 'guardians' or 'lords' of the Nature: of the hill, of the river, of thunder, lightning, wind, among others. The substrate of these narratives is a religious thought that "the Western man no longer understands what was still understood by the Greeks of antiquity: that the planet is not something inert, inanimate, but a living being" (Montemayor 2004: 10–11). The protagonists are elements of nature or beings of the "invisible world" that come to life and interact with human beings and are neither positive nor negative. The complexity of these stories lies in their interpretations, because from a Western and Christian perspective, some of the actions are often identified as typical of the devil, especially the tales in which the 'lord' or 'owner' of the hill, or animal gives money or does favors to a member of the community, so analogies can be easily established with stories about pact with the devil without this being the issue. As an example, I present two stories from Nahua communities in the Sierra Norte de Puebla[15]. The first tale has an obvious mythical substrate that explains the origin of the region's soil characteristics and the unfortunate sentimental life of the hill:

Huichol story about the flood dates back to Lumholtz's works in the late 19th century, although Montemayor (1998: 125) states that almost the same version was collected in the sixties by Peter Furst and Barbara Myerhoff (possibly included in the article: El mito como historia: el ciclo del peyote y la datura entre los huicholes, in *El peyote y los huicholes*, ed. Salomón Nahmad Sittón, Otto Klineberg, Peter T. Furst, and Barbara G. Myerhoff, México: Sep/Setentas, 1972, 53–107, that I have not been able to consult). In any case, the literary autonomy of the motif allows it to constitute a folktale by itself and not necessarily involve the fragmentation of a larger text.

[14] A genre classification of this corpora is complex because we often intend to apply the Western nomenclature without any flexibility or, equally erroneously, set aside categorization and apply a term as ambiguous as a 'story' for all prose narrative forms. Without intention to delve into it here, I consider that we can talk about folktales, legends, and even mythical tales or legends with a mythical substrate, noting the elements that compose them (if they have truth value, if they allude to an ancient conception of the world although it is no longer a belief and if they are accepted and told as fiction, etc.), and their function in the group that preserves them.

[15] All over Mexico, there are so many stories about guardians or dual entities, as María-Cruz La Chica shows in her study about Tojolabales from Chiapas Southeast, especially the tales *Los Hermanos Rayo* [*The Lightning Brothers*] and *El hombre Viento* [*The Windy Man*] (2017: 81–96).

> El Tentzo era una especie de volcán. Entonces se enamoró, se enamoró de la Malinche y ella dijo:
>
> — Sí te acepto, me caso contigo, pero vamos a hacer un trato: Se va a formar unas nubes de la Malinche y va a caer una tromba, un aguacero. Si logras atajar el caudal de agua, si logras atajarlo, pues me caso contigo.
>
> […] Entonces el Tentzo dijo que sí. Aceptó, pero cuando empezó a llover, trombas, mangas de agua, el Tentzo se aventó para atajar el caudal y todo eso, pero no lo logró atajar, porque se pasó por Molcaxac una parte del cerro, y no lo logró atajar, no se llevó a cabo el matrimonio entre el Tentzo y la Malinche. Por eso, porque no atajó el caudal, todo eso, hay una parte, hay pura piedra, porque toda la arena que trae el caudal se lo llevó. Si lograba atajarla, se estancaba toda el agua y la arena quedaría. Habría terrenos más fértiles, arenosos (Badillo Gámez 2014: 159).[16]
>
> [The Tentzo was a kind of volcano. Then he fell in love, he fell in love with the Malinche [a mountain], and she said:
>
> – Yes, I accept you, I'll marry you, but we are going to make a deal: some clouds are going to form from the Malinche and a downpour is going to fall, a downpour. If you manage to stop the water flow, if you manage to stop it, then I will marry you.
>
> (...) Then the Tentzo said yes. He accepted, but when it started to rain, downpours, waterspouts, the Tentzo jumped in to stop the flow and all that, but he did not manage to stop it, because he went over Molcaxac a part of the hill, and he did not manage to stop it, so the marriage between the Tentzo and the Malinche did not take place. That is why – because he did not stop the flow – the ground is covered by stones, because all the sand brought by the flow was carried away. If he managed to stop it, all the water would stagnate and the sand would remain. There would be more fertile, sandy soils (Badillo Gámez 2014: 159).]

Another tale depicts Tentzo's embodiment: he appears as an old bearded owner and lord of the hill, generous and protective of his own people, the inhabitants of the region, but fearsome and harmful to the strangers from other

[16] The tale was told in Spanish by Alfonso Arrioja Méndez, 55 years old, and recorded by Gabriela Samia Badillo Gámez on 18 July 2012 at Atoyatempan, Puebla. This tale, together with other 25 different tales about Tentzo, is a part of Badillo's master's thesis.

regions. He is a supernatural entity that seems to keep balance of reciprocity between the men of the visible world and beings of the invisible one:

> De cuando hicieron la carretera, que hay, que se quebraron las máquinas, cuando rascaban se quebraban, no se podían hacer la carretera hasta que fueron al Tentzo, ya le dijeron a, o sea que hablaron con el Tentzo y le dijeron que dejara que se hiciera la carretera, y les dijo que sí pero que iba a recoger almas, no de las de este, este lugar, que serían de los que vienen, que no sean de por aquí. Y que según entonces sí ya dejó que se hiciera la carretera. Y bueno, son cuentos o quién sabe, pero hasta ahorita, nadie de por aquí se ha muerto en esa carretera, se han muerto de otras partes que vienen a dejar material o de otros viajes. Si se han muerto… a lo mejor como unos cuatro. Según dijo el Tentzo que sí iba a recoger esas almas porque la gente de aquí le va a rasurar los bigotes… bueno de que así va uno a leñar y a cortar, y por eso según la gente de aquí no se va a morir la de aquí, sino la que viene (Badillo Gámez 2014: 189).[17]
>
> [When they built the road, the machines broke, while they were scraping, they broke, they could not build the road until they went to the Tentzo. They told him to, they talked to the Tentzo and told him to let them build the road, and he said yes, but that he was going to collect souls, not from this, this place, but from those who come, who are not from around here. Things happened according to that, and he did let the road be built. And, well, these are stories or who knows, but up to now, nobody from here has died on that road, those who died came from other places, coming here to bring building material or for some other reason, those who were passing through. There was maybe about four of them who died. According to Tentzo, he was going to collect those souls because the people from here are going to shave their mustaches... Well, that's how you are going to cut and cut, and that's why, according to the people from here, the people from here are not going to die, but those who come here (Badillo Gámez 2014: 189).]

These final phrases are relevant because they express the aforementioned reciprocity and balance between man and nature: the people in the region work under Tentzo, "they shave their beard and mustaches" i.e., they cut firewood and gather palm to survive, so he protects them. However, sometimes it is not easy to distinguish 'us' and 'them' because the expression used

[17] The tale was told in Spanish by Dominga Paredes, 32 years old, house-keeper, and recorded by Samia Badillo Gámez on 25 July 2012 at Huatlatlauca, Puebla.

when referring to "taking some souls," in a building context, easily matches to the "dealing with the devil" motif, so prevalent in other traditions. It is true that in the Mesoamerican cosmogony good and evil are not separated, but united: they were deities and dual entities (López Austin and Millones 2008: 31–36). The devil as such does not exist, so "taking souls" in indigenous traditions has to be understood as an exchange for protection rather than the Christian idea of the devil who takes souls that belong to God.[18]

I highlighted earlier the complexity of some characters such as Juan López, Tentzo, and Kontoy, a Mixe hero, almost a divine or, at least, supernatural. I will consider some comments regarding this character brought up in the final essay by Jaime López Reyes, an Ayöök doctoral student.[19] The paper is about a version of Kontoy by Fortino Vázquez, a Mixe from Tlahuitoltepec (Oaxaca), and it was published as *The Origin of Cong Oy* (Barabás & Bartolomé 1984). López Reyes says that we are not dealing with one legend but the mix of more than four versions which the author intertwined so that is impossible to distinguish one from the other, like it happens in oral tradition.[20] López Reyes emphasizes the complexity of the entity[21]:

> ¿Quién o qué cosa fue Kontoy? Dios, héroe, divinidad, rey, hombre, humano, fuerza creadora. Culebra o piedra, carne o tierra. Padre compasivo, deidad beligerante. ¿Todas ellas? Los historiadores hablan de un campeón divinizado, los antropólogos de un culto, los poetas de una potencia primigenia, los sociólogos de la imaginación indomeñable de un pueblo, y los literatos, de una figura literaria. Los mixes no están seguros. Y, sin embargo, Kontoy fue. Corrección: es. Kontoy existe, a los mixes no les queda duda. Recórranse las montañas mixes por uno, dos, diez años, y se obtendrá la misma convicción y el mismo desconocimiento: 'No sabemos bien a bien quién es. Pero existe. Y sólo existimos en tanto que él existe'. mismo […] En nuestra literatura oral ocurre lo mismo: relatos míti-

[18] However, I consider that after 500 years of Christianity, even the indigenous community cannot be able to explain it clearly because of analogies between both ideas.

[19] Ayöök is adjective or noun for the Mixes who belong to the community of Totontepc. It is also the name of the Mixe linguistic variant.

[20] Especially because not one tale about Kontoy does tell everything, but only relates motifs or episodes depending on the teller's interest. In López Reyes words: "Kontoy was born from an egg, had a brother or sister born in the same way. The eggs were found by a very old couple. Kontoy was born as an adult or he grew up incredibly fast. He traveled to Oaxaca, or to Tlacolula, Mitla, Tule, Mexico City; fought against Zaachila, Moctezuma, or even Jesus. Many enemies pursued him, but he never died. Finally, he took his captains and trophies to a mountain or in a cave and he promised to come back" (López Reyes 2018).

[21] More than fifty years ago, Walter S. Miller (1956: 203) gave an account of the religious syncretism of both the Mixes and the current status of the legend, but I prefer to use López Reyes's words, which are more recent, because he belongs to the Mixe community.

> cos, leyendas, cuentos, poesía, canciones, todo imbuido del aliento de aquel ser. Pero en cada uno de manera distinta. Ni siquiera el nombre es constante: Kontoy, Kondoy, Condoy, Kong oy, Oy Cong, Konk, Condoyac, Candoyoc. Todos el mismo, y todos uno distinto. […] Kontoy concatena, como los héroes épicos, los valores y el código ético de su comunidad, y en este caso algo más: la esperanza y la misma supervivencia (López Reyes 2018).
>
> [Who or what was Kontoy? God, hero, divinity, king, man, human, creative force. Snake or stone, flesh or earth. Compassionate Father, belligerent deity. All of them? Historians speak of a deified champion, anthropologists of a cult, poets of a primeval power, sociologists of the indomitable imagination of a people, and literati of a literary figure. The Mixes are not sure. And, nevertheless, Kontoy was. Correction: Kontoy exists, the Mixes have no doubt. Go over the Mixe mountains for one, two, ten years, and you will get the same conviction and the same perplexity: 'We don't really know who he is. But he exists. And we only exist as long as he exists'. […] In our oral literature it is the same: myths, legends, tales, poetry, songs are all imbued with the breath of that being. But each of them in a different way. Not even the name is constant: Kontoy, Kondoy, Condoy, Kong oy, Oy Cong, Konk, Condoyac, Candoyoc. They are all the same, and each is different. Kontoy concatenates, like epic heroes, the values and ethical code of his community, and in this case something else: hope and survival itself (López Reyes 2018).]

In some ways, the words of the Ayöök López Reyes allow us to understand the complexity of the indigenous literatures of our country, especially the narratives about beings who are between the visible and the invisible world, who possess traits that refer to a mythical substrate, and who are enlivened in combination with motifs common to other traditions but which, fused, are the sound of an integrative memory flowing constantly, a "deep voice", as Montemayor calls it. In that same tenor, Luis Díaz Viana says that rather than described as "traditional", an object, song, clothing or tale are expressions or productions "created or recreated within a tradition, following the rules and causes, the codes and, if preferred, the collectively assumed grammar that given tradition offers" (1995: 20).

Conclusion

A brief sample like the one I researched in this article is not big enough to characterize a whole type of literature and, much less, to outline gener-

alizations on the various indigenous literature composed, at their deepest level, by the fusion of three or more cultural strata. But this sample is sufficient to convince us of the need to ponder several aspects, for example: to remove singular terms such as "the indigenous literature of Mexico" from our vocabulary and to opt, given its diversity, for the plural. Also, to accept that much of the corpus from indigenous peoples' oral tradition are enunciated in Spanish: from tales and legends to songs and prayers;[22] from some rituals to the transmission of knowledge about productive activities and traditional medicine. In other words, we must accept that if we are talking about a mestiza essence it is not surprising that, often, it is enunciated in Spanish, and although in such cases the richness of the mother tongue as a vehicle for artistic expression will be missed. It will also be undeniable that the enunciator is a bearer of a community's memory; a person qualified with community skills and recognized by her/his group as a possessor of knowledge, a recreator of a collective tradition and aesthetics.

Indeed, motifs reviewed here let us ask why some researchers qualify as "foreigners" the tales with motifs that also appear in the Hispanic or European tradition if the peoples, the Indians, consider them their own. As Montemayor said: "From my point of view, it would be a hard, absurd task trying to convince them that their folktales are not theirs but Grimm brothers', Perrault's, Aesop's, or Ovid's"[23] (1998: 131–132). Probably, from the opposite standpoint, it would be more of an ideological stance than a scientific one, but it certainly leads to false or misleading assertions about our culture or, at least, it leads to contradictions such as saying that "the folktales are imported: obviously they are outward" and explaining that the folktales "were brought from Europe and were intimately mixed with a native corpus; they broke away from their initial context and changed with extended episodes, disrupted with mythical, heroic, supernatural feats"[24] (Ramírez Castañeda

[22] Prayers, rites, and Catholicism live in a miscegenetic way in our communities. Montemayor has studied them in the Mayan culture and he reveals how so many elements from the "new" religion easily fitted in the Mayan religious beliefs and system (1998: 116–117). Often, we find tales where saints and pre-hispanic entities act together, at the same time, at the same little village, and the narrator makes no distinction between the two traditions, there is only one voice. Many communities set their foundations during the viceroyalty or in colonial era, and do not at all divulge time-passing.

[23] "Resultaría una difícil—y absurda, desde mi punto de vista—tarea tratar de convencerles de que sus cuentos no son mayas, chontales, purépechas, nahuas o tzotziles, sino de los hermanos Grimm, Perrault, Esopo o el Ovidio de las *Metamorfosis*" (Montemayor 1998: 131–132).

[24] Given statements concern the folktales included and collected in her book, as well as the mythical stories and legends from the first volumes, from the oral tradition of different indigenous groups. The original words are: "Los cuentos maravillosos del cuarto volumen son importados: evidentemente son externos: Se han adoptado como propios

2014: 13–14), when all those facts that Ramírez mentioned (appropriation or adaptation) mean that the peoples appropriated the folktales, so those stories belong to them as much as the most mythical tale. Is it not folk literature? Why insisting on qualifying those tales as foreigners even if they are told in Náhuatl, Mixe or Tének? Why, if they have lived for more than four hundred years in these peoples' memory? It is not possible nor serious to proceed equalizing indigenous and pre-Hispanic, because this position is taking out the object of study, the tale, from its real context.

We should understand oral literature as an open system[25] where the memory constantly builds itself; where each version reveals an equilibrium between preserved and innovative features, characters, motifs, contexts, and values. And on this road, studying motifs as narrative units helps us to comprehend the unit's meaning, but also the tale's main significance derived from analyzing its composition: which motifs are assembled in each version, what is their function inside the story. Prose narratives from oral tradition are somewhat, as Montemayor said, an *ars combinatoria* (the art of combination*)*. We should dismiss the attempt to separate into parts a system that does not have "parts." That is why I propose that every approach to our indigenous oral heritage, has to be done beginning with the conception of miscegenation as an essential item of our being.

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ayudantes mágicos, proezas extraordinarias, pruebas absurdas, metamorfosis peculiares. Queda adherido a la narrativa nativa aquello que tiene más semejanza con lo propio, los cuentos que son más afines a la tradición ya existente. Fueron traídos de Europa y quedaron íntimamente mezclados a un corpus nativo; se desprendieron de su contexto inicial y cambiaron con episodios aumentados, trastocados con hazañas míticas, heroicas, sobrenaturales" (Ramírez Castañeda, 2014: 13–14).

[25] These ideas were used for the study of *Romancero* and other folk ballads. The pan-hispanic genre is a good example of memory, combinations, miscegenation: a narrative poem that is more than seven hundred years alive in different cultures, times and places.

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Reflexiones sobre cómo estudiar cuentos y leyendas del patrimonio indígena de México: la tradición oral

Mercedes Zavala Gómez del Campo

Resumen

El trabajo parte de la premisa de que los acervos tradicionales de cuentos y leyendas de nuestros pueblos indígenas son expresión de un profundo sincretismo entre la cultura indígena y la hispánica; es decir, aun los cuentos y leyendas enunciados en lenguas originarias revelan un arraigado mestizaje cultural de más de cuatrocientos años. Esta cualidad se ha querido negar con frecuencia; especialment,e desde políticas culturales que intentan una función redentora y de algunos estudios antropológicos y etnológicos que, increíblemente, se empeñan en no ver la presencia hispánica completamente arraigada en gran parte de los acervos folklóricos de las comunidades mayoritariamente indígenas. El análisis se desprende del estudio de temas y motivos de un amplio corpus de cuentos y leyendas recogidos en lenguas indígenas—especialmente náhuatl, purépecha, otomí, maya y tzeltal—y publicados en ediciones bilingües de los años cincuenta del siglo XX a la fecha. En el trabajo se establecen comparaciones entre personajes, motivos y tratamiento de los diversos temas incluidos en los relatos. La finalidad del artículo es subrayar la relevancia del mestizaje como realidad definitoria para estudiar el patrimonio cultural mexicano, y comprenderlo sin abrir una brecha entre lo indígena y lo hispánico.

Palabras-clave: sincretismo, indígena, hispánico, tradición oral, México.

Размишљања о томе како проучавати народне приповетке и предања аутохтоног усменог наслеђа Мексика

Мерцедес Завала Гомез дел Кампо

Резиме

У раду се полази од претпоставке да збирке традиционалних усмених приповедака и предања аутохтоних народа Мексика изражавају дубоки синкретизам између аутохтоних и хиспанских култура. Другим речима, чак приче и предања испричани на домородачким језицима откривају да је културно укрштање раса дубоко укорењено више од 400 година. Овај квалитет се често пориче, посебно у културним политикама чија је функција превасходно усмерена на искупљење, као и у неким антрополошким и етнолошким студијама које, невероватно, тврде да хиспанско присуство није потпуно укорењено у великом делу фолклорних збирки претежно аутохтоних заједница. Анализа полази од проучавања мотива (као најмањих приповедних јединица) у обимном корпусу прича и предања сакупљених на шпанском језику и домородачким језицима, посебно на наватл или астечком језику (Nahuatl), језику тенек (Tének) (то је локални назив за језик вастек(о) или хуастекански језик – Wasteko, Huasteco), језицима михе или мише (Mixe) (језичка породица михе-соке или мише-соке, мисокејски језици – Mixe-Zoquean, Mije-Sokean, Mizoquean), и мајанском језику (Maya). Овај корпус објављиван је у двојезичким издањима од почетка 20. века до данас. Циљ рада је да се осврне на неке од ових примера и да подвуче значај укрштања раса као фактора који одређује стварност културног наслеђа Мексика, те да омогући саморазумевање не отварајући јаз између аутохтоних и хиспанских народа.

Кључне речи: синкретизам, аутохтони народи, хиспански народи, усмена традиција, Мексико.

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Between Borders and Crossroads: Performances of Orality in Different Brazilian Bodies and Contexts

Luciana Hartmann and Renata de Lima Silva

Taking our own research and life trajectories as point of departure, what we propose here is an interplay of ethnographic data obtained working with two groups of storytellers: one, inhabitants of the Brazil/Argentina/Uruguay border country, and others whom we encountered within the context of Capoeira Angola of Bahian tradition (Salvador, Bahia). While borders may be seen as establishing boundaries, and crossroads as announcing encounters, we may be able to think about these two conceptual markers, coming from each context, as territories (physical and/or symbolic) from which different performances of orality emerge. Attentive to issues of gender and race/ethnicity, and to the conflicts, tensions and creations that constitute them, we propose a discussion of the meanings that emerge from narratives produced by subjects who are situated within these "borders and crossroads".

Keywords: Brazilian popular traditions, Capoeira, traditional storytellers, gauchos, intersectionality.

To Begin With

Instigated by the marks imprinted on our research by different territorialities and corporealities, we decided to propose in this article a reflective exercise based on two Brazilian popular traditions: Capoeira Angola from Bahia, Northeast region of Brazil, and the stories told by inhabitants of the border between Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay, in far southern Brazil.

These territories and the performances emerging from them were not a random choice; on the contrary, they are linked to the very crossroads at which we authors find ourselves. Neither in the South nor in the Northeast, but in the Brazilian Center-West, where the institutions we are affiliated to are situated and where our common interest in Brazilian traditional performances is understood. If crossroads herald meetings, boundaries

may mark differences: on the one hand, a Rio Grande do Sul anthropologist of German descent[1], a researcher of the oral narratives told in the border region between Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay, and, on the other, a black Capoeira practitioner descended from Africans who worked as slaves on the coffee farms of the Paraíba River Valley in São Paulo, a researcher of black performances.

Therefore, we view borders and crossroads as powerful conceptual operators, sensitive geographical and symbolic territories from where different performances of orality stem. Our reflections in this article are inspired by the work developed by the Brazilian researcher and playwright Leda Maria Martins, for whom traditional black performances are acts that bodily inscribe, in time and space, an ancestral memory, an episteme, in a process she calls "Afrographics of memory" (Martins 1997). On the other hand, we also draw on the concept of performance developed by Deborah Kapchan, in dialogue with Richard Bauman:

> Performances are aesthetic practices – patterns of behavior, ways of speaking, manners of bodily comportment – whose repetitions situate actors in time and space, structuring individual and group identities. Insofar as performances are based upon repetitions, whether lines learned, gestures imitated, or discourses reiterated, they are generic means of tradition making. Indeed, performance genres play an essential (and often essentializing) role in the mediation and creation of social communities, whether organized around bonds of nationalism, ethnicity, class status, or gender (Kapchan 1995: 479).

Both Capoeira and the *gauchos'* narratives, therefore, will be addressed here as traditions of "performance." These highly distinct traditions are part of the huge Brazilian cultural mosaic. Brazil is home to many Brazils, in the words of the anthropologist Darcy Ribeiro (1922–1997). In his book *The Brazilian People*, written over 30 years ago, Ribeiro investigates the cultural matrices and mechanisms of the cultural formation of the Brazilian people, highlighting a few Brazils, namely: Backlands Brazil, Peasant Brazil, Creole Brazil, Southern Brazil. In this text we approach our borders and crossroads from the viewpoint of Creole Brazil and Southern Brazil, aware that there are certainly many other Brazils outside the categories listed by the author.

[1] The South Region of Brazil, which incorporates the state of Rio Grande do Sul, has experienced a massive migration process of Germans and Italians during the 19th century, which conferred a "whiteness" that is evoked in some Brazilian popular traditions, as we will argue in the text.

At the Crossroads of Afro-Brazil

Darcy Ribeiro defined "Creole Brazil" as "(…) a Black cultural area related to the historical-cultural configuration stemming from the introduction of the sugar economy and its complements and annexes in the coastal strip of the Northeast of Brazil, which runs from Rio Grande do Norte to Bahia" (Ribeiro 1995: 275). Although we agree with the author's definition, we propose to rename this Brazil as "Afro-Brazil", not to defend the Africa that was diluted in Brazil, but the Africa that constituted the country, besides resisting and reinventing itself within it, especially considering that, for over three centuries, Portuguese and Brazilian vessels shipped enslaved men and women from almost 90 African ports, making 9,200 crossings that transported about 4.9 million people to Brazil.[2] We therefore understand that the African contribution to the cultural, historical and economic formation of Brazil should be recognized in the very process of designing and designating the categories of analysis. And it is in this effort to appreciate Brazilian Africanisms that the concept of crossroads has emerged from religions of African origin to inform the reflection on traditional performances.

As a geographical site, a crossroads consists of the intersection of two streets, roads or trails. A person at a crossroads enjoys a few possibilities of movement, of options of direction. On the other hand, a crossroads is also a place of encounter, that is, not only a point of departure, but also of arrival. Streets, roads and trails meet at crossroads and people travelling on them have the chance to meet there, even if they later decide to set off in different directions. Thus, symbolically, a crossroads is a metaphor for movement, decision and also encounter.

It is also at crossroads that followers of religions of African origin in Brazil make offerings to an entity called Exu (Eshu, Èṣù) and to the "people of the street." By religions of African origin we understand a number of spiritualist practices that, despite having been created and consolidated in Brazil, cultivate elements or cosmo-perceptions deriving from African peoples, such as: the cult of ancestors; the mediumistic trance; the practice of prayer through singing, dancing and percussive music; the notion of gratifying and thanking sacred entities through offerings; a family-based framework, where the priest is the father, the priestess is the mother and the other followers are their offspring; and concern with nurturing the vital life force through a series of specific rites of each religious practice, such the herbal bath.

The best-known religions of African origin in Brazil are Candomblé, Umbanda, Quimbanda, Batuque, Macumba, Jaré and Tambor de Mina, each of

[2] Data from The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database, an international effort to catalog data on the slave trade – which includes, among others, Harvard University: https://www.slavevoyages.org/

which has its specificities, depending on the region where they are practiced and local traditions. All of them, to a greater or lesser degree, in dialogue with Christianity and/or indigenous, aboriginal traditions, some of which have become almost imperceptible, as is the case with some Candomblé traditions that have endeavored to re-Africanize themselves, especially from the 1970s, based on the notion that it was no longer necessary to conceal the deities, forbidden during the slavery period, behind Catholic saints.

Candomblé, in particular, preserves strong elements of African traditions, such as language, eating habits and the cult of African deities called Orishas (Ketu Candomblé), Nkise (Congo-Angola Candomblé) or Voduns (Jeje Candomblé), patron gods and goddesses of elements of nature or human actions. Orishas are worshiped in Ketu Candomblé, which is of Yoruba origin, in Congo-Angola Candomblé, of Bantu origin, especially from the region called Congo-Angola, and also Jeje Candomblé, whose origins lie in the ancient Kingdom of Dahomey.

All candomblé variants worship a deity that is considered the messenger in charge of communication between humans and gods and goddesses. In Keto Candomblé it is Exu Orisha, also called lord of the paths. In Congo-Angola Candomblé it is Nkise Njila or Mavile, and in Jeje Candomblé it is Vodum Legba, also called Elegbara.

> Exu, Elegbara e Legba são, entre os povos iorubas e fon-ewe situados na África Ocidental, divindades mensageiras, dinâmicas, temidas e respeitadas, que devem ser saudadas em primeiro lugar para não atrair confusão ou vingança. São deuses tricksters que questionam, invertem ou quebram regras e comportamentos. São associados aos processos de fertilidade e, sob a forma de um falo ereto, cultuados em altares públicos localizados na frente das casas, nos mercados e nas encruzilhadas. Quando seu culto foi "descoberto" pelos europeus iniciou-se um processo no qual essas divindades foram associadas ao imaginário do mal, da desordem e da repressão sexual (ao demônio cristão e muçulmano) e, posteriormente ao mundo pré-moderno (primitivo), ao imaginário das forças antagônicas da modernidade, entre as quais estava, sobretudo, o pensamento mágico presente nas religiões que não passaram pelo processo da secularização ou burocratização (Silva 2019: 453).

> [Exu, Elegbara and Legba are, among the Yoruba and Fon-Ewe peoples of West Africa, messenger divinities, dynamic, feared and respected, which must be initially hailed so as not to attract confusion or revenge. They are trickster gods that chal-

> lenge, invert or break rules and behaviors. They are associated with fertility processes and, in the shape of an erect phallus, worshiped on public altars situated outside houses, in markets and at crossroads. The "discovery" of their cult by Europeans triggered a process in which these deities were associated with the imaginary of evil, disorder and sexual repression (with the Christian and Muslim devil) and, after the pre-modern (primitive) world, with the imaginary of the antagonistic forces of modernity, among which was, above all, the magical thinking of religions that did not undergo processes of secularization or bureaucratization (Silva 2019: 453).][3]

Understanding the importance of Exu, Njila and Legba for Candomblé in Brazil, as well as the misguided way in which these deities have been associated with the Christian devil, provides important clues to understanding the crossroads on at least three levels: 1) symbolically, as the abode of this deity; 2) geographically, as the public space (street) occupied by followers of Candomblé and also of other religions of African origin in Brazil to worship these gods with offerings. It is worth noting that Candomblé was historically persecuted and condemned by Christian morality, which still promotes religious intolerance even though the Brazilian constitution guarantees freedom of worship;[4] and 3) as a conceptual operator that advocates an Afro-epistemology, as pointed out by Leda Maria Martins (1997).

> A encruzilhada, locus tangencial, é aqui assinalada como instância simbólica e metonímica, da qual se processam via diversas de elaborações discursivas, motivadas pelos próprios discursos que a coabitam. Da esfera do rito e, portanto, da performance, é o lugar radial de centramento e descentramento, interseções, influências e divergências, fusões e rupturas, multiplicidade e convergências, unidade e pluralidade, origem e disseminação. Operadora de linguagens e de discursos, a encruzilhada, como um lugar terceiro, é geratriz de produção, as noções de sujeito híbrido, mestiço e liminar, articulado pela crítica pós-colonial, podem ser pensadas como indicativas de efeitos de processos e cruzamentos discursivos diversos, intertextuais e interculturais (Martins 1997: 28).
>
> [The crossroads, tangential locus, is herein considered a symbolic and metonymic territory from which are processed

[3] This and all other translations of works in Portuguese are from our own authorship.

[4] After the election of the current Brazilian president, attacks on Candomblé yards have increased. See: https://www.brasildefato.com.br/2020/01/21/denuncias-de-intolerancia-religiosa-aumentaram-56-no-brasil-.

> different means of discursive elaboration driven by the very discourses that jointly inhabit it. In the sphere of rite and, therefore, of performance, it is the radial site of centering and decentering, intersections, influences and divergences, mergers and ruptures, multiplicity and convergences, unity and plurality, origin and dissemination. Operator of languages and discourses, the crossroads, as a third place, generates production, the notions of hybrid, mixed-race and preliminary subject, articulated by post-colonial criticism, can be viewed as indicative of the effects of different discursive processes and crossings, intertextual and intercultural (Martins 1997: 28).]

The crossroads is also the place of the "people of the street" who, in hybrid religions that rely heavily on Christianity and spiritualism (such as Umbanda), relate to the so-called *Pombagiras*, *Exus* and *Malandros*. These were human beings generally living in conditions of social risk, earning a living from the streets, prostitution and illegal activities, and who, after their demise, were charged with the mission of working through mediums (people who embody these spirits when in a trance so they may dedicate themselves to caring for humans and thus evolve in their spiritual processes). Due to Christian influence, some religious practices that worship *Exus* and *Pombagiras* assign these entities to a negative pole, called left. Afro-Brazilian religions, however, understand that energy and spiritual balance is only possible if there is worship to the right and to the left, to the people of the street and to the "line of souls," which includes the spirits of old people, children and descendants of indigenous people called *Caboclos* (Brown 1994; Ortiz 1999).

A passerby who walks incautiously on Brazilian thoroughfares and encounters an *ebó*[5] at a crossroads may experience a feeling of strangeness or even aversion, depending on their relationship with and knowledge of such a practice. These offerings (*ebós*) may consist of food, coins, shells, sacred seeds, candles and votive offerings. Like crossroads, Capoeira also holds surprises. In this Brazilian practice created by enslaved Africans, a danced fight takes place in the center of a circle constituted by people who sing and play instruments. Besides the attack and defense moves, the game's highlight is in the players' ability to trick each other, showing superiority in what is called *malandragem* (trickery), *malícia* or *mandinga*.

At crossroads there is a flow of entrances and exits which is also suggested by the Capoeira swaying movement of entering (attack) and exiting (defense) the circle. In the 19th and early 20th century Capoeira established

[5] *Ebó* is the name given in Candomblé to offerings made to deities to obtain help, care or protection.

itself as a street game, played either by day by urban slaves[6] or dock workers between jobs, or at night by bohemians, samba musicians and idlers,[7] as were called those who rejected a life dedicated exclusively to work.

The street is precisely the wandering ground of Exu, the lord of the ways, worshipped in Candomblé, and other related entities revered in Umbanda, Catimbó and similar religious practices. According to the sociologist Reginaldo Prandi (2005), Exu is both messenger and transgressor, since, among other traits, he holds the power to break with tradition, challenge rules, subvert norms and promote change. As an Orisha he is feared and considered dangerous for being the "very principle of movement, which transforms everything, which respects no limits" (Prandi 2005: 50), and perhaps for this reason is mistakenly viewed by Christian religions as the devil himself.

According to Candomblé belief, each person belongs to an Orisha (fully confirmed through an initiation process), who is the master or mistress of their head, of whom they are offspring and from whom they inherit physical and/or personality traits, which can also be understood as the divine manifestation intrinsic to each being.

Exu, the guardian of crossroads and front doors, besides being a messenger, is also the patron of copulation, being thus ascribed the quality of sensuality. Therefore, it is said that, among other characteristics, the sons and daughters of Exu are intelligent, seductive, agile and lovers of partying and drinking, and consequently viewed with certain distrust (Prandi 2005). Observing the traits of the Lord of Crossroads, we can relate him to Capoeira, which is likewise seductive, agile and tricky.

According to the anthropologist Roberto Da Matta (1985), a *malandro* (trickster) is a highly individualized person who lives outside the formal framework of social rules. Eternalized in samba lyrics, the *malandro* is viewed in Brazil as paradigmatic type, a hero. In an urban and adverse social context, especially for black and poor people, he became a synonym for cleverness, vivacity, cunning, associated at the same time with captivating quick-wittedness and a certain "charm." All of these characteristics are materialized in the Capoeira, where one is always ready to attack and defend, with lightness and elegance.

A *malandro*, therefore, does not make a deliberate show of force, but rather finds an elegant and friendly way to "pull a fast one on others" or "trip them up,"[8] using smooth talking and seduction. Beyond the swaggering at-

[6] Slaves working in retail.

[7] The term *vadio* (idler) later undergoes change in Afro-Brazilian cultural practices and starts to denote not only "non-work," but also play-based and recreational activities, such as the Capoeira that occupied the streets in the late 19th century, disturbing the elites.

[8] *Rasteira* in Portuguese, a Capoeira move to knock down one's opponent.

titude typical of the practice of Capoeira, the figure of the *malandro* is a historical and cultural construction of an archetype that plays out the reality of Brazilian social drama from the late 19th century, an age marked by the abolition of slavery, which was decreed without a project to insert the black population in society. It was on the fringes and outskirts of large cities that this population found its own means of survival, not only in terms of minimum subsistence conditions but also of ways to rise above the harsh reality of daily life, marked by scarce resources, difficult access to basic rights and high vulnerability to violence. In this context emerges Capoeira, which should also be understood as strategy of resistance.

A significant part of the information circulating today about Capoeira comes from testimonies by masters of that tradition, recorded in audio and video by practitioners and researchers, especially in the second half of the 20th century. In that period Capoeira underwent major change, gaining recognition as a national art or sport and spreading widely from the state of Bahia to other Brazil regions and also abroad. According to Pires, during this process the practice branched out into two strands, Capoeira Angola and Regional Capoeira, in a process of cultural invention triggered in the first decades of the 20th century. According to him, "These styles are specific forms of Capoeira developed in the city of Salvador, where sporting criteria did not destroy the playful side of the practice" (Pires 2001: 239).

Despite being contemporary with Regional Capoeira, Capoeira Angola is considered a more traditional style that preserves the memory of the old masters and nurtures their African ancestry, unlike Regional Capoeira, which was created by Mestre Bimba with more evident martial and sporting goals compared to the ritualistic traits that Capoeira Angola sought to emphasize.

One of the major Capoeira Angola masters was Vicente Ferreira Pastinha, born in the city of Salvador, Bahia, in 1889, one year after the abolition of slavery, and deceased in 1981. Below is an account of Pastinha's apprenticeship transcribed from a testimony given by the master in the 1988 video documentary *Pastinha! Uma Vida Pela Capoeira* [*Pastinha! A Life for Capoeira*], directed by Antônio Carlos Muricy.[9]

> A capoeira é mandinga, é manha, é malícia, é tudo o que a boca come. (...) A minha vida de criança foi um pouquinho amarga, encontrei um rival, um menino que era rival meu. Então nós entravamos em luta, travava as lutas e eu apanhava, levava a pior. E na janela duma casa tinha um africano apreciando a minha luta com esse menino, então quando eu acabava de bri-

[9] The documentary is available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-unP_tdBiKI (17.04.2020).

gar, eu passava e o velho me chamava: "Meu filho, vem cá!" Eu cheguei na janela e ele então me disse:

"Você não pode brigar com aquele menino. Aquele menino é mais ativo que você. Aquele menino é malandro e você não pode brigar com ele. Você quer brigar com o menino na raça, mas não pode. O tempo que você vai pra casa empinar raia [pipa], você vem aqui pro meu casuá [casa]".

Então aceitei o convite do velho e pegava na capoeira. E ginga pra aqui e ginga pra lá, ginga pra aqui, ginga pra lá. E cai e levanta. Quando ele viu que eu já tava em condições de responder o menino ele disse: "Você já pode brigar com o menino, então sai." Quando eu vinha a mãe dele via que eu ia passar, gritava: "Honorato, aí vem seu camarada." E o menimo puc, de dentro de casa o menino pulava na rua como um satanás. E aí ele me pegou e eu insisti. E na hora que ele insistiu e passou a mão, eu saí por baixo. Ele tornou a passar a mão em mim e eu tornei a sair debaixo. "Você tá vivo hein?" Aí insistiu a terceira vez e eu rebati a mão dele e sentei os pés nele [chutou]. Ele recebeu, caiu, tornei a sentar o pé nele, ele tornou cair. (...) E depois fui aprender a arte marítima, aprendi a música, esgrima, de espadas, florete, carabina, fui músico. Em 1910 dei baixa já saí de lá como professor de capoeira. (...) A capoeira tem negativa, a capoeira nega, a capoeira é positiva, tem verdade. Negativa é fazer que vai e não vai e na hora que nêgo mal espera o capoeirista vai e entra e ganha.

[Capoeira is witchcraft, it's slyness, it's trickery, it's everything that nurtures the body. (…) My life as a kid was rather tough, I had a rival, a boy who was a rival of mine. So, we'd fight, and I'd get beaten, come off worse. And at the window of a house there was an African observing my fights with this boy, so when I'd finish fighting, I'd pass by and the old man would call me: "Come here, son!" I went up to the window and he said: "You can't fight that boy. That boy is more active than you. That boy is sly and you can't fight him. You want to fight him the hard way, but you can't. Whenever you go out to fly kites, come here to my house."

So, I accepted the old man's invitation and practiced Capoeira. Moving this way, moving that way, a leg here, a leg there. And falling and getting up. When he saw that I was good enough to take on the boy, he said: "You can already fight the boy, so get out." When I passed by, his mother would see me and shout: "Honorato, here comes your pal." And the kid would jump out of the house into the street like a devil. And then he caught me and I

> dodged. And when he urged and tried to hold me, I slipped out from under him. He tried to hold me again, and again I slipped out. "You're quite lively, huh?" Then he pressed the third time and I deflected his hand and kicked him hard. He fell back, I kicked him again, he fell again. (…) And then I went on to learn the art of navigation, I learned music, fencing, with epee, foil, rifle, I was a musician. In 1910 I was discharged and left as a Capoeira instructor. (…) Capoeira has negation, Capoeira denies, Capoeira is positive, it has truth. Negation is to feign the attack and pull back, and when the opponent is off guard, to close in to win.]

In telling his story, Mestre Pastinha not only shares memories and information about his life but, above all, contributes to the construction of collective knowledge through his personal experience. The act of telling stories to transmit basic principles, celebrate life and encounters and mark identities is intensely present in the formative process of Capoeira, which comprises not only physical exercise, but also, to a great extent, stories shared by masters and teachers.

Mestre Pastinha's narrative shows us how the boy Vicente was introduced to Capoeira. It is that old man of African origin who, seeing him at a disadvantage and, perhaps, unfairly treated, prepares the boy to fight and also for life, teaching him the slyness, trickery and resistance of Capoeira.

The figure of the old man, Seu Benedito, is also the genuine representation of the importance of the male or female master in the context of Capoeira Angola, and also of African ancestry, which Pastinha emphasizes so much in his statement. It is worth mentioning that in addition to being a Capoeira instructor, Mestre Pastinha was also considered a Capoeira philosopher, and some of his sayings became famous and are transmitted orally even today in Capoeira circles:

> Angola, capoeira mãe. Mandinga de escravo em ânsia de liberdade, seu princípio não tem método e seu fim é inconcebível ao mais sábio capoeirista (Mestre Pastinha – tradição oral apud Magalhães Filho 2019: 18).
>
> [Angola, mother Capoeira. Witchcraft of slaves yearning for freedom, its beginning has no method and its end is inconceivable to the wisest of Capoeira fighters (Mestre Pastinha – oral tradition, in Magalhães Filho 2019: 18).]

The black man from Angola also symbolizes the importance of Bantu Africa, which immersed itself deeply in Brazilian history and daily life through the Congo-Angola component. Another element that we can highlight in Mestre Pastinha's biographical narrative is the fact that Vicente's

site of learning was Seu Benedito's own house, perhaps at the bottom of his backyard, which relates to the specificity of sociability in black and Brazilian cultures and the importance of the community in Afrocentric educational methods.

Mestre Pastinha's narrative reveals not only his initiation in the practice of Capoeira, but also the importance of courage, observation, listening and waiting for the right time. Pastinha listened to Seu Benedito, answered his call to Capoeira Angola, trained, waited for the elder's word, and observed and feinted before attacking.

What relationship might there be between this crossroads and the border? And, more specifically, what borders are we talking about? Certainly not just the geopolitical borders separating Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay, but also the borders between the subjects of anthropology, performance studies and dance; the narrative borders between traditional narratives and life stories; the borders of the imaginary; bodily borders, which define dexterity, strength, scars; age-related borders: children, elders… all understood here as storytellers. Border, therefore, due to its semantic wealth, is, along with crossroads, one of the key concepts adopted in this article.

On the Borders of a Southern Brazil

More than 3,500 km from the site of Mestre Pastinha's story in Bahia there is another fragment that makes up the mosaic of Brazilian identities, that which Darcy Ribeiro (1995) called Southern Brazil, characterized by its great cultural heterogeneity and composed, according to him, of three components:

> Such are the rustic peasants of mainly Azorean origin who occupy the coastal strip from Paraná to the south; the current representatives of the former gauchos of the open fields of the River Plate border and the pastoral pockets of Santa Catarina and Paraná, and, finally, the foreign-driven Brazilian formation of the descendants of European immigrants (…) (Ribeiro 1995: 408).
>
> [Tais são os lavradores matutos de origem principalmente açoriana, que ocupam a faixa litorânea do Paraná para o sul; os representantes atuais dos antigos gaúchos da zona de campos da fronteira rio-platense e dos bolsões pastoris de Santa Catarina e do Paraná, e, finalmente, a formação gringo-brasileira dos descendentes de imigrantes europeus (...) (Ribeiro 1995: 408).]

The differences between Afro-Brazil, or Creole Brazil, and Southern Brazil are many. Although the population of black men and women in the Northeast region greatly outnumbers that of the rest of the country, the presence of the black population in Rio Grande do Sul cannot be denied. Nevertheless, this state located in the far south of Brazil is better known for the cultural traditions brought by European immigrants, especially from Germany and Italy, whose arrival in the region dates from the 19th century.[10] It is worth noting that Darcy Ribeiro himself does not include in this identity formation, at least not explicitly, the presence of enslaved blacks (they are supposedly included, along with the indigenous population, in what the author calls "former gauchos"), and it is precisely that presence that we want to emphasize here, through the narratives told by local residents of the border between Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay.

Historically, the geographical position of Rio Grande do Sul placed this state in a very specific situation in relation to the rest of Brazil, as not only was the number of slaves on farms in the River Plate region substantially lower, but also Argentina and Uruguay officially abolished slavery much earlier than Brazil (1815 and 1842, respectively). Consequently, those countries were often the destination of runaway Brazilians slaves (Petiz 2006; Targa 1991), just as, inversely, many blacks who lived in Uruguay were kidnapped to be sold as slaves in Brazil. Mário Pires, a journalist in Rivera, Uruguay, comments on the presence of slaves in the Uruguayan border region:

> Entonces... en esa zona, que era territorio muy habitado por extranjeros, por terratenientes brasileños, ellos trajeran esclavos a trabajar acá. Y los trajeran como empleados, porque acá entraban como empleados, entonces había siempre el problema porque... estaba hecha la trampa. Y inventaban historias, inventaban ciertas cosas para camuflar que no eran esclavos, para justificar que no eran esclavos, pero eran esclavos. Y había comercio de esclavos. Y ahí cerca de Vichadero, cuando tu vas por allá, hay un lugar que se llama Tambores. Ahí hay una localidad, un paraje que se llama Tambores. En ese lugar se le llama Tambores porque los negros, los fines de semana, se reunían en una roda, a tocar sus ritos. (Mário Pires, interviewed by Luciana Hartmann – Rivera/UY, 16.06.2001).
>
> [So… our territory was inhabited by many foreigners, by Brazilian landowners, who brought slaves to work here. And

[10] The settling of Europeans in Brazil was firstly driven by a colonization process and later linked to a national eugenics project to improve the "race" through progressive whitening of the population.

> they brought them as employees, so there was always the problem because… it caused great confusion! They invented stories, invented certain things to camouflage their slavery, to justify that they were not slaves, although they were. And there was a slave trade. And there close to Vichadero [a Uruguayan village on the border with Brazil], if you go there, there is a place called Tambores [Drums]. It has that name because the black people would gather in a circle on weekends to perform their rituals. (Mário Pires, interviewed by Luciana Hartmann – Rivera/UY, 16.06.2001).][11]

The historian Moacyr Flores (1997) observes that even the revolutionaries of the Farrapos uprising did not free the slaves during the years of the Rio Grande do Sul Republic (1835–1845, the decade in which the province of Rio Grande do Sul was a country independent from Brazil). Targa, drawing on data from 1874, points out that despite being unevenly distributed across the region, the percentage of enslaved population in Rio Grande do Sul was one of the highest in Brazil, 21.3% against 15.9% in Minas Gerais, 20.4% in São Paulo and 39.7% in Rio de Janeiro" (Targa 1991: 446).

Due to the prohibition of the slave trade in 1850, the fierce abolitionist campaigns and the arrival of German and Italian immigrants in the state,[12] keeping slaves gradually became uneconomical, and they were eventually freed in 1888 without any kind of compensation or institutional support.

Several peculiarities, therefore, emerge from/in the cultural practices of the inhabitants of this border region. Their customs, their manner of speaking, the movement between "the other side" and this side, the architecture, daily life, relationships, occupations, leisure, trade, everything seems to be permeated by a "border way of being" that goes beyond divisions on maps and theoretical formulations.

[11] All tapes and transcripts about the *gauchos* storytellers are part of the Luciana Hartmann's personal collection.

[12] The first immigrants to arrive in Rio Grande do Sul were the Azoreans, in 1752, settling in and around the capital city, Porto Alegre. The first German settlers arrived in the early 19th century, later followed by the Italians, Poles, etc., who were taken to the Sinos River valley and the highlands region. This immigration was less pronounced in the border area, where no villages were founded by the settlers, but even so cultural differences were/are perceived by the population and expressed in some narratives: "Mas o General Bordini era gringo (designação local para italiano), então nós cheguemo lá, pensa que ele olhava prá uma vaca? Ficava lá na... ele tinha uns viveiros de cebolinha, a senhora pensava que era um potreiro de pastagem, (porque) era muito. E batata inglesa ele plantava um absurdo (...)" ["But General Bordini was a gringo (local name for Italian person), so we get there, do you think got his hands dirty? He stayed at the… he had a chives garden, you'd think it was a pasture, (because) it was huge. And he planted an absurd number of potatoes (…)"] (Valter A. Prata, 68 years, interviewed by Luciana Hartmann – Alegrete/BR, 07.08.1998).

In this tri-border region, territories, societies and identities transcend their respective nation-states, and the micro-region in focus, located "between" these states, shares a border culture. Laballe (1996: 17) also draws attention to this characteristic of the local inhabitants: "They are 'in-between,' in 'no man's land.'" References to the border as a "no man's land" are found in narratives that mention, for example, murders committed in the region, with bodies abandoned on the border line, as this would be "ownerless land" where the states exercise no power.

The notion of border pervading our analysis is, therefore, related to the idea of front line, a place of conflicts and tensions and, consequently, a fertile field of contacts and negotiations to try to appease them (Leenhardt 2002).

The image of the region described by Bastide also contributes to reinforce this "warrior ethos" of the border inhabitants, developed alongside the integration relationships between the "sides":

> Fronteira é local de luta, mas é também local de interpenetração, de trocas de civilizações, principalmente quando é móvel. A que separa as possessões espanholas das possessões portuguesas, deslocava-se ao sabor dos golpes de surpresa e das batalhas; era fronteira feita de corpos humanos e não de montanhas ou de rios. Descendentes de velhas famílias portuguesas são encontrados no Uruguai, descendentes de velhas famílias espanholas são encontrados no Rio Grande do Sul. Os indivíduos misturaram-se numa área movediça que não era possessão de nenhuma coroa, e sim o domínio de rebanhos e de capinzais (Bastide 1980: 178).
>
> [The border is a place of struggle, but it is also a place of interpenetration, of exchanges between civilizations, especially when it is mobile. The border separating Spanish and Portuguese possessions would move according to surprise attacks and battles; it was a border made of human bodies rather than mountains or rivers. Descendants of old Portuguese families are found in Uruguay; descendants of old Spanish families are found in Rio Grande do Sul. Individuals mingled on an unstable ground that was not owned by either crown, but dominated by herds and grassland (Bastide 1980: 178).]

In this border "country" coexist subjects, traditions, customs, economies, languages and, above all, narratives.[13]

[13] We are inspired once again by Jacques Leenhardt, who argues that "the border is not so much a line as a space" (2001: 19), since its correlated notion, limit, comes from the Latin word *limes*, meaning interval, margin, border without appropriation.

As we have seen in our ethnographic research, the population of this border region belongs to the same narrative community. This is evident in the words of Barreto, a storyteller from the Brazilian town of Santana de Livramento, which borders Rivera on the Uruguayan side: "Here on this border, wherever you see a dividing line you will hear a tale…".[14]

United, on the one hand, by the geographic characteristics of the region – the pampas[15] – and a similar historical background and social organization, on the other hand, the regions' inhabitants often found themselves fighting on opposite sides in conflicts that led to the establishment of political boundaries between the three countries.

The border problem, not least for the intense history of contact in this region, is accompanied by a paradoxical discourse that tends alternately to affirm differences – when tensions escalate and conflicts are inevitable – and to celebrate similarities – when integration becomes a reality. The border is therefore the space where the paradox between being equal or being "another" is most clearly defined. This ambiguous relationship of conflict and integration, present from the very foundation of the border's culture, is, therefore, a main approach to reflect on the subject. As noted by Grimson (2000: 23), the study of the border itself defies any static, uniform and non-relational notion of culture and identity, as it should consider in its analytical outlook not only the "cultural blend" but also the alliance and the social and political conflicts inherent in the condition of living on the border.

The notion of conflict used in this work accords with that of Briggs (1996: 13), for whom conflict does not merely relate to divergence in normal social processes, but, on the contrary, involves complex forms that are part of the very constitution of social life. On a broader scale, one may view the former armed conflicts of these borders, which involved dramatic events, as having been replaced by economic conflicts. But in a more local perspective the conflicts take on a different dimension and may possibly have greater significance in the social life of the region, ceasing to oppose countries and their economies to oppose employers and employees, urban and rural workers, youngsters and elders, men and women, tradition and modernity, humans and animals, nature and the supernatural. . . In other words, among the small, "intra-border" social groups, identity is also and mainly found in the very in-

[14] Original in Portuguese: "Aqui nessa fronteira onde tu vê beira de linha tu vai ver cuento", Antônio Carlos Barreto, interviewed by Luciana Hartmann – Santana do Livramento/BR, 22.11.2001.

[15] Pampas is the name given to the vast plains of Rio Grande do Sul and the countries of the River Plate basin, covered with natural pastures used for cattle raising (Nunes & Nunes 2000).

teraction, manipulation, interpretation and, in some cases, "fictionalization"[16] of their experiences of conflict.

As Pedro Riera, 50, from Rivera, Uruguay, explains, combining Portuguese and Spanish in his performance:

> Yo tengo bien claro el concepto de soberanía, derechos humanos. Pero explicar a un hombre que vive en una frontera que ciertas cosas no pueden ser (ri), más allá de una calle... No! No te entienden. No siguen ni a líderes, ni a caudillos ni a nadie! Eran como los gauchos nuestros, que cuanto más gaucho más orejano, no? Él no se ata a leyes. (…) E quem explica prá eles donde começa e dónde termina? Não tem. Eles vão prá um lado, vão pro-outro e não tem problema (Pedro Riera, interviewed by Luciana Hartmann – Rivera/UY, 20.06.2001).

> [I'm very clear about the concept of sovereignty, human rights. But try to explain to a man who lives on the border that certain things cannot be done beyond a street… [laughs] No! They don't understand! They don't follow leaders, or *caudillos*, or anyone! They are like our gauchos – the more gaucho, the more *orejano* [an animal with no branding, that is, that has no owner]. They are not bound by the laws (…). And who can explain to them where it starts and where it ends? No… They go here, go there and that's it (Pedro Riera, interviewed by Luciana Hartmann – Rivera/UY, 20.06.2001).]

The issue of policies to control the distribution of human and non-human populations on the planet, strongly experienced in border regions, is addressed by the philosopher Achile Mbembe. These policies, according to him, occur "Not only through the control of bodies but the control of movement itself and its corollary, speed, which is indeed what migration control

[16] According to Palleiro, one of its distinctive features is the recreation, through rhetorical techniques and strategies of referential construction, of the constitutive elements of the group's cultural identity. This construction includes "tanto la experiencia histórica como el patrimonio simbólico de las ideas y creencias de dicho grupo, reelaborados en un mundo posible, mediante procedimientos de textualización ficcional. Este mundo posible es presentado ante el receptor, por medio de recursos argumentativos dirigidos a producir un efecto de realidad, como un universo verosímil" ["both the historical experience and the symbolic heritage of the ideas and beliefs of group, reworked in a possible world, through fictional textualization procedures. This possible world is presented to the receiver, through argumentative resources aimed at producing an effect of reality, as a plausible universe"] (Palleiro 1992: 17–18). This process of fictionalization, however, would be only one aspect shaping cultural identity in narratives, which does not mean that all references to identity in the narratives are fictional.

policies are all about: controlling bodies, but also movement" (2018). Pedro Riera's words, however, show that borderland inhabitants find ways to resist such policies, one of which, we argue here, is through oral narratives, which cross borders with no passports.

If borders are significant sites of differences, how are these differences, these conflicts, specifically in terms of ethnic-racial configurations, expressed in the region?

Let's see what the narrators say. Tomazito Berruti, 80 years old, from Cerro Pelado, Uruguay, relates:

> Mi gran escuela, mi primera, pero al mismo tiempo gran escuela, fue una cocina de estancia llena de humo, con unos banquitos bajos, con una media luna de paisanos de todas las edades, negros, blancos, viejos, gurices – porque en las estancias hay de todo, y con mucho olor a carne asada, porque siempre el desayuno era un asado, y a yerba, porque allí estaba la yerbera. Además, lo que yo aprendí allí. Nos madrugábamos, nos levantábamos y nos íbamos, y entonces uno oía los cuentos de los personajes y la vida impresionante. Los viejitos que no se jubilaban en aquel tiempo, y nosotros los queríamos y éramos compañeros de ellos. Tomadores... gauchos que admirábamos (Tomazito Berruti, interviewed by Luciana Hartmann – Cerro Pelado/UY, 03.07.2001).
>
> [My main school, my first and at the same time main school, was the ranch's kitchen, filled with smoke, with low stools and a half circle formed by farm hands of all ages, black, white, elders, kids – because the ranches have all kinds of people – and a strong smell of roast meat, because breakfast was always a barbecue, and maté tea [*chimarrão*], because that was where the mate leaves were kept. In addition, everything that I learned there… We'd wake up at the crack of dawn and go there, and then we'd listen to the stories of those characters and their impressive lives. The elders who never retired in those times, and we loved them and were their companions. Gauchos we admired (Tomazito Berruti, interviewed by Luciana Hartmann – Cerro Pelado/UY, 03.07.01).]

For Tomazito, the son of Italian immigrant farmers, learning took place in a context of ethnic, age and class diversity, through orality, the stories that were shared among different subjects. It is important to note that in his memories the narrator reproduces to some extent the figure of the gauchos and the democratic spirit of ranch life immortalized in the literature of the River Plate region (Nichols 1942).

In turn, Dom Martimiano Silva Rodrigues, a black man of the same age and living in the same region as Tomazito, evokes a distinct memory:

> Sim, sim, nas minhas época havia o racismo. O que era negro era à parte nesses tempo. Branco também. O negro não entrava em baile de branco e o branco não deixavam eles entrar. Se olhava, olhava da porta e o negro também. E ainda hay muita gente ainda aqui... Agora a recém que tão meio começando. Ah, não, havia uma festa aí, negro à parte (Martimiano Silva Rodrigues, interviewed by Luciana Hartmann – Cerro Pelado/UY, 02.07.2001).

> [Yes, yes, in my days there was racism. What was black was separate in those days. White too. Blacks did not attend the dances of white folk and whites didn't let them in. If they observed, it was from the door. And there are still a lot of people here… Now the new one that is just beginning. Ah, if there was a party there, blacks celebrated apart" (Martimiano Silva Rodrigues, interviewed by Luciana Hartmann – Cerro Pelado/UY, 02.07.2001).]

The question that remains from this account is: why people who interacted in the same workplace (in this case, the ranch) were not allowed to share the same leisure space (the dance)? In some border towns still survive the so-called *Centro de Tradições Gaúchas* (CGT – Centers of Gaucho Traditions), frequented exclusively by blacks. The actual names of the centers hint at this condition: Princess Isabel (daughter of Dom Pedro II, who signed the law abolishing slavery in Brazil in 1888), *Negrinho do Pastoreio* (a local legend of slave boy who dies from harsh punishment by his master and becomes a kind of popular saint), etc.

This form of segregation is perhaps only the most evident sign of the deep ties between the exploitation of black labor and slavery, which survive in Brazil to this day. For Dalla Vechia (1997: 102), research involving reports by descendants of enslaved people and observation of remnants of slave quarters, whipping posts and iron shackles make it possible to conclude that "The myth of benign slavery in cattle ranching or farming in Rio Grande do Sul is an ideological farce". Dona Eládia dos Santos, 52, a black woman who works as a cook at a ranch in Quaraí, a Brazilian town bordering Artigas in Uruguay, gives us an example of these exploitative relationships:

> Os patrões eram horríveis antigamente. Tu vê, esse homem véio aí (refere-se a Seu Rosa, homem negro que vivia na estância) também foi criado assim. Ele já foi criado sem juventude. Ele não teve infância esse véio. Ele veio prá cá muito gurizinho e naquele tempo não deixavam sair. Então é isso, ele ficou, não casou, não teve filho... Naquele tempo tu não saía, os patrões não deixavam tu sair. Que côsa horrível, que tempo bem difícil! E os patrões te davam pau! (Eládia dos Santos, interviewed by Luciana Hartmann – Santana do Livramento/BR, 16.09.1998).

> [The ranch owners were horrible in the past. You see, that old man there (refers to Seu Rosa, a black man who lived on the ranch) was also raised like that. He had no youth. He had no childhood, that old man. He came here as a kid and at that time they wouldn't let you out. So that's it, he stayed on, he never got married, never had children… In those days you couldn't leave the ranch, the owners wouldn't let you. What a horrible thing, what difficult times! And the owners would beat you! (Eládia dos Santos, interviewed by Luciana Hartmann – Santana do Livramento/BR, 16.09.1998).]

Seu Rosa, 84 years old, mentioned by Dona Eládia, was already retired at the time of our research, but continued living on the ranch and doing odd jobs such as chopping meat, sweeping the yard, keeping the shed fire burning and the water always heated for the maté tea. For Piccin (2012), this "unmarried condition," combined with the geographic isolation of the black workforce, is essential to understand the domination system in the region.[17] As a consequence of this practice, former employees who never started a family ended up, like Seu Rosa, remaining on the ranches and were considered part of the estate when it was sold or inherited: "Um dos estancieiros entrevistados declarou que ele ainda tinha em sua estância alguns "velhos" peões que tinha "herdado" de seu pai junto com a propriedade e que 'nunca saíram da estância'" ["One of the ranch owners interviewed stated that he still had on his ranch a few 'old' workers he had 'inherited' from his father along with the property and who 'had never left the ranch'"] (Piccin 2012: 247).

The presence of blacks in the narratives is also commonly associated with tales about treasures buried in old ranches, often alongside accounts of dreams indicating where the money is and curses on those who find the gold and don't follow the instructions.[18] Many of these narratives tell that the ranch owners would make slaves dig the hole to bury the money in and then, to prevent them stealing it or revealing the location, would kill and bury them also.[19] These places are haunted and the treasure can only be removed when it is received in a dream by an heir or someone who deserves it.

[17] According to Piccin (2012: 261): "Certamente, essa configuração devia ser a mais econômica também para o patrão, com menor dispêndio monetário, uma vez que o peão solteiro então morava e se alimentava no galpão, cujo nível de remuneração passava a ser o mínimo para a reprodução da força de trabalho não de sua família, mas apenas de sua própria pessoa" ["This must certainly have been the most economical arrangement for the ranch owner, involving lower costs, since the unmarried worker lived and ate in the shed and was remunerated with the minimum required for the reproductive labor not of his family, but only of himself."]

[18] These tales of buried money bear a relation to the Mexican "treasure tales" studied by Briggs (1985).

[19] The historian Raul Pont (1986: 104) gives the complete account of this "operation that took on macabre proportions."

There is still much to be told about the history of slavery in Brazil and Dona Eládia's narrative helps us to learn more about this reality:

> Uma tia minha, a tia Juliana, morreu com 105. A tia Juliana foi escrava. Ela era do Rio de Janeiro, depois ela foi morrer aqui (na fronteira). Descobriram... papai sempre me dizia: "Eu tenho uma irmã. Se chama Juliana." (...) E depois descobriram ela. Foram achar ela num morro, morava no morro, morava no morro. Trouxeram ela prá Livramento. Ainda durou uns dez anos aqui em Livramento. Depois morreu. Sem doença nenhuma, apagou... a véinha. Aí a tia Juliana (quando era jovem) andava de namoro com um homem, e sabe o que é que as patroas fizeram? Queimaram a... (aponta para a região genital). Ela nunca mais quis homem na vida, nunca, nunca... Atiraram doce quente... mandaram ela baixar as calças e atiraram doce quente nela, prá ela não namorar. Foi. Ela tinha tudo queimado. Ela era uma moça solteirona, porque as mulheres atiraram doce quente nela. E ela tinha um braço também queimado. Que elas (as escravas) mexiam doce e tinham que cantar (ela cantarola). Se tu parasse de cantar achavam que tu tava roubando doce. E a tia Juliana parou de cantar e a mulher veio de lá, diz que ela tava provando doce aí agarrou uma pás (colher de pau) e atirou o doce na tia Juliana. Não pegou no rosto mas pegou no braço. Ela foi muito judiada! Tu vê, ela ainda pegou o tempo das escrava, dessa gente ruim! Tu vê, eu tenho a... tenho o quadro da Princesa Anastácia aí no meu quarto. A Princesa Anastácia foi uma negra escrava (Eládia dos Santos, interviewed by Luciana Hartmann – Santana do Livramento/BR, 16.09.1998).

> [An aunt of mine, Aunt Juliana, died at the age of 105. Aunt Juliana was a slave. She was from Rio de Janeiro, and ended up dying here (at the border). They found her… My father always told me: "I have a sister. She's called Juliana." (…) And then they found her. They found her on a hillside slum, she was living there. They brought her to Livramento. She survived another ten years here in Livramento. Then she died. She wasn't ill, she just faded away… the old woman. So, Aunt Juliana (when she was young) was dating a man, and do you know what her mistresses did? They burned the… (points to the genital region). She never again desired a man in her life, never, never… They threw hot caramel… they told her to lower her pants and threw hot caramel on her, so she wouldn't date. They did it. It was all burned. She was a single girl because the women threw hot caramel on her. And she had a burnt arm too. They (the slaves) stirred the caramel and had to sing (she hums). If you

> stopped singing, they thought you were stealing caramel. And Aunt Juliana stopped singing and the woman came up and said she was tasting the caramel, then she grabbed a blade (wooden spoon) and threw the caramel on Aunt Juliana. She missed her face but hit her arm. She really suffered a lot. You see, she lived in the time of slaves, of those bad people! You see, I have… I have a picture of Princess Anastácia there in my room. Princess Anastácia was a black slave (Eládia dos Santos, interviewed by Luciana Hartmann – Santana do Livramento/BR, 16.09.1998).]

In Dona Eládia's narrative, the facts recalled about Aunt Juliana are followed by the story of Princess Anastácia, which she tells in detail after mentioning the image hanging on her bedroom wall.[20] Bodies, narratives, images of black women come together to preserve an ancestral memory. A memory that survives as it circulates, as it moves between storytellers and listeners, between borders and crossroads, as we will see below.

Between Borders and Crossroads: Interplay Between Stories and Brazils

> It is important to attend once again to what is obviously a utopian intent, the question of a borderless world. From its inception, "movement" or more precisely "borderlessness" has been central to various utopian traditions. The very concept of utopia, refers to that which has no borders, beginning with the imagination itself. The power of utopianism lies in its ability to instantiate the tension between borderlessness, movement and place, a tension – if we look carefully –that has marked social transformations in the modern era.
>
> Achille Mbembe (2018)

As we have seen, the narratives of Mestre Pastinha and Dona Eládia are complex and therefore offer several possibilities for analysis. We chose here to address them from the perspective of "narrative events" – the discursive situation of their narration – and "narrated events" – the words and actions they report, based on Jakobson (1990). This formal manipulation of the relationship between narrated events and narrative events provides, according to Bauman (1986), an important foundation for the realization of social commentary through the narrative form.

Thus, while the events narrated by Dona Eládia and Mestre Pastinha directly or indirectly evoke issues related to the African diaspora in Brazil,

[20] We did not insert Dona Eládia's narrative about Princess Anastácia due to lack of space.

marked by slavery, in their respective narrative events both make common use of several aesthetic and performance devices.

Dona Eládia keeps an image of the enslaved Anastácia in her room, remembered in Brazilian oral tradition as a princess with miraculous healing powers. Mestre Pastinha's story also bears marks of slavery, since his Capoeira master, Tio Benedito, was a former black slave from Angola who is evoked in his narrative also as a protector.

In the narratives of Mestre Pastinha and Dona Eládia, memory is triggered as a connection with ancestry. Black bodies and voices tell stories in an "Afrography of memory" (Martins 1997), gradually configured through specific stylistic resources. Dona Eládia, for example, uses reported speech, i.e., the representation of the characters' words in the first person. According to Bauman and Briggs (1990), this is one of the main devices used by storytellers to connect narrated events to narrative events. The storyteller also seeks interaction with the audience through the use of questions such as "You know (…)?". Gesturing a lot throughout the narration, she gives special emphasis to demonstrating the punishment applied to Aunt Juliana, which adds great drama to the story being narrated. Mestre Pastinha, in turn, in telling his story of initiation into Capoeira, also uses the same device (reported speech), using Seu Benedito's words as a link with Capoeira from the past and with Africa, since he was an enthusiastic defender of the African legacy of Capoeira as opposed to Capoeira regional. In this narrative, Mestre Pastinha answers one of the main questions of the tradition-based context of Capoeira Angola: "Boy, who was your master?", stressing the importance of the master-disciple relationship.

At the border narrated by Dom Martimiano and Dona Eládia, the memory and history of slavery times actualize in "Southern Brazil" the black bodies of the past and the present, which to this day suffer from extreme subordination, violence and discrimination.

At the crossroads narrated by Mestre Pastinha, the son of a Spanish peddler and a black woman from Bahia, the adversity of the street is the stage of learning and strategies of sociability of the black population, as well as of resistance and assertion of black cultures, especially the importance of the master and of African ancestry.

Darcy Ribeiro, in the work referred to herein, developed his arguments about the construction of the identity of the Brazilian people, emphasizing the notion of miscegenation. That thesis is severely criticized for, to a certain extent, centering the narratives on the voices of the colonizers. In line with such criticism, we address the potential of the narratives not only with regards to representation, but above all to the construction of imaginaries and, based on their ethnic and gender specificities, stress the importance of listening to the different voices.

There is an African proverb that claims that "Until the lions tell the story, the hunters will always be the heroes." Considering the dynamics of the traditions and resorting to Exu's sagacity, we could add a new perspective to the proverb which also considers the stories of female hunters and lionesses… With that in mind, we would like to conclude by introducing another element into our reflections on performances of orality in different Brazils: the intersectional gaze/listening.

In the last decades, the issue of intersectionality between gender and race has gained prominence in Brazil, led mainly by black intellectuals such as the anthropologist Lélia Gonzalez, who stresses the need for black women to be protagonists and narrators of their life stories. We therefore draw on intersectionality as an analytical category that makes it possible to instrumentalize anti-racist and feminist movements and other initiatives of human rights protection to deal with agendas such as those of black women (Akotirene 2019).

At the current crossroads of Capoeira Angola, the issue of women's historical invisibility has found an important forum for discussion. How to build an Afrography of women's memory if their stories are not told? After all, were there no women in Capoeira or were their stories forgotten/erased? This effort to look at and narrate the past, which we join, currently reinforces a movement of empowerment of female leaders, above all by the realization that, despite the large number of women participating in this popular tradition, the number of female Capoeira masters still it is relatively insignificant.

Dona Eládia's narrative borders, in turn, make it possible to glimpse an enlightening picture of the situation of black women in Brazil, of the control of their bodies and sexuality and of their vulnerability in the face of patriarchal violence. In her performance, Dona Eládia projects herself and the group, raising questions that cannot be detached from their markers of ethnicity-race, gender and, we might add, class. With her black body of woman and cook, her grandiose gestures brandishing knives or wooden spoons, her poetic narrative full of pauses, repetitions, reported speech, Dona Eládia, being an excellent performer, plays a powerful role in evoking an ancestral memory and demonstrating the current reality. As stressed by Kapchan, quoted at the beginning of this article, "To perform is to carry something into effect – whether it be a story, an identity, an artistic artifact, a historical memory, or an ethnography" (1995: 479).

Although the issue of gender was not essential to the discussion developed in this article, our intent in highlighting Dona Eládia's narrative is to propose an exercise in appreciating, in studies on popular traditions, intersectional issues and the respective conflicts, tensions and creations running through them. We view these analytical traversals proposed in an intersec-

tional approach as a possibility of, who knows, in crossing some of established borders of knowledge, having fruitful encounters at the crossroads.

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Entre fronteiras e encruzilhadas: performances da oralidade em diferentes corpos e contextos brasileiros

Luciana Hartmann and Renata de Lima Silva

Resumo

Partindo das trajetórias de pesquisa e de vida das autoras, propomos neste artigo um jogo entre dados etnográficos obtidos na investigação com contadores de causos da fronteira entre Brasil, Argentina e Uruguai e aqueles oriundos de vivências no contexto da capoeira angola de tradição baiana (Salvador, Bahia). Se as fronteiras demarcam limites e as encruzilhadas anunciam encontros, é possível pensar esses dois operadores conceituais, característicos de cada contexto, como territórios (físicos e/ou simbólicos) de onde emergem distintas performances da oralidade. Atentas às questões de gênero e étnico-raciais, e aos conflitos, tensões e criações que as constituem, propomos discutir os sentidos que emergem de narrativas produzidas por sujeitos situados nessas fronteiras e encruzilhadas.

Palavras-chave: tradições populares brasileiras; capoeira; contadores de histórias; gaúchos; interseccionalidade.

Између граница и раскршћа: Перформанси усмености у различитим бразилским телима и контекстима

Лусиана Артман и Рената де Лима Силва

Резиме

Полазећи од властитих истраживања и животних путева, овде ћемо се бавити узајамним дејством етнографских података који су добијени радом с две групе приповедача: једну чине становници пограничног подручја између Бразила, Аргентине и Уругваја, а другу они које смо срели у контексту истраживања плеса „капуера Ангола" традиције Баије (државе на североистоку Бразила, главни град Салвадор). Мада се границе могу схватити као успостављање ограничења, а раскршћа као најава сусрета, о ове две појмовне ознаке, полазећи од сваког контекста понаособ, може се размишљати као о територијама (физичким и/или симболичким) из којих проистичу различити перформанси усмености. Имајући слуха за питања рода и расе/етницитета, и за сукобе, тензије и стваралаштво који чине њихов саставни део, предлажемо расправу о значењима која искрсавају из приповедања субјеката ситуираних у оквиру тих „граница и раскршћа".

Кључне речи: бразилске народне традиције, капуера, традиционални приповедачи, гаучоси, тачке пресека.

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Documenting Verbal Practices. Pilagá Text Collection

Alejandra Vidal and Sabrina Maciel

The Pilagá collection of texts is the result of several projects which have provided the means to record and build an archive of linguistically annotated and representative Pilagá language textual corpus. This is the first systematic initiative entailing the construction of a text archive in the original language, translated into Spanish and English. The texts represent a diverse sample of Pilagá narrative involving around twenty speakers from all the Pilagá communities in the center-west of the province of Formosa, Argentina. Pilagá (belonging to the Guaycuruan family) is an endangered language spoken by less than 5,000 people of different age groups. This article addresses the organization and classification of the texts included in the collection, with special attention to the narratives and descriptions. Some methodological issues are presented in connection with text elicitation and cataloguing, with discussion of some features such as subtypes and themes. These texts not only represent the tradition and social memories of a hunter-gatherer society, but also reveal the symbolic construction of the moral landscape, beliefs, spiritual connection to the universe, and their convergence with aesthetic expressions of verbal art.

Keywords: oral discourse, ethnography, indigenous peoples, Chaco, Argentina.

1. Introduction

This article seeks to provide insight into a corpus of texts in Pilagá (ISO 639-3 plg), within the framework of theoretical-descriptive research into this language, focusing on discourse and verbal art, a research field not previously explored in depth in this language.

The Pilagá live in the Gran Chaco region. Chaco, in the heart of South America, comprises a vast lowland territory ranging from southeast Bolivia and the southwestern area of the Mato Grosso in Brazil northwards to the westernmost area of Paraguay and northeast of Argentina southwards. It is

a plurilingual region where twenty languages belonging to seven linguistic families are spoken with differing degrees of vitality. There are 4,465 Pilagá speakers, most of whom are located in the province of Formosa, in the northeast of Argentina (INDEC, Argentine Statistics and Census Institute, 2001). This language is the third in number of speakers in the Guaycuruan linguistic family, which likewise encompasses Toba (ISO 639-3 tob), also known as *Qom* in Argentina, where there are 69,452 speakers of this language, in addition to those in Bolivia and Paraguay; and Mocoví, with a population of 15,837, and about 2,780 native speakers in the provinces of Chaco and Santa Fe (Argentina), according to official Census data (INDEC-ECPI 2004-2005). Kadiwéu (ISO 639-3 kbc) – belonging to the Mbaya-Guaycuruan branch – is spoken in southern Mato Grosso, a frontier region between Paraguay and Brazil. Considerable grammatical description of the languages in this family has been conducted over the last decades. Moreover, as an outcome of several documentation projects on Guaycuruan languages, Toba, Mocoví and Pilagá, information on grammatical structures based on naturalistic data and archived texts in high-quality audio and video recordings has been made available to the public (Messsineo n.d., Gualdieri et. al. 2007, Juárez 2019, Vidal & Payne 2019).[1]

Empirical research on discourse in native American societies, a scholarly trend initiated primarily by Dell Hymes and John Gumperz, has focused on practices associated to narrative and verbal art, as their main topics (Gumperz & Hymes 1972; Bauman & Sherzer 1974). This field previously involved a gap in ethnolinguistics that was not bridged until the 70's either by anthropology or linguistics (Golluscio 2019: 15).

In the South American region, research is increasingly dedicated to a variety of structural, discursive and social aspects, associated to the performance and transmission of traditional verbal art genres in indigenous societies, both in the languages of Amazonia (Briggs 1990; Graham 1995, Hill 1990, 1992, Prieto 2018) and of the Southern Cone (Patagonia and Chaco): Golluscio on Mapuzungun (Golluscio 2006, 2018) and Malvestiti (2005); (Golluscio 2011) on mythic Vilela narrative; verbal art in Toba or Qom language

[1] In the last two decades, there has been a significant increase in available audio and video records of Pilagá, Wichí, Chorote, Nivaĉle, Mocoví, and Ayoreo languages incorporated to the Endangered Languages Archive (ELAR) within the framework of the Endangered Languages Documentation Programme (ELDP) and the Hans Rausing Endangered Languages Project (HRELP). Likewise, Toba/Qom, Mocoví, Pilagá, Maká and Chorote materials can be found in the Archive of the Indigenous Languages of Latin America (AILLA), which, in 2009, donated a copy of these resources to the Laboratorio de Documentación Digital en Lingüística y Antropología (DILA) – National Council for Scientific and Technological Research (CONICET) (Golluscio & Vidal 2018). The documentation project was funded by the National Science Foundation Documentation of Endangered Languages (DEL) Program (Project Number 1261837) and granted to Doris Payne (University of Oregon) as PI and Alejandra Vidal as Co-PI.

(Messineo 2004, 2008, 2009, 2014), among others. Some incipient investigation into verbal practices is also being carried out into other languages in the region (Tapiete, Tupi-Guaraní, see Ciccone 2016a, 2016b; Ayoreo, Zamuco family, see Durante 2018). Research into discourse takes on particular significance as regards our knowledge of indigenous peoples and their languages (Sherzer & Urban 1986; Sherzer & Woodbury 1987; Urban 1991). While contributing to an understanding of social exchanges found in speech interactions, it reveals complex dialogical relationships between language, culture and history. In particular, the study of narrative practice centers on the text as a product and as a *locus* where language emerges in its social and expressive uses and in its functions for a society, at a particular time (Sherzer 2020 [1987]; Briones & Golluscio 1994; Golluscio 2019). For the study on folklore and verbal art in native societies, Bauman proposed the term *performance* since "it transmits a dual sense of artistic action – the making of folklore, and of artistic event – the situation of execution, which includes the performer, the artistic form, and the audience, which is central to the approach to folklore developed there. This use was consistent with the conventional meaning of the term *performance* and was useful in highlighting the fundamental reorientation from folklore as the material content to folklore as communication" (cf. Bauman 1975, in Golluscio 2019: 130).

These studies presuppose the knowledge of a considerable number of formal aspects in these languages and of the historical, social and cultural context in which discourse is produced, and achieved by extended interaction with the communities and their speakers.

The Pilagá language collection of texts we refer to in this paper is the result of several projects which have provided the means to record and build an archive of linguistically annotated and representative Pilagá language sample over the last twenty years.[2] Over the last decade of this process, research into the Pilagá language has taken on a new direction in view of the theoretical developments and scope of documentary linguistics (as a result of the seminal work done by Woodbury 1995, 1998, Himmelmann 1998) and the need to preserve linguistic and cultural archives. Certainly, the endangered nature of many indigenous languages has shown not only the relevance but also the urgency of broadening documentation in enduring formats and attaining more in-depth knowledge of the topic.

This article addresses the organization and classification of the texts included in the collection, with special attention to the narratives and descriptions in the Pilagá corpus. It is worth noting that not all the texts have

[2] The Pilagá data in this archive has been collected starting in the late 1990's and continuing to 2019. Research since 2014 has partially been supported by the U.S. National Science Foundation (Grant BCS 1263817) and by the Argentinian CONICET.

the same degree of spontaneity since they are the result of semi-guided elicitation. Likewise, they were collected in several stages, initially with the purpose of reinforcing linguistic analysis on the basis of a sample of naturalistic data and were only later converted into annotated digital archives within a collection now housed in a repository (Vidal & Payne 2019).[3]

We firstly propose to establish a preliminary classification of narrative and descriptive texts. Our aim is to present some of the characteristics of these narratives and to discuss the features that distinguish each group. This study is thus a first step to the study of narrative texts and the stylistic and prosodic resources used as part of a project funded by the Argentine National Council of Scientific and Technological Research (CONICET).

The article is broken down into four sections. Following this introduction, an explanation is given as to the context in which these texts were provided, in addition to the entextualization process and the criteria used in cataloguing and archiving them as part of a collection (§2). A preliminary classification and description of the textual corpus is then set forth (§3). Sections §3.1 to §3.2.2 provide a review of the different subgroups of narrative and descriptive texts. In §4 the discussion of text characterization is again taken up in the light of the characterization put forward in §3. The paper ends with a few final reflections and ideas for future directions (§5).

2. Textual Corpus

The corpus includes over seventy texts and thirty thousand words distributed across a total of more than three thousand seven hundred lines. With a view to contributing to the usage and dissemination of the material gathered in this linguistic documentation, it was necessary to make up an open access heritage and build archive metadata. This meant applying minimum and preliminary curatorial criteria for classification, in line with the guidelines required by the AILLA, where the digital documentation collection has been housed since 2019. It should be noted that to be able to understand some characteristics of the texts it is necessary to provide some of the context in which they were produced and collected, and subsequently transcribed *in situ*.

Text-transcription was undertaken in both phonological and alphabetical versions. The alphabetical version follows the conventions agreed on by Pilagá representatives since 1996. This alphabet is currently used in schools seeking to provide intercultural bilingual education in Pilagá and Spanish. The phonological transcription was developed out of Vidal's dissertation research on Pilagá from 1995 to 2000 (Vidal 2001). The documentary

[3] The Archive of Indigenous Languages of Latin America (AILLA). University of Texas, Austin.

recording of texts gathered during interviews was undertaken in the Pilagá settlements. On a few occasions they were elicited and recorded in individual working sessions (with the presence of just the researcher and the consultant). Certainly, despite being specifically requested by the researcher, the contributions by the forty narrators were entirely voluntary. As pointed out above, many of these texts went from analog to digital format (the format varied over the years, along with technological changes in language recording and archiving) and others were recorded directly in digital devices more recently. The transcription itself was conducted with the help of several native speakers, respecting the original orality features they presented. For transcription, we broke down the texts into lines to facilitate the comparison of morphosyntactic and stylistic features. Line breakdown coincides with longer pauses. The affective and performative component of these texts, such as the use of onomatopoeias, interjections and appreciative vocabulary, was not overlooked in the process of literal entextualization.

The recorded texts were performed in front of an audience, sometimes their own family or other adult speakers who got together for the event, and occasionally in front of non-indigenous participants as well. There was no prior planning of the elicitation sessions. It is therefore to be expected that the storytellers should have used mechanisms such as opening and closing remarks in narratives, hesitations and false beginnings. All the performances were audio-recorded, and in a few instances video-recorded. The audios and videos were deposited in the archives along with their transcriptions, with Spanish and English translations.

3. Pilagá Texts in the Corpus and Their Classification

Determining the allocation of some of the texts in the corpus to a certain genre is challenging. One problem this classification poses is that for most Pilagá texts there are multiple combinations of narration and dialogue, description and explanation, or narration and explanation, which makes the identification of a dominant sequence type for a particular text very difficult. Taxonomy underlies the criteria of users who, according to Renkema (1993), are able to distinguish different genres. In this connection, the author considers the genres are social codifications speakers quickly identify in a communicational situation immersed in a particular historical context. Pilagá speakers easily recognize the narrative genre but do not assign names to either narratives, testimonies or descriptions simply because there is no such difference between them. Even more, the argumentation is part of some narratives, such as testimonies, but no speaker would consider that there is a change either in the genre or the narrative sequence in such cases.

We initially grouped the texts under the label of "narrative" (§3.1.1), as opposed to another thematically and functionally different group we have called "descriptive" (§3.2). Due to the theme and the intention of the narrator (as the *storyteller*), we have identified sub-groupings of narrative texts, breaking them down into animal tales, magical tales and life stories or testimonies, and of descriptive texts into itineraries and description of the natural environment.

3.1. Narrative Texts

The Pilagá corpus comprises approximately thirty-two entirely narrative texts involving three hours of audio recording. Though there are passages where the dialogical sequence prevails in brief conversations between the characters, as happens in *The Fox and the Pichi* (dwarf armadillo), certain specific features ascribe these texts to the narrative type. Depending on each case, these are identified by the predominant use of the third person (chiefly in animal and magical tales) and the first person (in accounts having testimonial characteristics). Other features are their straightforward plot and the presence of clearly supernatural factors, either because of the prominence of animals able to speak or marvelous creatures with the capacity to create benefits for the earth's inhabitants.

At first glance we will recognize in these texts some similarities with well-known folktales. Palleiro (2019: 14) claims that "animal tales are distinctive expressions of the most diverse cultures. They can be found both in early Eastern cultures and in Greco-Roman antiquity, as well as from the Christian Middle Ages up to the present times in itineraries which show intercultural crossroads between Eastern and Western traditions […]. Such crossroads can also be found in Argentinean animal tales, which reflect the intertwining between European and vernacular indigenous cultures, in an original blend which is the distinctive feature of national identity". A clear example of this is the tale of *The Toad and the Fox*, where the two main characters run a race. It is the fox that makes fun of his opponent, considering him an unworthy rival. In the end, the "weaker" of the two characters is the winner, despite having been shown from the start as incapable of this victory. If the plot sounds familiar to us, similar to the well-known tale of *The Hare and the Tortoise*, it is because it shows evidence of the "variant" (Chertudi 1967: 9) by means of which a vital element is changed in the story (in this case, the animals who are the main characters) without changing its plot. Despite the similarities between one account and the other, what stands out is the lack of a didactic moralizing ending, for the Pilagá tale has no moral. As will be seen in the section devoted specifically to animal tales, the traditional structure adapts to their unique features and is different from other types of texts. The

narrator (i.e., the *storyteller)* is present in the performative marks, the way time and space coordinates coexist in fiction and reality showing that the main role of these animal stories is to entertain their listeners.

Magical tales stir us with its solemn tone seeking to explain phenomena impossible to relate to human limitations. It is here where their beliefs about the divine, the immortal, the spiritual beings are found. In the following section we will explore the way the narrators structure their tales, and why this differs from the animal narratives.

Lastly, testimonial accounts, with their use solely of the first person referenced in verbs and pronominal forms, are the most likely to touch the listener and strike a responsive chord, blurring the line between narrator and protagonist, with a succession of narrative sequences, hesitations or ramifications towards other topics that might make it difficult to opt for a single topic to characterize them. Also, it will be shown that the testimonies, such as the one by Toribia Acosta, provide a thesis defended by arguments interwoven in the narrative, where, apart from the function of retelling personal experiences, they denounce the injustices endured.

3.1.1. Animal Tales: the Centrality of the Fox

As previously mentioned, one of the key aspects of these tales is that the main character is the Fox, always depicted as being malicious and evil, using his cunning and deceit to take advantage of other more 'helpless' animals. These characters do, however, despite their naivety, manage to demonstrate the smartness required to outwit the Fox. Identifying the fox as the personification of a rogue reminds us of the adversities experienced by the anti-hero prototype. His punishment will inexorably lead to the failure of the rogue, aka the fox, for events he brings on himself, with the characters around him playing practically 'antagonistic' role. It is they who are eventually victorious in an ending that mainly seeks to provoke laughter and entertainment in the listeners.

The similitudes between these animal tales of the Pilagá collection and those in other traditions make it easier to identify a sequential structure consisting of an initial situation, a complication, a resolution and a coda. As a differentiating feature, the situations at the start of these animal tales always begin with the wily fox meeting an animal skilled in some activity the fox is no good at – or, perhaps, an animal he considers weaker than himself, which will lead to a contest of some nature. There is no conflict displaying explicit enmity (except in *The Fox and the Duck*, where the fox wants to devour the rosy-billed duck's young), but the fox's arrogance and malice lead to the complication, where he will try to win and be crowned as the victor over his temporary rival. This tense situation will come to a head, not with a happy ending but with a "fair" ending: the fox will be outwitted, and the "helpless" animal

will continue placidly on its way, as it would have done had the 'complication' not come along.

On the other hand, in Pilagá animal tales the narrator takes on significance. In an effort to interact in a living dialogue and arouse the interest of the audience, the narrator resorts to "pre-textual nuances or patterns stored in their living memory" (Palleiro & Fischman 2019: 28). We will now consider a few prototypical discourse phenomena under the category of "performative marks".

Although these marks, like onomatopoeias and other typical features of this style, also tend to appear in other text types, in animal tales they occur with greater frequency, on some occasions, several times within the same narrative. According to Palleiro & Fischman (2019: 80), this is because the narrator needs to hold their listeners' attention and elicit reactions from them, in this case, laughter or derision, to fulfill their purpose of entertaining them. The use of onomatopoeias in narrative tales is reminiscent of the performative characterization of verbal art (Bauman 1977; cf. Palleiro & Fischman 2019: 9) as a particular way of communicating, where both the poetic and the aesthetic are fundamental in capturing listeners' attention.

The direct style or direct discourse represents a diacritical value in these narratives. An example of this direct style is the interaction between the characters in the tale titled *The Fox and the Pichi*. In this tale, the narrator textually reproduces both the fox's question and the answer given by the pichi. The interaction appears between inverted commas and preceded by the declarative verbs *asked* and *said/answered*. As an illustration, the first two lines of this text are transcribed in (1) below.

(1)[4] a.	w'o	so'	n-lo'	makon'e	de-taʃaya-pe-ge'
	EXIST	CLF:FAR	POS.INDF-day	at.that.time	3-talk-IPFV-DIR:IT
	One day, the fox talked				

[4] The writing system used for examples is a modified IPA representation, with <y> for IPA /j/, <ñ> for /ɲ/, <č> for /tʃ/, and <ƀ> for the bilabial fricative allophone of /w/. These are adaptations to the practical orthography. Abbreviations are: A roughly active set of verbal person markers, ABS absent, AUG augmentative, B roughly stative set of verbal person markers, BDET basic determiner, CAUS causative, CLF classifier, CN noun class, COL collective, COMPL completive, CONJ conjunction, DEM demonstrative, DDEM complex demonstrative, DES desiderative, DIM diminutive, DIST distal, F feminine, HOR horizontal, HUM human, INDF indefinite/nonspecific, INTG interrogative, INTJ interjection, INTSF intensifier, IT itive, LOC locative, M masculine, NEUT neutral deixis, NEXIST non-existing, NMLZ nominalizer, NO.EXT non-extended, NPROG non-progressive, NVIS non-visible, OBJ object, ONMP onomatopoeia, PAUC paucal, PL plural, POS possessive, PROG progressive, PROX proximate, RCG recognitional, RDEM recognitional demonstrative, DEM simple demonstrative, SG singular, SUB subordinator, SUJ subject, VEN ventive, VERT vertical, VIS visible. All data were collected by Alejandra Vidal together with Pilagá native speakers.

b.	so’	n-egaʃa-wa	Ø-et’ae	“ñ-egaʃa-wa
	CLF:FAR	POS.INDF-fellow-human	3-say	POS.1-fellow-human

to his partner. He asked him: “Partner,

c.	čaqa-ga	da’	ga’-m’e	qad--enat-aʃak”
	INTG-CLF:ABS	SUB	CLF:AUS-DEM	POS1.PL-think-NMLZ

what are you thinking of doing?”

(2) a.	qanč’e	Ø-et’ae	so’	napam
	and. then	3-say	CLF:FAR	armadillo

And the dwarf armadillo replied:

b.	“As!	s-anaʃa-n-aq.”
	INTJ	1-sow-NPROG-PL

“We are going to sow.” (*The Fox and the Pichi*, 01. lines 1 and 2)

Onomatopoeias are characteristic of this direct style, as the narrator imitates the sounds produced by the characters in the story. In animal tales, onomatopoeias are diverse, ranging from the noise of applause (“They all clapped their hands, *waaah!* They applauded”, in *The Toad and the Fox*, when the fox wins the race) to the imitation of possible animal sounds (“And like that, *paaf!* He hit him and *ow, ow, ow!* The fox rolled off. He had been lied to”, *The Fox and Companion,* the noise of the blow and the fox’s pain).

On the other hand, the indirect style is also frequent. The clearest example can be found in *The Fox and the Pigeon*. The narrator introduces the fox’s question, which is not expressed explicitly in this case. The obvious difference between the direct style compared to the indirect style leads us to hypothesize on the narrator’s preferences when telling the story. We might suppose this because the direct style, where they emulate the characters’ voices, perhaps to achieve a better interpretation of their personalities, allows them to entertain their listeners more effectively.

(3)	qanač’e	so’	waʃayaqal’ačiyi	wada’get	so’	doqoto’
	and.then	CLF:FAR	fox	crossed	CLF:FAR	dove

And then the fox crossed paths with the dove.

(4) a.	qanač'e	yi-nat-ek	nae'	čaqa-na	noqo'	na'
	and.then	A3-ask-DIR:SP.REF	INTRG	DEM-F	when	CLF:NEAR
	And asked her:					

b.	an-'ame-tape-iyi	da'	toʃomaq-yi-lo	na	ad-'ai'te
	2-paint-PROG-DIR.STRAIGHT.LINE	SUB	be.red-COMPL-OBJ.PL	CLF:NEAR	POS.2-eyes

"What you paint your eyes with to make them so reddish?" (*The Fox and the Pigeon*, lines 4 and 5)

This is also due to the performative nature of storytelling, where the person narrating the tale plays the role of the character and makes the fictitious coordinates in the real world of their own, creating an "unfolding" of a speaker, who goes from experiencing a historical situation here and now to a person producing the fictional universe (Palleiro & Fischman 2009: 31).

In addition to the performative marks, the narrative is characterized by the presence of a number of exophoric and endophoric deictic elements locating the events within the time and space coordinates of the tale. One of these is *ho?* an exophoric adverbial 'proximal' (PROX) with 363 instances in the corpus. For instance, in (5) and (6) the deictic (DEM) hoʔ functions primarily as an exophoric locative, as in (5). But it can also have a temporal function, as in (6). The DEM is often, but not always, accompanied by a physical gesture.

(5)	Čʔi	qo-i-lot-ake-i	ha-ʔn	kʔodae	hoʔ
	then	SUJ.INDF-A3-see-DES-INTSF	F=CLF:NEAR	wild. pepper	DEM1:PROX

(The bird) looked and looked for pepper there (07 *The Fox and the Waqaw*, line 1.24)

(6)	*Qančʔe*	*naeʔ-gaʔ*	*aw-men*	*hoʔ*	ñ-egaʃa-wa
	then	INTG-CLF:ABS	2-sell	DEM1:PROX	POS1-companion-HUM

"So what will you sell now, my companion?" (*The Fox and the Pichi* 01, line 1.7)

Though the DEM hoʔ is primarily exophoric, it can also be endophoric. In (7) it functions as an anaphoric discourse form, referring back to the situation of being authorized to find a particular document.

(7)	a.	*hayem*	*kaʔ*	*sepa*	čʔe	*algún documento*
		1SG	before	seem.to.me	then	some document

b. *daʔ daʔ Ø-ek-a soʔ salaˑ-nek.*

SUB SUB 3-go-LOC:specific CLF:DIST chief-M

"I believed that ... that the chief came back with the document."

c. *daʔ qomiʔ y-aloʃo-na-lo.*

SUB 1PL 3-show-NPROG-PL

"So that he could show us."

d. *daʔ kaʔ epaʃa autorisaw hoʔ Ø-eta-t.*

SUB before it.seems authorized DEM1:PROX 3-say-PROG

"He was saying that he seems authorized for this." (067 Toribia Acosta. Lines 46–48)

Lastly, two significant aspects emerge as being part of the storyteller's judgment. The first of these are the closing remarks of the story, which appear once the difficulty has somehow been overcome, and in general refers to the end of the narrative, alluding to the fact that, otherwise, there is no certainty where it would end. A clear example of this is the last line of *The Fox and the Pichi*, where the narrator considers it best to bring the story to an end there ("I don't know what time I will finish telling this! That's why I will conclude here", *The Fox and the Pichi*). The second aspect is the narrator's assessment, which alludes to the length of the tale ("I believe this story is not long", *The Quitilipi and Pitogüé*) or to a particular situation occurring in the narrative ("This is what I tell, what I give you is *uh, how long it is!*", *The Fox and the Pichi*).

3.1.2. Magical Tales and the Spiritual Universe

In this group of texts, the characters no longer represent individual personalities, as happens in animal tales, but all belong to the magical and spiritual universe of the Pilagá. Recurrently, action in these stories takes place in the forest, a location recognized as sacred due to the large number of spirits dwelling there. In Pilagá culture, the shaman is the main figure, as

the person able to receive knowledge from the stars because of their meta sensitive and meta empirical experiences (Idoyaga Molina 1983: 32), which allow them to perceive souls and have contact with the dead. The divine, on the other hand, is personified in terrestrial bodies coming closer to the inhabitants of the earth as this author calls humans lacking in magical or sacred powers.

Similarly to animal tales, magical tales preserve, to a certain extent, a traditional structure, i.e. the initial situation, followed by a complication, and lastly, an outcome. However, while animal tales have a simple plot with characters interacting without many changes throughout the narrative, in magical tales this becomes more complex as they are led along by their characters. The mention of the Pilagá cosmovision is necessary to enable to organizing the recurrent characters in these magical accounts into two groups: inhabitants of the earth, understood as people or animals not endowed with "magical" powers but who are a part of these tales, on the one hand; and spiritual entities, who are all those inhabiting a celestial territory and having undoubtedly magical gifts, on the other. All the actions performed by these characters will be a link in the structure. The following example from *The Horned Owl (quitilipi) and the Female Great Kiskadees (pitogüé)* will provide better example of this phenomenon.

The story tells of the quitilipi going fishing every morning. Upon his return to the home, he shares the catch with his pitogüé wives, he orders every trace of fire to be doused, leaving their home in darkness. The nocturnal quitilipi has large, bulging eyes, and believes this might scare his wives, which is why he prefers them not to see him. So far, the initial situation is identifiable, with the pitogüé wives having no special magical power. As birds belonging to the earthly fauna, it might be said they are earthly inhabitants. In the magical tales in this corpus these characters represent routine, order, but they can be subject to sudden changes because they have no magic powers to defend themselves.

It will be the quitilipi, the central bird character actually having magical powers, who will cause the complication in this tale. One night, a breeze kept the flames from going out altogether. Though not explicitly mentioned, it is easy to infer this might be some supernatural force. Note that also, an onomatopoeia, *qapok,* is used to denote the action of the fire rekindling from the sparks:

(8) a.	qač'e	kopa'a	kal'io'	qač'e	sega'
	and.then	later	before	and.then	apparently

b.	qo-i-petet-owe	eso	dole'	*qapok*	kal'io'
	INDF.SUJ-3-blow-DIR:INWARD	CLF: far	fire	ONMP	before

"After a while, the fire burned as if someone had blown it" (*The Quitilipi and the Pitogüé*, 011. line 19)

As a result of the quitilipi's supernatural eyes, chaos breaks out between him and his wives, who fly off in panic. This kind of complications will not be happily resolved in all the tales, and will depend on the developments, which means the ending is usually more surprising than in animal tales. In this case, the quitilipi reveals he has the power of creation, making piranhas sprout from the piece of yuchan tree, so no earthly inhabitant will ever again approach and feel dismayed by his eyes.

In animal tales it *is* in fact possible to anticipate the way events will turn out, because the complication and outcome do not vary substantially from text to text. In magical tales, instead, the plot or the way in which the story develops is more complex. Although a certain structure may be recognized, it is not possible to use it to predict the narrative nuclei or the outcome. In some cases, as in this one, it is the earthly inhabitants who are harmed. Yet, there will be others who will benefit from the creation of medicinal plants or actions by wise shamans who will free them from the spirits of disease. In this sense there is a certain regularity in the structure if it is outlined according to what character and what actions are highlighted at a particular time in the narrative.

Narrator representation, though, does not follow a regular sequence, but varies from one text to another. The inscription of the narrator occurs at the beginning (*Wa' <u>hayem</u> sete' s'aʃat eso kiedkiek con eso wotakie'*, 'Well, <u>I</u> want tell the story of the lesser horned owl and the female great kiskadees'), but in most magical texts it is a heterodiegetic narrative (narrated by an omniscient voice that does not take part in the events of the story). As seen in animal tales, the narrator might opt for using the indirect style to replicate the voice of the characters, as happens in *The Spirit of the Alpaca*, which refers to the story of an impossible love a spirit feels for a human being and how, moved by their feelings, this spirit tells them the secret of how they might be together. The following examples are taken from this same text:

(9) a. *Qanač'e y'at so' siyaʃawa y'aʃakačiyi qanač'e enak da' l'aqtak he'e.*

"The older man answered with firmness, he said: well then show me your power."

b. *Qanač'e enak da' l'aqtak so' paeyak he'e onet'oe qomle, awawo'e*

"And the spirit responded and said to him: well, you have to get the costumes for yourself, a wisteria headpiece, a necklace, a gourd."

c. *Qanač'e da' yem qanač'e aw'onaʃan qanač'e yiset da' ña'awena'am.*

"And to finish, furthermore you need to sing to be just like me." (025 *Spirit Alpaca*. Lines 2 to 4)

3.1.3. The Narrator as the Main Character: Testimonies

In the Pilagá corpus we have identified nine testimonies where the main characters are the storytellers themselves. These accounts are developed in first person and seek to show the veracity of the events by means of historical data, anecdotes and specific arguments.

The basic narrative structure of the testimonies differs considerably from the texts described above. This is due to their requiring greater plausibility in their storytelling, for they must convince their listeners that the events they are telling actually happened at some time in their lives. This also means descriptions and plots are more frequent when attempting to provide evidence of the thesis underlying the narrative. These texts can have a variety of functions, but the most recurrent is to denounce the injustices undergone by the Pilagá community, as is clear in the following examples.

The tale told by Toribia Acosta was recorded during a ceremony commemorating her father's death held at Kilometer 30, the name of a Pilagá community in the province of Formosa. The text reveals more complex performative characteristics which can be accessed in the audio and video recording, and which we feel should be analyzed for comparison of proxemic and performative aspects in this testimony, a task which, for reasons of space, will not be done in this paper. In her testimony, Toribia explicitly puts forward several arguments supporting the viewpoint of the narrator as the central character. She provides an eye-witness account of the violence suffered, while claiming ownership of those lands for her family, with the account clearly identifiable as belonging to the testimonial genre, more explicitly than in other texts. A study of this text led us to recognize the narrator uses the direct style, as does the narrator in animal stories, though with a very different intention. In animal tales, the narrator mimics the sounds of animals or makes the characters' words his or her own, in an effort to entertain the listeners and make them laugh. Instead, Toribia Acosta uses the direct style, illustrated in (10), to endow her testimonial account with the voice of the judge interrogating them for taking over and occupying a land that, according to the legal authority, does not belong to them.

(10) a. *Seta so' y'aqtak, kanč'e qopa'ta qamte mat'e nkese qosele'ek.*

"Later to change the subject he said something in jest."

b. *Judge ¿hega' ami' ete' noko?*
Judge: "How many of you?" (067 *Toribia Acosta*. Lines 36 and 37).

She thus defines the profile of the antagonist in the tale and builds a valid argument to denounce the injustice being suffered. On the other hand, it is also possible to recognize the thesis, understood as the "proposition representing a controversial or questionable declaration in a given discursive context and supported by narrative elements: conflict, characters and events" (Carranza 2020: 95). Another text, *Naming his daughter*, sets out a situation that led to controversy. The narrator, who is likewise the main character in the tale, shares that he and his wife decided to register their daughter with her aboriginal name. This proposition is the thesis of the testimony. It is the Registrar at the Vital Records Office who represents the antagonist, like the judge in Toribia Acosta's account, and who turns it into a controversial statement creating conflict. This thesis is supported by the events that then lead to Ignacio Silva, the child's father, being given a negative answer, followed by the insistence of Sister Nelly, the nun, who submits a note, the intervention of a government representative maintaining that the law approving this type of registrations should be observed, and eventually the express order received by the Vital Records Office director to consent to the request made by the little girl's father. The outcome shows these arguments were sufficient to ensure the situation was resolved in favor of the narrator, who was able to give his daughter the name he had planned on.

3.2. Descriptive Texts

Lastly, the Pilagá corpus involves approximately thirty-five texts with a predominance of descriptive-explanatory sequences. The descriptive texts therefore cover topics ranging from the formulation of travel routes to the characterization of their environment. This, in turn, triggers two types of different structures, depending on the predominant theme of the descriptive text. Because of this difference, we suggest the existence of two subgroups: those aimed at instruction (3.2.1) and those aimed at explanation (3.2.2). Though the features distinguishing and enabling this subclassification of descriptive texts are demonstrable, their pedagogical nature remains stable in both cases, seeking to guide their listeners in their surrounding universe.

3.2.1. Instructive Description: Travel Routes

The texts in this group are characterized firstly by the use of constructions used to express Path of motion along with location and motion verbs,

by means of which the narrator gives indications regarding the location of places on the one hand, and the path a listener should follow to get to them, on the other. They are directions for the listener. Secondly, the verbs and location deictics endow the prose with dynamism. An imaginary path is thus built with a clearly imparted sequence involving central buildings in community life and organization, so that the buildings become the main references for locating other places. We noted that the church is an important institution used as a basis from whence the other locatable points are named to make up a mental path: the chieftain's house, the school, and the multipurpose room inside the school, for instance.

A clear example of the significance of locating the church on the travel route as a point where the listeners can get their bearings is made evident in the text titled *San Martín* in (11):

(11) a.	*s-e~~b~~i'd-'a*	*di'*	*laeñi*
	1-arrive-OBJ.SG	CLF:HOR	be.in.the.middle
	"When I get to the middle of the path"		

b.	*qanač'e*	*s-a-'a*
	and.then	1-center-OBJ.SG

c.	*na'*	*na'a-ik*	*t-ae-yi*	*na'*	*tayiñi*	*qanač'e*
	CLF:NEAR	path-M	3-go- DIR. INSIDE	CLF:NEAR	this	and.then
	"I follow the other that goes toward the East."					

d.	*se-~~b~~ide-w'o*	*ñi'*	*tamnaʕa-ki*
	1-arrive-DIR:OUTWARD	CLF:NO.EXT	religion-CN.PLACE

"When I get to the middle of the path, I follow the other that goes toward the East, and I get to at the church." (028 *San Martin*2, Line 2)

The narrator's directions are even more specific in the following line taken from *Cacique Coquero.* In this case, the school appears as an institution leaving a mark on the imaginary map and the path plotted out as the community is depicted. Leading from there, the church and the house next to it can be located:

(12) a.	di’	na’a-ik	ye-lot-ew’o	ñi’	page-naʕa-ki
	CLF:HOR	path-M	A3-look-DIR:OUTWARD	CLF:NO.EXT	learn-NMLZ-CN.PLACE

“The path goes toward the school”

b.	naqae-ñi	ñi’	net-ow’et	ñi
	RCG-NO.EXT	no.	be-DIR:INWARD	CLF:NO.EXT

c.	n-adie-wo	qataʕa
	INDF.POS-path-DIR:OUTWARD	and
	‘’*which is exactly at the beginning”*	

d.	w’o	di’	le-kolaʕa-set	ye-lot-ew’o
	EXIST	CLF:HOR	POS.3-cut-NMLZ	A3-look-DIR:OUTWARD

e.	ñi’	tamnaʕa-ki	qataʕa	w’o
	CLF:NO.EXT	religion-CN.PLACE	and	EXIST

“Also, there is a crossing that goes right toward the church”

f.	ñi’	*n’-ača-qa’*	*net-’e-sop*
	NO.EXT	INDF.POS-home-place	be-OBJ.SG-DIR:IN.circles

“*there is also a house that is next to it.*” (030 *Cacique Coquero*, Line 3)

3.2.2. Description and Explanation: Texts About the Natural Environment

Within this group, texts were identified referring to the following topics: fauna, describing animal features, and how to go about hunting; flora, characterizing plants in their environment and their possible medicinal uses; and everyday life, with the narrator speaking of their trades or their ancestors and family members.

Descriptions very seldom occur inside narratives. Descriptive text delays narrative action and the flow of the story being told. In western culture they are part of what is known as a schooling tradition. Among the Pilagá, description had to be elicited. A description providing an explanation of the natural environment does not occur spontaneously but does occasionally come up in conversations.

In these hunter-gatherer communities, demonstration and imitation are basic strategies for instruction. Hunters start to be instructed at the age of twelve, at first in the company of an older adult, and after a number of expeditions, they set off on their first experiences as hunters under the supervision of an older adult. Thus, as mentioned by Sugiyama and Mendoza (2018), this situation is characterized by gestures, eye contact, and scant verbalization, supposedly to avoid scaring off any prey. To become a good hunter-gatherer, it is important to distinguish among the species and their customs and properties.[5]

However, in the descriptive text named *The wax* some recommendations for successful hunting are given, using the second person of the verb. This is probably due to the fact the narrator imagines or recreates a scene where an instruction is being given, talking directly to a listener, the person being instructed. This latter phenomenon is clearly shown in (13), describing how the wax arrow is a good weapon for hunting.

(13) a.	*so'*	*moe*	*yi-set*	*da'*	*aw-k'i-ye*	*da'*
	CLF:FAR	bee.wax	3-be.able	SUB	2-eat-COMPL	SUB
	The wax can help you to survive					

b.	*aw-ayate-n*	*eda*	*a-n'-pi-aʕak*
	2-know-NPROG	SUB	POS.2-B.3-gather.shellfish-NMLZ

"The wax can help you to survive if you know how to hunt"
(047 *The Wax*, Line 1)

4. Contrasting Structures, Themes and Characters

In the preceding sections, we have proposed a preliminary classification of texts according to types and themes. In this section, we will return to the issues raised in §1.

The first of these issues, we have noted that the texts can be distinguished according to their narrative or descriptive type, in addition to recognizing four differing thematic groups, each with characteristics of their own.

As for the characteristic aspects of narratives and descriptions, the structure of narrative texts is clearly distinct, with an initial situation, a complication, a resolution and an outcome. In magical stories, instead, the characters are those who define the structure: in the final situation we will have the earthly inhabitants, the complication that will take place thanks to the

[5] Under that assumption they were elicited, as a way of teaching the researcher how to recognize them.

intervention of a creature with spiritual or magical gifts, with the outcome involving a process of creation or change in the earthly environment. Descriptive texts, on the other hand, begin by establishing the theme. In the texts we consider as travel trajectories, an imaginary path is traced using verbs of movement and verbs of static position to help with the actual location inside and outside the community.

Likewise, in narrative texts we find the predominance of chronological chain of events, and dialogical sequences. The pedagogical and depictive function of descriptive texts means they revolve around a single theme, characterizing the typical traits of the species and the natural habitat or environment. Travel paths will likewise involve explanatory sequences with instructive nuances, relating to the function they have as orientation guides.

The descriptions, as has been seen, can be broken down into two groups according to their structure: on the one hand we have travel paths that instruct the listener about places and, on the other, texts characterizing or explaining topics also related to the habitat, the environment. Travel paths are also characterized by the dynamism provided by the presence of static location and motion verbs while in descriptive texts there is a predominance of static location verb sequences. However, the instruction or teaching function is maintained in both cases.

Accordingly, it can be held that narrative texts are different either in structure or function. The themes have made it possible to sub-group them.

On the other hand, the storytellers involved demonstrate great versatility. In animal texts, performative marks are more noticeable, ranging from the use of direct and indirect styles to false beginnings. Even within the narrator's relative omniscience they make value judgments at certain moments in the narrative. In magical tales, these marks are not so frequent, and narrators may opt for either the third person verb or the first, in addition to which direct or indirect style uses will also be rare. In the case of testimonies, the narrator is necessarily the protagonist and, unlike what happens in animal tales, will use direct style to confront the opinion of the characters, which will generally be contrary to their own.

5. Closing Remarks

In this paper we have sought to provide insight into some of the texts that make up the Pilagá Collection. We have not considered verbal practices in all their complexities or genres specific to this language. The texts we referred to were first produced orally and then turned into an object of study and included in an archive. The texts were produced by native speakers who have given them a distinctive style. Most Pilagá speakers were preliterate un-

til little less than fifty years ago and, at the time these textual records were captured, many of the speakers who produced them had no literacy skills in any language, while a few young people who gave voice to some of the records that make up the collection today, did evince literacy skills in Spanish. Nor were the narrators selected for being especially good storytellers, although many of them actually turned out to be good at it.

The features surveyed such as direct/indirect style and the change in the use of grammatical persons, among others, depend on the particular discourse style of each storyteller. Likewise, features linked to themes and structure depend more on the type of text.

The need to recover the verbal practices of peoples having a long oral tradition as part of their intangible heritage (UNESCO 1989) is a priority, as cautioned by Woodbury (2003, 2011), among others, for whom the objective should be the direct documentation of their discourse, the full range of local genres, relegating language description to a secondary plane. This recommendation makes a lot of sense when it is languages in danger of no longer being transmitted that are at stake. Undoubtedly, linguistic description is a highly idealized and culturally constructed activity in academic circles and practices. This degree of idealization leads us to wonder whether our view of the categories with which we approach the organization of the textual material collected does not perhaps have a universalizing predisposition that needs to be called into question.

Allied to this problem is our concern for the organization and cataloguing of the texts in the corpus: What particular features of the narratives or the descriptions should be taken into account when classifying the texts in a corpus characterized by the diversity of possible registers, where not everyone agrees as to the traditional sense of 'folktale' (Aarne–Thompson 1961 [1928]). This leads to the reflection upon the relevance of the classification categories in this case, in addition to the uniformity of style or gender features of what we have chosen to refer to as "narrative" and "descriptive" genres for the study of Pilagá discourse.

We have presented an initial study of Pilagá verbal art through texts, more specifically of those we have dubbed narrative and descriptive. Issues relating to the typology of genres from the perspective of Pilagá culture, whether linked to ancient or modern practices, have not yet been addressed, and it is time for an empirical investigation of this topic from a Pilagá discourse-centered point of view.

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Documentando prácticas verbales: colección de textos Pilagá

Alejandra Vidal y Sabrina Maciel

Resumen

La colección de textos pilagá es el resultado de varios proyectos que han proporcionado los medios para registrar y construir un archivo lingüísticamente anotado y representativo del arte verbal de esa comunidad de hablantes.

Esta es la primera iniciativa sistemática para construir un archivo textual en lengua original, traducido al español y al inglés. Los textos representan una muestra de la diversidad de la narrativa Pilagá, de aproximadamente veinte hablantes de todas las comunidades Pilagá del centro-oeste de la provincia de Formosa, Argentina. El Pilagá (perteneciente a la familia Guaycurú) es una lengua en peligro de extinción, hablada por menos de 5000 personas de diferentes grupos etarios.

Este artículo trata acerca de la organización y clasificación de dichos textos; particularmente, los del género narrativo. Los textos narrativos del corpus oral han sido agrupados, en primer lugar, según su estructura y estilo y, luego, por subgrupos temáticos, sin perder de vista lo anterior. Este trabajo proporciona un curso de entrada a las discusiones en torno a la clasificación de textos de un *corpus* diverso, en el contexto de la documentación de una lengua en peligro, y expone además la metodología adoptada y los criterios de organización de los registros.

Palabras-clave: discurso oral, etnografía, poblaciones indígenas, Chaco, Argentina.

Документовање вербалних пракси. Збирка текстова на пилага језику

Алехандра Видал и Сабрина Масијел

Резиме

Збирка текстова на пилага језику је резултат неколико пројеката који су омогућили да се сними и изгради архив којег чини лингвистички анотиран и репрезентативан корпус текстова на језику пилага. Ово је прва систематска иницијатива која је омогућила успостављање архива текстова на оригиналном језику, као и у преводу на шпански и енглески. Текстови представљају разноврстан узорак прича на пилаги и укључују око двадесет говорника из свих заједница које говоре пилагу, у централно-западној покрајини Формоса у Аргентини. Језик пилага припада породици гвајакурских језика и припада угроженим језицима – њиме говори мање од 5000 људи различите старосне доби.

Рад је усмерен на организацију и класификацију текстова који су укључени у збирку, а посебна пажња посвећена је причама и описима. Указано је на извесне методолошке аспекте повезане с прикупљањем и каталогизовањем, с дискусијом о неким одликама као што су подтипови и теме. Ови текстови не само да представљају традицију и друштвено памћење ловачко-сакупљачког друштва, него и откривају симболичну конструкцију моралног пејзажа, веровања, духовне везе са универзумом и њихово приближавање естетским изразима вербалне уметности.

Кључне речи: усмени дискурс, етнографија, аутохтони народи, Чако, Аргентина.

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Jewish Traditions in Latin American Context – The Creation of an Intercultural Diaspora in Argentina: from the Notion of "Melting Pot" to Contemporary Identity Politics

Fernando Fischman

This article explores sociocultural and political changes in Argentina that empowered the passage from the practice of Jewish rituals in private to the display of traditional expressive forms in public. Focusing on personal narratives of Jewish immigrants' children in Argentina about their childhood experiences in the 1930s and 40s and on festival celebrations performed currently in the streets of Buenos Aires, I analyze the implications of the contextualization of traditional practices, originally performed within the collective's boundaries to their open exhibition to society at large.

I begin by presenting some of the narratives about the WWII prewar and war period in Argentina, that I collected in the 1990s. Then, I examine street performance events that began to be staged at the same time by Jewish organizations in conjunction with celebrations derived from the identity politics that started to be in place in those years. I thus contrast the narratives about the public expression of Jewish identity in the first half of the 20th century with the contemporary discursive expressions through which Jewish culture is explicitly put on display. The concept of "performance" provides the analytical framework, and the analysis focuses on the social and political implications of such staging for the shaping of new expressive forms related both to a precedent diasporic Jewish culture and to the intercultural dialogues accomplished in contemporary Argentine society.

Keywords: identity politics, Argentine Jews, Jewish-Argentine folklore, diversity, performance.

Introduction

In the 1990s, when I began my research on Jewish-Argentine folklore, I was struck by recurrent stories about early fears of displaying Jewishness in

public.[1] I collected accounts in which the narrated events, dated in the 1930s and 1940s and located in working class neighborhoods of Buenos Aires where immigrants had settled, revolved around situations in which children of Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe were either harassed by their neighbors and classmates or afraid of being attacked by street mobs. Those stories also described the deployment of strategies in order not to be singled out in their everyday lives at a time in which Nazism at its peak in Europe seemed to expand in ways the scope of which could not be anticipated. The narratives spoke about Jews that knew that they were on the 'safe' side of the ocean, but that also made apparent a lingering anxiety tied to the Argentine context. The government's nationalist leanings in the 1930s and 40s, the antisemitic organizations that vandalized Jewish buildings and cemeteries in the 1960s and 1970s, and the right-wing military dictatorship that ran the country from 1976 to 1983 were some of the milestones and events that contextualized the stories.

By the turn of the century, almost two decades after the recovery of democratic rule, the early fears had been transformed and those narratives were for the most part tied to a distant past, relatively disconnected from present situations, although not completely. Furthermore, already by the year 2015 substantive changes in the sociopolitical arena were evident. A Reform rabbi became a cabinet member as Minister of the Environment and Sustainable Development, and a former executive director of DAIA (Delegación de Asociaciones Israelitas de la Argentina), an organization that has historically advocated for Jewish institutions and presents itself as "representative of the Jewish community", had become a prominent member of the national administration (Secretary of Human Rights and Cultural Pluralism). The anti-Jewish sentiments mentioned in the stories seemed to have reversed to a large extent together with ideological changes both within the Jewish collective and in society at large that had subjective implications as well.

Accounting for such relevant changes and concomitant implications requires a thorough examination of Argentina's social, political and intercultural processes, particularly those that took place from the last quarter of the twentieth century onwards. I will thus analyze fieldwork materials collected in two separate moments: the 1990s and the 2010s, to explain those developments through the examination of expressive forms – specifically personal experience narratives, as well as festivals and performance events carried out in public spaces.

[1] The research this article is based on is part of my current project for CONICET "Linguistic ideologies and verbal art in the Jewish Argentine collective (2015– present). The issues discussed here allow to hint at the significant ideological developments within the Jewish Argentine collective that took shape since the 1990s and that became undeniably apparent in the period that starts in 2015.

I will begin by presenting some of the narratives about prewar and war years in Argentina that I collected in the 1990s. At the time I interviewed Argentine children of Central and Eastern European Jewish immigrants born in the interwar period, who had received formal education in the public school system and were affiliated with Jewish community organizations.[2] They took part in social, educational, cultural and/or sport institutions. I took that participation as an *a priori* indicator of some degree of identification with Judaism or with Jewish culture. Some of the narratives were told in long, semi-structured interviews and others were recorded in informal conversations.

Secondly, I will examine street performance events that began to be staged in those same years by Jewish organizations in conjunction with ethnic celebrations derived from the identity politics that started to be applied in those years. I recorded those events from 2011 to 2015, when they were already well-established as celebrations. The reason for the focusing on such events is that they express the emergence of sociocultural and political changes and the forging of new ones that involve the explicit resignification of Argentine, Jewish, and hence, Jewish-Argentine identity in interactive contexts. I focused on the expressive forms staged in each of them and interviewed their organizers in their offices. I polled attendees on site during the celebrations to get their opinions and reflections about what they were experiencing, which allowed me to contrast the narratives recorded earlier about the public expression of Jewish identity in the 1930s and 40s with the contemporary situation in which Jewish culture was explicitly put on display in performance settings (Bauman 1977, 1992).

Stories of Fear in Two Contexts

In the context of the fieldwork that I carried out in the 1990s, the offspring of Jewish immigrants would tell me that when they were growing up in the 1930s and 1940s, their elders warned them once and again not to let "others" know that they were Jewish.

> (...) Acá te decían cuando ibas por la calle o subías a un tranvía te decían "*red nit af idish*" ("no hables en idish") porque tenían miedo (...), mi papá dominaba el castellano pero no tanto, por la calle [baja la voz] se trataba de no llamar la atención (NS).[3]

[2] The major influx of Jews from Central and Eastern Europe to Argentina started in the 1880s and continued, with fluctuations, until the outbreak of World War II (Avni 1991; Mirelman 1988). By the beginning of the twenty-first century, Argentine Jews numbered 200.000 (Della Pergola in Jmelnizky and Erdei 2005).

[3] In order to preserve the identity of the respondents, they are identified by initials.

> [(...) Here they would tell you when you were going down the streets or got on a tram, they would tell you "*red nit af ídish*" ("don't speak Yiddish"), because they were afraid (...), my father spoke Spanish, but not so much, in the street [she lowers her voice] it was about not calling attention (NS).[4]]

Yiddish being the language spoken by most of the Jewish immigrants, it was the most prominent distinctive feature to be avoided in order not to be singled out. At school, Jewish issues were discussed *sotto voce*:

> (...) Y tenía una compañera, una chica del colegio primario, que una vez así hablando le pregunto "¿vos sos idishe?" [bajando la voz] "callate, callate, no digas nada, no digas nada", tenía mucho miedo de decir que era judía, era algo (...) (EB).
>
> [(...) And I had a classmate, a girl from elementary school, that once we were talking and I asked her: "Are you Yiddishe?", [lowering the voice] "Be quiet, be quiet, don't say anything, don't say anything", she was afraid of saying that she was Jewish, it was something (...) (EB).]

Concealing the Jewish identity by trying to "pass" by expressing proficiency in Spanish, not talking about certain issues, or not showing the performance of Jewish rituals and religious traditions had been a common practice for immigrants in those years.

> Los viejos llevaban el *talit* (shawl) al *shul* (sinagoga) envuelto en papel de diario para que nadie supiera lo que llevaban (MB).
>
> [The elders took their prayer shawls to *shul* [synagogue] wrapped in the newspaper so that nobody would know what they were carrying (MB).]

When asked about the reason for such practices that seemed to have been so common in their childhood, respondents repeatedly explained to me that the fear that immigrants had brought from Europe made them act always with their heart in their mouths.

The weight of past experiences in their hometowns of Eastern Europe in the early twentieth century, the threat that was hanging over the Old World in the 1930s or the anxious watchfulness concerning what was actually going on with their families during World War II, which is apparent in the repeated mention of the fervent looking forward to news from the relatives left be-

[4] The interviews were held in Spanish. The citations were translated by the author.

hind, makes evident the big toll of the European background both on the immigrants' perceptions of the receiving society and on their interaction with other local actors.

The national context, into which they had been recently established, sent ambiguous messages to Jews. They felt they were secure when they pondered the news they were getting from Eastern Europe in two ways: via letters from their relatives – until they stopped receiving them – and through radio broadcasts and newspapers (Kahan and Lvovich 2016), but were not fully aware of how safe they were. On the one hand, the Argentine nation had been constructed on fierce processes of exclusion that were silenced at the time, but that were the backdrop against which the overseas immigration that populated the country particularly from 1880 to 1930 arrived. The ideologues of modern Argentina had decided decades before that the nation was to become a *crisol de razas*, a "melting pot" for people of European descent. By the end of the nineteenth century, indigenous peoples and Afrodescendants had already been excluded from that pot in processes charged with violence (Delrio 2005; Frigerio 2000; Geler 2016; Lenton 2014; Reid Andrews 1980), and a few decades later the dominant ideology was that of an ethnically and culturally homogeneous nation. On the other hand, in those same years, there were some specific events that sent warning signals like the prevalence of nationalist-Catholic ideology revalent after the 1943 military coup (Lvovich 2003), that children experienced in their everyday lives in public schools when they had either to attend classes of religion or, alternatively, take classes of "Moral", as a recurrent narrative plot tells.

> (...) Porque en esa época Religión y Moral eran dos materias separadas. Todos las judías estudiabamos Moral y después teníamos que quedarnos paradas en la puerta esperando que termine la clase de religión, muy divertido (EB).
>
> [(...) Because at that time Religion and Moral were two separate classes. All the Jewish girls studied Moral and then we had to stand at the door waiting for the Religion class to be over, very funny (EB).]

As far as the European immigrants in general were concerned, Argentina was definitely open to them as long as they left their cultural particularities aboard the steamships for the sake of the unified identity in a marginal modernity (Devoto 2003; Schneider 1996).

Jews, like the rest of newcomers, did what was expected of them. If melting involved learning to speak Spanish, to hail the national symbols, and to comply with the work ethics of an economy that needed hard and cheap

labor, they did so quite successfully. In the early 20th century, some Jewish intellectuals had carried out a focused work in order to make Jews fit in. In 1910, at the peak of the country's prosperous years and of the immigration period, writer Alberto Gerchunoff published a collection of short stories about Jewish life in the countryside that he called *Los gauchos judíos* (*The Jewish Gauchos*), to highlight their successful integration to national life. Having been the *gaucho*, a hero constructed by the *criollista* movement based on folk traditions to symbolize Argentine identity (Adamovsky 2019; Prieto 1988), turning Jews into "gauchos", was a cultural intervention to make an argument for their integration to national society.[5]

Indeed, besides literary elaborations, Jews were rewarded with the upward social mobility that most European immigrants attained. In general terms, a Jewish name was no hurdle for a career in business, politics, or in any other undertaking. The only requirement for full success in some of those venues was the indication that attachment to religious or specific cultural practices was part of the past. That indication had to be explicit on occasions, but most of the times it happened as an implicit accommodation to the dominant ideologies that promoted the blurring of ethnic distinctive features for European immigrants.

Jews found it harder to comply in later years when Catholic religion was required in order to blend in the "pot". That is, when in the 1940s, after the aforementioned 1943 coup, the growing influence of the Church in the government with a right-wing nationalist leaning accomplished an equalization of national identity with Catholicism (Rein 2005). The pre-conciliar accusation that Jews had killed Jesus, which Jews growing up in the 1940s heard often from their friends in school or playing in the street – a narrative either brought from Europe or learned in the local churches, or both – did not help much in terms of opening up the Jewish cultural sphere to the wider society. The following narrative adequately depicts the situation:

> EB: (...) La nena que vivía al lado decía "y", dice "Uds. toman la sangre de Cristo", y a mí me hacía reventar, me reventaba (...) después este sentíamos mucho la cuestión del antisemitismo, te voy a decir cuando, por ejemplo los días que eran los de Semana Santa y que yo que era chica yo quería que pasen rápido esos días porque era el día en que yo había matado a Cristo, yo maté a Cristo tenía que pasar rápido porque me lo hacían notar, no, "uds. mataron".
>
> FF: ¿Decían eso?

[5] There is a vast array of critical works on Gerchunoff's *Los gauchos judíos* and his subsequent writings that deal with his stance *vis a vis* Jews' integration into the national society (Feierstein 2000; Feierstein 2008; Senkman 1983, 2000; Szurmuk; Viñas 2005; Zayas de Lima 2005).

ER: Sí, era terrible, "Uds. comen carne porque comen la carne de Cristo", yo tenía una amiga polaca que era dos años mayor que yo, yo debía tener 8, 9, 10 años no más, y me escorchaba tanto con la cuestión esta que yo soy judía, () y todas esas cosas que una vez le dije "ay, Irma acabála con toda esta historia, porque al final Cristo fue judío", era lo único que yo sabía, porque en mi casa de religión no se hablaba, pero yo sabía que Cristo fue judío entonces los cachetes de ella se pusieron rojos así de la bronca y me dijo "no te pego porque sos más chica que yo" porque yo le dije que Cristo era judío no sabía que Cristo era judío, antisemita hasta acá, entonces yo la agarré y le dije "te vas de mi casa y no volvés nunca jamás" y la eché y nunca más.

[ER: (...) The girl who lived next door said: "And", she says, "you drink the blood of Christ", and it made me burst, it shattered me (...). We felt the issue of anti-Semitism a lot, I›ll tell you when, for example, on Easter Week, I was a young girl, I wanted those days to pass quickly because those were the days when I had killed Christ, I killed Christ, it had to pass quickly because they made me feel it, "you killed".

FF: They said that?

ER: Yes, it was terrible, "you do eat meat because you eat Christ's meat". I had a Polish friend who was two years older than me, I must have been 8, 9, 10 years old, no more, and she was so annoying with that issue, that I am Jewish, and all those things that once I told her: "Oh, Irma put an end to this whole story, because in the end Christ was a Jew", it was the only thing I knew, because there was no talk about religion at home, but I knew that Christ was a Jew, then her cheeks turned red and she said to me: "I won't hit you only because you're younger than me", because I told her that Christ was a Jew, I knew that Christ was Jewish, (she was) anti-Semitic up to here [she points to her forehead with her hand], so I grabbed her and told her: "You leave my home and never come back", and I kicked her out and she never came back.][6]

Jews were allowed to integrate as citizens with full rights at the expense of leaving their cultural identity traits at home, stretching the divide between the public and the private spheres and recreating symbolically in

[6] The same situation was corroborated by another respondent who provided the full name of a Catholic priest, who happened to be the director of a Catholic school, whom he heard express the same ideas.

local terms what my respondents repeatedly termed as the "ghetto mentality", that is, Jewish life lived behind closed doors. Both the earlier layers of liberal discourse that had been the foundation of modern Argentina in the late 1800s – the idea of "melting", and the later equalization of a "true" Argentine identity with Catholic religion of the 1930s and 1940s, did much in fostering Jewish public invisibility.[7]

From "Multiculturalism" to "Interculturalism" and the Making of a Jewish-Argentine Identity

An extensive bibliography shows that the "multicultural" model of society that gained acceptance in the 1990s, while promoting general recognition of national citizenship and the right to difference, loses sight of inequality and conflict, constituents of social relations (Gutierrez Martinez 2006; McLaren 1994; Wieviorka 2006). Likewise, the prevailing conception of diversity in public policies was, and continues to be, based on a notion of essentialist and crystallized culture that only seeks to emphasize and highlight what is not conflictive in social interaction (Grimson 2011; Lacarrieu 2001; Segato 2007).

In Argentina, the valorization of plurality at the public discourse level took place simultaneously with the continuation of discriminatory practices towards certain collectives, anchored in national history. The confinement of social groups as 'communities' in the rhetoric of identity politics, all formally equal, regardless of their particular histories, their demographic composition and the specific issues that each of them deals with, expresses the vision of an abstract and static "diversity", alien to the dynamic character of social life. The still conception in terms of 'communities' defined and formed at fixed moments prevents the perception of processes that involve rearrangements within them and the possible emergence of new groups that express new forms of bonding. Studies have also shown that grounding attitude on an ethnic perspective only, makes one to lose sight of diversity within and between group as well as the scope and multiplicity of relationships possible among migrants on different locations around the world (Glick Shiller, Çağlar and Guldbransen 2006; Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2009).

From those days in which Jewishness was covered – because of a real or imagined threat or because in the public sphere everyone had to look the

[7] The issue of public invisibility in Argentine society pertains not only to Jews. Other collectives have also been subject to processes of invisibilization albeit on different grounds. A case in point is that of Afrodescendants, a collective formed in colonial times that began to be visible after the struggles carried out by activist groups in conjunction with the identity politics of the 90s (Frigerio and Lamborghini 2011; Lamborghini 2019; Lamborghini and Kleidermacher 2019).

same – to the present, much has passed, besides decades in terms of sociocultural and political processes. I will thus address recent and contemporary social and political events that intertwined with the public deployment of traditional expressions that brought about transformations in the way Jewishness and Jewish-Argentineness is experienced.

From the Inside Out

The use of public space for rallies and demonstrations has been a constant in 20th century Buenos Aires owing to the different historical moments to a greater or lesser extent. These demonstrations have served particularly to channel demands from different social agents and various ideological positions: workers, political organizations, human rights organizations, Catholic nationalist groups, farmers (Lobato 2011).

In 1983, with the restoration of a democratic rule after a seven-year military regime, government organizations began to carry out events that pursued the recovery of public space for the construction of citizenship. After a period of terror, in which all people – not only Jews – were forced to stay home, they were encouraged out. Cultural policies implemented by national and subnational administrations took the form of concerts in the open air, fairs and street markets as spaces to rebuild social ties. Those were massive meetings organized by state institutions with the explicit goal of gathering people in public locations and stimulating festive atmosphere. Artistic performance events multiplied in open venues aiming at recovery of art's role in establishing interpersonal networks. Those events later expanded their scope to embrace the honoring of multiculturalism, evidencing a turn from an ideology of national homogeneity to one of pluralism that attempted to reverse the historical neglect of the nation's diversity and which went hand in hand with the expansion of globalization and neoliberalism (Segato 2007). Such events usually resorted to folk expressions (music, dance, food, costumes) associated with different social groups, particularly but not limited to those of migrant origin, with the explicit goal of making visible and enhancing the constitutive plurality of national society (Bialogorski y Fischman 2013; Fischman 2011).

The Jewish community is one of the groups that has been usually invited to participate in those celebrations of diversity, and its institutions usually comply with the exhibition of "typical" forms, as expected.[8] Together with

[8] Interestingly, the accomplishment of these expressions of identity politics entails the conflation of groups according to criteria not necessarily shared by the collectives portrayed. A case in point is that of Afrodescendants and African migrants "celebrated" together disregarding basic and sensitive issues, like the fact that the former are Argentine citizens and have been subjected to processes of invisibilization in Argentine history (for

the encouragement to come out and partake in these celebrations as a legitimate constituent of national society, a singular incident pushed the Jewish collective out, this time not to celebrate, but rather to demand. In 1994, AMIA (Asociación Mutual Israelita Argentina)[9] was the target of a terrorist attack that left 85 dead. The AMIA bombing is considered to have been the biggest anti-Semitic attack since WW II. The attack, which has remained unsolved, has had wider implications related to geopolitical issues lasting to this very day. It signaled a moment of high visibility and the discussion of Jewish singularity, which was accomplished in a great way through performances in the public space which were, for obvious reasons, not festive. However, Jewish prominence in public discourse had for some time, as a counterpart, a retreat into the community based on security concerns. This time the fear materialized in talks in which fright was based on real attacks, but also exogenous in that the alleged origin came from afar. Not Europe, but the Middle East.

The performances related to the commemoration of the bombing and the demands for justice that followed, drew both from traditional Jewish symbols as well as from references ingrained in Argentine history. Commemorative ceremonies that were also demonstrations against the inability or unwillingness of the Justice system to find the perpetrators, blended a symbolic repertoire associated with Jewish Argentine culture and belonging. Following processes of divergence between community organizations and some of the relatives of the deceased in the attack, new forms of public demand arose, all of them in the public space and resorting to Jewish traditions and symbols like the playing of the *shofar*[10], and the utterance of Biblical phrases in Hebrew. One of the groups that promoted collective action independently from Jewish community organizations, Memoria Activa, blended Jewish expressive forms with ways of social protest rooted in the Argentine national political culture (Fischman and Pelacoff 2015).

But even before the events that took place in 1994 and detached from any kind of explicit political demand, the Argentine branch of the Hassidic movement Chabad Lubavitch based in Brooklyn[11] began to hold a *Hanukkah*[12]

a thorough analysis see Lamborghini and Kleidermacher 2019) and the latter are rather recent arrivals to the country.

[9] Argentine Jewish Mutual Aid Association.

[10] *Shofar*: the horn of a ruminant animal, usually a ram, blown as a trumpet by the ancient Hebrews in battle and during religious observances, and used in modern Judaism especially during *Rosh Hashanah* and at the end of *Yom Kippur* (Merriam Webster n.d.).

[11] On the Chabad Lubavitch movement (Jabad Lubavitch in Argentina) see Setton 2009.

[12] *Hanukkah* (Hebrew: "Dedication"), also spelled Ḥanukka, Chanukah, or Chanukkah, also called Feast of Dedication, Festival of Lights, or Feast of the Maccabees, Jewish festival that begins on Kislev 25 (in December, according to the Gregorian calendar) and is celebrated for eight days. Hanukkah reaffirms the ideals of Judaism and commemorates in particular the rededication of the Second Temple of Jerusalem by the lighting of candles on each

celebration in one of the city's main parks to which high government officials were invited as early as 1985, a practice that has continued and expanded until today. The ritual consisted in the lighting of a candelabrum on eight consecutive nights followed by music and dances. It thus began to put on stage events in open, principally to Jews and non-Jews alike, practices previously reserved for the family and community institutional sphere (in the cases of those that observed them). By doing so, it transferred to the public purview customs previously limited to the members of the community. It was a contextualization of traditional Jewish practices (of the Hassidic way of carrying them out) for new audiences, with the concomitant transformations. More than three decades later, this organization spreads *hanukkiot*[13] all over town for the season. An official from a secular Jewish organization said to me in an ironic tone: "They put a *hanukkia* in a park the same way you would put a plant pot on your terrace", meaning that they have unrestricted access to the public realm to fulfill their goals. It is a significant remark in the context of the ideological struggles within the collective taking place at present because it refers both to the unrepressed practice that allows this group to express boldly their Jewishness (according to their understanding) and also to the open access to governmental permissions to set up non-Catholic religious symbols in public locations in a country that, as mentioned earlier, had strong ideological influences of the Catholic Church.

Two decades after the Chabad Lubavitch street celebrations started, the JDC (Jewish Joint Distribution Committee), an organization based in the United States as Chabad Lubavitch albeit not identified with any of the Jewish religious currents, started to carry out street events through a program termed YOK[14] which, with some changes, still perform to this very day. They do so from an opposed standpoint, that is, instead of focusing on a religious way of understanding Jewishness based on the prescription of strict observant ways, they stress diversity.[15] They not only focus on diversity as a relevant trait of Argentine society, but also as a core feature of Judaism. As a rejoinder to Chabad's alleged literal attachment to the Sacred Texts and active proselytism of their uniform way of understanding Judaism, their motto

day of the festival. Although not mentioned in the Hebrew Scriptures, Hanukkah came to be widely celebrated and remains one of the most popular Jewish religious observances (Britannica 2020).

[13] *Hannukiot* is the plural of *hanukkia*, the nine-branch candelabrum lit during the Hanukkah holiday.

[14] According to a JDC staff member, the term 'YOK' was related to the Spanish term 'yo' ('I') and 'OK' and it was not geared at having any specific meaning. It was a kind of marketing finding, a result of giving the program a name that didn't sound too Jewish, but that at the same time sounded strange, that it was easy, short, not necessarily identified with any Jewish organization, and that it didn't have the logo of any of them.

15 On contemporary diversity within the Jewish Argentine community see Bargman 2017.

is "Judaism, your way".[16] At their peak, they covered the entire ritual calendar, but the biggest events were *Pesaj Urbano* and *Rosh Hashana Urbano* (*Urban Pesach* and *Rosh Hashana*). These celebrations consisted of multiple street activities deployed on several settings simultaneously. Various performances ranging from Klezmer[17] music to stand up shows and to debates between religious authorities and secular intellectuals on topics related to the holiday celebrated were held. There was even room for tango, an artistic expression considered to be the utmost representation of Buenos Aires culture. On the layout of a trade fair a wide variety of goods were sold: food (Eastern European – knishes, and Middle Eastern –falafel), crafts and products related to ritual life and culture defined in a broad sense (candelabra, mantels, books). There were also spaces where young instructors carried out pedagogical activities on topics related to the festival and explanatory displays. It was definitely a fair that offered what seemed to be a commodified idea of "Jewishness" based on the notion that each person can choose what to put in it, free from any kind of binding ties.[18] The program that was devised by a professional team in Argentina, was exported by way of the JDC to other countries, like Hungary and Poland.[19] The chair of the program explained it this way:

[16] "YOK is an initiative of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. It is a proposal to live Judaism your way. Without dogmas or censorship. With the certainty of being Jewish and the questioning of a living culture. It is a cultural proposal that seeks in the intellectual and artistic manifestations, an incessant reflection on the things Jewish. YOK was born with the purpose of contributing to the development of a pluralistic community by re-signifying Jewish values directed to the whole society. YOK is conformed as an integrating factor of a multicultural society from its Jewish specificity. It is an invitation to pluralism, to be Jews in this new century, understanding that traditions constitute a mark to elaborate. The project, linked to the enrichment of social and cultural life, integrates a plan of activities that will take place throughout the year: events, special activities, festivals, exhibitions, meetings in new alternative spaces. Its programming seeks to inspire the personal journey and with others towards the connection with the Jewish culture and one's own identity. The project focuses on highlighting how Jewish culture crosses Argentines and its contribution to the strengthening of social ties. YOK is in charge of a multidisciplinary team and aims to integrate people of multiple identities through cultural, artistic or social activities in an open space". (Accessed on Linkedin on 2/10/21).

[17] Klezmer music, genre of music derived from and built upon eastern European music in the Jewish tradition. The common usage of the term developed about 1980; historically, a *klezmer* (plural: *klezmorim* or *klezmers*) was a male professional instrumental musician, usually Jewish, who played in a band hired for special occasions in eastern European communities. In the 21st century, klezmer music can be heard wherever Jews have settled (Slobin 2020).

[18] I provided detailed descriptions of the events in Fischman 2013.

[19] Information about the JDC's activities was generously provided by staff members of the JDC that were interviewed at the time in which the activities described were held. The description of the celebrations was based on fieldwork participant observation done by the author on several consecutive occasions.

> "This is intended to be a sample of the much broader and more diverse Jewish culture, which is also a way of showing that it is not only the religious practices that are shown in the streets."

This simultaneous flowering of Jewish cultural expressions that was interestingly promoted by international organizations with different ideological agendas was also echoed by Jewish-Argentine institutions. The aforementioned AMIA, an organization that was founded and based in Argentina that is, rooted in national history and society, held a *Purim*[20] festival from 2005 to 2015, in the center of one of the most characteristic Jewish neighborhoods in town (although Jewish demography was dwindling).[21] The creator of this event put its rationale this way:

> "The reason for choosing the place has to do precisely with not being inside, that is, being able to open it, that it is inclusive, that it has to do with being able to tell our story, to welcome people in this diversity, in this Argentina where the Jewish community is so ingrained and not doing an endogamous thing, we, for ourselves in the ghetto, but an absolutely open thing that goes to the street, that goes to the neighbours."[22]

This public Purim festival followed a similar structured ordering since the first edition in 2004. It comprised a regular number of artistic performances that staged traditional expressions – *Klezmer* music, Israeli folk dances, and parades of children in costumes. It thus sought to reissue the carnivalesque tone of the celebration, more in terms of an illustration of the traditional carnival mood than in any sort of reversal of the established order (Jewish or otherwise). The word by word reading of the Scroll of Esther – one of the ritual prescriptions for the festival – was replaced by an oral version in which the plot was kept, but filled in successive renderings with allusions to national and international political issues (Fischman 2013). Intertwined with the performance of Eastern European and Israeli folk aesthetic expressions, speeches by the president of AMIA, its Director of Culture and the Israeli ambassador elaborated verbal art forms that brought the Purim narrative from Persia to the streets of Buenos Aires with a stop in the contemporary State of

[20] Purim (Hebrew: "Lots"), English Feast of Lots, a joyous Jewish festival commemorating the survival of the Jews who, in the 5th century BCE, were marked for death by their Persian rulers. The story is related in the biblical Book of Esther (Britannica 2021).

[21] In 2015, in what is the last recorded event, the celebration was moved to the northern sector of the city, closer to where Chabad Lubavitch began to hold its celebrations in the 1980s.

[22] GW, interviewed on 8/9/11.

Israel by way of the organization's Zionist ideology. Evil Haman, the minister of King Ahasuerus who plotted against the Jews in the Scroll of Esther, could be alternatively Saddam Hussein or the Iranian president. The city of Shushan, where the events told in the Purim story was once equated to Teheran. And, enacting the same notion, the festival was used to voice the official Jewish community rejection of Argentine diplomatic ties with Iran and the government's proposed agreement with that nation and state whose diplomats were accused of taking part in the attack on the Jewish institution, in ways that anticipated a tough stance against the national government administration at the time (the one that finished its term in 2015) and the subsequent association with the administration that followed.

By the turn of the century*, Pesach*, *Rosh Hashana*, *Hanukkah*, *Purim*, all the Jewish festivals usually observed with varying degrees of compliance at home and in congregations, began to have some sort of equivalent correlate in parks, plazas and streets of Buenos Aires and there were other organizations, besides the Hassidic one mentioned, involved in the staging of the events. Some of the celebrations have had a steady permanence in time, and have even evolved to encompass a growing number of locations. Some others had been performing for some time and waned later. At first glance, these festivals were akin to the current celebrations of "diversity" and "multiculturalism" set up by government organizations. However, they were – and are – more than that. They are based not only on the celebration of a diverse society predicated on more or less substantive terms as is usually the case in the official celebrations in which there is a selection of expressive modes (e.g. music, dance, food), which are explicitly tied to a social collective.[23] They have been built on complex preceding cultural frameworks – among them folk traditions – that in the present openness to diversity in general and to Jewishness in particular find the context to be put on display, and to generate new dialogues within and outside the collective.

In the following section I delve into the implications of such appraisal of cultural pluralism for the Jewish-Argentine population in terms of their visibility in the public sphere.

From the Private to the Public and Back

All these celebratory events express and perform particularism in relation to the national society that now not only tolerates cultural diversity but also promotes it as a positive value. However, if that was the only goal of the Jewish organizations, partaking of the innumerable official celebrations of "multiculturalism", like *Día del Inmigrante* (Immigrant's Day), *Feria*

[23] On official celebrations organized by government see Bialogorski and Fischman 2013.

de las Colectividades (Communities Fair), *Teatro por la diversidad* (Theatre for diversity), to name just a few at national and subnational levels, would be enough. But that is not the case, since coupled with those events the Jewish collective stages other events that have some aesthetic similarities in principle, but that prove to address different issues.

Public sites have become the locus of a discursive struggle for establishing the parameters of Jewishness and Jewish-Argentine identity. Variability within the collective always existed. Ideological differences have always been part of Jewish history. In modern times, Zionists vs. Bundists, Yiddishists vs. Hebrewists, Zionists vs. the promoters of *doikayt* (hereness, that is, that Jewish life had to be rooted in the places where Jews lived) have been some of the pairs of opposing positions that, on different grounds, have expressed the groups' pluralism. In Argentina, ideological conflicts within the collective have been part of the process of Jewish-Argentine becoming and they have materialized in abundance of institutions: schools, recreational clubs, and libraries with their specific orientations.[24] What is new is the location where that internal diversity is enacted now, and the expressive forms selected to be displayed. Some of the street events that were staged in the first decade of the century lasted a number of years and later vanished; at the same time, others merged to become a different expression, while some others are extant today, albeit they may have changed their format. Paraphrasing the respondent's metaphor cited above, the terrace seems to have expanded to the streets, and it holds , a jungle full of competing trees rather than a plant pot. Instead of a crystallized, static vision of the culture represented, as is the case in the official celebrations of "diversity", all these Jewish Argentine festivals and demonstrations express the religious, political and cultural tensions of the Jewish-Argentine community. Public space appears as locus where internal differentiations based on various conceptions of "Jewishness" and the ideologies that shape them acquire new expression. Various community institutions use shared public space to voice conflicting views about religious beliefs and cultural practices to an audience that is usually absent in those contexts, or as in the terminology used by Jewish institutions, are "unaffiliated". Thus, public sites become both loci for the affirmation of Jewishness as an expression of diversity in a multicultural society, and a place for the modeling of a plural Jewish identity. One of the staff members of the JDC put it this way:

> "There are three different criteria, first, Jewishness in the public space to lower the level of prejudice, second, Jewishness in

[24] Some of these ideological issues and their consequences in terms of the institutional shaping of the Jewish Argentine collective have been discussed in many works, among others in Avni 1991; Feierstein 1999; Kalczewiak 2020; Mirelman 1988.

> the street together with the civic culture in general, and third, an attempt to tell the (Jewish local) institutions that there is no point in being afraid of bringing the Jewish into the public space."

Once the diversity and some of the internal conflicts within the Jewish Argentine community that found expression in the way traditional practices were performed for the public eye has been accounted for, it is productive to focus on the similarities among the different endeavors. What were the common ideas that made all of them attempt to reach out for new audiences in public spaces? For all the differences performed in public that express the internal diversity of the community, a cultural core, which is by no means essential but historical, guides all their present undertakings. It is the notion of *continuity* and, coupled with it, the development of strategies to accomplish it.

None of the celebrations held in public are intended to replace the rituals prescribed for each holiday by Jewish law that may or may not be carried out within the community boundaries since, as already said, the Jewish collective has always been quite diverse in the form religious practices have been carried out. However, individually, they have different effects. In the ones performed by Chabad Lubavitch, to this very day, the prescribed ritual is actually *fulfilled*. It has efficacy and the precept is considered to have been observed by attending the lighting of the *Hanukkah* candle in a park, even if a non-Jewish politician light it, as it was always the case when local authorities and members of Congress were invited to take part. In the festival that AMIA staged for nearly ten years, the religious ritual was *represented*. The guiding idea was to *show* with a pedagogical end. The performance of the celebration had the explicit goal of constructing memory through repetition, which is at the core of ritual practices and which was made explicit once and again during the celebrations. "We have to keep telling the story", the speaker said once on the stage and she repeated it on other occasions. The Scroll of Esther, which is traditionally read aloud as part of the prescribed celebration of the holiday was hence relayed in an orally recreated version that kept up with the written storyline. Some of the components that have historically shaped the celebration like costumes and music – not the drinking – were incorporated to the event. Following the discursive line that AMIA held in the 1910s, an open political statement against the treaty that the national government was promoting in order to put on trial the purported perpetrators of the 1994 terrorist attack, was also part of the events. A stage, even one set up for a celebration, was used to make a case against the national government, allegedly on behalf of all the community.

In the events staged by the JDC, in contrast with the festivals set up by Chabad, the ritual is *alluded to*. The focus is neither on the performance of the rituals, nor on the displaying of *one* way to perform them, but rather

on the presentation of different and alternative ways of "how to" celebrate a festival that one is not obliged to observe in private life but rather entitled to celebrate in public because times have changed and now cultural particularity is no longer something to hide. In that respect, the JDC´s celebrations have a pedagogic goal too. As one of the organizers told me, "Some don't know because they didn't see it in their homes, or because they are children of mixed marriages". The street festival is presented thus as a guide, but open to the mingling of Jewish traditions with other cultural expressions. The format itself – a fair with numerous stands as opposed to a ceremony or a ritual in which there is a clear divide between the stage and the audience – addresses and enacts the concept of diversity.

As one of the organizers says: "(...) The 'Jewish' is transformed into something open, because the 'Jewish' and the 'public' were relationships that were not well developed" (DF). This statement corroborates a common idea, shared by the attendees to the celebrations, that Jews have always been a closed, self-isolated group. When asked about the reason why they thought it relevant to carry out these street celebrations, some of the answers I got were the following: "A gathering in the open air is better than something closed. And apart from that, gentiles can see it too, so that they know what we do"; "So that they don't hate us as much"; "Because Jews are very closed, we close ourselves a lot…"; "But the problem is: it is not just anti-Semitism, the problem is the closedness of the community itself to the outside." In these statements, anti-Semitism, which is acknowledged as an existing fact, does not come from the outer world, but it is rather the consequence of Jewish reluctance to interact with gentiles.

Conclusions

The results of the recent decades' going out to the public sphere seem to have had unexpected consequences for the Jewish collective. The different modalities of the expressions performed: fulfillment, representation and allusion, have allowed for the creative deployment of Jewish identity traits in public, in sharp contrast to the experience of past generations. They have also opened new venues for the practice of religious rituals and associated traditions, as well as for the reflecting upon them. They have thus contributed to the explicit goal of Jewish organizations – to establish a cultural continuity by setting up ties to past practices – and they have allowed for a comprehensive expression of the collective's diversity. However, facilitated by the openness for the possibility to express Jewishness in public since the 1980s has provided, the open siding of the largest Jewish Argentine community organizations with the administration that run the country from 2015 to 2019,

which was apparent in multiple ways, from public official statements to the passage of staff members to governmental positions, to name only a couple of examples, has opened new rifts within the collective. Although brought to the public light, the sociocultural and political diversity within the community, which found expression in the performances in open venues, was overlooked at the time of aligning the Jewish community institutions with the administration that ran the nation in those years. Therefore, internal conflicts are now not only grounded on religious issues (differences in the way rituals are to be performed, for instance), but rather on ideological and political ones. Consequently, a need has arisen for the expression of forms of being "Jewish-Argentine", unvoiced in any of the public performances analyzed. The consequences of the overlooking of the plural social, cultural and political persuasions within the collective have brought about the founding of other organizations that also claim to embody a continuity with a Jewish past and to represent the collective. They draw upon other traditions and symbols, like the reappraising of Yiddish language as opposed to the neglect it had endured in earlier years (Fischman 2011), or from the same ones but with other readings of them, following the interpretations anticipated in the celebrations performed in open venues. They too display or voice them in public, far from the days in which Jewishness was concealed from the gentiles' eyes. They thus expand already institutionally established and unquestioned ways of being Jewish-Argentine, a process that anticipates further developments in the years to come.

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Tradiciones judías en un contexto latinoamericano. La producción de una diáspora intercultural en Argentina: desde la noción de "crisol" hasta las políticas de identidad contemporáneas

Fernando Fischman

Resumen

Este artículo explora los cambios socioculturales y políticos en Argentina que permitieron el paso de la práctica de rituales judíos en privado a la exhibición de formas expresivas tradicionales en público. Centrándome en las narrativas personales de los hijos de inmigrantes judíos a Argentina, referidas a sus experiencias de infancia en los años 30 y 40 y en las celebraciones de festivales que se realizan actualmente en las calles de Buenos Aires, analizo las implicaciones de la contextualización de las prácticas tradicionales, originalmente realizadas dentro de los límites del colectivo, a su exposición abierta a la sociedad en general.

En primer lugar, presento algunas de las manifestaciones narrativas sobre los períodos anteriores y contemporáneos a la Segunda Guerra Mundial en Argentina que recopilé en la década de 1990. Luego, examino los eventos de performance callejera que comenzaron a ser escenificados en las últimas décadas del siglo XX por organizaciones judías, en conjunto con celebraciones derivadas de las políticas de identidad que comenzaron a implementarse en esos años. Contrasto así las narrativas sobre la expresión pública de la identidad judía en la primera mitad del siglo XX con las expresiones discursivas contemporáneas, a través de las cuales se expone explícitamente la cultura judía. La noción de *performance* proporciona el marco conceptual, y el análisis se centra en las implicaciones sociales y políticas de dicha puesta en escena para la conformación de nuevas formas expresivas, relacionadas tanto con una cultura judía diaspórica precedente como con los diálogos interculturales realizados en la sociedad argentina contemporánea.

Palabras-clave: políticas de la identidad, judíos argentinos, folklore judeo-argentino, diversidad, *performance*.

Јеврејске традиције у латиноамеричком контексту – стварање интеркултурне дијаспоре у Аргентини: од појма 'котла за претапање' ('melting pot') до савремених политика идентитета

Фернандо Фишман

Резиме

У раду се истражују социокултурне и политичке промене у Аргентини које су омогућиле прелазак с практиковања јеврејских ритуала у приватности на јавно представљање традиционалних облика изражавања. Усредсредивши се на личне приче деце јеврејских усељеника у Аргентину о њиховим искуствима из детињства током тридесетих и четрдесетих година 20. века, и на прославе свечаности које се сада изводе на улицама Буенос Ајреса, анализирам последице контекстуализације традиционалних пракси, које су првобитно извођене у склопу граница колектива да би се отвориле према друштву у целини.

Започињем представљањем неких прича о збивањима у Аргентини у периоду пре и за време Другог светског рата, које сам сакупио током деведесетих година 20. века. Потом, испитујем приредбе извођене на улици које су истовремено почеле да на сцену постављају јеврејске организације, у спрези с прославама изведеним из политика идентитета које су биле установљене тих година. Стога упоређујем приче о изражавању јеврејског идентитета у јавности у првој половини 20. века, и савремене дискурзивне експресије посредством којих је јеврејска култура изричито учињена видљивом. Појам 'перформанса' даје аналитички оквир, и анализа је усмерена на то какве су друштвене и политичке последице таквог инсценирања за обликовање нових изражајних форми, повезаних како с ранијом јеврејском културом у дијаспори, тако и с интеркултурним дијалозима оствареним у савременом аргентинском друштву.

Кључне речи: политике идентитета, аргентински Јевреји, јеврејско-аргентински фолклор, различитост, извођење.

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Elements of Slovenian National Consciousness in Relation to the Mother Country and the Latin American Culture in Narrative Materials Documented among Slovenians in Argentina

Barbara Ivančič Kutin

The article is based on a month-long field research conducted on three locations among Slovenians in Argentina in 2019, with the aim of documenting their (folk) narrative material. Most of the Slovenians cooperating as informants in this research are emigrants who settled in Argentina after the Second World War as political refugees, or their descendants. Immediately after arrival, this Slovene community established Slovenian centres called "Slovenian Homes", which took care of the education and cultivation of the Slovenian language and culture (and thus identity), a role they have preserved to this day. The analysis determines which Slovenian elements most often appear in the narrative material at the level of language and "traditional" culture in relation to the native homeland of Slovenia and to Latin American culture, and which distinctions between cultures are most emphasized.

Keywords: Slovenian emigrants, Argentina, Slovenes, narratives, culture, folklore, identity, diaspora.

Introduction

This contribution on the elements of the Slovenian national consciousness in relation to the mother country and to the Latin American culture of Slovenians in Argentina, as it manifests through folk narrative there, is based on narrative materials documented as part of field research among members of Slovenian communities in Argentina in 2019.[1] The notion of "narrative ma-

[1] The research was partially supported by the Slovenian Research Agency, the research program "Cultural Spaces and Practices: Ethnology and Folklore Studies", 1 January 2015 – 31 December 2021 (P6-0088) and the project "Promocija slovenske znanosti v tujini

terial" here comprises storytelling or the oration of stories (requiring, among other, at least a minimal story arc and aesthetic function), as well as conversation taking place on the level of daily verbal interaction, e.g. memories, narratives of work and way of life etc. (Ivančič Kutin 2017: 66).[2] In terms of content these are folklore genres (legends, anecdotes, comical stories, counting rhymes, prayers, proverbs…), but also narrations of personal memories, experiences, perspectives and customs. The narrative units differ in length – from brief statements to fragmentary accounts and longer stories.

The purpose of the research was to gather materials for two sequential goals: 1) collecting folklore and ethnographical materials for the repository of the narrative tradition of Slovenians across the world, being compiled by the archive of the Institute of Slovenian Ethnology of the Research Centre of Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts (RC SASA); 2) In the next step, selecting from the documented material in particular folklore (partly also memory) narratives to be published in a book issued as part of the *Glasovi* [*Voices*] book collection. This collection represents the biggest published body of Slovenian folklore narrative material, encompassing some 22,000 narrative units within the 57 books published to date. The project of this collection, under the management of its initiator and editor prof. dr. Marija Stanonik, has been running continuously since the year 1988 (Ivančič Kutin 2020a). Since its inception, the collection has maintained a unified methodological concept: it is organized according to a geographical scheme, with each book covering its respective part of the territory of the Slovenian ethnic space. The books encompass narratives from "present day", meaning those recorded among the people in contemporary day or up to 50 years ago at the most. The narratives are published in regional dialect, most often using simplified phonetic transcription which involves the cooperation of dialectologists. In terms of genre, the books comprise fairy tales and legends of all types (historical, mythological religious, etiological, social, humorous...), anecdotes and memorates. Each narrative in the book incorporates all the available metadata (on the narrator, researcher, place and date of the record), a list of appearing dialect words, some also have an enclosed CD with sound recordings of selected narratives. Approximately 3/5 of the Slovenian ethnic space in the Republic of Slovenia and living abroad (minorities in Austria, Italy, Hungary, and Croatia) already has its dedicated book, while activities to record the rest continue (Stanonik 2020). The collection also plans to publish books of the narrative folklore of Slovenians across the world, to this purpose

2019" [Promotion of Slovenian science abroad 2019], and partially by Urad za Slovence po svetu in zamejtvu Republike Slovenije [Government of the Republic of Slovenia for Slovenians Abroad].

[2] For detailed differences between daily spoken transmission and storytelling see Ivančič Kutin 2004.

some materials were in the past decade documented among Slovenians in the USA (2011), Serbia (2014), Germany (2015), and Argentina (2019). In all these countries, documenting was conducted according to the fundamental criteria of the collection *Glasovi* (Ivančič Kutin 2020a).

In addition to both the above stated goals, the narrative material collected from Slovenians in Argentina and its analyses will also be included into the Argentinean research on immigrant narrative folklore in Argentina, led by prof. dr. Maria Ines Palleiro at the University of Buenos Aires (see Palleiro 2020: 40; 2021).

The Slovenian Community in Argentina (Concise Overview)

By the unofficial assessment of the Office of the Government of the Republic of Slovenia for Slovenians Abroad, over 30,000 Slovenians or their descendants live in South America, a decisive majority of these in Argentina.[3] The first Slovenian expatriates began emigrating to Argentina in the second half of the 19th century, populating the Entre Rios province as farmers based on an international agreement between Argentina and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. These were economic migrants. In the period between the two world wars, they were joined by political migrants as well.[4] At that time, the first Slovenian associations were being formed in Argentina, under the auspices of various political camps with different cultural education programs, political activity and press (Žigon 1998; Žitnik Serafin 2020). A characteristic of migrant waves up to the Second World War was that they had not cultivated the Slovenian identity in a manner as organized and continuous as was the case with post-war political refugees (Žigon 2001).[5] Their descendants began searching for their roots and the rediscovery of the Slovenian ethno-national identity only after the independence of Slovenia, in 1991.[6] The cause for this "forgetting" were circumstances in Argentina – the state was then in need of Argentinean citizens, of Argentine identity no matter their origin, and so the stressing of any other national belonging was undesirable, even dangerous. Concealment of distinct ethnic properties like the language facilitated integration into a new environment. The use of Slovenian language was thus limited to communication among relatives and acquaintances.

[3] See: https://www.gov.si/teme/slovenci-v-juzni-ameriki/ (15.06.2021).
[4] Political emigration is linked to the fascist occupation of the Primorska region of Slovenia during the two wars.
[5] Political emigration after World War II due to the communist regime in Yugoslavia.
[6] Some of their descendants learn Slovenian language at Slovenian language courses within the National University of Buenos Aires, La Plata and Cordoba, and at the Slovenian Catholic University in Cordoba (cf. Lorbek 2019; Kračun 2019).

Quite the contrary holds true for the political refugees who emigrated to Argentina after the Second World War, with the so-called third migration current. To these, their national, meaning Slovenian identity, was among their most important values and they consequently nurtured it and systematically transferred it to their descendants, especially rigorously in the linguistic (use of Slovenian language) and religious aspects, as well as in other domains of Slovenian culture. Thus, Slovenian dishes (e.g. the *potica* cake or the *kranjska klobasa* – Carniolan sausage), symbols (Mount Triglav, the Slovenian flag), and music (choir singing of folk and original songs, festivities with the so-called Slovenian popular-folk music) were to the political refugees powerful ethnic identification attributes. The post-war immigrants to Argentina created a Slovenian community that is far more interconnected and organized compared to those of the preceding two migration waves (Molek 2019). The foundations of the social cohesion of these Slovenians trace back to times before emigration: from the end of the Second World War in 1945 all the way up to the approval of their migration to Argentina, the political refugees namely lived in refugee camps in Italy[7] and Austria, where they had fled in the wake of the Second World War from the communist regime ideology in Yugoslavia. Since these refugees included many priests and other intellectuals, they organized a school alongside religious and cultural activities in their first weeks of life in the camps (Švent 2007; Jaklitsch 2018; Repič 2006). In the course of several years of camp stay, strong ties were formed between those sharing a common refugee fate, catalyzing the formation of the "Slovenian Homes" immediately upon their arrival to Argentina. Initially, their main mission was assistance to new Slovenian immigrants, while later they focused on the connecting role of Slovenians in the care for the preservation of Slovenian values held as the community's own: language, Catholic faith, protection and transmission of Slovenian consciousness – the Slovenian (national) identity, goals eventually streamlined into a focus on the preservation and transmission of identity (Repič 2006:144–150; Molek 2019: 132).

Members of this Slovenian community have since 1991 (or since Slovenia's independence) maintained close contacts with Slovenia, meeting in Argentina at religious rites and holidays, actively cooperating in cultural activities, events and ceremonies, and socializing. Regular extracurricular classes of Slovenian language and culture are being held on Saturdays (Molek 2019). Upon successful conclusion of the Slovenian Saturday School (attended throughout primary and secondary education, some 12 years in total), graduates visit Slovenia and attend a summer school of Slovenian language in Ljubljana. Among the younger generation, there are observable trends of departure from the traditional patterns of Slovenian identity, reflected for example in increasing rates of mixed marriages, which influences active Slove-

[7] The first left in 1947, while the final group departed only in 1954 (Žigon 1998: 53).

nian language skills, or tendencies to gravitate towards different, more modern forms of socialization, entertainment, creativity (e.g. rock music) etc. The Slovenian community has been increasingly tolerant of these changes as it does not wish to turn youth away from participation through overly rigorous demands and expectations (Molek n. d.). Slovenians in Argentina have since 1948 been publishing, once or twice monthly, the gazette *Svobodna Slovenija – glasilo Slovencev v Argentini*[8] [*Free Slovenia – the Bulletin of Slovenians in Argentina*] featuring notices and reports, news from the events and activities of the Slovenian Homes in Argentina, interviews and articles featuring various Slovenian content, and summaries of curated political, sports, cultural and other current news from Slovenia. For over 3 decades running, Slovenians in Argentina can listen to a weekly live radio broadcast *Okence v Slovenijo*[9] [*Window into Slovenia*], hosted and produced since its beginnings by radio host Mirko Vasle; the show presents events in Slovenia and among Slovenians in Argentina, featuring live Slovenian guests and telephone interviews. The show is bilingual, in Slovenian and in Spanish, so that it also reaches listeners who do not speak Slovenian (OS 8: 4. 5. 2020).

Field Research in Argentina: Methodology

The subject of Slovenian migrations into South America throughout history, and of the life, associations, activities, engagement and other aspects of the diasporas there, especially in Argentina, is illuminated by numerous publications in the field of migrations in the context of (political) and cultural history, social and cultural anthropology, ethnology, sociology, historiography, including several comprehensive and from various perspectives elaborate science monographs (e.g. Žigon 1998 and 2001; Repič 2006; Molek 2019; dedicated chapters also in Kalc, Hladnik Milharčič and Lukšič 2020); as well as science monographs addressing fine arts (Toplak 2008) and literary creativity (Žitnik and Glušič 1999). The Slovenian language (transmission, modern use, identity element) in Slovenians in South America, especially in Argentina, was examined closely by Zvone Žigon (1998), and in Brazil by Manca Klun (2021). Verbal folklore, such as folk prose, short folk forms and folk song, has not been treated with particular focus until now.[10] Yet the narrative materials that might be classified as folklore[11] may be identified among

[8] See: http://svobodnaslovenija.com.ar/. Next to the printed edition, a web edition has recently been made available. The website of the publication also provides a complete archive of all printed editions. The first one was published on 01.01.1948.

[9] See: http://www.okenceslo.com.ar/.

[10] Likewise, no dedicated studies on other types of folklore (dance, music) were conducted, with the exception of mentions in certain articles (e.g. Kunej and Kunej 2016).

[11] Folklore materials in principle include stories the informant is narrating "from second

the many published research cases leaning on narration techniques (among them auto/biographical story),[12] and so folklore materials are found in many diverse publications issued by the emigrants themselves within the framework of the Slovenian Homes, the Slovenian Cultural Action and other organizations, as well as individually. Among other, the *Svobodna Slovenija* bulletin keeps a regular column titled *Za razmislek in nasmeh* [*Contemplations and Humour*] presenting aphorisms, quotes, proverbs, jokes…

Field documenting of narrative materials among Slovenians in Argentina, forming the basis of the present contribution, was conducted in October 2019 in Slovenian communities in the cities Buenos Aires, San Carlos de Bariloche, and Mendoza. In total 95 informants agreed to participate. Members of the Slovenian community are descendants of immigrants arriving after the Second World War (some were also born in Slovenia), among them a greatest share of second-generation immigrants, some third-generation, with smaller numbers of individuals of the fourth generation. Participating informants, with a few exceptions, spoke fluent Slovenian language, though most of them were born in Argentina; most of them first visited Slovenia as adults, while some have not been there yet. The descendants of the so-called Old Slovenians from the first and second migration wave were not reached by the research, with the exception of several individuals. I encountered some at the lectureship of Slovenian language at the University of Buenos Aires where they are learning Slovene; of these, two informants participated in English or Spanish. In the vicinity of Mendoza, I conducted an interview with a descendant of Slovenes in Italy from Veneto, communicating in Italian.[13] I reached informants for the research through individuals engaged with relevant social happenings,[14] or at public lectures (at the faculty and in the Slovenian communities), where I explained the purpose of collecting the materials, outlining my work and playing recordings that gave potential informants an idea of the type of content I was looking for.

The collection of materials continues sporadically, at meetings with individual Argentinean Slovenians as they visit or return; the informants also send additional materials at times through the WhatsApp application or by e-mail.

hand", or from tradition that was present, or still is present, in the family and other social and interest groups (stories of all kinds, prayers, counting ryhmes, riddles, other folk genres), in broader context also personal narratives and memorata on various practices of the transmission of knowledge and behavioural patterns, manifestation of culture etc. (Stanonik 2001).

[12] Regarding the biographical method on the example of Slovenian emigrants to Australia, see Čebulj-Sajko 2001.

[13] Slovenian emigrants arriving from the territories of the Slovenian minority in Italy were in the official registers listed as Italian imigrants (see Valentinčič 2017).

[14] Many individuals assisted me greatly in my search for informants, and I owe them all a sincere debt of gratitude.

The research was conducted using ethnographical methods of direct participatory observation, and the method of the semi-structured guided narrative interview (guided conversation). In circumstances of understanding it will perhaps be impossible to encounter the informant again, this method has proven itself as the most suitable (Russel 1991: 203, 204, 2015, cf. also Žigon 2001: 16, 17). In this, the biographical method was utilized in particular. Interviews were done as informally as possible, where most attention was directed at those materials closest to the informant, more familiar, which became evident on the spot and as conversation progressed. The main characteristic of all the interviews was thus improvisation within the broadly set goal of acquiring oral narrative, in particular folklore materials. Informants were guided into the narration of memories and verbal folklore, especially short folklore forms and narrative folklore. Interviews were documented in audio technique, with photographs taken during or afterwards, field notes recorded of current observations, lists of content, and metadata of informant meetings (location and time of the record, data about the informants). Interviews or conversations with informants were conducted individually, in small groups within families, and several times in a group (e.g., after a lecture), which proved to be especially productive. Meetings, both group and individual, were generally longer than one hour. Some of the participating informants contributed only a short counting rhyme or joke, while others shared several longer stories (cf. Ivančič Kutin 2020b).

Based on the personal experience of direct participation in the storytelling, on the graphic field records that were produced simultaneously, and on the materials that have already been transcribed from the voice records, it is possible to approximately assess the most widely represented content and genres of the documented materials: among the stories most frequent are memorates and personal narratives, often containing social themes connected to the historical context (refugee existence), and stories about the Slovenian customs and habits, both "from back home", meaning in Slovenia, as well as in the new homeland of the expatriates. A distinct segment appears in the form of funny stories on language interference/misunderstanding, which arise e.g., due to insufficient knowledge of the majority language. Some of these are first-person experiential accounts, but the vast majority of them are narratives familiar to the broader Slovenian community in various interpretations and thus in the domain of verbal folklore.[15] While some recorded memory narratives are longer, the folklore narratives are mostly short, often fragmentary. Long, complex folklore narratives appear rarely (though sev-

[15] These type of stories were also shaped into a drama text titled *Gringo, šaljiv prizor* [*Gringo, a Funny Scene*], authored by Marjan Willenpart, typescript, without date), performed multiple times across the various stages of the Slovenian Homes in Argentina.

eral do!), since it is difficult, given the time constraints, to develop a relation and atmosphere suitable for the narration of folk tales like legends and fairy tales during the first (and often single) meeting with the informant. On the other hand, the amount of short folklore forms collected is quite extensive as counting and children's rhymes, jokes, proverbs or sayings, even old prayers, are easiest to recall during brief interviews. A more precise evaluation of the contents, type and volume of material will naturally only be possible following its full transcription and analysis, encompassing some 50 hours of (unedited, rough) sound recordings (Ivančič Kutin 2020b).

Views on Individual and Majority Culture as Reflected in the Narrative Material

The cultural identity of Slovenians in Argentina consists of multiple elements (unconscious behavioural patterns, food, music, social life, language), that are strongly intertwined and cannot be properly examined independently (Žigon 1998: 106). The main identity symbol of the Slovenian national consciousness among Slovenians in Argentina, specifically those involved with the research, is certainly the active knowledge of Slovenian language, which also tends to be the first and primary language they learned as children. In contemporary day the Slovenian language thus remains, as it was observed also in the 90s of the 20th century by Zvone Žigon (1998), the most visible and essential component of national identity, being the means of communication between the individual and the external world, of the expression of personal experiences and the messaging of thinking to other members of the community (Žigon 1998: 112). The language is a "tool" for the expression of many aspects of identity connected to verbal communication, such as various segments of artistic (re)creation, e.g. the singing of Slovenian songs, theatre activities, literary engagement and, not least, (folklore) storytelling.

Žigon (1998) in his research treats the language of the Argentinean Slovenians according to the immigrant generation:

> Vsi pripadniki prve generacije političnih izseljencev so ohranili svoj jezik v popolnosti. Po večini so sicer opazne narečne značilnosti, predvsem dolenjskih, deloma gorenjskih in centralnih narečij pa tudi rahla arhaičnost jezika, ki je predvsem posledica izoliranosti od vplivov (srbščine, hrvaščine, italijanščine, nemščine, predvsem pa angleščine), kakršnim je bila v zadnjih 5 desetletjih izpostavljena Slovenija (Žigon 1998: 67).
>
> [All representatives of the first generation of political emigrants preserved their language to its full extent. Observable are

> dialect characteristics, in particular of the Dolenjska dialect, partly also Gorenjska and Central Slovenian, as well as a certain archaic language, attributed in greatest part to the consequences of isolation from the influences (of Serbian, Croatian, Italian, German, but especially English language) to which Slovenia has been exposed to in the past five decades (Žigon 1998: 67).]

In second-generation immigrants, Žigon establishes the characteristic phenomenon of a "double" personal and national identity. Primary socialization in this generation was Slovenian in character, since most of their childhood was spent in a primarily Slovenian environment, with many only becoming familiar with Spanish language upon entry to pre-school or primary school. The double nature of their national identity manifests upon the visit of their parents' homeland, which reveals that there is yet an Argentine component to their identity (because of the language, among other). In the second generation namely, one sees a highly characteristic "dialect", which due to the influence of Spanish sounds markedly melodious, with certain different accents in specific words so as to resemble Primorska (littoral) dialects of Slovenian with some additions of the Gorenjska and Dolenjska dialects, while Slovenian syntax also presents specific issues for this population (Žigon 1998: 68, 69). Third-generation immigrants, although still speaking fluent Slovenian among themselves, frequently use Spanish in their personal communication within the immigrant community as well, especially during sports activities and casual socialising; a switch to the Slovenian language in communication happens when people are approached by a Slovenian educator, teacher, priest or the like, or in conversation with older members of the community. The Slovenian vocabulary range of this generation depends on the amount of attention directed towards Slovenian socialization by their parents. In the preceding generation, this process was considered self-evident, whereas in those parents who were themselves born in Argentina, it requires considerably greater conscious effort (Žigon 1998: 70).

The current state of Slovenian spoken language among the Argentinean Slovenians, as I can infer from my field materials of 2019, is quite similar to that described by Zvone Žigon (1988) over 20 years ago; though it should be added that most of the informants of the present research are representatives of second-generation immigrants (generally born after the Second World War in Argentina to two ethnic Slovenian parents). Besides the markedly Romanic melodic of their enunciation, their Slovenian language is not particularly strongly marked by dialect; it does include vernacular characteristic also of the domestic colloquial versions of Slovenian language, whereas there are noticeably fewer slangisms and anglicisms as currently preponderant in modern colloquial Slovenian language in Slovenia or abroad. Spanish

vocabulary is common for the denomination of objects unfamiliar to Slovenian language (e.g. *mate, asado*), or those unfamiliar to the initial Slovenian immigrants like *colectivo* (city bus), *heladera* (refrigerator), freezer, *lavarropa* (washer). So-called "proper" Slovenian is consciously nurtured in all forms of public communication, which is understandable as it is only in this way that language, a small memetic island within a great majority culture thousands of kilometres away from the homeland, can act as a cohesive phenomenon.

In addition to language, an important component of Slovenian identity or consciousness is the preservation of customs and habits – both in terms of the liturgical year as well as life cycle, cuisine etc. In coexistence with other nations and the use of Spanish language in all interactions outside of the Slovenian community, the culture of Slovenians in Argentina is intertwined with Latin American cultural elements. Through the immigrant narratives, though, more or less sharp delineations between the Slovenian and another, the culture of Argentina, can be observed. The latter is embraced in certain segments yet at times declaratively distanced from by the interviewees, though considered familiar (e.g., various local habits, superstitions etc.). Even though ethnic Slovenians represent only a small share of the Argentinean population,[16] traces of their presence, activity and culture are also found in the broader society – among the "other Argentineans", and also in physical space (e.g., buildings designed by Slovenian architects, names of streets, mountains, high-profile individuals in Argentinean team and individual sports…).

Materials: Narratives Told by Informants

Views concerning the individual and majority culture and identity of the Slovenians in Argentina, as revealed through their narrative materials, are in the following part illustrated with concrete narratives.[17] Classifying these into independent content groups is practically impossible, as several types of content tend to appear in a single narrative unit.

On Slovenian Identity and the Slovenian Language

Škof Trobec, tudi naša družina izhaja iz njegovega rodu, je znan po enem stavku, ki ga je izrekel v Ljubljani. On je peljal eno skupino Slovencev

[16] Estimates for 2019: population of 44,938,712 of which 86.4 % are European (mostly Italian and Spanish), 8 % are Mestizo, 4 % are Arab, Jewish or East Asian, 1.6 % are Amerindian (WS: Wikipedia).

[17] With the exceptions of the stories of sisters Ivanka and Francka Trobec and Jernej Tomazin, published in the journal *Domači kraji*, the compendium of Občine – Dobrova – Polhov Gradec (see Ivančič Kutin 2021), the remaining narrative units have not been published thus far.

iz Amerike v Slovenijo na katoliški shod, ki je bil pred prvo vojno. In je rekel: »Slovenija je naša mati, Amerika pa naša nevesta.« To so njegove besede. S tem je povedal, da imamo izseljenci dve ljubezni. Tudi naši otroci imajo dve domovini. Tukaj so se rodili, vsa dediščina je pa iz Slovenije (UV 6; UV 7).

[Bishop Trobec,[18] an ancestor of our family line, he's famous for a sentence uttered in Ljubljana. He was taking a group of Slovenians from America to Slovenia to a Catholic convention, it was before the First World War, and he told them: "Slovenia is our mother, and America is our bride." Those were his words. By this he expressed how us expatriates have two intimate identifications. Our children, too, have two homelands. They were born here but all their heritage is Slovenian (OS 6; OS 7).]

* * *

Ko smo prišli mi v šolo, nismo znali čisto nič po špansko. Pa je učiteljica poklicala očeta v šolo in naročila, da naj z otroki govori špansko. Pa je rekel: »Jaz ne znam, se bodo že v šoli naučili« (UV 2).

[Coming to school we didn't know a word of Spanish. The teacher called my dad over, and she told him to speak Spanish to us kids. He replied: "I can't speak properly myself; they'll have to learn in school" (OS 2).]

* * *

Jaz sem največ dobil največ izobrazbe v slovenščini v zavodu, to je bil nekakšen slovenski internat, ki so ga vodili slovenski duhovniki. Dva taka zavoda sta delovala do 70. let 20. stoletja, v okrožju Lanus in Adrogue. V slednjem sem bival celotno srednji šolo, le vsak teden ali na dva tedna sem šel domov. Zavod je imel veliko knjižnico in tam sem bral in študiral in se sam učil. Prej, v osnovni šoli, sem hodil v sobotne šole v slovenskem domu, ampak le 2 leti. Tam učijo slovenščino, zgodovino, zemljepis, tudi literature nekaj. Smo bili še majhni, smo videli razliko: drugi otroci so imeli *fraj* dan, mi Slovenci pa v šoli. Nisem vedel, zakaj to. Ampak danes sem zelo hvaležen staršem in vzgojiteljem. To mi je omogočalo, da vodim slovensko radijsko oddajo. Veš kaj je to zame? To je moja velika ljubezen. Poleg družine, je to moja velika ljubezen. Jaz ne vem, kaj bi delal, če ne bi tega imel. Razumeš? In jaz se trudim, kljub temu, da je to amatersko – to se pravi, kot amater sem profesionalec *(smeh)*. Hočem narediti vtis, da je to resna stvar. Da mi ne bi Slovenije osmešili, osramotili. Nasprotno. Da poskušamo pokazati pravo sliko Slovenije. In to vidijo tudi tam (op. a. v Sloveniji). Zaradi tega nam pomagajo, mene povsod lepo sprejmejo

[18] Jakob Trobec (1838–1921), born in Log near Polhov Gradec, missionary and bishop in Minnesota, USA.

- od predsednikov do premierov, kulturnikov, športnikov, znanstvenikov… Z vsemi sem že imel intervju na našem radiu (UV 8).

[Most of my Slovenian language education came from the institute, something like a Slovenian boarding school led by Slovenian priests. Two such institutes operated up to the 70s of the 20th century, in the districts Lanus and Adrogue. At the latter I stayed for the duration of my entire secondary schooling, only going home weekly or every couple of weeks. The institute had a big library and I'd be reading there, studying and learning. Before that, in primary school, I had attended Saturday school in the Slovenian Home but only for two years. There they teach Slovenian, history, geography, some literature, too. We were kids but we noticed the difference: the other children had a day off yet us Slovenians were in school. I couldn't quite understand why. Now, I'm grateful to my parents and teachers. It allowed me to host a Slovenian radio show. Can you imagine? It's my greatest love. Next to my family, my greatest love. I don't know what I'd do with myself if it weren't for this, you know? And I'm doing my best, as an amateur no less – call me a professional amateur *(laughter)*. I want to make an impression that this is a serious thing. So we don't bring shame or ridicule upon Slovenia. To the contrary, we want to show a faithful image of Slovenia. Our folks see it, too (in Slovenia, author's note). That's why they help us out, always treating us nice – from the presidents to the prime ministers, the artists, sportspeople, scientists… I've interviewed them all (OS 8).]

* * *

Poglejte, mi smo Slovenci, hrepenimo po Sloveniji. Vsaj jaz, in kot jaz, tudi mnogi drugi (…). Ko sem prišel prvič v Slovenijo, nisem prišel v tujo deželo, prišel sem v mojo deželo! Sem se *hecal*, pravim: »Dragi moji, a tu vsi znate po slovensko? Čestitam!« sem rekel. Ker tukaj je tako: kdor v Argentini zna slovensko in da je še bolj mlad, je za nas *fešta* (praznik). (…) Ko pridem v Slovenijo, gledam televizijo, madona, pa vse po slovensko! Berem časopise – v slovenščini, ne. In to se je meni zares čudno zdelo takrat, leta 1972, ko sem bil prvič v Sloveniji. Mi smo… je zelo težko povedati, kaj smo. Znamo slovensko, mi nismo zares ne tukaj ne tam (UV 8).

[Look, we're Slovenians, we yearn for Slovenia. At least I do, and there's many others, too (…). When I first visited Slovenia, it wasn't a foreign country, it was my country! I made this joke, saying: "Dear everyone, you all speak Slovenian? Congratulations!" Since over here it's like that: if you can find folks in Argentina speaking Slovenian and they're on the younger side, you're being

very lucky (…). Coming to Slovenia, looking at the TV and all, mother of God, it's all in Slovenian! I read the papers – Slovenian! Everything's Slovenian and it confuses us. I found it unusual, yes, back then in 1972 when I first visited. We are… it's difficult to say what we are. We speak Slovenian, we're neither here nor there to be honest (OS 8).]

* * *

Mladina, ko gre prvič v Slovenijo, jih kar preseneti to, da lahko tam povsod slovensko govorijo, da lahko vse razumejo. Vsi pravijo: »Lepše je, kot ste nam govorili.« V osnovni šoli se učijo slovenščine 7 let, 8 let, pa potem 6 let ali pa 5 let v srednji šoli. Jih učijo o zemljepisu Slovenije, kažejo jim slike, vse. Marsikdo je rekel ob povratku: »Pa kaj ste vi mislili, da ste zapustili Slovenijo?!« Ampak to je bilo po sili razmer. Veliko, zelo veliko jih gre nazaj. Že drugi, tretji rod. Skupina študentov gre vsako leto tja v Slovenijo in ko se vračajo, mnogi rečejo: »Se vidimo, nasvidenje.« In grejo potem nazaj v Slovenijo. Študirat pa dobijo službe. Pa še kakšna ljubezen se zgodi vmes (UV 7).

[Young people, when they first travel to Slovenia, they're surprised by the fact they can understand everyone, that Slovenian is being spoken everywhere. They all say: "It's even better than you told us!" In primary school they learn Slovenian for 7, 8 years, and then 6 years or 5 during secondary education. They teach them the geography of Slovenia, they show them pictures, all of it. Upon return quite a few might say: "Why ever leave Slovenia in the first place?!" But it had to be done... Many, very many go back. The second, third generation. A group of students will go visit Slovenia every year and when they come back, each time, a few of them just say: "Goodbye, we're off." And they go back to Slovenia. To study or get a job. Or they fall in love (OS 7)].

* * *

Se spreminja raba in pomen besed, recimo beseda žiher ali *ziher*. Mi smo rekli: »Mami, a žihr grem drsat, ne?« Zdaj pa otroci uporabljajo besedo *zihr*, na primer, če ti rečeš: »A bomo šli?« »Ja zihr.« To pomeni zagotovo. Besedo *zihr* uporabljajo namesto besede *sigurno* ali pa *gotovo.* Ko popravim otroke, naj pravilno govorijo, rečejo: »Mami, ne bodi no tako tečna!« (UV 3).

[The use and meaning of some words are changing, like the word žiher or *ziher*. We used to say, for example, "Mom, žiher I go skating, right?" as in "can I, may I". Now the kids say *zihr* as an adverb of assurance, for example if you were to ask me: "Are we going?", I'd reply "Yes, *zihr*." Meaning "definitely".

They use this word to replace the Slovenian *sigurno* or *gotovo*. When I tell my kids to speak properly, they say: "Mom, don't be so grumpy!" (OS 3).]

* * *

Tukaj so ljudje zelo verni. In če je kdo rekel pred jedjo namesto »Bog požegnaj« »dober tek«, so dodali: »Imajo zajci« (UV 8).

[People here are mighty religious. If someone were to say *dober tek* (bon appétit) at lunch rather than "God bless", they'd be poking fun at them – "that's for rabbits!"[19] (OS 8).]

Slovenians in a Majority Latin American Linguistic Environment

Interno se za Argentince uporablja beseda »domačini«. To pomeni zelo splošno Neslovenci, v natančnejšem pomenu pa je to človek temnejše polti, potomec Indijancev, Špancev ali Italijanov (UV 8).

[Internally we talk about the Argentines as the "locals". This is pretty general, any people who aren't Slovenian, and in a more specific context it'll typically denote a darker-skinned person, a descendant of Native, Spanish, or Italian ethnicity (OS 8).]

* * *

Ko smo prišli v Argentino smo takoj začeli delati. Nismo pa takoj znali špansko. Vse sorte heci so bili zaradi tega (*smeh*). Kočarjev Ivan je rekel, da je šel kupit v trgovino budilko, pa ni vedel, kako bi rekel. »Je rekel: „*Mañana brrrrr*« (*smeh*). Mañana pomeni jutri (*smeh*). Zjutraj, je hotel reči, da te pokliče, in pravi, da je prodajalka razumela. Zanimiv je ta narod tukaj, ti radi pomagajo. Ja, so zelo prijazni in se trudijo razumeti te. Ti grejo na roko pa ti radi pomagajo. Radi prodajajo (smeh). Radi razumejo, tudi, če je narobe (UV 7).

[When we came to Argentina we started working right away. But we couldn't speak Spanish so it was all sorts of funny (*laughter*). Kočarjev Ivan said he'd gone to buy an alarm clock, and he didn't know how to call one. So he told them: "*Mañana brrrrr*" (*laughter*). *Mañana* means tomorrow, you see (*laughter*). He meant in the morning of course, and some kind of noise, but the lady still understood anyway. It's an interesting folks here, they'll go out of their way to assist you. They're very kind, they try to talk. Or help out. They like to sell you stuff (*laughter).* So, they tend to understand, even when you're speaking gibberish (OS 7).]

[19] Besides 'appetite', the word *tek* also means 'running' in Slovenian.

* * *

Isti, Kočarjev Ivan, je pravil, da je šel kupit *querosen* – petrolej. Petrolej so rabil za kurjavo Pa je rekel *corazón*, namesto *querose'n*: »Señorita, me da corazón«. Gospodična, mi date srce? »Que te pasa!? – Kaj ti je!?« Nerodno ji je bilo... (*smeh*). Se je oženil potem, ja, ampak ne s tisto prodajalko. Za poroko je poiskal Slovenko (*smeh*) (UV 7).

[The same fellow, Kočarjev Ivan, he said he went to buy *querosen* – petroleum. They needed petroleum for heating, and he said *corazón*, instead of *querosen:* "*Señorita, me da corazón*". "Miss, can I have your heart?" "*Que te pasa!?* – What's wrong with you!?" she yelled back. It was awkward... (*laughter)*. He got married though, yeah, but not with that saleslady. He went and got himself a Slovenian girl (*laughter*) (OS 7).]

* * *

Ta je tudi dobra. So v Sloveniji dobili paket in pismo iz Argentine. V pismu je pisalo: »Sem dal notri v paket to pa to in *nada más*«. *Nada más* pomeni nič drugega. Pa pišejo nazaj: »Vse smo dobili v paketu, samo *nada más* ni bilo nikjer« (*smeh*) (UV 7).

[That one's good too. Back in Slovenia, they got a letter and package from Argentina. Inside it was written: "I put in this, and that, and *nada más*". *Nada más* means "nothing else". Those people wrote back, though: "Hey, we got it all, but the *nada más* we couldn't find" (*laughter*) (OS 7).]

* * *

So slovenske besede, ki v pomenijo španščini kaj drugega, kaj grdega. Zato v Argentini veter vedno *vleče* in ne *piha*. Na to moraš zelo paziti. Ker piha je prostaško rečeno moški spolni organ (UV 2).

[There are some Slovenian words that mean entirely different, inappropriate things in Spanish. That's why in Argentina we always say the wind is *vleče* (dragging) and not *piha* (blowing). You have to be careful around stuff like that. *Piha* is vulgar slang for the penis here (OS 2)].

* * *

Teta so pa ženske prsi, joške. Da rečeš: »Teta, veter piha!« to je povsem neprimeren stavek, če te Argentinci poslušajo (UV 8).

[And *teta*, our 'aunt', here it's female breast. Tits. So, if you were to say "Auntie, the wind is blowing!" in Slovenian, that's a terribly inappropriate thing to say when there's Argentineans around (OS 8).]

* * *

Ko so prišli predniki v Argentino, so nekateri znali po italijansko. In so rekli v trgovini, da hočejo *burro*, kot je po italijansko maslo. V španščini pa je *burro* osel (UV 8).

[When our ancestors came to Argentina, some spoke Italian. They went to the grocery store and asked for *burro*, like butter is called in Italian. But in Spanish, *burro* is a donkey (OS 8)].

* * *

Tudi so besede, ki se jih je dobro izogniti v Urugvaju ali pa v Čilah ali pa v Kolumbiji. Taka je besed *bunda*, v portugalščini je to prostaška beseda za ženski spolni organ. To se je meni zgodilo, v Sao Paulo, ko sem obiskal teto. Bila sva v mestu, veliko ljudi je bilo okoli. Jaz pa v slovenščini rečem, dovolj naglas, da so se ljudje ozrli: »Teta, *bundo* sem pozabil doma!« Teta ni vedela kam pogledati, tako jo je bilo sram. In potem mi je razložila (UV 8).

[There are other words you'd best avoid in Uruguay, Chile or in Colombia. One of these is *bunda* (winter jacket), in Portuguese it's a rude term for the female private parts. It occurred to me when I was in Sao Paolo, visiting my aunt there. We were in the city, there was a crowd, and I hollered at her in Slovenian, in a loud enough voice for the people to stare: "*Teta*, I left my *bunda* at home!" Auntie was hiding her face in embarrassment. And then she told me about it (OS 8)].

* * *

Neka starejša ženska, ki ni znala špansko, je imela kokoši na dvorišču. Pa jih je klicala: »Puta, puta, puta!« Sosedje pa so mislili, da njih ozmerja s *puta* – pocestnico (prostaško, kurba). (Več različnih informatorjev)

[An older woman who couldn't speak Spanish, she had chickens in the yard. And she called them: "*Puta, puta, puta!*" The neighbours thought she was calling them *putas* – prostitutes (whores). (Several informants)]

* * *

Neka Slovenka je bila na *kolektivu* (avtobusu), pa šofer rekel: »*Boletos*!« – to je vozovnica. Ona pa : »Ja, seveda, že naslednji mesec!« (UV 2).

[A Slovenian woman was on the *colectivo* (bus), and the driver said: "*Boletos*!" – meaning 'ticket'. (*Bo letos?* also meaning 'this year?' in Slovenian.) And she said: "Oh, I'll be done in a month!" (OS 2).]

Slovenian Habits

Slovenske hrane ne pogrešamo, ker doma naredimo vse, kar smo *doma* jedli. Od zelja do kislega zelja, golaža, praženega krompirja, svaljkov, sirovih štrukljev, klobas in tako dalje. (…) Zelje tukaj delajo Slovenci. Imamo tudi mesarja Slovenca – Franci Miklavc dela klobase, krvavice in druge dobrote. Upravlja bar ali restavracijo v Slomškovem domu in prodaja za vse Slovenske domove – ponuja krvavice, pečenice, kranjske klobase. Zdaj pripravlja še *lomo* – to je svinjsko stegno prekajeno, nekakšen pršut. Zdaj je začel. Prašiče pa kupi na drobno. Klobase dela, ko je še zima. Potem jih pa v *frizer* (zamrzovalnik), v skrinjo da na led in se še poleti dobijo. Ni treba prej naročiti, ima zmeraj na razpolago, da kupimo. On že ve, kaj je treba pripraviti, kakšne stvari ljudje kupujejo. »Vilim« pa je mesarsko podjetje, ki dela na veliko tudi za slovenske odjemalce (UV 7).

[We don't miss Slovenian food much since we prepare everything our folks eat back home.[20] From cabbage to sauerkraut, goulash, roast potato, gnocchi, cottage cheese dumplings, sausage and so on. (…) The cabbage here is made by Slovenians. We've got our own butcher, too – Franci Miklavc makes our sausages, blood sausages and other meats. He's managing the bar or restaurant in the Slomšek Home, and selling to all the Slovenian Homes – blood sausage, grill sausage, Carniolan sausage, the lot. Now he's even making *lomo* – it's pig's leg, smoked, a type of prosciutto. He's started that now, buying the pigs retail. He makes the sausages when it's still winter. He puts them on ice in the freezer, so we can have them in the summer. It's always on stock for us. He knows what types of cuts, what products the people like to buy. The Vilim, then, is a butcher's shop that also works with Slovenian buyers' wholesale (OS 7).]

* * *

[20] Both the informants moved to Argentina after their primary schooling, in 1954. They still use the word 'home' when speaking of Slovenia.

Od starih navad pa imamo tudi tukaj še kaj. Jaz imam tukaj ohranjene navade o božiču. Na primer, da kropimo notri vse po stanovanju pa okrog hiše. Ja, pokropimo in pokadimo. Vse prostore. Zraven molimo Rožni venec. Pri jaslicah pa končamo ta Rožni venec. In vsi člani družine sodelujejo v procesiji (UV 6).

[From the old habits there's a couple left. Myself, I keep the old Christmas custom. Like sprinkling (blessing) inside the home and around the house. Yes, we sprinkle and we burn incense. In all the rooms. And we pray, we say the Rosary. We finish praying at the nativity scene. And all the family members join in (OS 6).]

* * *

Skupina Slovencev je živela v Churuki, bilo je okoli 20 slovenskih družin in smo imeli slovenske navade, na primer Marijo smo za devetdnevnico pred Božičem nosili od hiše do hiše. In imam pesmi, ki smo peli, ko smo sprejemali v hišo Marijo. Lepa navada je bila, dokler je bilo več družin, zdaj so samo še kake tri ali štiri družine (UV 5).

[A group of Slovenians lived in Churruca, there were about 20 Slovenian families and we kept Slovenian habits, like carrying the Virgin Mary from house to house for the novena[21] before Christmas. There were songs we sang as we received Mary into our homes. It was a beautiful custom while many families participated, but nowadays there's just three or four left (OS 5).]

Slovenian Views on Argentine Culture

Pijete *mate*? – Ga pijemo, če gremo recimo h hčerki, naredi *mate* in ga pijemo, ampak naša navada ni. Kakšni Slovenci ga pijejo. Tudi mi, če ga ponudijo, doma zase pa nikoli ne kuhamo. Ni to naša navada. Ko prvič vidiš, kako tu pijejo *mate*, si začuden, gledaš pa se jim smejiš, potem se pa tudi sam navadiš. Slovenci so se veliko navadili *mate* piti. Meni se nikoli ni zdel zlo privlačna pijača. Je pa to zelo družabno. Skodelica je narejena iz bučke, zraven je slamica *bombilla* in to gre naokoli od ust do ust – brez, da bi se kaj obrisalo. Krop sam uniči bacile. To je družabna zadeva, *mate* povezuje družbo. Papež pije *mate*. Mladina, ko se zbere skupaj ali gre na izlet, se usedejo v krog in si podajajo *mate.* Zdaj majo nekateri že termovke, da mate kar s sabo nosijo. V Urugvaju še bolj kot v Argentini (UV 7).

[21] Once a highly customary popular piety in Slovenians; people carrying statues or images of the Virgin Mary between the houses for nine days before Christmas, praying and singing.

[You drink *mate*? – We do, if we visit with our daughter for example, she makes *mate* and we drink it, but it's not really a habit for us. Some Slovenians like to drink it. I'll have some when it's served, but we never prepare it back home. It's not our thing. When you see locals constantly drinking *mate* you're amazed, it looks funny, and then eventually it gets under your skin. Slovenians drink *mate*, too, they've developed a taste for it. Personally, I never found it too appealing, but it is very sociable. You drink it from a gourd, there's a special straw called *bombilla*, and it travels from mouth to mouth – without being wiped or anything. The boiling water takes care of the germs. It's a social, communal thing, drinking *mate* brings people together. The Pope[22] drinks *mate*, too. Youth, when they gather or go for a trip, they sit in a circle and pass the *mate* around. Some now carry thermos bottles so they have their *mate* at hand. In Uruguay even more so than in Argentina (OS 7).]

* * *

Asado, to je pečenje mesa po argentinsko, to pa smo sprejeli. Tudi ženske se tega lotijo, ne le moški. Eni pravijo, da ni najbolj zdravo. Dobro pa je. Ne sme biti zažgan. Nekateri trdijo, da pečenje na oglju škoduje zdravju. Ampak narod tukaj že stoletja tako dela. Mi pa ne prav pogosto. Samo, kadar se nas več zbere, družine, prijatelji. Imamo več receptov in se kar dobro speče. Naredimo tudi čevapčiče. Te poznajo tudi domačini, ampak malo drugače (UV7; UV6).

[*Asado*, that's the Argentinean way of barbecuing meat, we've adopted that, yes. The women do it too, not just the men. Some say it's not the healthiest, but it sure tastes great. You're not supposed to burn it. Some say charcoal grilling is bad for you. But the local folks have been cooking like this for centuries. We don't do it too often, when there's a gathering of friends and family. We have our recipes and it turns out good. We also make čevapčiči [a grilled ground meat dish, kebab]. The locals know them, too, but theirs are a little bit different (OS 7; OS 6).]

* * *

Tukaj imajo to vražo: na 29. v mesecu moraš pod krožnik njokov dati denar, da ti prinese srečo, pravijo. Mirtha Legrand, zelo fina gospa, znana voditeljica na televiziji, to vedno pravi. Ima že 93 let, pa ima še vedno dvakrat na teden program na televiziji. Ima nekaj gostov v oddaji, vse lepo fino, vse lepo postreženo, ko jejo. In pravi: »Denar pa dejte pod krožnik, da vam

[22] Here meaning the current Pope Francis, who is from Argentina.

prinese srečo!« Je pa tako, da 29. je že konec mesca, zato denarja primanjkuje, pa mora biti poceni hrana, ne meso… (UV 7).

[They have this superstition: on the 29th they make gnocchi. You're supposed to put some money under the gnocchi plate and it'll bring you luck, they say. Mirtha Legrand, a very nice lady, a well-known TV host, she always says it. She's 93 and she's still hosting a television show twice weekly. She has guests on her show, the table is always nicely set. And she says: "Put some money under the plates, it'll bring you luck!" You see, the 29th is the end of the month so it has to be a budget dish, not meat… (OS 7).]

* * *

Tu v Argentini in tudi v Braziliji na križišča večkrat prinesejo kakšne škatle ali pladnje, na njih pa dve čaši, steklenica pa kakšna sveča, kdaj tudi hrana, piščanec. Pravijo, da to so *makumbas.* To postavijo vedno na križišče, kraj, kjer se ceste križajo. Vem, ker mi mamo hišo na križišču in večkrat vidim tako stvar. Ampak tega ne počnejo ne Slovenci, samo Argentinci (UV 4).

[Here in Argentina, and in Brazil, too, they'll often bring these boxes or trays to the intersections, carrying glasses, a bottle or candles, sometimes there's even food, chicken. They call it the *makumbas*. They put these things always at the intersection, any place where roads cross. I know because our house stands at a crossroads, and so I see it on many occasions. Slovenians don't do that, though, just the Argentineans (OS 4).]

* * *

Difunta Correa je pa kot nekakšna svetnica. To je bilo ne vem točno v katerem stoletju, tisoč osemsto mogoče. Mož je bil v vojski, ona pa je z dojenčkom bežala v provinci San Juan, kjer je zelo puščavsko, pa je ženska od lakote in žeje umrla. Ko so jo našli, je bil otrok še živ, je pil mleko od mrtve matere nekaj dni. In to so ljudje meli za čudež, in to imajo kot za nekakšno svetnico. In vse tiste plastenke z vodo so zanjo, da ne bi bila žejna. To je popularna religioznost. Kjer ob cesti vidiš kupe plastenk, je sigurno za Difunto Correo (UV 1).

[*Difunta Correa* is like a saint of sorts. I'm not sure what century exactly, it was the eighteen hundreds, maybe. Her husband was a soldier, and she was running from violence in the San Juan province with her infant. It's a desert terrain, and so the poor woman died from thirst and exhaustion. When they found her, the baby was still alive, it'd been drinking its dead mother's milk for

several days. The people believed it a miracle, and this lady is now considered a saint of sorts. That's why they put out all those water bottles so she's not thirsty. Her spirit, I mean. It's popular religiosity. When you see a bunch of plastic water bottles by the road, they're for *Difunta Correa* for sure (OS 1).]

The Visibility of Slovenians and the Mark of Their Presence in Argentina

Kaj je slovenskega med Argentinci? Žene mnogih Slovencev, ki so domačinke [Neslovenke], znajo speči potico pa tudi kakšno drugo slovensko jed pripravijo. Pred leti sem pel pri slovenskem zboru Karantania, kjer smo peli večinoma slovenske pesmi. Spomnim se, da je nek argentinski zbor pel znano slovensko pesem. Slišali so, da smo jo mi zapeli in jim je bila všeč, pa so vodjo zbora prosil za note. Potem so jo tudi oni dolgo prepevali Pesem se imenuje Mlatiči (UV 8, 1. 5. 2020).

[What's Slovenian among the Argentineans? The wives of many Slovenian folks who are native [non-Slovenian], but they'll bake you a great *potica* walnut cake or some other Slovenian dish. Some years ago, I sang with the Slovenian choir Karantania, which mostly performed Slovenian songs. I remember that an Argentinean choir also sang a well-known Slovenian song. They heard us perform it, they liked it and they asked for sheet music. Then, they kept singing it for a long while. It's called *Mlatiči* (The Threshers) (OS 8, 1. 5. 2020).]

* * *

Profesionalni argentinski kvartet Opus4 ima na koncertih pesem *Pleničke je prala*. Bili so celo v Sloveniji, z mojim bratom na turneji (UV 8).

[The professional Argentinean quartet Opus4 performs the song *Pleničke je prala* (She was Washing Diapers). They were even in Slovenia, with my brother on tour[23] (UV 8).]

* * *

Slovenci veljajo za športno velesilo. Veliko je člankov v argentinskem časopisju o uspehih slovenskih športnikov. Pred kratkim kje bilo o plezalki Janji Garnbret, kolesarstvu – Primož Roglič, Tadej Pogačar sta znana tudi med Argentinci. Pa Lučka Bregar, argentinska Slovenka, je trenerka ženske odbojkarske ekipe Barcelona. Barcelona je klub, ki v športu ogromno pomeni, Argentinci se zelo zanimajo za šport (UV 8).

[23]Juan Vasle (*1954), opera and concert singer, bass-baritone and journalist.

[Slovenians are considered a sporting nation. There's lots of articles in the Argentine press about the famous success of Slovenian athletes. A while ago they wrote about the climber Janja Garnbret, about the cycling tours – Primož Roglič, Tadej Pogačar, they're also familiar to the Argentineans. Lučka Bregar, Slovenian in Argentina, is the coach of the Barcelona female volleyball squad. It's a club with a terrific name in sports here. Argentineans are very passionate about sports in general (OS 8).]

* * *

Tukaj je rokometaš Andrej Kogovšek, ki je še aktiven, ima 43 let. To je bil eden največjih argentinskih rokometašev. Po njem se imenuje rokometni turnir v provinci Santa Fe: *Torneo Andres Kogovšek* (UV 8).

[Handball player Andrej Kogovšek is still active, he's 43. He used to be one of the greatest handball players in Argentina. A handball tournament in the Santa Fe province is named after him: the *Torneo Andres Kogovšek* (OS 8).]

* * *

V Barilochah je *Lago Tonček,* jezero z imenom Tonček. Spomin na Tončka Pangerca, ki se je ubil tam v hribih. Tudi Tomaž Kralj pa Božo Vivod sta ostala za vedno v hribih, ko sta leta 1967 ali 1968 plezala na Tronador, to je najvišji vrh v okolici mesta Bariloche. Tam je tudi ena špica, ki se imenuje Campanile Esloveno (*Slovenski zvonik*). Koča pa se imenuje *Podskalca*. V Buenos Airesu je cesta, ki se imenuje *Slovenija* – Eslovenia, prav tu v mestu Buenos Aires. V predelu Castelar pa je ulica, ki se imenuje *Slovenija* – Eslovenia. Pa tudi v provinci Entre Rios, v glavnem mestu Parana je ulica Villa Eslovena (UV 8).

[In Bariloche you'll find the *Lago Tonček,* a lake named after Tonček. In memory of Tonček Pangerc,[24] who perished up in those hills. Tomaž Kralj and Božo Vivod, likewise, stayed in the mountains for good, while climbing in 1967 or 1968 the Tronador, the highest peak in the vicinity of Bariloche city. There's also a summit named the *Campanile Esloveno* (Slovenian Belfry). And a mountain lodge called *Podskalca*. In Buenos Aires there's a road called Slovenia – *Eslovenia*, right here in Buenos Aires city. In the Castelar district there's an alley called Slovenia – *Eslovenia*, too. And in the province Entre Rios, in the capital Parana there's a street called Villa Eslovena (OS 8).]

[24] Tonček Pangerc (1925—1954), alpinist, born in Bled, emigrated to Argentina after the Second Wold War.

Photo 1: Meeting with informants in Buenos Aires. Slovenian traditional wall decoration and *potica cake* on the table. Photo: B. Ivančič Kutin, October 2019.

Photo 2: Water in plastic bottle for *Difunta Correa* on the road to Ands from Mendoza. Photo B. Ivančič Kutin, October 2019.

Conclusion

Language plays several roles in the life of the individual and of particular social groups. It is a factor of identification, expressing the individual's personal cultural, ethnic, social and any other identity (Šabec 2002: 7), and a means of communication, interpersonal interaction and influence (Gomezel Mikolič 2000: 180; Žigon 1998). Spoken language is the primary "tool" for the transfer of oral folklore and other storytelling matter transmitted through verbal communication (Stanonik 2001). In folkloristics, the narrative can be a result of the folk event transpiring in real time, composed of three intertwining and equally impactful components: text (vocalization), context (circumstances relating to the narrator, audience, text...), and texture (manner of storytelling) (Dundes 1980: 20–32). Stories being narrated (or sung) are thus never autonomous but always depend on the cultural aspect of the narrative in interaction with culture and narration; the story constantly absorbs and transmits new cultural meanings, since no matter what moves the people of a particular culture, whatever they might have hated, allowed, feared or imagined, all this is reflected within their narrative matter. (Folk) narratives thus aren't just stories, and so folklorists also engage with the cultural aspects of storytelling, the mutual interaction between culture and storytelling. (Rieuwerts 2017: 69, 70).

Despite different research interests and specific respective methodologies of documenting and analysing materials, the disciplines addressing spoken discourse and its content (folkloristics, ethnology, cultural and social anthropology, linguistics, especially dialectology and sociolinguistics, and many other humanities), exhibit a vital meeting point – field materials from the oral storytelling of informants.[25] In the research of minority cultures, especially remote communities to which access is limited already due to logistic and financial demands, the publication of materials and consequent accessibility of information, and cooperation between the expert communities and individual researchers is even more important.

In this fieldwork a lot of material was obtained for the analysis of immigrant folklore in Argentina, of which Slovenian folklore is also a part, and for the book edition of folklore and memory stories of Slovenians in South America, which is planned for the *Glasovi* collection. However, in order to have as complete an overview as possible, the availability of material from other researchers and from the community itself is also welcome.

This especially holds true for longer folklore text such as fairy tales, fables and legends of all kinds, since these are very difficult to document

[25] For examples of the practical usefulness of narrative field materials for folkloristics and dialectology despite different research focuses, see e.g. Bošković-Stulli (1959: 118) and Ivančič Kutin (2016).

within the time limitations of short cross-oceanic field trips and the resulting amount of contact with individual informants and groups.

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Informants – Oral Sources (OS)

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OS 8: Vasle, Mirko, 05.10.2019, Buenos Aires; by phone, 01.05.2021, 04.05.2021, 14.06.2021.

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Elementos de la conciencia nacional eslovena en relación con la madre patria y con la cultura latinoamericana en materiales narrativos documentados entre eslovenos en Argentina

Barbara Ivančič Kutin

Resumen

Este artículo tiene como base un mes de investigación de campo entre eslovenos en Argentina, llevada a cabo en 2019 en tres localidades, cuyo objeto fue documentar material narrativo folklórico. La mayor parte de los eslovenos que colaboraron como informantes en esta investigación fueron emigrantes establecidos en Argentina luego de la Segunda Guerra Mundial como refugiados políticos, y sus descendientes. Inmediatamente después de su arribo, esta comunidad eslovena fundó centros llamados "Hogares eslovenos", que tuvieron a su cargo la educación y el cultivo de la lengua y cultura eslovenas (y, en consecuencia, de su identidad), función que mantuvieron hasta el día de hoy. El análisis estuvo orientado a dilucidar qué elementos eslovenos aparecen con mayor regularidad en el material narrativo en el nivel del lenguaje y la cultura tradicionales, en relación con la patria nativa eslovena y con la cultura latinoamericana, y qué distinciones pueden establecerse entre ambas culturas.

Palabras-clave: emigrantes eslovenos, Argentina, narrativa folklórica, identidad, diáspora.

Елементи словеначке националне свести у односу на отаџбину и латиноамеричка култура у приповедној грађи документованој међу Словенцима у Аргентини

Барбара Иванчич Кутин

Резиме

Рад се базира на једномесечном теренском истраживању које је вођено 2019. године, на три локације, међу Словенцима у Аргентини, с намером да се документује њихова (народна) приповедна грађа. Већина Словенаца који су сарађивали као саговорници у овом истраживању јесу исељеници; они су у Аргентину стигли после Другог светског рата као политичке избеглице, или је реч о њиховим потомцима. Одмах по доласку ова словеначка заједница успоставила је словеначке културне центре назване „Словеначке куће", чија је улога била да брину о образовању и неговању словеначког језика и културе (па самим тим и идентитета), што је улога коју су очували до данас. Анализом се одређује који се словеначки елементи најчешће појављују у наративном материјалу на нивоу језика и „традиционалне" културе у односу на матичну домовину Словенију, као и у односу на латиноамеричку културу, при чему се нагласак ставља управо на ту разлику међу културама.

Кључне речи: словеначки исељеници, Аргентина, Словенци, наративи, култура, фолклор, идентитет, дијаспора.

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ИСТРАЖИВАЊА И ГРАЂА

Издање научне грађе

„Ја заова од комшје једем ноге кокошије“ Сватовске песме из Шајкашке – теренска грађа

Зоја С. Карановић

У спомен на наше казиваче

У прилогу се доноси 196 сватовских народних песама и сватоваца, прикупљених у више села Шајкашке (Вилово, Гардиновци, Госпођинци, Ђурђево, Жабаљ, Кађ, Ковиљ, Лок, Мошорин, Надаљ, Тител, Чуруг, Шајкаш) у периоду од 1987. до 1990. године. Песме су забележене од 29 певача. У насловима песама и коментарима указује се на народне обичаје који прате песме, обредни контекст и актере.

Кључне речи: сватовске народне песме, сватовци, Шајкашка, теренска истраживања фолклора, свадбени обичаји.

Пре више од тридесет година (1987, 1988, 1989. и 1990) вршила сам теренска истраживања с Весном Катић. Истраживања су обављана у више наврата у селима Шајкашке[1] (Вилово, Гардиновци, Госпођинци, Ђурђево, Жабаљ, Кађ, Ковиљ, Лок, Мошорин, Надаљ, Титетл, Чуруг, Шајкаш). Том приликом, између осталог, забележено је 196 сватовских песама и сватоваца. Истраживања су обављана углавном самостално, без финансијске, логистичке или било какве друге помоћи шире заједнице, државних институција или невладиних организација. Само је мањи део ове грађе забележен и делимично финансиран у оквиру пројекта Матице Српске „Народна уметност у Војводини, синхронија и дијахронија“ (1986–1990). Посао смо обављале углавном у директном

[1] Шајкашку, област у југоисточној Бачкој, чине општине Тител, Жабаљ, Нови Сад и Србобран. Према попису из 2002. године, на подручју Шајкашке је живело 67.355 становника, од чега 85% чине Срби. Име Шајкашка потиче од шајкаша, војника из шајкашког батаљона који су чували некадашњу банатску границу. Они су се кретали на шајкама, врстама речних ратних бродова на весла, по Дунаву, Тиси, Сави и Моришу. Због ових околности Шајкашка чини јединствену културно-историјску целину.

контакту с људима, идући од куће до куће, методом рада „од врата до врата“. Забележена грађа налази се у власништву истраживача, снимљена је касетофоном или забележена у свескама.

Јабука

1. То се пева кад се иде на јабуку

Свекрови[2] редом стоје, дара чекају.
Тихо говори Смиља девојка:
„Свекрови, родитељи, опростите ми,
Ја нисам знала да треба дара,
А да сам знала, ја би спремала.“

(Емилија Вулић, Ковиљ)

2. На јабуци, кад свекрве траже дара

Свекрве редом стоје, дара чекају.
Тихо говори Смиља девојка:
„Премиле мајке, опростите ми,
Ја нисам знала да треба дара.
А да сам знала, ја би спремила.“

(Емилија Вулић, Ковиљ)

3. Куму на јабуци за асталом

Ајмо, куме, на бело,
Читали нам опело:
„Ко не мого попити,
Не мого се покрити –
Ни себе, ни жену,
Ни дечицу малену!“

(Емилија Вулић, Ковиљ)

[2] Мушка момкова родбина.

Аљинари

4. Аљинарима (1)

Нису ово свати ни свечари,
Већ су ово наши аљинари!

(Емилија Вулић, Ковиљ)

5. Аљинарима (2)

Ију-ју, ју, шта сам ја,
Боже мили, шта смо ми?
Ми смо данас фендери,[3]
Фендујемо шифоњере и јастуке беле.

(Емилија Вулић, Ковиљ)

6. Аљинарима (3)

Аљинари, фендери,
Фендуједу шифоњрере
И јастуке беле!

(Емилија Вулић, Ковиљ)

7. На аљинама

Ја заова од комшје,
Једем ноге кокошије.

(Емилија Вулић, Ковиљ)

[3] Фендер – фендераш, државни порезник; фендовање – пленидба по одлуци суда.

8. Кад носе девојачку спрему

Плачи, Смиљо, плачи здраво,
Да л’ је тебе маме жао?
Било жао или није,
Ми носимо хаљине.

(Зора, Вилово)

Позивање сватова

9. Сеја пева кад купиду сватове

Даре прегледа Јовина мајка,
Даре прегледа, Јову дозива:
„Не купи, мили сине, пуно сватова,
Нема ти мајка пуно дарова.“
Тихо беседи Јовина сеја:
„Купи ми, мили брате, пуно сватова,
У сеје има много дарова:
Двеста пешкира, шест обајлија,[4]
И милом куму златна кошуља.“

(Емилија Вулић, Ковиљ)

Кад се кити перје

10. Кад се ките перјанице

Шта се чује у Јовину двору?
Заовице, праве перјанице.

(Емилија Вулић, Ковиљ)

[4] Обајлија – чохани покривач који се ставља преко седла, абајлија.

11. Увече, кад се кити перје

Село се перје кити,
Јова се стиди.
А што се Јова стиди?
Њему се кити.

(Љубица Лазарчев, Гардиновци)

12. Увече, кад се кити перје, певају сви са момкове стране

Бело се перје вије,
Јова се крије.
Не крij се, лепи Јово,
Твоје је перје,
Твоје је перје,
Наше весеље!

(Дева Добановачки, Госпођинци)

13. Кад се телејише[5] цвеће

Шта се оно на планини сјаји?
Ил' је месец, ил' су звезде сјајне?
Нит је месец, нит су звезде сјајне,
Већ девојке телејишу цвеће.

(Дајка, Гардиновци: пева се и кад долази војвода)

14. Увече, кад се телејише цвеће

Шта се сјаји у Јовином двору?
Нит је месец, нит је сунце јарко,
Већ девојке телејишу цвеће.

(Љубица Лазарчев, Гардиновци)

[5] Телејисати – облагати, украсити нешто телејем – танким листићем злата или сребра, вараклаисати.

15. Уочи свадбе

Ди нам сву ноћ прегореле свеће?
У Периној соби до сокака.
Ту је мајка световала Перу:
„Чедо моје, младожења Перо,
Кад ти пођеш сутра по девојку,
Не гледај јој злата око врата,
Нит јој гледај везени рукава,
Већ јој гледај ода и погледа –
Како ода и како погледа,
Оће л’ твојој уговети мајци.“

(Милина Марић, Лок)

16. Пре сватова, кад се кити перје (1)

Сву ноћ ноћас прегореше свеће
У Стевиној соби до сокака.
Ту је мајка световала Стеву:
„Сине Стево, моје чедо драго,
Кад ти сутра пођеш по девојку,
Све стричеве у руку пољуби,
Све стричеве, па онда и стрине,
Да ти, сине, не сажале стрине,
Твоја мајка сажалити неће.

(Милосава Отић, Ђурђево)

17. Пре сватова, кад се кити перје (2)

Синоћ сву ноћ прегореше свеће
У Исиној соби код сокака.
Ту је мајка сина световала:
„Ти ћеш, сине, сутра по девојку.
Кад ти пођеш, сине, по девојку,
Мрко гледај, оштро проговарај,

Пуштај скерлет коњ’ма до копита,
Чисту свилу коњ’ма до очију,
Па јој мрко у авлију шетај,
Не би л’ те се она убојала,
Још у коси и код браће њене.“

(Емилија Вулић, Ковиљ)

18. Пре сватова, кад се кити перје (3)

Сву ноћ ноћас прегореше свеће
У Јовином двору на прозору.
Ту је мајка световала Јову:
„Кад ми, сине, на венчање пођеш,
Све стричеве у руку пољуби,
Све стричеве, па онда и стрине,
Да ти, сине, не замере стрине.

(Група казивача, Кађ)

19. Пева се увече уочи свадбе (1)

Сву ноћ тавну прегореше свеће
У Јовиној соби до сокака.
Ту је мајка световала Јову:
„Сине Јово, моје сунце јарко...“
[...]

(Дајка, Гардиновци)

20. Пева се увече уочи свадбе (2)

Питала мајка сина воле л’ девојку.
„Волим је, мајко, ко сунце јарко,
А она мене ко очи њене!“

(Емилија Вулић, Ковиљ)

21. **Пева се увече уочи свадбе (3)**

Питала мајка Јову воле л’ девојку.
„Волим је, мајко, ко сунце јарко,
А она мене ко очи њене!“

(Дајка, Гардиновци)

22. **Пева се увече уочи свадбе (4)**

Питала мајка Панту воле л’ девојку.
„Волем је, мајко, ко сунце јарко,
А она мене, ко очи њене.“
– „Воли је, сине, воли, твоја је љуба,
Твоја је љуба, моја послуга.“

(Баба Меланка Пирошка, Ковиљ)

Ујутро, припремање за пут

23. Пева се ујутру на дан свадбе (1)

Урани лепи Јова па браћу буди:
„Устајте, браћо моја, бела је зора!
Кола спремајте, коње ватајте,
Да идемо даљноме путу,
Даљноме путу, мени по љубу,
Мени по љубу, мајки по слугу,
Мене да љуби, мајку да служи.“

(Љубица Лазарчев, Гардиновци: „То је за уранка, то се пева више пута.“)

24. **Пева се ујутру на дан свадбе (2)**

Петлови ранопојци, што не појите,
Јовине миле сеје, што не певате,

Што не певате, брата жените,
Брата жените, снау водите!

(Емилија Вулић, Ковиљ; Дајка, Гардиновци)

25. Пева се кад долазе гости у сватове

Ал’ је лепо кад се своји пазе,
Јадни другом мане не налазе.

(Свирци, Мошорин)

Дочекивање и даривање кума, песме куму

26. Кад кум дође до ђувегијине куће

Кум се куми, сва се земља тресе.
Имаш, куме, венце за младенце?
Ако немаш венце за младенце,
Терај коња око винограда,
И набери винове лозице,
И набери стручак рузмарина,
И набери струк румене руже,
То су, куме, венци за младенце.

(Дева Добановачки, Госпођинци)

27. Кад кум долази (1)

Благо нама, ево мила кума!
Волем кума, нег златна голуба.
Голуб бити, па ће одлетити,
С кумом ћемо рујна вина пити.

(Јованка Плавшић, Ковиљ; Љубица Лазарчев, Гардиновци; Мара Рајков, Чуруг)

28. Кад кум долази (2)

Благо нама, ево нашег кума!
Волем кума ко белог голуба,
А кумицу, као голубицу.
Голуб бити, па ће одлетити,
А с кумом ћу рујно вино пити.

(Милосава Зличић; Зора, Вилово)

29. Кад кум долази (3)

Благо нама, ево нашег кума!
Волем кума ко/нег златног/белог голуба,
А кумицу, као голубицу.

(Милица Добановачки, Госпођинци; Милина Марић, Лок)

30. Кад кум долази (3)

Куме, мој мили куме, карај сватове,
Куд гуње беру, зашт’ ломе гране?
Требаће, куме, гране и догодине,
Док стане стара мајка млађе женити.

(Дајка, Гардиновци)

31. Кад дође кум, свекрва износи обајлију

Је л’ те срамота, Јовина мајко,
Што ти кумовски вранац пред кућом зебе?
Или га покри, или га одби,
Или га покри платном, ил’ сувим златом!

(Дајка, Гардиновци)

32. Куму (1)

Куме Вујо, мој премили куме,
Да сам знала да ћеш кумовати,
Сејала би смиље и босиље,
Да ми, куме, по мирису дођеш.

(Радмила Теодинов, Надаљ, певала куму на синовој свадби)

33. Пева се кумовима кад долазе

Кумовати није тако често,
Зато, куме, чувај своје место.

(Свирци, Мошорин, на свадби Раде Бабића)

34. Куму (2)

Волем кума ко златног голуба,
А кумицу као голубицу.

(Љубица Лазарчев, Гардиновци)

35. Кад кум долази

Благо нама, ево нашег кума!
Волем кума ко белог голуба,
А кумицу као голубицу.
Голуб бити, па ће одлетити,
А с кумом ћу рујно вино пити.

(Милосава Зличић, Ђурђево; Зора, Вилово)

36. Свекрва пева куму за столом

Кума двори лепог Паје мајка,
Кума двори, па куму говори:

„Куме Пајо, мој рођени куме,
Да сам знала да ћеш кумовати,
Ја би јутрос рано уранила.
Сејала би смиље и босиље,
Да ми, куме, по мирису дођеш.“

(Љубица Зличић, Дада, Ђурђево)

37. Кад кум седне

Кума дворила Јовина мајка,
Кума дворила, па га молила:
„Куме мој, мили куме, чувај ми сина,
Од ветра јака и од облака,
Од злих очију љубине стрине,
Љубина стрина зле очи има.“

(Дајка, Гардиновци)

38. Кад се кум двори (1)

Кума дворила Јовина мајка,
Кума дворила, па га молила:
„Куме мој, мили куме, чувај ми Јову,
Од ветра јака и од облака,
Од зли очију, Смиљини девојака.

(Зора, Вилово)

39. Кад се кум двори (2)

Молила мајка, мајка:
„Чувај ми, куме, мога Раду,
Од сунца жарка и ветра јака.
Чувај ми, куме, од злих очију,
Од зли очију, Јелкиних очију,
Јелкина стрина зле очи има.“

(Певао стриц Раде Бабића на његовој свадби)

40. Кад се кум двори (3)

Ајде куме, ајде да идемо,
Ајд’ идемо снајку да водимо!

(Миленко Степанов, свирац, Чуруг)

41. Кад се кум двори (4)

Поран’ куме, поран’ стари свате,
Зарана ми снаву доведите.
Нек донесе сунце у недрима,
А месеца у десном рукаву.

(Љубица Лазарчев, Гардиновци)

Одлазак по девојку

42. Кад сватови полазе по девојку, певају куму

Саран’ куме, саран’ стари свате,
Зарана нам снаху/снау доведите.
Нек донесе сунца у недарцу,
А месеца у десном рукавцу.

(Љубица Лазарчев, Гардиновци)

43. Кад сватови пођу по девојку

Ови часи добри, ови најбољи,
Ови најбољи и најсретнији:
„Јеси л’ весела, Јовина мајко,
Јеси л’ весела, јеси л’ радосна?“
– „А како не би весела била,
Кад ми мој Јова одмену води,
Од сваке радње, од воде ладне,
Од свака рада, од редовања.

(Љубица Зличић, Дада, Ђурђево)

44. Ујутру се пева (1)

Сватови уранили, пут изгубили.
Девојка ружу брала, па ји позвала:
„Овамо, свати моји, ово су двори,
Ово су двори, ја сам девојка,
Ја сам девојка вашега момка,
Прстенована а невенчана.“

(Љубица Лазарчев, Гардиновци)

45. **Ујутру се пева (2)**

Терај, куме, рињу,
Да те не обињу.
Ако те обињу,
Продај, куме, рињу!

(Миленко Степанов, свирац, Чуруг)

46. Кад се иде по девојку (1)

Сватови поранили, пут изгубили,
Изашла лепа Зора, па руком маше:
„Овамо, свати моји, ово су двори моји,
Ја сам девојка вашега момка,
Прстенована а невенчана.
Прстен ми дајте, па ме венчајте.“

(Мара Рајков, Чуруг; Милина Марић, Лок)

47. Кад се иде по девојку (2)

Сватови уранили, пут изгубили,
Девојка руком маше, да им пут каже:
„Овамо, свати моји,
Ово су двори моји.
Ја сам млада девојка,

Прстенована а невенчана.
Прстен ми дајте, па ме венчајте,
Прстен ми дајте, па ме венчајте.“

(Стриц Раде Бабића певао на његовој свадби)

48. Кад се иде по девојку (3)

Овамо, свати моји,
Ово су двори.
Ја сам девојка вашега момка,
Прстенована а невенчана.

(Дева Добановачки, Госпођинци)

49. Кад се иде по девојку (4)

Сватови уранили, пут изгубили.
Девојка руком маше, да им пут каже/покаже:
„Овамо свати моји,
Ово су двори моји,
Ја сам девојка,
Прстенована а невенчана.“

(Мирослава Мијоков, Гардиновци; Зора, Вилово)

50. Кад се иде по девојку (5)

Сватови уранили, пут изгубили,
Девојка руком маше, да им пут каже:
„Овамо, свати моји,
Ја сам девојка вашега момка,
Прстенована а невенчана.“

(Певао стриц Раде Бабића на његовој свадби; Зора, Вилово)

51. Кад се иде по девојку (6)

Сватови уранили, пут изгубили.
Лепа Смиља ружу је брала,
Пут им казала.
„Овамо, свати моји, ја сам девојка,
Ја сам девојка вашега момка,
Прстенована а невенчана,
Вашег ми момка дајте, па ме венчајте.“

(Емилија Вулић, Ковиљ)

52. Кад иду по младу, сватови певају

Спремај дворове, Смиљо, девојко,
Спремај дворове, рђај столове.
Иде ти лепи Јова са милим кумом,
Са милим кумом и старим сватом,
Са старим сватом, ручним девером.

(Љубица Зличић, Дада, Ђурђево)

Код девојачке куће

53. Кад спремају младу

Долети бео цветак из поља равна,
И паде лепој Смиљи на русе косе.
Она га смеће, он се намеће.
Смећ га, не смећи, Смиљо девојко,
Смећ га, не смећи, сметнут га нећеш,
Ни твоје друге сметнуле нису.

(Дајка, Гардиновци)

54. Кад облаче младу (1)

Долети бели венац из поља равна,
И паде лепој Смиљи на русу косу.
Смећи га, лепа Смиљо, сметнут га нећеш,
И твоје друге сметнуле нису.

(Емилија Вулић, Ковиљ)

55. Кад облаче младу (2)

Долети бео цветак из равна поља,
И паде лепој Фемки на русу косу.
Лепа га Фемка смеће, он се намеће.
Смећ га, не смећи, Фемко, сметут га нећеш.

(Милосава Зличић, Ђурђево)

56. Кад облаче младу (3)

Долети бео цветак из равног поља,
И паде лепој Смиљи на русу косу.
Лепа га Смиља смеће, он се намеће.
Смећ га, не смећ га, Смиљо девојко,
Смећ га, не смећ га, сметут га нећеш.
Ни твоје друге сметуле нису,
Па ни ти, млада, сметут га нећеш.

(Љубица Зличић, Дада, Ђурђево)

57. Кад облаче младу (4)

Долети бео цветак, Смиљи на главу.
Смећи, не смећи, Смиљо девојко,
Смећи, не смећи, сметнут га нећеш.
Ни твоје друге сметнуле нису.

(Баба Јованка, Госпођинци)

58. Кад се мође шлајер на главу

Долети бео венац Смиљи на главу.
Смећи, не смећи, Смиљо девојко,
Смећи, не смећи, сметнут га нећеш,
И твоје миле друге сметнуле нису.

(Мара Рајков, Чуруг)

Долазак сватова

59. Кад сватови дођу по девојку (1)

Сниска стреја, висок ђувегија,
Дижи стрејy нови пријатељу!

(Певао стриц Раде Бабића на његовој свадби)

60. Кад сватови дођу по девојку (2)

Ej, даће, даће, даће,
Даће баба зету гаће,
А кад баба види хуљу,
Даће баба и кошуљу.

(Радмила Теодинов, Надаљ)

61. Кад сватови дођу по девојку (3)

Врата отвори, Смиљо девојко,
Врата отвори, па се уклони.
Љутит је коњ зеленко,
Па ће те изгазити.
Срдит је лепи Јова,
Па ће те ошинути.

(Дајка, Гардиновци)

На вратима

62. На вратима

Отвор’те нам на собици врата,
Да видимо ту нашу девојку:
Је л’ девојка за нашега момка,
Је ли тело за наше одело,
Јесу л’ прсти за наше прстење?

(Мара Рајков, Чуруг – „Пева се на врати, док није њина, док је не одбију.“)

Девер и снаја

63. Кад девер обува снају

Мајкино руво свлачи, наше облачи,
Наше је руво ново, ваше половно!

(Љубица Лазарчев, Гардиновци)

64. Кад невеста деверу везује кошуљу

Девер снаји ципеле обува,
Сна деверу кошуљу везива/
Она њему кошуљу везива.

(Љубица Лазарчев, Гардиновци; Мара Рајков, Чуруг)

65. „Кад је облаче унутри, то девер ради“

Сна деверу кошуљу везива,
Девер снаји чарапе обува.

(Емилија Вулић, Ковиљ)

Кад се изводи млада

66. Кад брат изводи сестру пред полазак на венчање

„Изведи, брате, сестру, за руку десну!“
– „Ја би је изв’о, ал’ ми је жао.
Да сам ја знао, да ми је жао,
Не би је дао.“

(Дева Добановачки, Госпођинци)

67. Пева се кад се изводи млада

Наша снајка/Мара као бела вила,
У бело је свекрва завила!/
То је њена свекрва увила.

(Зора, Вилово)

68. Кад брат сестру изводи (1)

Брат сеју за руку води:
„Ој брате, да ли ти је жао,
Што си сеју нама дао?“

(Зора, Вилово)

69. Кад брат сестру изводи (2)

„Изведи, брате, сеју за руку.“
– „Ја би је изв’о, ал’ ми је жао.“
– „Кад те је жао, што си је дао?“
– „Мајка је тајном дала,
Ја нисам знао,
А да сам знао, не би је дао.“

(Емилија Вулић, Ковиљ)

Бацање привеза

70. Кад се код куће баца привез

Бацај јој, лепи Јово на русу косу,
А она теби на очи чарне.

(Милосава Отић, Ђурђево)

71. Кад се млада и младожења бацају привезом

Удри је, лепи Јово, међ очи чарне.

(Љубица Лазарчев, Гардиновци: „То је све, нема више.“)

Опраштање девојке од својих

72. Кад се девојка дели са својима (1)

Плачи, плачи, Биљо, здраво,
Је л’ те није мајке жао?

(Радмила Теодинов, Надаљ)

73. Кад се девојка дели са својима (2)

Опроштај иште Јана девојка,
Опроштај иште од рода свога,
Од миле мајке, од оца драга,
Од миле браће, од мили сеја,
Од мили сеја, од родитеља.

(Емилија Вулић, Ковиљ)

74. Кад се девојка дели са својима (3)

Одби се бисер грана од јоргована,
И лепа Смиља од своје мајке,
Од своје мајке и браће драге.

(Љубица Лазарчев, Гардиновци)

75. Кад се девојка дели са својима (4)

Одби се бисер грана од јоргована.
И л’јепа, л’јепа Смиља од миле мајке,
Од миле мајке и браће драге,
Од својих сестрица и од другарица.

(Мара Рајков, Чуруг)

76. Кад се девојка дели са својима (5)

Дели се зора с данком,
И Ката с мајком:
„Ово је, мајко, моје
И Стеве мога.
А ово друго твоје
И браће моје.“

(Милосава Зличић, Ђурђево)

77. Кад девојку изводе

Опроштај иште Смиља од мајке,
Од миле мајке и браће драге:
„Опрости, мајко, мени на твоме дару,
А ја ћу теби на неговању.“

(Милина Марић, Лок)

78. Кад девојку испраћају, једни плачу

Због ом отац, због ом мати,
Због ом мили роде,
Од данас ћу ја у госте
Долазити овде.

(Мара Рајков, Чуруг)

79. Сватови младожењини

Плачи, Смиљо, плачи снао,
Знам да те је мајке жао.
Нашем Јови рекла
Да ш за њега пођи,
Ал’ сад суза сузу вија,
Ал’ нема помоћи.

(Дева Добановачки, Госпођинци)

80. Певају кад се крећу сватови од невестине куће (1)

Не плачи, лепа Смиљо,
Не рони суза.
Твоја ће мајка доста плакати,
Кад твоје друге на воду пођу,
На воду пођу, под прозор стану:
„Хајде на воду, Смиљо девојко!“
Твоја ће мајка онда плакати,
Другарицама она ће казати:
„Моја је Смиља пре уранила,
Пре уранила, воде донела,
Воде донела, ал’ туђој мајки,
Туђој туђинки, Јовиној мајки.“

(Дева Добановачки, Госпођинци)

81. Певају кад се крећу сватови од невестине куће (2)

Како ће бити Смиљиној мајци,
Кад њене друге по воду пођу,
По воду пођу, по Смиљу дођу.
Њена ће мајка одговор дати:
„Моја је Смиља пре уранила,
Пре уранила, воде донела,
Воде донела, ал’ туђој мајци.“

(Дајка, Гардиновци)

82. Кад се девојка опрашта од својих (1)

Смиљина браћа пред коњ’ма стоје,
Пред коњ’ма стоје, у сунце гледе.
„Лакше, полакше, сунашце јарко,
Док нам се сеја с браћом подели,
С браћом подели, с мајком изљуби.“

(Љубица Зличић, Дада, Ђурђево)

83. Кад се девојка опрашта од својих (2)

Одби се бисер грана од јоргована,
И лепа Смиља од своје мајке.
Сви часи добри, ови најбољи,
Најбољи и најмилији.

(Зора, Вилово)

84. Кад је воде

Искочи сјајна звезда из ведра неба,
И лепа Смиља од рода свога,
Од миле мајке и браће драге,
И мили сеја и родитеља.

(Емилија Вулић, Ковиљ)

85. Сватови који воде девојку подвикују (1)

Лепу Смиљу изведоше,
Сви је редом изљубише,
А мени је нису дали,
Рекли су ми да сам мали.

(Баба Јованка, Госпођинци)

86. Сватови који воде девојку подвикују (2)

Лепу Смиљу изведоше,
Сви је редом изљубише,
А мени је не дадоше,
У шараге[6] с њоме.

(Миленко Степанов, свирац, Чуруг)

87. Пева се у младиној кући (1)

Лепи двори, где сам девовала,
А још лепши, где сам се удала!

(Певали свирци на свадби Раде Бабића, Мошорин)

88. Пева се у младиној кући (2)

Ој, Кађани, јабуке вам горке,
Мошоринци љубе вам девојке.

(Певали свирци на свадби Раде Бабића, Мошорин)

[6] Шараге, шарагље – ограда на колима с предње и са задње стране; стражњи део кола.

89. Кад сватови пођу од девојачке куће

Стала Смиља на потегу,[7]
Па све виче: „Нећу!“
А на кума намигује,
Да се кола крећу.

(Зора, Вилово; група казивача, Кађ)

90. Певају кад се крећу сватови

Стала цура на потегу,
Па све виче: „Нећу!“
А на кума намигује,
Да се кола крећу.

(Дева Добановачки, Госпођинци)

91. Кад кум изводи снају

Метла ногу на потегу,
Па све виче: „Нећу!“
Па све виче: „Нећу, оћу!“
А на кума намигује,
Да се кола крећу:
„Ја на стара кола нећу,
Стара кола све клепећу,
Већ на нова кола оћу,
Нова кола све клокоћу.“

(Миленко Степанов, свирац, Чуруг)

[7] Потега – део на колима (обично од гвожђа) од предњих точкова до прекоруђа који служи за пењање у кола.

Кад иду на венчање

92. Кад сватови иду на венчање

Морем пловило дрво зелено,
Па допловило граду на врата.
Град му се клања и вако вели:
„Немој на мене, дрво зелено,
Већ мимо мене, у Грчку земљу,
Да киша пада, да трава расте,
Да трава расте, да паун пасе,
Да се китиду Јовине сеје.“

(Дајка, Гардиновци)

93. Путем, кад се иде на венчање, пева се

Долом полегла зелена трава,
Брегом цветала ружа румена.
Послаше двоје млади да беру ружу,
Лепога Јову и лепу Смиљу.
Јово је бере, па Смиљи даје;
Смиља је смеће, у недра меће,
А из недара, другарицама:
„Узмите, миле друге, руже румене,
То ми је набро Јово делија,
Јово делија, мој ђувегија.“

(Дајка, Гардиновци)

94. Певају девојци кад иде на венчање

Наша Смиља као бела вила,
Наша Смиља као бела вила!
То је њојзи свекрва купила,
То је њојзи свекрва купила!
Пуштај, Смиљо, свилу нек се каља,
Пуштај, Смиљо, свилу нек се каља!

Та ти ниси било чија снаја,
Та ти ниси било чија снаја!

(Љубица Зличић, Дада, Ђурђево)

95. Неко од младожењиних (1)

Пуштај, Маро, свилу нек се кања,
Јер ти ниси било чија снаја!

(Зора, Вилово)

96. Неко од младожењиних (2)

Пусти, Маро, шлајер нек се лопа,
Венчаће те виловачки попа!

(Зора, Вилово)

97. Неко од младожењиних (3)

Наша Мара сва у белом цвећу,
А за њоме заове полећу!

(Зора, Вилово)

98. Неко од младожењиних (4)

Наша Мара као бела вила,
То је њена свекрва увила!

(Зора, Вилово)

99. Кад хвале момка

Наш је Јова у бокалу лала,
Па се њему сама обећала!

(Зора, Вилово)

100. Кад иду на венчање, певају деверу (1)

Ој девере, пауново перје,
Ој девере, пауново перје,
Сад је твоје и наше весеље!
Сад је твоје и наше весеље!

(Миленко Степанов, свирац, Чуруг; Љубица Зличић, Дада, Ђурђево)

101. Кад иду на венчање, певају деверу (2)

Ој девере, пауново перје,
Сад је моје и твоје весеље!

(Милина Марић, Лок; Зора, Вилово)

Венчање

102. Пред црквом

Црквене се отварају двери,
Венчаће се голубови бели!

(Зора, Вилово)

103. Кад иду на венчање

Венчало се луче и голупче,
Јова луче, а Мара/Смиља голупче.

(Дева Добановачки, Госпођинци; Зора, Вилово)

104. Деверу пева заова

Ој девере, да ли ти је жао,
Што си снау моме брату дао?

(Зора, Вилово)

105. Синоћ била ваша

Синоћ била ваша, ваша,
Сад ће бити опет наша,
Опет наша водоноша.
А каква је, бона, слатка ко бомбона.
Е, е, е, хај, сладак сам и ја!

(Певао стриц Раде Бабића на његовој свадби)

106. Подвикива се кад воде новину

Наша нова, новина,
На тавану ноћила!
Ћилимом се покрила,
Лепог момка добила!

(Емилија Вулић, Ковиљ)

107. Наша снајка

Наша снајка не зна оченаша,
Водићу је на салаш, научиће оченаш!

(Емилија Вулић, Ковиљ)

108. Пева се сестрама (1)

Јовине миле сеје, што не певате,
Што не певате, брата жените,
Брата жените, снају водите.

(Дајка, Гардиновици)

109. Пева се сестрама (2)

Јовине миле сеје, што не певате,
Што не певате, брата жените,
Брата жените, снају водите.

(Дајка, Гардиновци)

Кад се очекују сватови

110. Кад се очекују сватови (1)

Изађи прид двор, остарела мајко,
Прид двор изађи, горе погледај.
Иде ли лепи Ђока, води л’ девојку?
Води, не води, је л’ се проводи,
Носи, не носи, је л’ се поноси.

(Мара Рајков, Чуруг)

111. Кад се очекују сватови (2)

Пред двор ишетај, Стевина мајко,
Па ти погледај здесна налево,
Иде л’ ти твој син Стева,
Води л’ девојку.
Води, не води,
С њом се проводи,
Носи, не носи,
С њом се поноси.

(Емилија Вулић, Ковиљ)

112. Кад треба скидати снаху

Плаћај, свекре, па скидај девојку,
Ил’ је плаћај, ил’ је натраг враћај.

(Дева Добановачки, Госпођинци: „Свекар треба да плати куму невесту кад сватови дођу.“)

113. Стигла је новина с венчања (1)

Плаћај, свекре, па скидај девојку,
Јел’ је плаћај, јел’ је натраг враћај.
Нема свекар снаву да исплати.

(Мара Рајков, Чуруг)

114. Стигла је новина с венчања (2)

Не мож’ свекар снаву да исплати.
Подај банку, да видимо снајку,
Лепша снајка, нег свекрова банка.

(Емилија Вулић, Ковиљ)

115. Кад свекар скида снаху с кола

Не мож’ свекар снаву да исплати,
Ил’ је плаћај, ил’ је натраг враћај!

(Дајка, Гардиновци)

116. Кад улазе сватови

Радосни свекре, шта си желио,
Шта си желио, то си добио,
Лепу лепојку, Ранку девојку.

(Група казивача, Кађ)

117. Кад младенци долазе, свекрва пева

Сад ће мати децу дочекати
Са шећером и пиринџом белом!

(Љубица Лазарчев, Гардиновци)

118. Кад дођу са девојком и свекрва дочекује сватове

Изађ’ прид двор, лепог Јове мајка,
Па изнеси свилену кошуљу,
Што си ткала кад си га љуљала,
Што си шила кад си га женила.

(Љубица Зличић, Дада, Ђурђево)

119. Кад долазе сватови младожењиној кући

Изиђи прид двор, Јовина мајко,
И изнеси хваљену кошуљу
Што си прела кад си га носила,
Што си ткала кад си га љуљала,
Што си шила кад си га женила.

(Дева Добановачки, Госпођинци)

120. Кад се шири постав (1)

Шири платно, лепог Цвете мајко,
Платно ткала кад си га родила,
А ширила кад си га женила.

(Милица Добановачки, Госпођинци)

121. Кад се шири постав (2)

Стери платно, лепог Јове мајко,
Стери платно и дочекај злато.

(Дева Добановачки, Госпођинци)

122. Ваша снајка (1)

Ваша снајка на икону личи,
Она вашу фамилију дичи!

(Миленко Степанов, свирац, Чуруг)

123. Ваша снајка (2)

Бабићеви има једно више,
Сад се Јела Бабић пише!

(Свирци на свадби Раде Бабића, Мошорин)

124. Свекрва пева (1)

Свирајте ми тихо и лагано,
Та ово је једва дочекано.

(Миленко Степанов, свирац, Чуруг)

125. Свекрва пева (2)

Свекрва сам први пут у веку,
Добила сам високу, па лепу.

(Зора, Вилово)

126. Свекрви (1)

Свекрвице, је л’ то твоја дика,
Што је снајка лепа, па велика?

(Миленко Степанов, свирац, Чуруг)

127. Свекрви (2)

Свекрвице, ала ти је дика,
Снајка ти је лепа, па велика!

(Емилија Вулић, Ковиљ)

128. Свекру (1)

Свекре бабо, је л’ то теби драго,
Је л’ ти драго што с’ добио благо?

(Миленко Степанов, свирац, Чуруг)

129. Младожењи

Савијо се рузмарин, па виси,
Ао, Радо/ђувегијо, више момак ниси!

(Свирци на свадби Раде Бабића, Мошорин; Миленко Степанов, свирац, Чуруг)

130. Ова кућа пуна је весеља

Ова кућа пуна је весеља,
Сад се свима испунила жеља.

(Свирци на свадби Раде Бабића, Мошорин)

131. Све је лепо и време ваљано

Све је лепо и време ваљано,
Ово наше једва дочекано.

(Маца Савин, Надаљ)

132. Свирајте ми лепо, полагано

Свирајте ми лепо, полагано,
То је наше једва дочекано.

(Смиља Туцић, Надаљ; Миленко Степанов, свирац, Чуруг)

133. Свекру (2)

Лепа снајка, а лепа и блуза,
Оде свекру чардак кукуруза!

(Свирци на свадби Раде Бабића Мошорин)

134. Свекру (3)

Гледај бабе, како руке шири,
Свет говори да он лепо живи.

(Свирци на свадби Раде Бабића Мошорин)

135. Жени сина ко новаца има

Жени сина ко новаца има,
А ко нема, тај седи, па дрема.
(Миленко Степанов, свирац, Чуруг)

136. Свекрви (3)

Свекрва је дебела па мала,
Она тражи снаву с иљадама.

(Емилија Вулић, Ковиљ)

137. Свекрви (4)

Свекрвице, да ја имам тала,
Ја твог сина не би ни гледала!

(Емилија Вулић, Ковиљ)

138. Свекру (4)

Свекре бабо, је л’ твоја воља,
Да ти свира ова банда моја!

(Миленко Степанов, свирац, Чуруг)

139. Заови (1)

Заова сам и рођена сеја,
Женим брата, пуна сам весеља!

(Емилија Вулић, Ковиљ)

140. Заови (2)

Ја, заова, ја, ја,
Која није нек чека.

(Милина Марић, Лок)

141. Заови (3)

Заовице, ако волиш брата,
Дед’ покажи кол’ка ти је плата!

(Миленко Степанов, свирац, Чуруг)

142. Деверу (1)

Ој, девере, бриго материна,
Најлепши си међу сватовима!

(Миленко Степанов, свирац, Чуруг)

143. Куму (1)

Кумуј куме, сад је твоја влада,
Твоја влада, а наша парада.

(Миленко Степанов, свирац, Чуруг)

144. Куму (2)

Кумуј куме, сад је твоја влада,
Опраће ти ноге нова млада!

(Миленко Степанов, свирац, Чуруг)

145. Куму (3)

Ала свира ова жица танка,
А кум плаћа као „Инвест банка!“

(Миленко Степанов, свирац, Чуруг)

146. Куму и куми (1)

Волем кума, још волијем куму,
Она носи гаћице на гуму.

(Свирци, Мошорин на свадби Раде Бабића)

147. Куму и куми (2)

Волем кума, још волијем куму,
Она носи гаћице на гуму.
Гума пукла, кума гаће свукла.

(Миленко Степанов, свирац, Чуруг)

148. Свекрви (5)

Ја свекрва, ја, ја,
Ја свекрва једина!

(Емилија Вулић, Ковиљ)

149. Свекрви (6)

Ја свекрва свекрвача,
Напила се ко крмача!

(Емилија Вулић, Ковиљ)

150. Свекрви (7)

Ја свекрва фина,
Оженила сина.

(Мирослава Мијоков, Гардиновци)

151. Тетки (1)

Ја тетка без тетка,
Ко кокошка без петла.

(Емилија Вулић, Ковиљ)

152. Стрини

Ја стрина без стрица,
Метули ме код свињца,
А ја нећу да седим,
Оћу да се веселим.

(Емилија Вулић, Ковиљ)

153. Гостима

Гости наши, једите и пијте,
Само немој да ми замерите!

(Зора, Вилово)

154. Прији (1)

Волим прију гаравих очију,
Прија мене, а ја очи њене!

(Група казивача Кађ)

155. Шогорице певају

Ој шогоре, купи ми бомбоне,
Да те моја сестра боље воле!

(Група казивача, Кађ)

156. Погачарима се пева

Нису ово свати/гости и свечари,
Већ су ово наши погачари!

(Емилија Вулић, Ковиљ)

157. Погачарима (2)

Погачари, извол’те унутра,
Јел унутра можемо до сутра!

(Дајка, Гардиновци)

158. Погачарима (3)

Погачари, наши мили гости,
Ви сте нама дошли у радости!

(Дајкина снаха, Гардиновци)

159. Наздравља се

Црна мала јагода,
Слађе вино нег вода.
Вода је лед, вино је мед,
Пијте гости, на вас је ред!

(Емилија Вулић, Ковиљ)

160. Наздравља се гостима

На столу су чаше шлинговане,
Пијте, гости, није из кафане!

(Емилија Вулић, Ковиљ)

161. Погачарима (4)

Пуше гости, пуна соба дима,
Ала и’ је дворити милина.

(Емилија Вулић, Ковиљ)

162. Пева се свекрви (8)

Најсрећнија ја сам, а и моја прија,
Она ћерку удаје, а ја женим сина.

(Казивач непознат)

163. Када изводе лажну младу (1)

Видеће се деверова глава,
Кад га буде снајка рашчупала!

(Казивач непознат)

164. Када изводе лажну младу (2)

Наша снајка гледати се не да,
Та изблиза на мушко изгледа!

(Казивач непознат)

165. Деверу (2)

Ој, девере, је л’ ти није жао,
Ти си нама криву снајку дао!

(Казивач непознат)

166. Када изводе лажну младу (3)

Ej, девере, ти сачувај главу,
Па ти нама дај сад снајку праву.
(Казивач непознат)

167. Када се показује лажна невеста

Гледај сестру, те снајку познај,
А за ову ни динара не дај.

(Казивач непознат)

168. Удала се мома

Удала се мома, да је није дома!

(Милина Марић, Лок)

169. Све ћу

Све ћу, све ћу,
Ал’ одбећи нећу!

(Милина Марић, Лок)

170. Ej, кћери

– Ej, кћери, је л’ то тај, уља и бећар?
– Јесте, мајко, то је тај, ал’ није бећар.

(Група казивача, Кањ)

171. Ђувегија

Ђувегија само саго главу,
Ко сивоња када пиша траву!

(Миленко Степанов, свирац, Чуруг)

172. Свекрви (9)

Свекрвице, ти ћеш знати права,
Кад те буде снајка рашчупала!

(Миленко Степанов, свирац, Чуруг)

173. Свекрви (10)

Свекрва се дрмуса,
Најела се купуса!

(Мирослава Мијоков, Гардиновци)

174. Свекрви (11)

Шарен ћилим до неба,
Свекрва ми не треба!
Не треба ми свекрвица,
Кућна свађалица.

(Емилија Вулић, Ковиљ)

175. Свекру (5)

А, гле наше кубуре,
Упо свекар у буре,
А свекрва под лавор,
Ал’ се деру ко шаров.

(Емилија Вулић, Ковиљ)

176. Свекру (6)

Играј, свекре, око дуда,
И код нас је било чуда!

(Смиља Туцић; Маца Савин)

177. Прији (2)

Ала прија ситно намигива,
Оће прија, зашто не би и ја!

(Казивач непознат)

178. Пријатељима

Шалили се пријатељ и прија,
Па у шали ноге помешали!

(Казивач непознат)

179. Заови (4)

Ја заова, ја, ја,
По вољи ми моја сна.
А брат ми је повољнији,
Ваљда што је рођенији!

(Емилија Вулић, Ковиљ)

180. Заови (5)

Ја заова од тетке,
Метули ме код пећке.
А ја нећу да седим,
Оћу да се веселим!

(Емилија Вулић, Ковиљ)

181. Заови (6)

Ја заова рођена,
Пица ми је гвоздена,
Ко је може обити,
Тај ће дукат добити.

(Мара Ракић, Чуруг)

182. Тетки (2)

Аој тетка, а ди ти је тетак,
Да му није отказао метак!

(Миленко Степанов, свирац, Чуруг)

183. Удовицама

Удовице, ала сте ми фине,
Ви носите шарене аљине.

(Емилија Вулић, Ковиљ (иначе и сама удовица): „Мало да дираш, кад су у свадби.“)

184. Пева се стално

Сви часи добри, ови најбољи,
Чији су бели двори највеселији,
Чија је стара мајка најрадоснија? –
Јовини бели двори највеселији,
Јовина стара мајка најрадоснија.

(Казивач непознат)

185. Кад је време да прате кума

Ми ћемо поћи, а ви нам не дајте,
Уздице сапните/сакријте, коње нам свежите/сапните.

(Дајкина снаха, Гардиновц; Миленко Степанов, свирац, Чуруг)

186. Кад су пратили кума (1)

Овим шором подигла се буна,
Добановачки прате свога кума!

(Емилија Дорошки, Госпођинци)

187. Кад су пратили кума (2)

Ладан ветар са истока дува,
Сад Стејини прате свога кума/
Коларови прате свога кума!

(Баба Меланка Пирошка, Ковиљ; Јованка Плавшић, Ковиљ)

188. Шта ћу, мати

Шта ћу, мати, па шта ћу,
Научи ме како ћу.
Научи ме, мила мати,
Свекру чести дати!

(Емилија Вулић, Ковиљ)

189. Лети голуб

Лети голуб на зелену траву,
И он носи љубичицу плаву.
Гледај, свекре, како лети смерно,
Тако ћу те ја служити верно.

(Милосава Отић, Ђурђево)

190. Погачарима (5)

Нису ово свати ни свечари,
Већ су ово наши погачари.

(Дајка, Гардиновци)

191. Погачарима (6)

Погачари, наши мили гости,
Ви сте нама дошли у радости.

(Дајкина снаха, Гардиновци)

192. Кад погачари напијају

Ко не мого попити,
Не мого се покрити,
Ни себе ни жену,
Ни дечицу малену!

(Емилија Вулић, Ковиљ)

193. Кад погачари треба да иду (1)

Ала волем колачића врући,
Ал’ не волем, морам ићи кући!

(Емилија Вулић, Ковиљ)

194. Кад погачари треба да иду (2)

Наши гости, зар се не сећате,
Кад крофне поје’те, кући да идете.

(Емилија Вулић, Ковиљ; Даница и Стева Марић, Кађ)

195. Погачарима певају домаћини

Гости наши, кад крофне појете,
Онда знајте, кући да идете.

(Емилија Вулић, Ковиљ)

196. Кад погачари треба да иду (3)

Ала волем колачића врући,
Ал’ не волем, морам ићи кући!

(Емилија Вулић, Ковиљ)

Казивачи и певачи

1. Вулић, Емилија, Ковиљ
2. Дајка, Гардиновци. Научила да пева од оца. Он је волео друштво. „Три ноћи седи у кафани, па дође кући.“ Сватовце је учила и од мајке. Учили су „све једно од другог“. За песму на свадбама некад каже: „Тако свирци свираду, све жице кидаду.“
3. Добановачки, Дева, Госпођинци
4. Добановачки, Милица, Госпођинци
5. Дорошки, Емилија, Госпођинци
6. Зличић, Љубица Дада, Ђурђево
7. Зличић, Милосава, Ђурђево
8. Баба Зора, Вилово
9. Баба Јованка, Госпођинци
10. Јовановић, Радица, Гардиновци
11. Група казивача, Кађ
12. Лазарчев, Љубица, Гардиновци
13. Марић, Даница, Кађ
14. Марић, Милина, Лок
15. Марић Стева, Браша, Кађ
16. Мијоков, Мирослава, Гардиновци
17. Николашев, Драгиња, Госпођинци
18. Отић, Милосава, Ђурђево
19. Пантић, Зора, Госпођинци
20. Пирошка , Меланка, Ковиљ
21. Плавшић, Јовнака, Ковиљ
22. Рајков, Мара, Чуруг
23. Ракић Мара, рођ. 1912, Чуруг
24. Савин, Маца, Надаљ
25. Свирци на свадби Раде и Бабића, Мошорин
26. Степанов, Љубинка, Госпођинци
27. Степанов, Миленко Чуруг
28. Теодинов, Радмила, Надаљ
29. Туцић, Смиља Надаљ

“I, Neighbour’s Sister-in-Low, Eat Chicken Legs”: Weddings Songs in Šajkaška – Field Collection

Zoja S. Karanović

Summary

The article comprises 196 wedding folksongs and *svatovac* songs, which were collected in several villages in Šajkaška, northern Serbia (Vilovo, Gardinovci, Gospođinci, Đurđevo, Žabalj, Kać, Kovilj, Lok, Mošorin, Nadalj, Titel, Čurug, Šajkaš), in the period 1987–1990, from 29 singers. The titles of songs and comments refer to folk customs which accompany songs, to ritual context of wedding and participants.

Keywords: weddings songs, svatovac, Šajkaška (northern Serbia), folklore fieldwork, wedding customs.

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НАУЧНА ХРОНИКА

Хроника

Награда „Златна књига Библиотеке Матице српске“ уручена проф. др Марији Клеут

Ана Савић

Награда „Златна књига Библиотеке Матице српске“ за 2020. годину припала је професорки емерити Универзитета у Новом Саду др Марији Клеут, запаженој и у академској заједници уваженој научници на пољу историје књижевности, посебно у области изучавања народне књижевности и традиционалне културе, и прегаоцу на пољу антологичарског и библиографског рада.

Проф. др Марија Клеут (1943) студирала на Филозофском факултету Универзитета у Новом Саду и Филолошком факултету Универзитета у Београду, где је дипломирала (1966) и магистрирала (1973). Докторску дисертацију (*Иван Сењанин у српскохрватским народним песмама*) одбранила је 1986. на Универзитету у Новом Саду. Од 1973. године до пензионисања радила је на Филозофском факултету у Новом Саду. Професорка Клеут објавила је више ауторских књига и приређених издања: *Лирске народне песме у Летопису Матице српске* (1983), *Иван Сењанин у српскохрватским усменим песмама* (1987), *Из колебе у дворове господске. Фолклорна збирка Милице Стојадиновић Српкиње* (1990), *Песмарица карловачких ђака* (1991), *Народне песме у српским рукописним песмарицама XVIII и XIX века* (1995), *Б'јел Вилиндар насред Горе Свете. Хиландар и Света Гора у народним песмама* (1998), *Библиографија српских некролога* (коаутори М. Бујас и Г. Раичевић, 1998), *Српска народна књижевност* (2001), *Гледајући Нови Сад. Постиљонске оде Јована Јовановића Змаја* (2003), *Народна књижевност. Фрагменти скрипти* (2003), *Вук Стефановић Караџић, Изабрана дела* (2005), *Реликвије из старине. Огледи о српским епским народним песмама* (2006), *Научно дело од истраживања до штампе. Техника научноистраживачког рада* (2008), *Из Вукове сенке. Огледи о народном песништву* (2012), *Без очију кано и с очима. Народне песме слепих жена* (2014), *Вампири у Србији у XVIII веку, књига и коментари* (2018), *Ројтанске песме. Избор из*

дела Милеве Симић, књ. 1 (2019), *Антологија грађанске поезије* (2020), *Академско писање и техника научноистраживачког рада* (2020).

Трочлани жири, у чијем су саставу били академик Миро Вуксановић, проф. емеритус др Славко Гордић и мр Душица Грбић, донео је одлуку о уручењу престижног признања које се додељује поводом Дана Библиотеке Матице српске за посебан допринос библиотекарству и библиографској делатности. Жири је указао на то да је проф. др Марија Клеут „својим научним тумачењем усмене српске књижевности и традиционалне културе поставила нове истраживачке стандарде, захватајући велику и комплексну грађу, објављену и рукописну, увек у складу са савременим кретањима у европској фолклористици“. Жири је посебно истакао помаке и достигнућа проф. др Клеут у истраживањима предвуковског периода, грађанске поезије и Вуковог рада.

Управник Библиотеке Матице српске Селимир Радуловић имао је част да уручи награду на Дан Библиотеке Матице српске, 28. априла 2021. године. Због неповољне епидемијске ситуације, најављени округли сто у част проф. др Марије Клеут нажалост није одржан, али је једанаест признатих домаћих научника послало своје прилоге о научном раду и значајном истраживачком доприносу лауреаткиње. Радови проф. др Вере Васић, проф. др Љиљане Пешикан-Љуштановић, проф. др Снежане Самарџије, др Лидије Делић, проф. др Јасмине Јокић, др Смиљане Ђорђевић Белић, проф. др Оливере Радуловић, др Ване Баришић Јоковић, проф. др Радослава Ераковића, др Драгољуба Ж. Перића и Медисе Колаковић обједињени су зборником Марија Клеут – сагледавање контекста. Зборник су уредиле проф. др Љиљана Пешикан-Љуштановић и Оливера Кривошић и он је објављен у издању Матице српске 2020, као пета књига едиције *Златна књига Библиотеке Матице српске (елек-*

тронско издање може се прегледати на сајту Дигиталне библиотеке Матице српске, на линку: http://digital.bms.rs/ebiblioteka/publications/view/5626).

Радови су осветлили научни рад проф. др Марије Клеут са различитих становишта, дајући сведен преглед свестраног научног интересовања и несумњивог доприноса научној мисли, посебно истакнувши заинтересованост за мање познате и недовољно истражене теме, студиозан, мултидисциплинаран и методолошки утемељен приступ проучавању народне књижевности, као и ауторске књижевности. Аутори текстова осврнули су се на неке од најзначајнијих тема, указујући на то да је проф. др Марија Клеут својим радом и залагањем на пољу науке о књижевност подстицала и охрабривала млађе колеге, и уједно поставила високе научне и истраживачке стандарде. Зборник садржи и селективну библиографију која броји 182 библиографске јединице у периоду од 1968. до 2020. године. Библиографија сведочи о импозантном научном и истраживачком опусу и несумњивом утицају на пољу проучавања народне књижевности, српске књижевности и културе. Поред радова, зборник садржи и уводну реч и честитку управника Библиотеке Матице српске Селимира Радуловића, као и записник жирија, а затвара га реч захвалности проф. др Марије Клеут и кратка биографска белешка о ауторима радова, већином негдашњих студената добитнице награде.

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Хроника

Дани Тихомира Р. Ђорђевића

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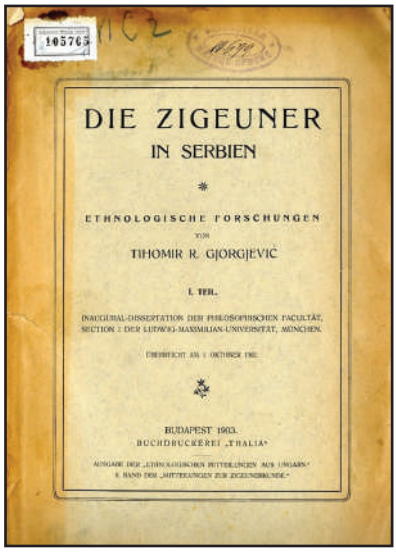
Манифестација Дани Тихомира Р. Ђорђевића, установљена 2018, одржана је у Алексинцу од 28. септембра до 1. октобра 2021. у организацији Центра за културу и уметност у Алексинцу и суорганизацији Огранка Српске академије наука и уметности у Нишу, Одељења посебних фондова Народне библиотеке Србије, Алексиначке гимназије, Библиотеке „Вук Караџић“ у Алексинцу и ОМШ „Владимир Ђорђевић“ у Алексинцу. Првог дана манифестације потписан је Протокол о сарадњи између издавачке куће Српска књижевна задруга из Београда и Центра за културу и уметност у Алексинцу, и промовисано је фототипско издање књиге Тихомира Р. Ђорђевића Природа у веровању и предању нашег народа, у издању Српске књижевне задруге. О монографији су говорили управник Српске књижевне задруге Душко Бабић, уредник издања Драган Лакићевић и приређивач др Бранко Златковић.

Промоција новог броја часописа Караџић, поново покренутог на иницијативу Завичајног музеја и Центра за културу и уметност у Алексинцу, одржана је другог дана манифестације. О новој свесци говорили су уредник издања Александар Никезић и проф. Зоран Стевановић.

Још једно капитално дело Тихомира Р. Ђорђевића, Цигани у Србији – етнолошка истраживања, објављено је фототипски. Реч је о његовој докторској дисертацији, одбрањеној у Минхену 1902. и публикованој на немачком језику 1903. и 1906. године. Ово дело, које је представљено широј научној заједници трећег дана манифестације, јесте први целовити превод Ђорђевићеве монографије на српски језик. Билингвални карактер књиге (српски превод и немачки оригинал) омогућава да се текст паралелно прати и допре до ширег круга читалаца. На промоцији су говорили приређивач проф. др Данијела Поповић Николић, преводилац Гордана Тимотијевић, представници издавача (Центар за културу и уметност у Алексинцу и Огранак САНУ у Нишу), као и рецензенткиње др Светлана Ћирковић и др Сања Златановић. Истакнут је значај фототипског издања монографије која је поставила основе ромологије у Ср-

бији, а која је до овог тренутка, 118 година након издања на немачком, на матерњем језику Тихомира Ђорђевића била тешко доступна и то тек у фрагментима.



У оквиру Дана Тихомира Р. Ђорђевића одржана је и свечана додела Награде „Тихомир Р. Ђорђевић" за свеобухватан научни и истраживачки рад у областима етнологије, фолклористике и филологије, као и признања „Чувар завичаја" за велики и значајан допринос очувању материјалног и нематеријалног културног наслеђа. Чланови жирија: проф. др Данијела Поповић Николић, проф. др Горан Максимовић и проф. др Недељко Богдановић доделили су Награду „Тихомир Р. Ђорђевић" проф. др Снежани Самарџији (Универзитет у Београду, Филолошки факултет), док је награда „Чувар завичаја" припала проф. др Момчилу Златановићу (Универзитет у Нишу).

Манифестација је затворена четвртог дана концертом ансамбла Венац из Грачанице.

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Хроника

Музика и плес у време (пост)традиције

Национални научни скуп са међународним учешћем. Катедра за етномузикологију, Факултет музичке уметности Универзитета уметности у Београду, Београд, 3–4. децембар 2021. године

Здравко Ранисављевић

Поводом шездесет година од почетка академског образовања у области етномузикологије у Србији, 3. и 4. децембра 2021. године одржан је национални научни скуп с међународним учешћем *Музика и плес у време (пост)традиције*, у организацији Катедре за етномузикологију Факултета музичке уметности (ФМУ) Универзитета уметности у Београду. Програмски одбор овог скупа чинили су: др Мирјана Закић (редовни професор, шеф Катедре за етномузикологију, ФМУ), др Мирјана Веселиновић Хофман (редовни професор у пензији, ФМУ), др Тијана Поповић Млађеновић (редовни професор, шеф Катедре за музикологију, ФМУ), др Јелена Јовановић (виши научни сарадник, дописни члан САНУ), др Сања Радиновић (ванредни професор за ужу научну област Етномузикологија, Катедра за етномузикологију, ФМУ), др Сања Ранковић (ванредни професор за ужу научну област Етномузикологија, Катедра за етномузикологију, ФМУ), др Селена Ракочевић (ванредни професор за ужу научну област Етнокореологија, Катедра за етномузикологију, ФМУ), др Ана Хофман (Институт за културалне и студије сећања, Научно-истраживачки центар Словеначке академије наука и уметности) и др Ива Ненић (доцент за ужу научну област Етномузикологија, Катедра за етномузикологију, ФМУ). Организациони одбор научног скупа чинили су: др Младен Марковић (доцент за ужу научну област Етномузикологија, Катедра за етномузикологију, ФМУ), мср Ана Петровић (асистент за ужу научну област Етномузикологија, Катедра за етномузикологију, ФМУ), мср Борисав Миљковић (асистент за ужу научну област Етномузикологија, Катедра за етномузикологију, ФМУ), мср Бранислав Стеванић (докторанд на Катедри за етномузикологију, ФМУ) и мср Виолета Јокић (докторанд на Катедри за етномузикологију, ФМУ).

Тематски оквир научног скупа дефинисан је са циљем рефлексивног преиспитивања научних постигнућа у светлу концептуализовања пострадиционалног дискурса. Тема је усредређена на контекстуализовање начина извођења и перцепције традиционалних музичких и плесних облика у оквирима нових видова презентације, односно проучавања неотрадиционалних музичких форми које обликују популарне трендове музичког израза. На свечаном отварању говорили су: др Мирјана Николић (ректор Универзитета уметности у Београду), др Љиљана Несторовска (декан ФМУ), др Сванибор Петан (председник Међународног савета за традиционалну музику (ICTM)), др Димитрије Големовић (редовни професор у пензији, некадашњи шеф Катедре за етномузикологију ФМУ) и проф. др Мирјана Закић. Свечано отварање обележено је једночасовним концертом студената етномузикологије, којег су припремили др Сања Ранковић, мср Борисав Миљковић, др Селена Ракочевић и мср Здравко Ранисављевић. На концерту су изведени репрезентативни примери српске вокалне, инструменталне и плесне традиције из Србије и региона.

Пленарно предавање, под називом: *Dance Literacy for a Creative Reconstruction of Dance Tradition*, одржао је етнокореолог Јанош Фугеди (Jànos Fügedi). Он је кинетографију протумачио као средство за дубље разумевање плеса које омогућава спровођење истраживачког процеса у сфери когнитивног. Полазећи од тезе да традиционални плесови не представљају тек апстрактну колекцију фиксираних кинетичких мотива, Фугеди је указао на апликативне потенцијале кинетографије у процесима креативног реконструисања плесне традиције, који се огледају у превазилажењу иманентно редукованог, истоветног понављања постојећих мотива и форми приликом плесно-кинетичких презентација.

Поред протоколарних садржаја и наведеног пленарног предавања, научни скуп *Музика и плес у време (пост)традиције* је обухватио петнаест научних излагања, распоређених у сесије према критеријуму ужег тематског фокуса.

Др Ива Ненић је у раду *„Непознато познато": нове идеолошке артикулације музичке традиције из угла извођачица и етномузиколошка одговорност* тумачила аспекте преговарања око значења (и будућности) традиције на данашњој српској и регионалној неотрадиционалној/*world music* сцени у досадашњем току 21. века. Питања моћи деловања и релативне аутономије актера/актерки наведене сцене расветљена су са позиција етномузиколошке рефлексивности и пропитивања дијалектичке спреге науке и друштва. У раду *Теорија афекта и теоретизације звучног искуства у етномузикологији* др Ана Хофман усредсредила се на основна питања увођења теорије афекта на подручје

етномузикологије, разматрајући концептуални однос афекта, емоције и сензоричности, затим афекте и нове облике звучне друштвености и политичности и, напослетку, питање афективног рада. Др Тијана Поповић Млађеновић је у раду *Концерт за виолу и оркестар/Viola Tango Rock Concerto Бењамина Јусупова. Танго као крајња консеквенца свих 'обзнана' Концерта* расветлила аспекте утицаја музике на обликовање идентитета слушалаца из (пост)модерне и/или (пост)традицијске перспективе. Дело Бењамина Јусупова теоријски је интерпретирано у контексту конструисања позиције субјекта као иманентног процеса наведених перспектива, са идентификовањем специфичних културних идентитета различитих етничких група, спојених са различитим стиловима уметничке и популарне музике западног дела света.

У раду *Етномузиколошко дело Косте П. Манојловића на „таласима сећања"*, др Сања Радиновић је дијахронијским приступом реконструисала деловање овог српског композитора, ослањајући се на концепте културе и политике сећања. У раду је на обухватан начин представљен етномузиколошки допринос Манојловића (као и онај о Манојловићу), у контексту, како је то ауторка интерпретирала – оба „таласа сећања". Др Младен Марковић је у раду *Цртице о дигитализацији традиционалне музике – између друштвеног консензуса и „личне етике"* расветлио опште методолошке аспекте процеса дигитализације нематеријалног културног наслеђа, са осврtом на питање услова у којима слушаоци одређен аудио снимак перципирају као парадигматски. У средишту пажње била је позиција истраживача одређене културе у односу на позицију „обичног" слушаоца. У раду *„Нова традиција" у композиторском стваралаштву Драгана Николића*, др Мирјана Закић и др Сања Ранковић теоријски су интерпретирале хетероген композиторски опус Драга Николића (дипломираног музичара из Панчева), чије је стваралаштво инспирисано народним стваралаштвом. У циљу расветљавања начина на који настају „нове традиције", ауторке су обликовале етнографски наратив о композиторском опусу овог ствараоца, обухватно анализирајући њихове интегралне музичко-поетске и ванмузичке карактеристике.

Др Селена Ракочевић и мср Здравко Ранисављевић, у раду *Етнокореологија на факултету музичке уметности у Београду – од фолклористичке парадигме ка дискурсу институционално и национално специфичне дисциплинарне оријентације у време (пост)традиције*, представили су и теоријски интерпретирали историјат и праксу едукације у области етнокореологије на Факултету музичке уметности у Београду. У фокус овог рада постављен је процес трансформисања институционално и национално специфичне научне парадигме, у периоду од увођења предмета Етнокореологија на Катедри за музикологију

и етномузикологију (1990) до данас. У раду *Плесна антропологија на Факултету музичке уметности: белешке о настајућем пољу*, др Дуња Њаради је тумачила актуелан процес премошћавања јаза између „уметничких" плесних форми и традиционалних форми у научном дискурсу плесне антропологије, и заложила се да се холистички приступ изучавању плеса примени у настави на Катедри за етномузикологију ФМУ у Београду. У раду *Аутсајдерско учешће: ауторефлексивни осврт на рад у оквиру Катедре за етномузикологију и етнокореологију ФМУ у Београду*, др Милош Рашић је начинио аутоетнографски и ауторефлексивни осврт на свој двогодишњи професионални ангажман у настави етнологије на наведеној катедри, с методолошким ослонцем у аутоетнографији Хивон Ченг (Heewon Chang), у дескриптивно-реалистичком, исповедно-емотивном и аналитичко-интерпретативном стилу аутоетнографије.

Студенти докторских студија етномузикологије у својим излагањима бавили су се појединачним проблемским аспектима њихових дисертација. Мср Ана Петровић је маркирала могуће перспективе одржања српског традиционалног певања на Пештерско-сјеничкој висоравни, експлицирајући околности и последице трансформисања иманентне групне (хетерофоне) вокалне праксе овог подручја ка све чешћем солистичком извођењу. Мср Борисав Миљковић је представио развој српске органологије у дијахронијској перспективи, теоријски интерпретирајући тематске и методолошке оквире досадашњих најрелевантнијих истраживања музичких инструмената у Србији. Мср Јелена Јоковић је огледно анализирала опште моделе транспоновања вокалних нумера у аранжманима трубачких оркестара, начелно упућујући на трубачку праксу западне Србије. Мср Бранислав Стеванић је презентовао досадашње резултате личних истраживања у домену методике наставе извођења на традиционалним музичким инструментима у средњошколском образовању, упоређујући заступљеност и резултате традиционалних и конвенционалних метода у процесима преноса знања и извођачке вештине. Мср Јулијана Баштић је идентификовала елементе глокалности и музичког космополитизма у деловању тамбурашког ансамбла „Равница", тумачећи извођачку праксу овог састава као отклон од канонизованог тамбурашког репертоара и звучне реализације. Мср Виолета Јокић је теоријски интерпретирала деловање првог онлајн *K-POP* (*Korean pop*, кеј-поп, јужнокорејска популарна музика) пројекта обожавалаца ове музике, *Kstudio*, констатовала последице преобликовања креативне праксе љубитеља кеј-попа и маркирала кључне новонастале промене у њој.

Широк тематски оквир научног скупа *Музика и плес у време (пост)традиције*, постављен у складу с актуелним тенденцијама ви-

шеструког разгранавања дисциплинарног деловања у етномузикологији и етнокореологији под утицајем постмодерних тежњи за партикуларизацијом, интердисциплинарним дискусијама и успостављањем трансдисциплинарних перспектива, омогућио је да научна излагања на овом скупу, поред преиспитивања досадашњих научних постигнућа, допринесу отварању нових перспектива развоја науке на Катедри за етномузикологију Факултета музичке уметности у Београду у будућности. Упркос неповољној епидемијској ситуацији, изазваној вирусом Covid-19, скуп је пратила бројна публика (доминантно студенти Катедре за етномузикологију), а презентоване теме инспирисале су веома плодотворне дискусије.

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Хроника

Предок – симбол етничког идентитета војвођанских Словака (изложба и каталог)

Александар Антуновић

У Галерији Зуске Медвеђове у Бачком Петровцу 8. августа 2021. године отворена је изложба Музеја војвођанских Словака *Предок – симбол етничког идентитета војвођанских Словака*, пројекта чији је аутор мр Катарина Радисављевић. Изложба је реализована заједничким радом Катарине Радисављевић и Маријана Павлова, кустоса-етнолога. Изложбу прати опширна публикација штампана на словачком и српском језику, у издању Музеја војвођанских Словака (Катарина Радисављевић, Маријан Павлов, Предок – симбол етничког идентитета војвођанских Словака, Бачки Петровац: Музеј војвођанских Словака, 2021).

Предок означава декоративни елемент који се аплицира на грудни део мушке кошуље и на крагну (у неким случајевима подразумева и манжетне) у традиционалном костиму Словака у Војводини. Изложба о предоку резултат је дугогодишњег етнолошког истраживања и сарадње између Музеја Војводине из Новог Сада и Музеја војвођанских Словака из Бачког Петровца. Реализацију изложбе и пратећег каталога финансијски

су подржали Покрајински секретаријат за културу, јавно информисање и односе са верским заједницама АП Војводине и Општина Бачки Петровац. Мр Катарина Радисављевић аутор је више изложби и стручних публикација које се односе на традиционално одевање, развој одређених елемената одевних целина и њихову улогу у истицању и конструкцији идентитета – етничког, националног, верског и социјалног. Један у низу таквих пројеката је изложба о предоку, која илуструје живот овог декоративног дела аксесоара од његовог настанка до првих деценија 21. века и места које заузима у спектру елемената материјалне културе која репрезентује етнички идентитет Словака у Војводини.

Живот кошуље са предоком и самог предока као специфичног декоративног дела словачког ношње представљен је кроз изложбу која је постављена у две сале Галерије Зуске Медвеђова у Бачком Петровцу. Изложба је конципирана тако да се може пратити типолошка подела предока на основу технике израде. Овај украс приказан је кроз засебне предмете и као саставни део кошуља. Највише изложених предмета спадају у групу на којима је примењена техника веза покрстице. Катарина Радисављевић објашњава да је ова техника била најзаступљенија у изради предока. На изложби се нашло деветнаест различитих предока израђених на овај начин. Неколико изложених предмета израђени су техником пуног веза са детаљима ажурне израде, која представља најстарију технику распрострањену у Словачкој (Радисављевић, 105). Предоци су израђивани и ткањем, а ова техника је ретко коришћена при њиховој изради. Приликом теренског истраживања у Кисачу забележен је процес израде предока ткањем. Вештина ткања предока спада у важан елемент нематеријалног културног наслеђа, а фото и видео материјал забележен приликом истраживања употпуњује изложбу. Поред наведених предока, изложба садржи и предоке везене сатен бодом, које одликује изражена флорална орнаментика, као и

оне украшене штиковањем, које се може сматрати препознатљивим елементом словачких народних ношњи у Војводини.

Изложени предмети воде порекло из разних места Бачке, Срема и Баната у којима словачка заједница чини већину или мањи проценат становништва. Највише приказаних музеалија део су збирке Музеја војвођанских Словака, док је мањи број позајмљен из фундуса Етнолошког одељења Музеја Војводине за потребе изложбе. Поред предмета, живот предока у традицијској култури словачке заједнице у Војводини је на занимљив начин илустрован делима сликарке Зуске Медвеђове. Радови прве словачке академске сликарке верно приказују предок, начин његовог ношења и употребу, у периоду њеног уметничког стварања. Ова дела важна су за увид у колорит на предоку у времену пре могућности израде фотографија у боји. Изложба је, такође допуњена интересантном фото документацијом која сведочи о присутности кошуља са предоком у животу заједнице војвођанских Словака у прошлости.

Каталог изложбе садржи два ауторска текста и каталошки део у коме су публиковане фотографије свих изложених предмета. Текст под насловом „О кошуљи с предоком – од настанка до елемента визуелног идентитета војвођанских Словака“ написала је Катарина Радисављевић. Маријан Павлов је аутор текста „Анализа истраживања из 21. века“.

У тексту „О кошуљи с предоком – од настанка до елемента визуелног идентитета војвођанских Словака“ реконструисана је путања коју кошуља са предоком прелази од свог настанка у Словачкој до његовог позиционирања у култури војвођанских Словака. Предок је производ рада једног броја словачких интелектуалаца на развоју националне свести у Аустроугарској, у другој половини 19. века, а данас репрезентује културни и етнички идентитет словачке заједнице у Републици Србији (Радисављевић, 10–13). На основу истраживања

стручне литературе, махом објављене грађе словачких аутора, као и литературе настале у време конструисања предока, публици су предочени закључци који говоре да овај феномен материјалне културе по свом настанку није био познат сеоском становништву, већ је представљао конструкт национално опредељене словачке интелигенције, а да је у костим Словака из Доње Земље ушао под утицајем рада чехословачких женских удружења двадесетих и тридесетих година 20. века. Поред задовољавања симболичке стране идентитета, Катарина Радисављевић истиче да је предок одговарао модном репертоару поштованих, високопозицинираних чланова заједнице који су ношењем троделног одела истицали своју припадност вишој друштвеној класи (Радисављевић, 38). Функције које кошуља са предоком има у идентитетском позиционирању Словака у Војводини, како у периоду њеног настанка, прихватања у Доњој Земљи, тако и у другој половини 20. и на почетку 21. века, ауторка смешта у теоријски концепт Ерика Хобсбаума о измишљању традиције. Поред значења националног симбола, предок с временом добија функцију симбола културног и регионалног идентитета. Улога кошуље с предоком у конструкцији идентитета Словака из Војводине огледа се и у пракси употребе овог дела традиционалног костима у самоидентификацији међу исељеницима/повратницима у Републику Словачку. Ауторка истиче да у процесу повратка једног дела припадника словачке заједнице из Војводине у Републику Словачку предок, поред елемента националне и етничке припадности, добија и димензију регионалне културе. Значајан извор и део теоријског оквира истраживања представља публикација темељног етнолошког истраживања Миле Босић *Народна ношња Словака у Војводини* (Нови Сад: Војвођански музеј, 1987).

У ауторском раду „Анализа истраживања из 21. века“ Марјана Павлова, кустоса-етнолога и сарадника на пројекту, кошуља с предоком је представљена у контексту савременог поимања овог елемента од стране чланова заједнице и начина на који се војвођански Словаци данас идентификују са њим. Изложба са публикацијом употпуњена је резултатима теренских истраживања аутора и анкетирања припадника словачке заједнице, као и дугогодишњег увида Марјана Павлова у живот овог културног елемента у савременој култури војвођанских Словака. Комплетан изложени материјал обрађен је у каталошком делу публикације, чији је аутор Катарина Радисављевић. Свака каталошка јединица садржи фотографију предмета и основне податке.

Пројекат илуструје промене у функцији, начину израде и ношења кошуље са предоком уз временску и социокултурну контекстуализацију, као и типологију на основу више параметара – врсти материјала, орнаменту, техници украшавања, месту украса, намени облачења. Поред предока као изолованог елемента, резултати истраживања садрже и типолошку поделу кошуља које су садржале овај декорисани сегмент. Изложба и књига као целина на веома сликовит и јасан начин објашњавају шта је то предок, на који начин један одевни елемент може да постане симбол колективног идентитета заједнице, а указују и на узроке трансформација његове функције у процесу конструкције тог идентитета. На примеру кошуље с предоком јасно је презентован феномен употребе материјалне културе у самоидентификацији у ширем културном, историјском и друштвеном контексту.

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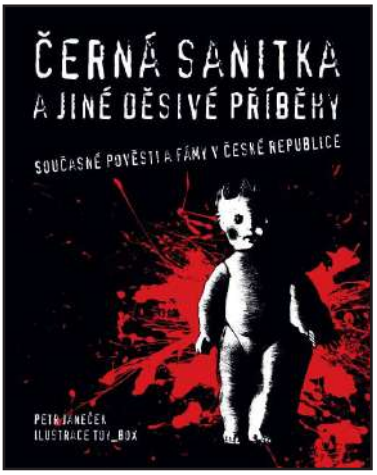
Хроника

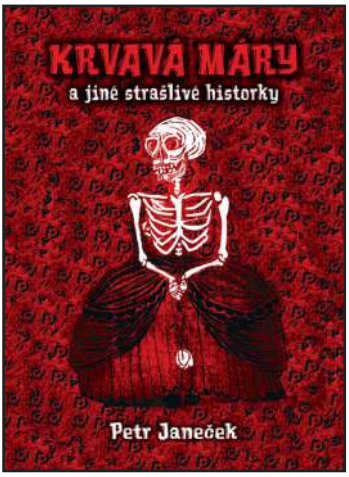
Češka naučna folklorna literatura u poslednjih dvadeset godina

Jaroslav Otčenášek

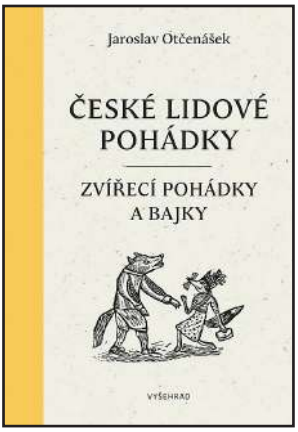
Nakon realne krize češke folkloristike u devedesetim godinama 20. stoleća, situacija se dosta promenila. Naučni radnici u Etnološkom institutu Akademije nauka Češke republike, u Institutu za etnologiju Filozofskog fakulteta Karlovog univerziteta i Institutu za evropske etnologije Filozofskog fakulteta Masarikovog univerziteta, koji se specijalizuju u oblasti folklora, pokrenuli su nekoliko zanimljivih i dugotrajnih projekata. Interesovanje naučnika se fokusiralo na tradicionalne folklorne oblike i na savremene aktuelne izazove.

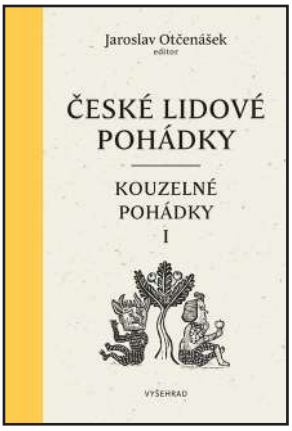
Praški folklorist Petr Janeček bio je prvi češki naučnik koji je počeo da se stručno bavi urbanim legendama. Izdao je zasad tri opsežne i popularne antologije tekstova s komentarom: *Crna ambulantna kola* (*Černá sanitka*) 1, 2, 3 (2006, 2007, 2008). Nakon male pauze je nastavio s manjom zbirkom strašnih savremenih predanja *Krvava Mara* (*Krvavá Máry*, 2015). Svako ko je zainteresovan za savremene češke urbane legende sada ima na raspolaganju vrlo bogat materijal za proučavanje.





Drugi praški etnolog i balkanolog, Jaroslav Otčenášek, 2018. godine, u okviru dugotrajnog projekta *Etnografskog atlasa Češke, Moravske i Šleske*, izdao je 8. tom koji se bavi refleksima narodne vere u nepesničkom folkloru (*Etnografický atlas Čech, Moravy a Slezska VIII. Reflexe vybraných aspektů lidové zbožnosti ve slovesném folkloru*). Atlas ima odeljak sa teoretskim tekstom i deset mapa. Godine 2019. Otčenášek je počeo da izdaje sabrane češke narodne pripovetke i šaljive priče. Zasad su publikovana dva toma: 1. *Priče o životinjama i basne* (*Zvířecí pohádky a bajky*); 2. *Bajke*, prvi deo (*Kouzelné pohádky 1*). Planirano je da se objavi ukupno 13 tomova, a broj narodnih pripovedaka i šaljivih priča iznosiće oko 3.500 tekstova. U antologije su uključene i narodne pripovetke čeških Nemaca i Roma u prevodu na češki jezik. Treba dodati da je Češka jedna od malog broja evropskih zemalja koja dosada nema svoje narodne pripovetke katalogizovane po sistematizaciji Aarne-Thompson-Uther (ATU).



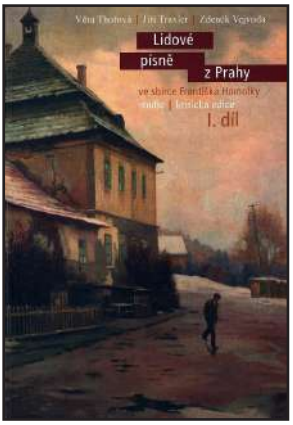


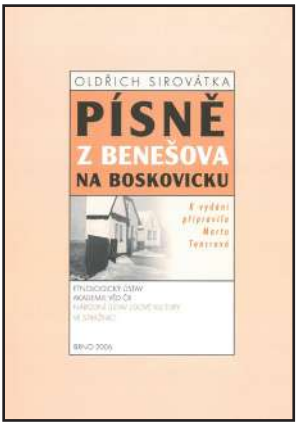
Kolega Jan Luffer nastavio je sistematičan rad preminule doajenke češke folkloristike Dagmar Klímové (1926–2012) na *Katalogu čeških demonoloških predanja* (*Katalog českých démonologických pověstí*). Nakon dugog i složenog posla, katalog je objavljen 2014. godine.

Savremeni folklor je analiziran u nekoliko teoretskih publikacija. Kolektiv autora je 2011. sačinio antologiju *Folklor atomovog veka* (*Folklor atomového věku*), koji se fokusira na aktuelne izazove folklornih studija u širem smislu, u kontekstu promena u češkom društvu. Ovome je bliska i tema zbornika *Od bajke prema glasini* (*Od pohádky k fámě*), koji sadrži tekstove s naučne konferencije u Brnu, organizovane 2002. u saradnji sa slovačkim kolegama. Zbornik je objavljen 2005. godine.

Pažnju praških etnomuzikologa privukli su dosad neizdati rukopisi narodnih pesama. U dva toma su 2011. i 2013. godine publikovane *Narodne*

pesme iz Praga u kolekciji Františka Homolke (*Lidové písně z Prahy ve sbírce Františka Homolky*), u redakciji Věry Tchořovoj, Jiřího Traxlera i Zdeňka Vejvode. Godine 2015. objavljene su *Narodne pesme iz okoline Řípa 1* (*Lidové písně z Podřipska*) u redakciji Věry Tchořovoj. Zdeněk Vejvoda pripremio je zbirku *Pilzenska regija u narodnoj pesmi* (*Plzeňsko v lidové písni*) u dva toma, 2011. i 2015. godine. Bivši upravnik Etnomuzikološkog odseka Etnološkog instituta, Lubomír Tyllner, publikovao je 2017. osobenu antologiju *Pesme, litanije i molitve koje se mogu pevati na sahranama* (*Písně, letanie a modlitby, které při pohřbech zpívati se mohou*).





Moravski folkloristi su svoje interesovanje usmerili uglavnom na izdavanje antologija narodnih pesama iz moravskih regija. Marta Toncrová je 2006. izdala dosada neobjavljen rukopis *Pesme iz Benešova kod Boskovica* (*Písně z Benešova na Boskovicku*) poznatog folkloriste Oldřicha Sirovátke (1925–1992). Njegov drugi rukopis: *Narodne pesme, predanja i dečje igre iz Boskovic i okoline* (*Lidové písně, pověsti a dětské hry z Boskovicka*) bio je objavljen 2005. godine. Slična je knjiga *Pesme iz Svatobořice-Mistrín* (*Písně ze Svatobořic-Mistřína*), štampana 2011. u redakciji Klare Císarikovoj i Rostislava Marada.

Na osnovu iznetih naslova se vidi da je češka folkloristika, bez obzira na permanentne probleme, u boljem stanju nego na kraju komunizma i u devedesetim godinama prošlog veka. Uglavnom se nadamo da ćemo uspeti da okončamo glavne izdavačke projekte i da time popunimo dosta praznina koje češka naučna folkloristika stalno ima.

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Прихваћено: 1. 12. 2021.

IN MEMORIAM

In memoriam

Академик САНУ проф. др Нада Милошевић-Ђорђевић
(2. 12. 1934 – 27. 7. 2021)

Нада Милошевић-Ђорђевић (1934-2021)

Љиљана Пешикан-Љуштановић

... Једној таквој љепоти вишег реда није потребна никаква надопуна и никаква подударност с било чим другим: она је сама себи цјеловита и потпуна: један ликовни факат, с односним одразом у сферу духа, који говори сам за се, и који је сав у томе.

Владан Десница

Нада Милошевић-Ђорђевић била је изузетна научница. Њен рад и ангажман су имали, у пуном значењу те речи, међународни значај, а истовремено су представљали и представљају и данас драгоцен допринос утемељењу и неговању националног идентитета и самосвести. По позиву и као Фулбрајтов стипендиста предавала је у Северној Америци и на европским универзитетима, била је оснивачица и чланица савета међународног часописа *Oral Tradition*, чланица међународне асоцијације Folklore Fellows при Финској академији наука, Европског друштва културе (Société Européenne de Culture), Међународног друштва за изучавање народне прозе (International Society for Folk Narrative Research). Познавала је и пратила актуелне токове европске и светске фолклористике и уносила их у националну науку и културу у свим доменима свога рада, као професорка и менторка, као научница и својим свестраним културним ангажманом. Истовремено, успевала је да успостави драгоцену равнотежу, чувајући јасну свест о националном фолклору и значају домаћих изучавалаца.

Повезивала је, чинило се с лакоћом и радошћу, бављење науком и професорски, педагошки ангажман на Филолошком факултету у Београду, где је магистрирала (1962), докторирала (1970) и почела професорску каријеру као асистент на Катедри за југословенску (данас српску) књижевност (1963), доцент (1972), ванредни (1980) и редовни професор (1985). Била је омиљена професорка, менторка водећих српских фолклориста, драгоцен помагач свима који су јој се обратили. Била је вољена и поштована и волела је и поштовала своје ђаке.

Учествовала је предано у раду Факултета и Универзитета: била је међу оснивачима Међународног славистичког центра при Филолошком факултету (1971), од 1971. до 1975, била је његов секретар, до 1983. заменица директора и директорка, од 1984. до 1985, од 1986. до 1987. и председница Савета МСЦ; била је председница Савета Филолошког факултета од 1989. до 1991. године; у три мандата, управница Катедре за српску књижевност са јужнословенским књижевностима. Од почетка излажења (1994), била је уредница *Данице, српског народног илустрованог календара* и чланица уреднштава *Анала Филолошког факултета*, зборника Међународног славистичког центра, *Прилога за књижевност, језик, историју и фолклор*, као и чланица уређивачких одбора *Српске енциклопедије* и едиције *Студије о Србима*. Учествовала је у раду више стручних удружења (Одељење за књижевност и језик Матице српске, Друштво за српски језик и књижевност Србије, Одбор за додељивање награде за науку, Удружење фолклориста Србије, Задужбина Бранка Ћопића и др.). За дописну чланицу САНУ изабрана је 2003, а за редовну 2012. Била је главна уредница едиције САНУ о женама чла-

ницама Српског ученог друштва, Српске краљевске академије и Српске академије наука. Све то радила је без позе, без роптања, озбиљно, савесно и предано и, пре свега, без трунке саморекламерства и разметања. Драгоцен и свестран био је и њен научни рад, прожет суштинском „радошћу препознавања" и трагања и непоколебљивом вером и лепоту, смисао и вредност српске и јужнословенске усмене баштине. Широк обухват грађе, истанчани осећај за њену лепоту и смисао укрштали су се у њеном научном раду са продубљеним увидима у токове европске и светске науке.

До данас остаје незаобилазна њена капитална монографија *Заједничка тематско-сижејна основа српскохрватских неисторијских епских песама и прозне традиције* (Београд: Филолошки факултет, 1971), настала на основу њене докторске дисертације и заокупљена сагледавањем односа усмене прозе (превасходно предања и легенде) и поезије. Комплексне студије које сачињавају ову монографију и данас су незаобилазне у сваком компаративном изучавању неисторијске (приповедне епике) и других жанрова усмене (или писане) епике, али и у сваком комплекснијем сагледавању жанра предања.

Њено изучавање жанрова усмене прозе (бајке, легендарне приче, новеле, предања и др.) и данас је подстицајно као што је то било у часу када је објављена монографија *Од бајке до изреке* (Београд: Друштво за српски језик и књижевност Србије, 2000), али и бројне драгоцене збирке усмених предања и кратких фолклорних облика (поред осталог такве су књиге *Од како се земља охладила*. *Прозни облици српске народне књижевности и мале фолклорне форме*, 1986; *Пође слат непослат*, 1986; *Ни црно ни бело ни јесте ни није*, 1986; *Више ум замисли него море понесе*, 1987; *И звезде на небу устрели*, 1988)

Поимање и истраживање жанрова усмене прозе представља изузетно значајан аспект укупног научног рада Наде Милошевић-Ђорђевић. Врсте усмене прозе она схвата „као оквир за обухватање садржине у којој је битно открити поглед на свет, начин мишљења, природни исход еволуције грађе". Овако схваћен жанр функционише као „најмањи заједнички садржалац врсте", који истрајава у времену као „једини видљиви континуитет постојања народне књижевности", њена специфична историја. Она тако уводи у класификацију српске усмене прозе прецизно одређен жанр легендарне приче, испитује њену структуру и позиционира је између бајке и предања или, продубљеном анализом новосабраних збирки усмене прозе, указује на промене кроз које у свом историјском трајању пролази жанровски систем усмене књижевности. Одступања новозаписаних текстова од жанра схваћеног као „идеални модел", али и приповедачева усаглашавања властитог виђења света с

овим идеалним моделом, откривају фолклорни текст као „динамичку конструкцију“, показујући функционисање „једног још увек живог уметничког ткива духовне и друштвене културе, која управо зато што је у превирању захтева вишестрану анализу“ (*Континуитет и промене прозних облика*).

Научни рад Наде Милошевић-Ђорђевић битно је обележило и изузетно познавање и уважавање дела Вука Стефановића Караџића и његовог доприноса да се сљепачке песме препознају и као велика, национална и светска културна баштина, и као песме које су „содржале, и сад у народу простом содержавају негдашње битије Сербско и име“. Осам студија обједињених у књигу *Казивати редом. Прилози проучавању Вукове поетике усменог стварања* (Београд: Рад – КПЗ Србије, 2002) представљају сажету рекапитулацију и синтезу њеног тридесетогодишњег проучавања Вукове поетике усменог стварања: његовог односа према усменој поезији и прози и према националној култури. Нада Милошевић-Ђорђевић прецизно сагледава и Вукову историјску улогу и релевантност његових ставова и поступака са становишта савремене науке. Она, притом, повезује изванредно познавање поетике усменог стварања и јасну историјску перспективу, како са становишта домаћих изучавања тако и с обзиром на европске, па и светске токове у изучавању фолклора. Оцртавајући историјско-поетички контекст Вукове појаве и делатности, и на плану националне књижевности и у европским оквирима, Нада Милошевић-Ђорђевић показује како је превратничка појава Вука Караџића припремљена у српској култури континуитетом усменог стваралаштва, које она сагледава као израз традиционалне културе и једину „непрекидану нит уметности речи“ у нас. На плану европских књижевних и духовних токова, она Вукову појаву сагледава у сагласју са „сложеним књижевним, језичким, филозофским, историјским и друштвеним процесима који су се у Европи догодили, одвијали или је требало да се одиграју“. Заступајући становиште да је Вук своју (обимну) редактуру усмене прозе спроводио попут приповедача – интерпретатора, заснивајући је на познавању језика, „идеалних образаца усмене културе“ и „језичких формула патријархалне етикеције“ те, пре свега, на познавању идеалне композиционе структуре усмених жанрова – Нада Милошевић-Ђорђевић није у потпуности искључила могућност да се, управо као „савршенство обликовања усменог жанра, његово литераризовање“, ове приповетке могу изместити из домена фолклора. Тако у закључним напоменама она и сама користи синтагму „њихови/ његови текстови“, откривајући тиме сложеност и свестраност свог научног поступка.

О тој свестраности сведочи и монографија *Радост препознавања* (Нови Сад: Издавачки центар Матице српске, 2011), посвећена у целини односу средњовековне и усмене књижевности. Нада Милошевић-Ђорђевић се бави овом и претходно изучаваном темом (на шта указује и изузетно скрупулозни преглед ставова и домета претходних истраживача), пружајући низ нових и драгоцених увида, који откривају њену широку ерудицију. Поред изучавања народне књижевности, та ерудиција обухвата и домен историјских изучавања и студија о старој књижевности, изузетно познавање поетске грађе, опет не само оне из домена народне већ и оне која припада старој књижевности. Доминантни у овој монографији јесу изузетан аналитички сензибилитет ауторке и њена радосна посвећеност теми властитог истраживања. Она показује како се сегменти преузети из писане књижевности преплићу с граматиком усменог песништва и особеним погледом на свет његових твораца и реципијената, а посебан однос успоставља се преко различитих видова локалних предања. Бавећи се народним предањима о Светом Сави у контексту српске „средњовековне речи", Нада Милошевић-Ђорђевић закључује да су управо одређене аналогије које постоје између поетике усмених предања и поетике средњовековних житија омогућиле „да се поједини мотиви, мотивске схеме или композиционе структуре, ментални склопови или психолошка становишта преузимају из средњовековне књижевности и обратно". Један од најзначајнијих доприноса монографије *Радост препознавања* представља сагледавање народне и хришћанске културе као два културна тока који столећима живе напоредо. Бавећи се различитим хипотезама о настанку песма о Косовском бој у – неколико деценија или чак векова после битке или као непосредан одјек боја – Нада Милошевић-Ђорђевић се, верујем с пуним правом, опредељује за становиште о симултаном настанку, пре свега због „преклапања у формулативности и семиотици средњовековног и фолклорног поетског система". У овој монографији и у целини свог научног рада, она инвентивно прожима и повезује поетичка и књижевноисторијска изучавања остварујући комплексне увиде у српску културу.

Научно дело Наде Милошевић-Ђорђевић и њен културни ангажман били су високо вредновани за њеног живота. Она је тако награђена Повељом почасног члана Славистичког друштва Србије, Вуковом повељом за истраживање националне културе и педагошке баштине, Повељом за животно дело „Миле Недељковић". Добила је награде „Младен Лесковац" Матице српске и „Златна српска књижевност", из фонда Александра Арнаутовића „за изузетан допринос изучавању књижевне српске науке", Награду „Дејан Медаковић" Издавачке куће Прометеј за 2015. годину, за „дуго памћење" српске културе и Награду „Тихомир Р.

Ђорђевић“ Центра за културу и уметност у Алексинцу (2019). Ипак, верујем да коначна вредновања и систематизовања њеног научног доприноса тек предстоје и да ће им се савесно посветити они које је озарила својим „талентом лепоте“ и топлом, радосном људскошћу.

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ПРИКАЗИ И БЕЛЕШКЕ

Приказ

Писање и причање

Љиљана Пешикан-Љуштановић, *Пишем ти причу. Рефлекси усмене књижевности и традиционалне културе у писаној књижевности и савременој култури Срба*, Нови Сад: Академска књига, 2020, 360 стр.

Нова књига Љиљане Пешикан-Љуштановић посвећена је у целини пропитивању сложеног утицаја усмене књижевности и традиционалне културе на *писану* или *ауторску* књижевност. Чине је укупно петнаест студија које су организоване у четири целине и то према књижевноисторијској хронологији (од Вукових сведочанства о традиционалној култури Срба у 19. веку, па све до савременог доба). У првој целини груписане су студије посвећене разматрању различитих елемената традиционалне културе и усмене књижевности (лутка као обредни реквизит, симболизам мајчиног млека, Вуков концепт епике), али и рефлекси фолклорне традиције у књижевности романтизма (у Његошевом стваралаштву и драмском делу Лазе Костића), док су у другој целини радови посвећени роману Боре Станковића и поезији сликарке Милене Павловић Барили. Најопсежнија и по временском распону (од поратне до постмодерне књижевности), али и по разноликости стваралачких поетика (Бранко Ћопић, Михаило Лалић, Иво Андрић, Алек Вукадиновић, Милосав Тешић, Миро Вуксановић), свакако је трећа целина, док је последња посвећена новијим достигнућима на пољу српске драме двадесет првог века (Милена Марковић, Биљана Србљановић) и актуелним формама ангажоване уметности (урбани '*стрит*' перформанс и инсталације сликара Николе Џафа).

У првој по реду студији *Од обреда и игре до позоришне сцене*, Љиљана Пешикан-Љуштановић бави се разматрањем могућих значења лутке у српској и јужнословенској традиционалној култури. Полазећи од обреда жртвовања лутке направљене од крпа, печене земље или сушених плодова (Герман/Ђерман/Џерман) ради изазивања кише у суш-

ним периодима, преко обреда *вучара* у ком препарирани вук има сличну функцију, ауторка закључује да је у овим примерима лутка предмет обредно-магијске манипулације преко које се успоставља комуникација са вишим силама. Исту функцију могу имати и антропоморфизовани предмети који се користе као својеврсна замена за човека (дрвена кашика, капа), због чега се указује на паралелу која се може успоставити са правом сценском лутком. Логичан след разматрања о употреби лутке као дечије играчке од 18. века до савременог доба представљају запажања о Змајевом песништву за децу, у којем су заступљени поменути мотиви, при чему Љиљана Пешикан-Љуштановић наглашава да је управо он аутор првог текста намењеног дечјем луткарском позоришту у Срба. Иако се сценска лутка код нас везује првенствено за позориште за децу, ауторка указује и на ретке примере луткарских представа за одрасле које су биле део српске позоришне праксе 21. века.

Веровања и различити поступци везани за дојење и значај мајчиног млека предмет су разматрања у огледу *Рана материна*, где ауторка указује на митске представе о моћи мајчиног млека и његове сакрализације у веровањима Јужних Словена. На светост мајчиног млека упућују и посебни начини његове заштите од урока, као и различити обичаји и веровања везани за задојавање детета, при чему се посебно истиче необично, апотропејско задојавање које је чест мотив у успаванкама. Љиљана Пешикан-Љуштановић наводи у овом огледу још низ примера поменутих увида о светости млека који су преточени у махом епске песме. Притом, као најбољи пример творачке моћи и светости мајчиног млека, ауторка издваја трагични климакс песме *Зидање Скадра*. Због наведених веровања, нарочито тешким се сматрало огрешење детета о мајку, тачније о „материну (х)рану“ и с тим повезану веру у моћ мајчине клетве, о чему ауторка наводи бројне примере из нашег усменог песништва (највише о мајци Марка Краљевића, чије је заклињање млеком у функцији залога правде и поступака у складу с тим), али и примере злоупотребе овакве врсте заклињања (у једној варијанти *Омера и Мериме*), за који мајка бива кажњена смрћу свога сина. Рефлекси традиционалних представа о жени и мајчинству у контексту дојења присутни су и у савременом друштву и модерној култури, иако то на први поглед делује потпуно неочекивано, а као доказ ауторка наводи репрезентативне примере које је прикупила путем савремених дигиталних медија и друштвених мрежа.

Студија *Пушка опутом свезана* посвећена је сагледавању културног и историјског контекста српске епике у делу Вука Стефановића Караџића, његове експлицитне и имплицитне поетике, чије фрагменте Љиљана Пешикан-Љуштановић повезује стрпљиво ишчитавајући Ву-

кове белешке, напомене, коментаре, историјску грађу и текстове, поетичке огледе, писма, предговоре и огласе који прате песничке збирке. Иако та сведочанства „нису увек систематична, некада се понављају, понекад су и противречна и неконзистентна", будући да су се Вукови поетички ставови мењали упоредо с његовим животним и духовним сазревањем, ауторка сматра да су и поред тога драгоцена и да трагање за њима, одгонетање њиховог смисла и значења нису узалудан труд. На основу сагледавања свих поменутих врста извора, ауторка закључује да историјски контекст усмене епике није до краја сагледан и реконструисан, а посебно је вредно запажање да га је Вук обликовао не само на основу историјских чињеница, него и низа културно-историјских предања, која су „на међи између факата и приче" (предања о Ивану Црнојевићу и његовим синовима, затим предање о Сибињанин Јанку и Секули Нећаку и др.).

У студији *Из главе је цијела народа* Љиљана Пешикан-Љуштановић проучава рефлексе усмене поезије и традиционалних представа о свету на нивоу садржине, поетике и значења у целини Његошевог дела, издвајајући посебно песме кола у *Горском вијенцу*. Суштинско питање на које покушава да одговори је колико су ови рефлекси посредовани и преобликовани Његошевом песничком индивидуалношћу и талентом. Због тога упућује на бројне сличности између песама кола и српске усмене епике као што су: особена митизација националне историје и судбине, циклично поимање времена (пропаст и обнављање света), мотив кобне мајчине клетве, као и веровање у смисао освете. Напомиње да кола, иако имају функцију умногоме аналогну функцији епске песме, нису песме 'на народну' већ су и поетички и значењски високо индивидуализоване песничке творевине. Након помне анализе свих набројаних аспеката Његошевог дела, ауторка долази до утемељеног закључка да је његов однос према усменој традицији и народној култури „сложенији од пуког прихватања или одбацивања и често прераста у сложене тешко одгонетљиве дијалоге са свим њеним сегментима", и да тај стални дијалог „обогаћује суштински његов израз управо зато што не подразумева буквално преузимање, већ пре једну врсту сталног плодотворног промишљања".

Однос према усменој епици кључни је проблем који Љиљана Пешикан-Љуштановић разматра и приликом аналитичког разматрања тетралогије Михаила Лалића (*Ратна срећа*, *Заточници*, *Докле гора зазелени* и *Гледајући доље на друмове*). Ауторка полази од претпоставке да је однос према усменом стваралаштву и традиционалној култури значајан за целину Лалићевог дела, делимично и стога што се у њему огледа и пишчев донекле амбивалентан став према традицији властите

заједнице: изузетно је добро познаје, али је „непрестано и у особеној полемици са њом". У овој студији ауторка разматра прва два романа поменуте тетралогије, будући да их сматра естетски вреднијим и остваренијим, а предмет истраживања је сагледавање и тумачење „углавном супротстављених односа и вредносних ставова о црногорској, превасходно ратничкој традицији". Такве ставове заступају главни ликови романа: браћа Грујовићи – Обро („барјактар") као типски представник ратничко-патријархалног етоса и Пејо, који је услед одређених животних околности заувек издвојен из традиционалног културног модела, са сталним осећањем *другости* и неукорењености у заједници из које потиче, те њихови сукоби не проистичу само из супротстављених идеологија него и потпуно различитог односа према свеукупној традицији. Посебно се разматра и појам *ратна срећа* у овим романима, који је у потпуности преузет из усмене традиције (нарочито из хајдучких песама о дружини Старине Новака).

Још један оглед (*Под паомом расла*) посвећен је сложеним везама епске песме и поетике одређеног аутора. У овом случају компаративно се сагледавају песма *Љуба хајдук Вукосава* и драма Лазе Костића *Ускокова љуба*. Иако је ово Костићево дело до сада било предмет истраживања, Љиљана Пешикан-Љуштановић сматра да се у досадашњим анализама, уз ретке изузетке, углавном указивало само на сижејна подударања са поменутом епском песмом. Због тога полази од студије Марте Фрајнд о драмском стваралаштву Лазе Костића, у којој се први пут указује на везе народне песме, народног глумовања и Шекспирове романтичне комедије. Разматрајући историјат (углавном неуспешних) покушаја поставке Костићевог драмског дела на сцену, ауторка закључује да је *Ускокова љуба* до данас позоришно „непрочитана" и „мање-више нереализована" и залаже се за ново позоришно читање овог дела, при чему би било неопходно „поћи од његовог поновног разматрања у контексту српске усмене традиције и традиционалне културе". Ауторка издваја *обреде прелаза* као изузетно значајне за тумачење мотива „непрепознатљивости" прерушене жене, посебно фазу лиминалности главне јунакиње (у којој симболички умире у свом претходном статусу), као кључ за нека нова ишчитавања овог дела.

Ван Генепова теорија о обредима прелаза незаобилазна је и приликом тумачења понашања јунака Станковићеве *Нечисте крви* у студији *Заточеници лиминалности*. Љиљана Пешикан-Љуштановић и у овом делу уочава лиминалну позицију у коју они доспевају зато што, иако припадници традиционалне заједнице, не обављају на прописан начин или не спроводе до краја неке од обреда у животу појединца. То се пре свега односи на Софкину свадбу, која је описана на два нивоа:

„као прецизно сведочење о обичајној пракси конкретног простора у конкретном времену“ али и „као слика распадања те праксе“.

Инспирисана Ћопићевим аутопоетичким исказом којим почиње *Башта сљезове боје* да је желео да исприча „златну бајку о људима“, и полазећи од општеприхваћених тврдњи („општих места“) да су везе Ћопићевог стваралаштва с народном књижевношћу сложене и многоструке, Љиљана Пешикан-Љуштановић покушава да конкретно одреди природу и карактер те везе. Након упоређивања овог Ћопићевог дела са усменом бајком, закључује да ни у целини збирке, а ни у појединим приповеткама нема основних елемената сижеа/фабуле бајке нити фантастичних елемената. Иако закључује да се не може успоставити веза Ћопићевих прича с бајком, ауторка уочава утицај других жанрова усмене књижевности, пре свега епске песме и предања о јунацима када је реч о „употреби простора“, именовања и карактеризације јунака преко везе са одређеним простором, али и хуморну инверзију епске формулативности приликом карактеризације појединих ликова. Као илустрацију сложености односа са усменом приповедачком традицијом ауторка анализира приповетку *Дјечак с тавана* са становишта предања о закопаном благу и показује како се међу њима успостављају „сугестивне морфолошке и семантичке везе“.

Мотиви и хронотопи усмене и ауторске (писане) бајке европских народа и њихове општепознате јунакиње (најмлађа кћи, Алиса, Снежана, Златокоса, Палчица, принцеза, вештица) као полазиште савременог драмског текста предмет су разматрања у студији *Од бајки до драмских антибајки*, у којој анализира драму Милене Марковић *Брод за лутке*. Сви поменути елементи су употребљени, како истиче Љиљана Пешикан-Љуштановић, као „особени културни код, језик који дели са својим потенцијалним гледаоцима и читаоцима“. У драми су присутне асоцијације, често пародирање и иронијски однос према неким основним елементима композиције и структуре бајке (срећан крај, дворац из бајке, права принцеза, принц на белом коњу и сл.), а главни лик Брода за лутке „обликује се као црнохуморни рефлекс општепознатих јунакиња“, те на тај начин Милена Марковић „спроводи особену иронијску ресемантизацију бајке“. Управо коришћење бајке као кода, међутим, „сведочи о неугаслом естетском и значењском витализму овог жанра“. У другом делу огледа о бајци, Љиљана Пешикан-Љуштановић аналитички приступа и драмама Биљане Србљановић (*Скакавци*; *Барбело*, *о псима и деци*). Она трага за релацијама са бајком као жанром (непосредно и посредно рефлектовање тема, мотива и ликова бајке) јер сматра да се управо на томе заснивају „нека од дубинских значења ових драма и остварује особени, сложени однос са књижевном и културном традицијом“. У обе

драме уочава поступак деструирања „антрополошког оптимизма бајке“ на којем се и заснива „пуна трагичност и слојевитост значења“ разматраних драмских текстова.

Предмет разматрања у књизи *Пишем ти причу* су и други усмени жанрови, као што су кратки говорни изрази усменог порекла, које ауторка издваја у Андрићевим *Знаковима поред пута*. Иако је већи део грађе већ био обрађиван, Љиљана Пешикан-Љуштановић успева да пронађе нове примере „народне мудрости“ и покаже да Андрић „невелики број властитих мисли формално и садржински обликује по моделу усмених творевина“. Осим тога, уочава и да Андрић кратке говорне изразе усменог порекла наводи и користи на различите начине и стога је највећи део ове студије посвећен управо одређивању њихове функције у *Знаковима поред пута* и пишчевом односу према њима, од истинског уживања у њиховој лепоти и звучности, дивљења мудрости, тачности и истинитости усмене речи, па до критичких исказа о њима. Но, без обзира на то како се наводе, асоцирају и користе у овом Андрићевом делу, кратки говорни изрази, како ауторка сматра, никада нису само пука илустрација „већ они често постају битан део новога значења, а тиме и део оних знакова које писац оставља иза себе“.

Осим сагледавања утицаја поменутих усмених жанрова на стваралачку поетику појединих писаца, у наредним огледима централно место заузима схватање простора и представе о кући (дому) у традиционалној култури. У првом огледу ауторка одгонета многозначну симболику куће у поетском опусу Алека Вукадиновића и указује на херметичност и „флуентност његових темељних слика и симбола“ као кључних одлика ове поезије, које истовремено отежавају потпуније расветљавање природе тог односа. Због тога приликом тумачења полази од општих представа о кући у усменом стваралаштву, као и у обредној и обичајној пракси и истраживања овог проблема изложених у делима М. Елијадеа и А. Бајбурина (кућа као центар света, склониште које одваја човека од космоса, али га и повезује с њим итд.). Посебно је значајно тумачење песме *Кућа немогућа*, у којој проналази непосредну везу са архаичном представом о кући као сакралном простору, тачније „микрокосмосу у којем се физичко претаче у метафизичко“ и као таква „непосредно асоцира на чудесне грађевине усмене лирске песме“ о вилинској градњи на облаку. Након исцрпне анализе мотива куће у Вукадиновићевом опусу, ауторка закључује да овај песник „вишеструко захвата у ризницу српског усменог песништва, магије, обреда и мита“ и то на више нивоа: језика, стиха и значења. У следећем огледу о архетипској симболици куће ауторка анализира песничку збирку Милосава Тешића *Кључ од куће*, у којој уочава доминантан *космогонијски* смисао куће као „кошни-

це људског живота, што подразумева прожимање слоге и радиности“ (како то коментарише сам песник у једном есеју, чији део ауторка наводи на почетку студије). Пажњу ће посебно обратити на песму *Дивља кућа*, која се издваја у том циклусу управо по негацији свега наведеног, јер су у њој присутне слике „демонизованог, подивљалог микрокосмоса напуштене (или скоро напуштене) куће“. Приликом анализе ове песме ауторка издваја поетске слике које недвосмислено показују да је дошло до потискивања култивисаног, људског и питомог простора: демонска обележја кума и извртања његове традиционалне функције, инверзија семантике биљака (глог и купина), слика плеснивог хлеба, те гротескно измењене домаће и дивље животиње. Разградња куће одиграва се до краја њеним одласком у шуму и тиме „пориче њену основну сврху, да заштити човека и одвоји га од света природе“.

Рефлексе традиционалне културе Љиљана Пешикан-Љуштановић проналази и у *Семољ гори* Мира Вуксановића, чији се утицај у овом случају остварује „више као комплексан подстицај него као јасан и непосредан утицај“. Ауторка упућује на кључне елементе те културе (веровања, обреди, обичаји, магијска пракса, вредносни систем) као потенцијалних изворишта овог романа, закључујући да Вуксановић на тај начин гради дело које је јасно повезано с традицијом, али истовремено и изразито (пост)модерно. Разматрајући „лексички космос“ Семољ горе, ауторка запажа и специфичан однос према различитим усменокњижевним жанровима: предању, казивању о животу, анегдоти и шаљивој причи, усменој пословици и изреци. У том светлу посматра и утицај усменог предања у Вуксановићевим причама о Светом Сави, које се обликују под словом П (порекло рељефа, вода, културних вештина, именовање), у којима се светац, како се наглашава, доминантно „описује као демијург, који у светом времену праствараља моделује свет какав данас знамо“. Вредно је и запажање да у Вуксановићевој *Семољ гори* нису укрштени само најразличитији прозни облици, већ и различите уметности, пре свега сликарство с којим његово дело успоставља сложени дијалог.

Уочавање веза са сликарством сасвим сигурно није случајно, пошто је оно као посебан предмет истраживања присутно у чак два огледа ауторке ове књиге. У првом огледу (*Под светлошћу спаљеног месеца*) Љиљана Пешикан-Љуштановић анализира поезију сликарке Милене Павловић-Барили. Полазећи од доминантних боја у њеном песништву, ауторка издваја црну, белу, сребрну и сиву јер оне, како тврди, наглашавају „сновидну, ноћну димензију њених простора“. Осим тога, уочава и да црно и бело у њеним песничким сликама не представљају универзални контраст доњег и горњег, земље и неба, ноћи и дана, већ и једно и друго припадају свету умирања, ноћи, сна, а да бела, као боја која у

традиционалној култури најчешће симболизује невиност, чистоту и почетак, у Миленииној поезији има такво значење само у ретким случајевима. Љиљана Пешикан-Љуштановић посебну пажњу посвећује анализи начина на који се у Миленииној поезији обликује простор „од макро до микроксмоса, од космичког бескраја до топоса властитог тела", при чему „пејзаж добија одлике тела, као што и само тело постаје пејзаж, сведен на неколико најупечатљивијих граничних топоса". Међу њима посебно се истиче коса – као лајтмотив и уједно један од њених најупечатљивијих сликарских мотива. Тумачећи поменути мотив у Миленииној поезији, ауторка се позива и на семантику косе у традиционалној култури, односно на њен амбивалентан карактер – сматрана је стециштем и симболом животне снаге, богатства, изобиља и среће, али истовремено и магијски моћном заменом за човека, те је на тај начин повезана и са хтонским и оностраним.

Тело је и у фокусу студије Љиљане Пешикан-Љуштановић посвећене сликару Николи Џафу (*Стваралачки космос тела у космосу културе*), једном од најзначајнијих концептуалиста на прелому векова, који је познат и по својим уметничким перформансима. Ауторка наводи бројне примере „употребе тела" у његовим инсталацијама, цртежима, фотографијама, фигурама, па све до сопственог (уметниковог) тела. Посебно је занимљиво успостављање везе између манипулације косом (одсецање и стављање у лед) у току перформанса Џафове уметничке трупе *Лед-арт* са аналогним поступцима шишања косе током погребног обреда и древним веровањем да би требало сачувати сву за живота одсечену косу и спустити је у ковчег заједно с покојником. Због особеног уметничког поступка, ауторка уметника пореди са древним *магом или шаманом* који успева да зарони у дубине колективно несвесног, те да у свом стваралачком ангажману „обједињује уметнички и магијско-обредни чин".

Након пажљивог ишчитавања студија које су обједињене у књизи *Пишем ти причу* Љиљане Пешикан-Љуштановић, указују се јасни обриси једне веома кохерентне целине, иако оне обухватају веома велик књижевноисторијски распон, што би се могло тврдити и за опсег тема о којима пише. На то је свакако утицала и интенција саме ауторке, коју је формулисала у наслову (а прецизније разјаснила и у поднаслову ове књиге), да у појединим делима или целокупном опусу стваралаца о којима пише проналази углавном мање или више уочљиву нит која их повезује с фолклорном матрицом и да укаже на природу те везе, њену сврху и функцију у конкретним остварењима. Осим пропитивања рефлекса и модификације различитих жанрова усмене књижевности (епске песме, предања, бајке, кратких говорних израза итд.) у писаној

(ауторској) књижевности, као кључне теме у овој књизи намећу се и традиционалне представе о телу, простору, времену, симболици боја, али и феномен *обреда прелаза*. Без обзира на то о којој теми пише, Љиљана Пешикан-Љуштановић показује увек завидну ерудицију и вештину тумачења не само усмене књижевности (као области којом се највише бави), него и ауторске књижевности, али нам се открива и као врсни познавалац и одани поштовалац драмске и ликовне уметности. Због тога је њен допринос на свим овим пољима драгоцен и, надамо се, вредан подстицај за даља истраживања плодотворног дијалога усмене и писане књижевности, као и традиционалног поимања света које се непрекидно одражава у различитим видовима стваралаштва све до савременог доба.

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Приказ

Симболика и улога бројева у традицијској култури и фолклорном стваралаштву Срба

Снежана Самарџија, *Бројеви у српском фолклору. Од обреда до слике света и од симбола до игре.* Београд: Албатрос плус, 2020, 167 стр.

Симболика и улога бројева у традицијској култури, језику и усменом стваралаштву српског народа запажени су у српској научној мисли, али њихова позиција и значај нису систематски испитани и осветљени. Монографија Снежане Самарџије посвећена бројевима у српском фолклору управо нуди концизну и свеобухватну анализу њихове постојаности, функција и симболичког набоја у усменом стваралаштву и народном животу Срба.

Систематично и подробно, ауторка испитује значења бројева и њихову улогу у формирању слике света, народној перцепцији просторних и временских димензија и односу који се успоставља према религијским и митолошким представама. Полазећи од формулативне употребе бројева у конкретним усменим жанровима попут епских и лирских песама, кратких говорних облика, те у усменим прозним врстама, Снежана Самарџија бројеве сагледава с различитих становишта. Пажљиво пробраним примерима из српске усмене књижевности и традицијске културе, ауторка упућује на то како се „захваљујући искуству утемељеном на опажању и аналогијама“ помоћу бројева исказује народно поимање природних процеса и одређених појава, и формира комплексно симболичко уобличавање света.

У уводном делу студије даје се осврт на универзалну симболику бројева у различитим културама и друштвима. Наводећи примере који показују богатство и разноврсност симболичких представа везаних за бројеве, те ослањајући се на речнике симбола Ханса Бидермана и

Жана Шевалијеа и Алана Гербранта, ауторка указује на то да су многим древним културама заједничка значења једноцифрених и неких вишецифрених бројева. Њихова симболика показује се као постојана и универзална, док ослањање на митолошке и религијске слојеве умножава и усложњава њихова значења.

Пажња је посвећена и проучаваоцима који су раније покретали питања у вези са симболиком и улогом бројева у српском фолклору, премда је њихово осврtање на бројеве било узгредно и најчешће дигресивног карактера. Бавећи се епском стилизацијом, Томо Маретић је указао на постојаност и формулативност бројева у народној епици, док су Драгутин Костић и Светозар Матић проширили своја запажања о „стајаћим бројевима“ и на терен усмене прозе. Ауторка се ослања и на рад Марије Клеут, која карактеризацију епских јунака доводи у везу са функцијом бројева у нашој епици. Узимајући у обзир спорадична запажања других истраживача, студија разматра улоге и значај бројева у српском фолклору. Бројеви се посматрају као изражајно средство којим се описује свет усменог књижевног дела, али и поима живот са становишта традицијске културе.

Снежана Самарџија испитује семантички импулс једноцифрених и појединих вишецифрених бројева, откривајући у пословичким формулацијама, изразима и епским формулама њихова разнолика значења и вредности, те начине квантификовања света у различитим врстама народне књижевности и традицијској култури. Указујући на ширење и усложњавање спектра њихових улога, ауторка настоји да истражи сижејни и стилски потенцијал бројева, посебно бројева један, два, три, четири, седам, девет, дванаест.

Поглавље „Бројање, одбројавање и умножавање бројева“ осветљава место и функцију бројева у структури фолклорног текста. Ауторка запажа да се обредно-магијски и митски слојеви значења бројева често преплићу са сижејним обрасцима. С друге стране, развијање одређеног сижеа одвија се неретко наштрб слојевитости значења бројева, па они у формулативном изразу опстају као „придружен члан, прилагођен одређеној слици, чак и када се успоставља сложенији бројчани низ“.

У поглављу „Поигравање са рачуницом и приповедањем“, осветљавају се основне поетичке одлике гаталица, чији структурални модел често подразумева укључивање бројева. Снежана Самарџија указује на то да поигравање рачунским операцијама и самим нумеричким вредностима бројева јача забавни карактер гаталица. Наредно поглавље, „Бројанице или немушти облик магије речи?“, тематски се приближава претходном јер се такође бави питањем поетичких одлика једноставнијих усмених облика. Нудећи мноштво примера и анализирајући осо-

бености разбрајалица и бројаница, ауторка испитује значење и улогу бројева у њиховој структури и поетици.

У поглављу „Бројање, писање и 'читање' бројева", интересовање је посвећено питању аутентичног и поузданог записивања и објављивања фолклорне грађе, при чему се проблему записивања бројева прилази са посебним занимањем и пажњом. На примерима једне кратке хибридне приповедне форме и једне гонеталице ауторка уочава начине неутрализације уобичајене употребе бројева и поигравање њиховим нумеричким вредностима и манирима графичког обележавања. Улога бројева, бројних именица и сам поступак рачунања и бројања у овим примерима постају декоративни, док се њихове основне функције искључују и подређују хумору.

Функцијама и значењима бројева у свету савременог човека бави се поглавље „Тринаеста школа, тринаесто прасе и петак тринаести". Користећи пример броја тринаест, ауторка истиче да се поред нумеричких вредности и прагматичне функције бројева, у савременим културама одржава и симболика коју одређени бројеви за собом повлаче из прошлости. Показује се да амбивалентан однос према броју тринаест и његов семантички потенцијал опстојавају још од античких времена па све до данас.

Нагомилавање нијанси и слојева значења на архаичне семантичке подлоге продубљују симболику бројева и чине их комплексним. Закључно поглавље књиге „Знак и симбол" расправља о поимању бројева као симбола и могућности да се препознају као ознаке које носе одређен симболички потенцијал. Како је у усменој комуникацији улога бројева условљена контекстом, ауторка указује на њихову пригодну намену у оквиру обредних и магијских радњи, митских и религијских представа. Важан чинилац који утиче на симболику бројева јесу и жанровске законитости, тематика и сижејни обрасци. Ауторка запажа да функције бројева зависе од њиховог семантичког капацитета и да се усложњавају и постају разноврсније што је семантички капацитет већи. Премда је у свету савременог човека утилитарна употреба бројева доминантна, архаична значења и древна симболика бројева присутна су и данас, што доприноси да они опстају као значајне и семантички веома потентне ознаке наше свакодневице.

Књига Снежане Самарџије приступа проблему бројева као симбола у српском фолклору са интердисциплинарног становишта. Ауторка разматра жанровски разноврсну грађу и сагледава и проблематизује питање постојаности и функција бројева у усменом стваралаштву Срба, али и шире – испитује културни контекст и начине поимања света из угла патријархалне заједнице и савременог човека чији свет постаје

'глобално село'. Тумачења и запажања представљена у књизи чине резултат дугогодишњих ауторкиних истраживања и преданог рада на упознавању фолклорне грађе. На овом месту она су сажета и организована у прегледну целину у складу с посебним методолошким и епистемолошким захтевима. У књизи су успешно осветљени позиција и улоге бројева у језику, култури и уметности, и уједно испитани разноврсни семантички наноси у комплексном и шароликом симболичком спектру бројева.

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Приказ

Словенски фолклор и књижевна фантастика

Савремена српска фолклористика VIII – словенски фолклор и књижевна фантастика. Ур. Дејан Ајдачић и Бошко Сувајџић. Београд: Удружење фолклориста Србије, Универзитетска библиотека „Светозар Марковић"; Кијев: Комисија за фолклористику Међународног комитета слависта; Лозница: Центар за културу „Вук Караџић", 2020, 518 стр.

Образовно-културни центар „Вук Караџић" у Тршићу угостио је угледне научнике из више словенских земаља у периоду од 27. до 29. септембра 2019. године, поводом одржавања осме по реду међународне конференције *Савремена српска фолклористика*, под називом *Словенски фолклор и књижевна фантастика*. Удружење фолклориста Србије и Комисија за фолклористику Међународног комитета слависта у сарадњи с Универзитетском библиотеком „Светозар Марковић" из Београда и Центром за културу „Вук Караџић" у Лозници, одржали су скуп посвећен феномену фантастичног у српском и словенском фолклору и књижевности. Конференција је изнедрила зборник радова запажених научника на руском, српском, бугарском, украјинском, пољском и енглеском језику. Зборник окупља 31 студију и посвећен је испитивању места и многоструких улога које фантастика остварује у разнородним фолклорним и књижевним жанровима.

Први сегмент зборника носи наслов *На рубу фолклора и књижевности* и обједињује студије које промишљају улогу и значај фантастичног у поетици одређених фолклорних жанрова. Узимајући у обзир поетичке особености неких од жанровских облика фолклора, те поимања стварности у оквиру традицијске културе, радови дискутују и о питању постојања фантастике у појединим фолклорним облицима. Рад Лидије Делић *Јагње ђурђевско, пригушена фантастика жртве* покреће питање фантастике у народним епско-лирским песмама, у којима се у мотиву

трансформације људског бића у животињу, на примеру деце претворене у јагњад, уочава елемент фантастичног из перспективе профаног и реалног, док се с друге стране он доживљава и као доказ чуда и Божје промисли са становишта народног веровања и хришћанства. Смиљана Ђорђевић Белић студијом *Идејни комплекс „веровати у снове“ у светлу реторике истинитости: прилог проучавању жанра на примеру прича о сновима о мртвима*, остварује дијалог с претходним радом, дискутујући о функционисању стратегија „реторике истинитости“ у причама о сновима. Анализирана је теренска грађа уз посебан фокус на чиниоце важне за реализацију веровања (наратор, актери, метатекстуални коментари, хронотоп), културу сневања, те жанровске одлике и наративно обликовање прича о сновима. Бранко Златковић питању фантастике у фолклору прилази на провокативан начин у студији *Култ свиње у устаничкој традицији*, остављајући га отвореним за даља разматрања. На култни статус свиње указује се на примеру анегдота о Карађорђу, где се ова животиња неретко изједначава са вуком, а сам Карађорђе се аналогно повезује са светосавским култом. Мирослава Карацуба у студији *Мотив претворення-метаморфоз у народній баладі південних слов'ян* осветљава жанровске карактеристике народних балада у којима је присутан мотив метаморфозе. Ослањајући се на запажања еминентних фолклориста о овој проблематици, ауторка темељном анализом јужнословенских балада уочава постојање различитих типова фантастичне трансформације метаморфозом. Фолклорним представама дрекавца и њиховим књижевним демистификацијама бави се рад Јеленке Пандуревић *Дрекавац у фолклорном имагинарију и метафоричким структурама културе памћења*. Трагајући за постфолклорном употребом традицијских представа о дрекавцу, студија осветљава карактеристике културе памћења и медијски дискурс коме није непознато реактивирање поменутог мотива. Последња студија у овом сегменту јесте рад Данијеле Поповић Николић *Фантастични елементи у обликовању лика Светог Томе у српским басмама и апокрифима*. Подробно су испитани начини фантастичног обликовања лика Светог Томе као чудотворног исцелитеља у апокрифима, али и опонента и прогонитеља демона у народним басмама.

Средишње поглавље зборника, *Фолклор и фантастика у српској књижевности*, отпочиње радом Ане Вукмановић *Транспозиција мотива метаморфозе у ружу: сусрет фолклора и зенитизма*. Студија разматра трансформацију фолклорног мотива метаморфозе покојника у цвет и његов укрштај са елементима зенитистичких струјања у савременој књижевности, на примеру романа *77* самоубица Бранка Ве Пољанског. Сава Дамјанов у студији *Улазак вампира у српски роман* прати облико-

вање фигуре вампира у романима српских предромантичара. Осветљен је утицај српске фолклорне традиције на формирање теме вампиризма у раном српском роману, али и трагови предромантичарске европске прозе, западне хорор фантастике и готског романа. Александра Матић радом *Приче о води̏ници и модерни демони* наставља дискусију о постојању фолклорног предлошка и успостављању идентитета демонског у српској прози. Испитујући хронотоп воденице, у традицијској култури обележеног демонским активностима, ауторка осветљава његову улогу у прозним делима истакнутих српских писаца – *У води̏ници* Иве Андрића, *Мосту без обала* Миодрага Павловића и *Опсади цркве Светог Спаса* Горана Петровића. Елементима фантастике у поукама и беседама Гаврила Стефановића Венцловића и „богословљењу у стиховима" Никанора Мелентијевића, Захарије Орфелина и Партенија Павловића, бави се рад Александре Павловић *„Многа нека привиђења налична овоме свету" Гаврила Стефановића Венцловића*. Ауторка осветљава утицај украјинске барокне омилитике и уметности на однос поменутих аутора према фантастичном. Данијела Петковић у студији *Волшебни свет смедеревског града у роману „Деспот и жртва" Добрила Ненадића* подробно истражује фолклорну матрицу из културноисторијских и демонолошких предања, народних бајки и веровања, те утицај библијских легенди на дело српског писца. Осветљен је удео усмене традиције понајвише у поступцима обликовања јунака, при чему је испитано пишчево ослањање на фолклорну потку, али и начини преобликовања фолклорних елемената. Утицај српске усмене традиције на пољу масовних медија испитује Зоран Стефановић у раду *Бајка српска, чаробни напитак руско-амерички: преображај Баш-челика из фолклора у стрип и филм*. Аутор анализира бајковне фолклорне мотиве инкорпориране у наративни свет стрипа и филма почев од прве половине 20. века, па све до данас. Српском демонологијом бави се и Бошко Сувајџић у раду *Вампир на сцени – после 90 година*, у чијем су фокусу сценске представе вампира у драмским остварењима, на филму и телевизији. Аутор успоставља релацију између демонолошких предања, драма 19. и 20. века у којима се појављује фигура вампира, приповетке *После деведесет година* Милована Глишића, филма *Лептирица* Ђорђа Кадијевића, али и савремених драмских остварења Ђорђа Милосављевића и Данице Николић. Предраг Тодоровић у раду *Фантастика хорора у приповеткама Милована Глишића „Награисао" и „Бата Мата"* у фокус свог истраживања такође поставља опус српског реалисте. Размотрене су особености хорор фантастике у двема Глишићевим приповеткама, при чему је подробно испитан утицај српске фолклорне традиције, али и фантастике Николаја Гоголља. Тијана Тропин у раду *Лик Краљевића Марка у савременој*

епској фантастици осветљава начине конституисања фигуре Марка Краљевића у савременим романескним делима Драгана Р. Филиповића, Бобана Кнежевића и Александра Тешића, и уочава постојање извесних одступања од фолклорног предлошка и српске народне традиције, као и неоспоран утицај западне епске фантастике у формирању Марковог лика.

Треће поглавље зборника, *Словенски фолклор и фантастика у словенским и несловенским књижевностима,* отпочиње студијом Дејана Ајдачића *Фолклорни жанрови и њихови преображаји у приказима демона у словенским књижевностима 19. века*. Испитани су ренаративни токови и жанровске промене настале инкорпорирањем демонолошких мотива и тема из усмене традиције у књижевна дела 19. века. Ненад Благојевић у раду *Проблема отношения фантастического и аллегорического в романах Пелевина „Empire V“ и „Бэтмен Аполло“* разматра обраду мотива вампира у делу опуса Виктора Пељевина. Студија показује како су фантастични мотиви у романима руског писца трансформисани у алегоријске представе нове реалности, при чему их аутор вешто користи као метафору свеопштег слома система вредности и социјалног колапса. Елена Борисова у раду *Наследството на Богомилите като метафизично пътуване към себе си в романа на Емил Андреев „Лудят Лука“* разматра заоставштину богумилских знања и симбола у савременој бугарској књижевности. Она испитује пут ка самоспознаји у романескном делу Емила Андрејева, на којем се сустичу садашњост, прошлост и будућност. Украјинска научница Аља Демченко испитује провокативан однос између постмодернистичких стремљења и фолклорних елемената у савременој украјинској књижевности. У студији *Антиутопічна повість „Очамимря“ О Ірванця: посмодерністська інтерпретація фольклорних жанрів* уочавају се реинтерпретирање усмене традиције и пародија фолклорних жанрова попут бајке, предања, баладе и других облика, како би се створила романескна слика света песимистичног призвука. Рад Зорице Ђерговић Јоксимовић *Словенски корени „Америчких богова“* бави се утицајима словенске митологије на дело савременог америчког писца Нила Гејмена. Ауторка указује на значај поменутог романа у промовисању словенске митологије међу америчком читалачком публиком, истичући значајну улогу словенских митолошких бића (вила, русалки, вампира, Чернобога, Бјелобога) на структуралном плану романа. Елена Ковтун у тексту *„Канон“ и интертекст „посмертного бытия“ в фантастике XX–XXI вв.: к постановке проблемы* расправља о теми загробног живота у фантастичној књижевности савременог доба. Истражене су представе оностраног света у делима 20. и 21. века, начини конституисања слика загробног живота, те његове нај-

чешће просторне и темпоралне одлике. У раду *Slavic Folktale Characters in Serhiy Oksenyk's Fantasy Trilogy Walking, Flying, Floating*, Татјана Рјазанцева бави се трансформацијом фигура јунака словенских народних приповедака у постапокалиптичној фантастичној басни Сергеја Оксеника. Ауторка указује на иронични отклон у формирању ликова фантастичне трилогије који извориште имају у народној традицији, а уобличени су у складу с поетиком постмодерног остварења и очекивањима савремене публике. Роман Сапењко у раду *Fantastyczność w kontekście koncepcji mitu Aleksego Łosiewa* даје аналитички осврт на концепције фантастичног у књижевности и уметности. Пољски аутор предочава најважнија запажања и сазнања о овоме феномену и уједно разматра тачке њиховог приближавања поставкама изложеним у Лосевљевој *Дијалектици мита*. Богдан Троха у тексту *Renarracje słowiańskich motywów ludowych we współczesnej fantastyce* такође испитује феноменологију фантастике. Он разматра како се мотиви из словенског фолклора укључују у савремену фантастичну књижевност и уочава начине ренарације матрица преузетих из фолклорне традиције у популарну књижевност. У раду *Baśń nad baśniami Wojciecha hrabiego Dzieduszyckiego – pierwsza mitologia Słowian?* пољска научница Марзана Ужђицка бави се делом *Бајка над бајкама*, истражујући зачетке научног изучавања пољске и словенске митологије у 19. веку. Размотрене су жанровске особености дела, као и ауторов однос према разноликој и плодној словенској фолклорној традицији. Лариса Фиалкова у студији *Альтернативное славянское фэнтези американских писателей* осветљава интересовање америчких ауторки савремене фантастичне књижевности за словенски фолклор. Испитује се утицај словенске фантастике на америчку прозу почев од 80-их година 20. века до данас, а у средишту пажње су првенствено путеви и начини преношења фолклорних мотива из словенских народних традиција у америчку књижевност. Књижевно дело Ладе Лузине анализира Тетиана Хајдер у студији *Фольклорні мотиві в творах сучасної української письменниці Лади Лузіної*. Методично су размотрени фолклорни елементи фрагментарно присутни у карактеризацији неких од јунака у циклусу романа *Вештице у Кијеву*. Тетјана Цепкало ауторка је рада *Ритуально-міфологічна своєрідність поезії Віри Вовк*, у којем се бави специфичностима митског мишљења у поезији украјинске књижевнице. Студија осветљава мотиве древних словенских митских представа, ритуалних радњи, архетипских слика, и указује на песникињино значајно ослањање на мотиве позајмљене из хришћанске религије. Украјинска научница Наталија Чаура у тексту *Фольклорний дискурс у контексті часопису „Кур'єр Кривбасу"* дискутује о позицији и значају фолклора на страницама савремене периодике, узимајући као пример

часопис „Курир Кривбас“ (2009–2011). Запажен је значајни удео фолклорне традиције у савременој украјинској књижевности, а часописи посвећени уметности, култури и књижевности препознати су као важно оруђе за очување националне и културне самосвести и идентитета. Зборник затвара студија Марије Шаровић *Мотиви фолклорне фантастике у роману „Врзино коло“ Марине Ахмедове,* у којој се промишља утицај словенске фолклорне традиције у поменуто романескно дело, као и могуће компаративне паралеле романа Врзино коло са прозом Николаја Гогоља и Милована Глишића.

Зборник *Словенски фолклор и књижевна фантастика* представља изузетно интердисциплинаран и значајан прилог словенској фолклористици и науци о књижевности. Бројни аутори из више различитих словенских земаља успостављају дијалог о феномену фантастичног у фолклору и књижевности, отварају провокативна питања, продубљују и допуњују постојећа запажања и сазнања. Зборник се одликује методолошким плурализмом и предочава више перспектива и становишта са којих се може приступити поменутој проблематици. Постављена тема није исцрпљена и остаје подстицајна за даља разматрања, нудећи значајно усмерење за даља истраживања о улози фантастике у словенским књижевностима и фолклору.

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Приказ

Влашки еротски фолклор

др Сина алу Челоју / др Синиша Челојевић, *Кйнтјеће дје рушиње / Еротске влашке песме*, Њиготјин: Gergina, 2021, 97 стр.

Да су још увек живе мале и маргиналне форме традиционалног фолклора и да није касно да се оне на неки начин прикупе и објаве, сведочи недавно објављена збирка влашког еротског фолклора Синише Челојевића.

Цела збирка штампана је на влашкој ћирилици, само је уз наслов дат и превод на српски језик (*Еротске влашке песме*, мада би тачнији еквивалент било *Срамотне песме*, што има своју паралелу у вуковским „срамотним речима“). Аутор збирке, Синиша Челојевић, лекар по основној професији, у кратком уводу на влашком дели са читаоцима своје недоумице око објављивања ове књиге. Закључује: „од када је света певале су се срамотне песме“, али ипак, за доба младости једна влашка песма каже: „љубав је тешка болест, нико се од ње не може спасти“. И тако и Власи, као и сви други, воле љубав, воле да од других слушају срамотне песме, а када је потребно и сами да их казују. Збирка садржи 71 еротску песму „из свих крајева у којима живе Власи“, а све су записане на локалним говорима (у дијалектолошком смислу влашки говори се у збирци одређују као крајинско-тимочки и хомољско-браничевски дијалекат). Аутор позива читаоце да му помогну у прикупљању других варијаната да би се могла штампати и следећа књига.

Аутор своје име потписује у влашкој варијанти, са додавањем места порекла – Прахово (Синă алу Челоју – Праовјану), а тако су потписани и неки други казивачи. Према оригиналним влашким надимцима казивача може се приближно реконструисати ареал одакле су поједини текстови, али је евидентно да су у већини из Неготинске крајине: Вратна (Борикă Врăкњану), Валакоње (Дрнда ђи ла Валакуање), Танда (Пăун ђи

ла Танда), Радујевац (Динка лу Стојан џин Рӑдӑјвӑц), Велика Каменица (Бадја џи ла Камица Маре), Слатина (Кера слӑтјинашу), Боговина (Жарку бӑндашу ђин Боговина), Јабуковац (Лӑутари ђин Јабуковӑц), Шипиково (Тӑљијану џи ла Шипикова), Кобишница (Ђорђе Миуловић џин Кобишница), Мокрање (Жика алу Пӑндуру ђин сату Мокрањ), Прахово (Воја алу Бицӑ, Праовјану).

Неки текстови су снабдевени прецизнијим подацима: неколико песама су певали виолинисти (лаутари) Риста Голубовић из Осаонице и Радиша Грујић из Церемошње, а забалежио их је Живорад Томић из Осаонице; нажалост, други подаци о времену, околностима и начину записивања нису наведени.

Уз поједине текстове стоји напомена да припадају традиционалном фолклору (џин лумје*/djin lumje* – што би одговорало термину традиционалан). Неке су ауторске: тако, на пример, уз њих неколико стоји да их је написао Љуба Војводан, пет је написао Мики Трајиловић из Прахова (џин Праова), једну Љубица Болдескић, две Бранко Олар, једну Слободан Цветић из Табаковца (Тӑбаковац), једну Станиша Пауновић, две Санду алу Пӑтру Иљија Радји из Мале Каменице (Камица Микӑ). Ипак, за неке текстове није једноставно установити да ли припадају традиционалном фолклорном репертоару или су ауторски.

Пада у очи честа употреба иницијалне фолклорне формуле ’зелено лишће’ + ’нека биљка’: фуаје вјерђе ђе сусај (са варијантом на другом влашком говору: фуаје вјарђе дӑ сусај [’врста жутог цвета, Sonchus’]) / фуаје вјердје дје ајуш [’дивљи лук, Allium sylvestrum’] / фуаје вјарђе дӑ мауор [’мухар, Setaria’] / фуаје вјарђе голопӑр / Фрундзӑ вјарђе, голопӑр / фуаје вјарђе, куадӑ скуртӑ / фуаје вердје дј-о ноја. Ове формуле су конзервирале данас већ вероватно заборављене фитониме (или њихове замене на месту на коме се у формули очекује неки фитоним), али аутор овог приказа није успео све да преведе. Из лингвистичког угла гледано, већ и само документовање текстова са данас семантички непрозирном лексиком има изузетну вредност.

Да је модел формуле ’зелено лишће’ продуктиван у влашком еротском фолклору сведочи ауторска песма Микија Трајиловића у којој овом формулом почиње свака строфа двостиха (Фрунзӑ вјерђе ђе шимшир / Фрунзӑ вјерђе ђе рогоз итд.), а у којој се ради риме користе други, и данас препознатљиви влашки фитоними (’шимшир’, ’рогоз’ итд.).

И за неке друге текстове би се са великом вероватноћом могло закључити да припадају традиционалном фолклорном репертоару, на пример, за варијанте песме ’Послала ме мама у планину’ (М-а мйнат мума ла мунтје / М-а тримјес мујка ла мунће).

Без обзира на извесно несналажење у савременој методологији публиковања фолклорне грађе, издавање збирке влашког еротског

фолклора представља важан догађај у српској фолклористици. Преостаје нада да ће сарадници „Гергине“ наставити са прикупљањем оног што се данас још увек може прикупити од влашког традиционалног фолклора, а у који свакако, као што је то учињено и у овој збирци, треба укључити и све записе савременог, па и ауторског фолклора.

Издавач збирке је неготинско удружење „Гергина“. Како стоји на сајту овог удружења, након усвајања влашке азбуке, 24. јануара 2012. године, „Гергина“ је издала тридесет књига на влашкој латиници и влашкој ћирилици. Иначе, ово удружење основала је група грађана 2009. године са циљем очувања културног наслеђа Влаха неготинске и Тиомочке крајине.

Издања издавачке куће „Гергина“ тешко се могу наћи у књижарама и библиотекама. Проблем њихове доступности лако би се могао решити постављањем на интернет. Осим научно-популарних лингвистичких публикација, уџбеника, сликовница намењених деци и ауторске књижевности на дијалекту, неготинска „Гергина“ је, судећи према подацима из Народне библиотеке Србије и сајта удружења (http://www.gergina.org.rs/izdavacka-delatnost-udruzenja-gergina/), до сада објавила и неколико значајних фолклористичких издања: године 2014. у суиздаваштву са Националним саветом Влаха *Kîntjećilji noaštje: sănătatje* și *bukurije* (са приложеним диском); године 2019. етномузиколошку монографију Димитрија Големовића *Власи: традиционална народна музика* и коауторски зборник балада виолиниста из Јабуковца који потписују Синиша Челојевић и Јован Миљковић: *Кӣнтјеће бӑладје уорј ши вјерсурј : лӑутарји ђин Јабуковӑц*. Године 2020. објављене су *Kîntjećilji vlahilor/ Vlaške pesme*, а 2021. коауторска збирка бајања Синише Челојевића и Немање Испировића под насловом *Đeskintjeće*.

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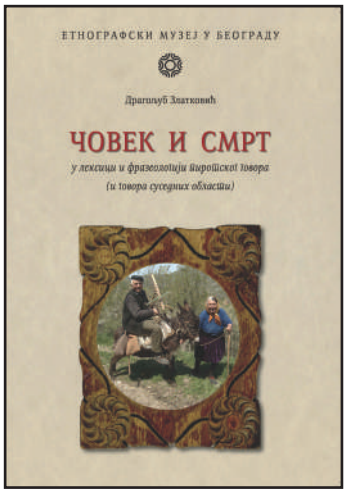
Приказ

Болест и смрт кроз призму фразеологије

Драгољуб Златковић, *Човек и смрт у лексици и фразеологији пиротског говора (и говора суседних области).* Београд: Етнографски музеј, 2020, 416 стр.



Монографија *Човек и смрт у лексици и фразеологији пиротског говора (и говора суседних области)* Драгољуба Златковића, истраживача који је стручној и научној јавности добро познат будући да се прикупљањем језичке и фолклорне грађе бави преко педесет година, објављена је 2020. године у издању Етнографског музеја из Београда. Реч је о књизи која се надовезује на претходно публиковане резултате Златковићевих истраживања. Прву збирку, *Пословице и поређења у пиротском говору,* овај аутор је објавио у *Српском дијалектолошком зборнику* (књ. XXXIV, 1988). У истом гласилу недуго затим публиковане су и *Фразеологија страха и наде у пиротском говору* (књ. XXXV, 1989) и *Фразеологија омаловажавања у пиротском говору* (књ. XXXVI, 1990). Посебан значај има *Речник пиротског говора*, Том I (А–Њ), Том II (О–Ш), који се појавио у издању Службеног гласника у Београду 2014. Златковић је објавио и више збирки фолклорне грађе која обухвата различите жанрове – приповетке, предања, дечији фолклор, еротски фолклор (*Време уз огњиште. Народне приповетке,* 2002; *Тулу лан, булу лан. Народне дечје умотворине пиротског краја*, 2002; *Гладно грне. Народне приповетке пиротског краја*, 2003; *Дечји фолклор у пиротском крају*, 2003; *Петко и Јана. Ласцивна и скатолошка приповедања, певања и фразе из пиротског краја*, 2004; *Приповедања из пиротског краја*, 2005; *Приповетке и предања из пиротског краја*, 2007; *Ругалице и њима сродни облици у традицији пиротског краја и суседних области*, 2012).

Књига *Човек и смрт у лексици и фразеологији пиротског говора (и говора суседних области)* резултат је вишедеценијског посла, будући да

је аутор, како у предговору напомиње, грађу која је у корпус укључена бележио од самих почетака својих теренских истраживања. Најпре су дигресије везане за болест и смрт бивале спонтано увођене у разговоре, да би од 1990. Златковић на овим темама и посебно инсистирао, препознајући их као важне елементе лексичког фонда пиротског говора, али и релевантне за осветљавање слике света која се кроз језик и фолклор рефлектује. Највећи број примера забележен је у последњој четвртини двадесетог века на подручју општине Пирот, а нешто је мање оних који су документовани од 2003. до 2009. године на територији општина Књажевац и Зајечар.

Изабрану грађу Драгољуб Златковић је организовао у двадесет тематских целина: 1. *Болест и лечење (Има болка, ама има и лек)*, 2. *Шале на рачун старих особа (Насметоше ме доктури те не умре)*, 3. *Смрт и пролазност (Нека прооди, други да живе)*, 4. *Дуговечност као основна жеља (Неје си толко ни лоше да си стар човек)*, 5. *Старење у пару (Немаш ли другара, немаш ништа, немаш силу, немаш живот)*, 6. *Старење у свом дому (Да глчи нећи човек у кућу, да има после мене)*, 7. *Старење у самоћи (Само ја и моје срце, никога другога нема)*, 8. *Самоостваривање и свођење рачуна (Трије човека је од мене потекло)*, 9. *Преношење традиције (Причам на млади што знам, да остане)*, 10. *Сужавање социјалног круга (Дојде си време да човек почње да смета свакоме)*, 11. *Старци као терет у домаћинству (Горчив је леб из чужду руку)*, 12. *Слабљење воље и страх од смрти (Стра си ме, доде)*, 13. *Телесно и духовно опадање (Надол идемо, нагор не идемо)*, 14. *Пропадање села и традиционалног система вредности (Нема више ни кој да гази земљу ни кој да умре)*, 15. *Самоубиство (Турил јуже на гушу, стужнило му се)*, 16. *Час смрти (Душа на коньц)*, 17. *Тужбалице (Леле-леле, мука моја до бога)*, 18. *О покојнику и смрти (Кад дојде смрт, она не пита да ли очеш или нечеш)*, 19. *Погреб и помени (Че прајмо адет, ама нема га дигнемо)*, 20. *Онај свет (Штом умреш, одма си горе)*. Књига садржи и *Предговор*, те списак непознатих речи. Примери су акцентовани и обележен ознаком насеља у коме су забележени. Уз део примера које је аутор проценио као посебно занимљиве, дати су и подаци о казивачима.

Значај монографије *Човек и смрт у лексици и фразеологији пиротског говора (и говора суседних области)* је вишеструк, будући да се њен допринос везује за више научних дисциплина. Публикована грађа представља изузетно богат корпус за лингвистичка истраживања различитих профила: дијалектолошка, фразеолошка и сл. Корпус нуди могућност за антрополошка разматрања концептуализације појма смрти (у конкретном случају – у свести говорника призренско-тимочке дијалекатске области). Коначно, грађа се показује као погодна и за фолклористичка проучавања. Осим паремиолошких жанрова (изрека, послови-

ца, пословичких поређења), у материјалу се могу наћи и веровања (о смрти, загробном животу и сл.), подаци везани за традиционалну медицину (магијско лечење и лечење биљем), фрагменти усмених историја и (ауто)биографских наратива, анегдоте. Ево неких од таквих примера:

> – Цел дьн је башта ми тија дьн косил. И сено натоваримо на кола у Јавор. И четри километра до село довезе се на колата преко сеното. И испрегну краве и затвори и у шталу. Рече: – Прво да одвржемо сеното! И док одврзувамо и он помага. И после рече: – Ви једете, вечерајте, ја не могу. Ја че са умрем! И отиде у школско там, а ми по њега. И одједампут сестра ока: – Тата паде и умре! (стр. 352)
>
> – За зуб лечење, каранфил. Загризе се и држи у зуб цел дан, и престане. И тов ситан каранфил. (…) За раматизат је лек непрегорело ђубре. (…) За смирење се квасьц пило по два-три месеца. (стр. 17)
>
> – Реза, това је жьчка, ћеска сас жьчку од говедо које је болувало оди жутицу, а сас това се лече човеци који боли жьчка, који имају жутицу. Говедо млого рове кад оди това болује. И касапин показује ћескуту. И на мушко дава оди мушко, а на женско оди женско. Ћеската се осуши и после се смеље. Ка се човек лечи с това оно се тури у љуту ређију у ређиску чашу, па се изнесе надвор и чашата се тури на чандије, а одјутро се пије наште срце. (стр. 35)
>
> – Како се доселимо у Пирот несмо имали ништа, на војничћи куфер смо јели. И Голуб из Лукању ни направи два кревета-ногаре да има на кво да спимо. И док несмо направили и наплнили кућу несьм знал ни празник ни делник. Све моје време је прошло у работу, цел живот: дању фабрика, а поподне на куће радим за паре. И са ка требе да поживим, снајде ме болес. (стр. 171)
>
> – Ставили се лењав и болан, па лењавјат рекьл на болнотога: – Е, ти че се лечиш па че се олечиш, ама куде ја да се денем? Од мојту болку лек нема! (стр. 37)

Посебну пажњу привлачи последњи сегмент књиге који доноси тужбалице, од рудиментарних до изразито развијених. Неки од текстова рефлектују и представе о путу душе након смрти, оном свету, а неретко садрже и детаље социјалне реалности у којој се одвија импровизација.

> Бегете жене Сока да повика! И Сока приде и почне: – Тетине, тетине / Ти си, тетине, добро направи што си умре / Па

ти, тетине, има са да отидеш на онија свет / А там че те, тетине, сретну наши који су там / Че те сретне, тетине, мој башта Тошка / Че те пита, тетине, какво је при нас / А ти знајеш, тетине, дека је бил социјалист / А ти му, тетине, само кажи да је Срета Сурданов кадија / И кажи му, тетине, да му је брат Драга судија / А он че се сети, тетине, тетине / А он че се сети каква је, тетине, дьньс при нас оправија! (стр. 335)

Монографија *Човек и смрт* леп је и пажње вредан допринос Драгољуба Златковића науци и култури и представља један од видова очувања језичког наслеђа.

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Приказ

Допринос познавању српске зоолошке лексике

Слободан Новокмет, *Називи животиња у српском језику – семантичка и лингвокултуролошка анализа*, Београд: Институт за српски језик САНУ, 340 стр.

Студија Слободана Новокмета *Називи животиња у српском језику – семантичка и лингвокултуролошка анализа* настала је на основу рукописа докторске дисертације *Семантичка анализа лексема са значењем животиња у савременом српском језику*, која је одбрањена 2016. године на Филолошком факултету Универзитета у Београду под менторством проф. др Рајне Драгићевић. Монографију чини седам поглавља: 1. *Уводне напомене* (стр. 11–18); 2. *Теоријски оквир истраживања* (стр. 19–51); 3. *Семантичка анализа секундарних значења зоолошких лексема – зооними као материјалне реалије и креације* (стр. 53–104); 4. *Појмови који припадају култури, природи, људским, животињским и биљним организмима и ономастици* (стр. 105– 165); 5. *Секундарне семантичке реализације зоолошких лексема које се односе на човека* (стр. 167–291); 6. *Препоруке за унапређење лексикографске обраде зоолошких лексема* (стр. 293–301) и 7. *Закључна разматрања* (стр. 303–309). Уз ових седам поглавља књига садржи и *Реч аутора* (стр. 9), *Списак извора, речника и веб-сајтова* (стр. 311–312), *Цитирану литературу* (стр. 313–322), *Именски регистар* (стр. 323–325), *Регистар појмова* (стр. 326–336), *резимее на енглеском и руском језику* (стр. 337–340), као и део *О аутору* (стр. 341). Поглавља унутар монографије су издељена на потпоглавља, што доприноси читљивости и прегледности грађе, којој доприносе и закључци и запажања дати у табелама.

Предмет истраживања ове студије јесте зоолошка лексика српског језика (и то монолексичке зоолошке јединице, а у обзир нису узимани

вишечлани спојеви, тј. двочлане синтагматске конструкције нпр. *слепи миш, дивља свиња, бодљикаво прасе* и сл.) и њена лексичко-семантичка и лингвокултуролошка анализа. Материјал за истраживање зоолошких лексема сакупљен је из више лексикографских извора чију основу чини *Речник српскохрватског књижевног и народног језика,* али је придодата и грађа прикупљена из других релевантних речника српског језика (нпр. *Речника српскохрватскога књижевног језика, Двосмерног речника српског жаргона и жаргону сродних речи и израза* Драгослава Андрића и сл.), као и грађа сакупљена из разговорног језика и електронског корпуса. Истраживање пре свега има лексиколошки и лексикографски карактер, али га тематски корпус усмерава на интердисциплинарну обједињеност различитих друштвено-хуманистичких дисциплина. Као што аутор у раду истиче, животиње су врло важан део културног, митолошког и фолклорног наслеђа српске културе и носиоци различитих симболичких вредности важних за мапирање колективне слике света и националних концепата у култури српског народа (стр. 15–16), што ово истраживање чини лингвокултуролошки утемељеним.

Један од циљева овог истраживања је да се полазећи од лексикографских дефиниција лексема из корпуса испита природа њихове полисемантичке дисперзије и принципи у формирању њихових значењских структура, затим да се успоставе репрезентативне тематске категорије и њихови чланови, да се помоћу анализе досадашњих поступака лексикографске обраде секундарних значења лексема у речницима, пре свега у *Речнику САНУ*, да предлог за унапређивање процеса обраде полисемантичких лексема у дескриптивним речницима, јер ће се темељним увидом у значења забележена у речницима олакшати допуне и обједињења секундарних реализација зоолошких лексема. Један од циљева је и да се употпуне семантичке структуре значењима која су потврђена у језичкој пракси, али не и у речницима. Утврђивање побуда при заузимању одређеног става према датој животињи помогло би осветљивању језичке слике света српског говорника, а с обзиром на то да језичка слика света јесте израз човекове способности да моделује и структурише слику стварности у одређеној лингвокултуролошкој заједници и с обзиром на то да је она одраз наивне стварности једне лингвокултуролошке заједнице, није необично што међу лексичким јединицама којима се номинују животиње, као што су нпр. *коњ, вук, медвед* или *змија*, налазимо много примера где се оне доживљавају као носиоци одређених културолошких стереотипа који се креирају управо на специфичној слици света те културе и традиције (стр. 19–20). Животињски свет одувек је фасцинирао човека који је покушавао да открије дубље значење сваке животињске врсте, а повећано интересовање мо-

дерне лингвистике за улогу метафоре у језику и култури условило је учесталије бављење зоонимима као носиоцима компонената језичке слике света лингвокултуролошких заједница (стр. 24).

Друго поглавље *Теоријски оквир истраживања* даје систематичан и врло подробан приказ бављења зоонимима у разноликим дисциплинама науке о језику: ономастици, фразеологији, лексикологији, когнитивној лингвистици, из аспекта српских истраживања, али и из угла компаративног проучавања. У завршним напоменама овог поглавља аутор се бави семантичким компонентама зоонима у лексикографској обради на примерима из *Речника САНУ,* указујући на неуједначеност лексикографске интерпретације зоонима, предлажући општу схему начина њиховог дефинисања.

У поглављу насловљеном *Семантичка анализа секундарних значења зоолошких лексема – зооними као материјалне реалије и креације* аутор анализира секундарна значења зоонима из сфере материјалних реалија и креација, при чему уочава да у сродним словенским језицима постоје слични, али не и исти механизми мотивације секундарних значења зоонима у сфери материјалних реалија, тј. да се асоцијативне везе између изгледа и функције изворних зоонима и различитих циљних предмета и њихових делова успостављају по сличним когнитивним законитостима, док се различити могу приписати културолошком контексту, а сличности објаснити и међујезичким лексичким позајмљивањем (стр. 56).

У склопу трећег поглавља помоћу семантичког критеријума издвојено је једанаест тематских група и то: тематска група оруђа (направа, алатки, справа и сл.; нпр. *ала* у значењу „справе с решетком за гњечење и цеђење воћа и поврћа, нарочито парадајза“), тематска група оружја и делова оружја (нпр. *орлић* „ороз на пушци, пиштољу, окидач“), тематска група предмета који служе за игру и инструмената (*певчић* је „дечја свирала у облику малог певца“), тематска група накита (*боа* је „женска огрлица у облику змије од крзна или перја“), тематска група спортских помагала (*рода* јесте „врста пиштоља за гађање“), тематска група саобраћајних појмова (*глиста* представља „карту за више вожњи у градском саобраћају“), тематска група одевних предмета (*кенгур* је „грудна носиљка за бебе“), тематска група грађевинских појмова (*јарац* је лексема која означава и „зидарске ногаре“), тематска група војне опреме и појмова у вези с војском (*мушица* у војничкој терминологији означава „део нишана који се налази на врху пушчане цеви, предњи нишан“), тематска група електронских уређаја (*бубица* је „мали микрофон“, *лајавац* означава „мегафон“) и тематска група производа животињског порекла (нпр. ставила је *лисицу* око врата (крзно од лисице)).

Зоонимске метафоре детаљно представљене у књизи показују и доказују важност животиња у свету људи. Основни лексички механизам у реализацији секундарних значења у сфери материјалних реалија јесте метафора (ређе метонимија), и то је у већини примера употребљена сликовна метафора. Закључна разматрања овог поглавља показују да је у преносу зоонимске номинације на појмове из материјалне културе највише представника животињског света из домаћих животиња.

У четвртом поглављу дата су четири семантичка поља и појмови означени секундарним значењима зоонима, односно: култура (народна култура и живот; симболи; апстрактни појмови; спортски жаргон; мерне јединице, новчане јединице), природа (појмови из природе), људски, животињски и биљни организми (органи и делови тела; болести, ране, повреде) и ономастика у склопу које се налазе представе и употребе назива животиња као антропонима и фитонима.

У петом поглављу уз помоћ лингвокултуролошког, когнитивног и лексиколошког приступа аутор долази до система вредности српске језичке заједнице која се огледа у тзв. зоонимској метафорици (животињским називима који се односе на човека) користећи теорију о *Великом ланцу постојања* према којој се појмови на вишој лествици (нпр. Бог, човек) могу објашњавати помоћу оних на нижој лествици (нпр. животиња, биљка, инаниматни објекат), подразумевајући колективне стереотипе о животињама. У наставку С. Новокмет човекове атрибуте дели на три аспекта: физички изглед (спољашњи изглед, стање и начин кретања), духовне особине (карактер, понашање, емотивна стања, расположења и интелигенција) и сексуалност, док се као посебне групе издвајају: хипокористици, увредљиви називи, називи за различите друштвене групе и занимања, као и називи за људе посебних физичких обележја. Закључци који се подробном анализом издвајају јесу: најнегативније особине човека, за оба пола, у српској култури добијене помоћу зоонимских метафора јесу прекомерна или недовољна величина (*комарац, мечка*), непривлачан физички изглед (*гуштер*), успорено кретање (*слон*), доб (*кљусина*), ниска хигијена (*крмача*); глупост се повезује са негативним облицима друштвеног понашања попут примитивности, некултуре, грубости и сл., а особине глупости се као циљни семантички домен мотивишу компонентама величине и кретања животиња, али и културолошким стереотипима, конфесионалним ставовима и прецедентним текстовима. Закључено је и да се код жена више инсистира на привлачном физичком изгледу (*мачка, риба*), а код мушкараца на храбрости и јунаштву (*вук, лав*). Неке од особина које се у српској култури кроз примере зоонимских метафора посебно вреднују јесу: памет, култура, пристојност, храброст.

У одељку *Препоруке за унапређење лексикографске обраде зоолошких лексема* С. Новокмет је уочио да се при процесу лексикографског дефинисања зоонима јављају одређене неуједначености, пре свега у распореду надређених и подређених терминолошких појмова у семантичкој организацији дефиниције, тачније, постоје случајеви да два хиперонима нису у односу скупа и подскупа. Аутор сматра да при дефинисању основног појма треба водити рачуна о семантичким компонентама које представљају најважнија обележја животињске врсте и које треба хијерархизовати према логичким и хронолошким приоритетима. Он, такође, сматра да лексикографи у речничким дефиницијама треба да нађу правилан однос између лингвистички релевантних информација, формирајући конотативну евалуацију појма у одређеној култури, и научно-терминолошких информација.

У својој студиозној монографији компаративним истраживањем које укључује интердисциплинарну повезаност лексикологије, лингвокултурологије, културологије, етнологије, митологије и фолклористике, Слободан Новокмет нам даје одговоре о значају животиња у српском језику, култури и традицији. Бавећи се подробно и врло темељно културолошко-лексиколошким аспектом зоонима у српској култури и традицији, стереотипима и језичком сликом света, аутор је осветлио веома важан део србистике и стога ова студија може бити од велике користи наведеним дисциплинама, али и драгоцена у проучавању српског језика као страног.

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Приказ

Носталгична сећања на празнике, обичаје и свакодневицу Срба у Румунији

Благоје Чоботин, *Из прошлости Кетфеља – празници, обичаји, свакодневица*. Темишвар: Савез Срба у Румунији, 2021, 132 стр.

У монографији *Из прошлости Кетфеља – празници, обичаји, свакодневица,* чији је аутор Благоје Чоботин, кроз кратке приче представљена су његова сећања која се односе на празнике и обичаје, као и на сегменте свакодневног живота који су Србима у Кетфељу, али и у околним српским селима у Румунији, били део празничног и ванпразничног времена. У форми кратких „прича" аутор више у литерарној него у стручној форми указује на суштину празника, обичаја или других свакодневних послова карактеристичних за српски народ у Румунији.

Кроз педесет и две кратке „приче", аутор читаоца упознаје с оним празницима и обичајима који су прослављани у српској заједници. Углавном су то они празници који су одражавали јединство и заједништво породице и сеоске заједнице. До скорашњег времена било незамисливо да се занемари њихово празновање, али и одржавање обредно-обичајне праксе која је била незаобилазни садржај сваког празника, а чији се опис може прочитати у монографији. „Приче" о празницима и обичајима аутор употпуњава „причама" из свакодневице. Те „приче" се односе претежно на предмете и догађаје који су обележили негдашњи сеоски живот српског становништва. Наслови ауторових „прича" показатељ су читаоцу о чему је било битно да се остави траг, али такође указују и на значај за сеоско становништво појединих празника и обичаја да би се путем записа сачувало о њима трајно сећање. Када се „приче" читају, приметно је да у њима провејава ауторова носталгија за прошлошћу и данима детињства.

> „Скоро је невероватно како нас поједини мириси или укуси враћају у ближу или даљу прошлост, па чак и у безбрижне дане детињства или нас подсећају на поједине тренутке из живота који су нам остали у сећању и који су нам толико драги“ (стр. 24).

Сећања прате мање или више живот сваког човека, а нарочито када зађе у одмакле године и када појединац сећањима оживљава прошлост, а често и време детињства. Аутор своја сећања оживљава кроз одрастање свог унука указујући и на разлике између свог одрастања и одрастања свог унука.

> „Често пута, гледам свог унука којем је сада скоро осам година и нека ми језа пролази кроз цело биће. Размишљам да између њега и мене постоји само једна генерација: његових родитеља, а толико велики јаз. У ствари ми припадамо двама различитим временима и световима. Он, овом садашњем, ја, оном прошлом. Између мог и његовог детињства нема ничег сличног, никаква заједничка нит (осим оне духовне, религиозне), која нас повезује. А ради се само о пола века разлике. И између мене и мојих дедова временска разлика је иста као и између мене и мог унука, али између мог и детињства мојих дедова ипак се могу наћи заједнички именитељи. Невероватно колико развој технике и технологије може створити амбис између генерација“ (стр. 26).

Ауторову носталгију за детињством изазивају првенствено празници и њихова обичајна пракса, али и бројни догађаји од којих су само неки добили забележено сећање у књизи, а који су породицу, сеоску а понекад и ширу заједницу одржавали на окупу. Празници, казује аутор, били су „другачији од осталих дана. Бар сам ја тако осећао“. Да су празници заиста били време другости, заједништва уже/шире заједнице, време радости, опуштања и забаве, али и време бриге о будућности, сведоче бројни истраживачи у својим записима и радовима. Аутор као судеоник готово у потпуности ишчезле прошлости Срба у румунском делу Баната запажа да „суштина обичаја значи управо познавање смисла због чега се неки обичај врши. (...) А губљење обичаја и традиције доводи до губљења идентитета као човека, као јединке, као припадника рода у коме се јеси родио, а који са свим својим духовно-моралним, културним па и материјалним вредностима даје идентитет сваком појединцу“ (стр. 42), што је нарочито значајно у етнички нехомогеним заједницама.

Благоје Чоботин је читаоцима представио оне празнике и обичаје који су били значајни за српску заједницу у Румунији у недавној прошлости, фокусирајући се углавном на оне празнике који су били одраз заједништва чланова породице и сеоске заједнице: *Дрен и тодорски коњи (Тодорова субота)*; *Лекарска дијета или православни пост*; *Мученици, весници пролећа (Младенци)*; *Небеске сузе (Велики петак)*; *Васкрсни понедељак – велика породица*; *Сеоске славе*; *Литије*; *Духовски венчићи*; *Иванданси венчићи*; *Петровска јабука*; *Од Светог Илије сунце све милије*; *Кринови Пресвете Богородице*; *Ходочашћа некад и сад (1, 2, 3)*; *Јесење задушнице*; *Старински начин мерења времена*; *О празнику Ваведења и манастиру Бездин*; *Обичаји божићнопосних дана*; *Календар од црног лука и василице*; *Богојављенски обичаји*; *Сретење господње – православни етос и народни обичаји*; *Свети Трифун или Велентај дој*; *Поштовање светитеља – благостање народа*; *Врбица и врбица*; *Опасност од заразе на гробљу*; *Свето-николајевски обичаји.*

Осим празника, Благоје Чоботон смешта у монографију и догађаје из свакодневног живота кроз одабране „приче“ о њима. Свакодневица становника у српским селима у Румунији, нарочито у деценијама после Другог светског рата, није била нимало лака. Као и другде, и код Срба у Румунији свакодневица је била испуњена тешким радом и неизвесношћу, али страхом за опстанак и очување заједнице. Свакодневица, за разлику од времена празновања, била је обележена напорним радом али је то било истовремено и време када су се млађе генерације училе раду и преживљавању помажући старијима. Током свакодневних активности учили су се и навикавали на одговорност и испуњавање обавеза, али су се зато током празничних дана учили радовању, игри и опуштању. Одрастање деце уз рад утискивало је у сећање бројне послове карактеристичне за живот и рад у селу, али исто тако и учествовање у различитим догађајима од значаја за породицу и сеоску заједницу – дружења, славља, туговања и сл. О томе сведоче следеће „приче“: *Штопер (Сејалица за кукуруз)*; *Бунари*; *Хлеб као образ од Бога (I и II)*; *Треш (Вршећа машина)*; *Кетфељска бела паприка*; *Крушач – риблер*; *Заштита од непогода*; *„Био“ или „не био“ производи*; *Како се некада брао кукуруз*; *Банатска бела гуска*; *Кишница*; *Кућни сапун*; *Кљукање гусака*; *Обичан сеоски зимски дан*; *Тоцило (Оштрач)*; *Насађивање квочке*; *Један сеоски дан*; *Природни фрижидери*; *Мирис зумбула и стајског ђубрива*; *Трап за кромпир*; *Старинска прича*; *Кетфељске ледарнице*; *Време да се „влачу башће“*.

Монографија Благоја Чоботина *Из прошлости Кетфеља – празници, обичаји, свакодневица*, како је већ напоменуто, представља ауторова сећања о празницима и обичајима, као и темама које се односе на

свакодневље. Сећања која аутор извлачи из таме заборава и обасјава светлошћу јавности о животу Срба у Кетфељу и околним селима односе се на празнично/ванпразнично време и права је штета што записи нису садржајно богатији детаљима. Ипак, аутор је успео да укаже на суштину празника, обичаја или других свакодневних послова карактеристичних за српски народ у Румунији, о чему сведоче и приложене фотографије у тексту. Монографија Благоја Чоботина *Из прошлости Кетфеља – празници, обичаји, свакодневица* само је мало ауторово подсећање, а шире упознавање јавности са начином живота Срба у Румунији који је највећим делом нестао и у садашњем времену се углавном чува у сећањима и то претежно старијих становника.

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Приказ

О свадби, али и о фотографији и архиву

Zuzana Beňušková, *Už sa chystá svadba istá. Svadobné obyčaje slovom a obrazom*, Bratislava: Ústav etnológie a sociálnej antropológie Slovenskej akadémie vied & VEDA, 2020, 127 стр.

Књигу *Už sa chystá svadba istá. Svadobné obyčaje slovom a obrazom* (*Свадба се већ спрема. Свадбени обичаји у речима и сликама*) Зузане Бењушкове, професорке на Катедри за етнологију и фолклористику Филозофског факултета Универзитета Константина Филозофа у Нитри и у Институту за етнологију и социјалну антропологију Словачке академије наука у Братислави, одликује специфичан приступ проучавању и приближавању широј публици свадбе у Словачкој – путем фотографија, док је текст само пратећи и употпуњујући део. Све фотографије у књизи су преузете из Дигиталног архива фотографија, дијапозитива и цртежа Института за етнологију и социјалну антропологију Словачке академије наука. Овај Архив је формиран 1953. године и систематски је развијан као саставни део поменутог Института. Он садржи више од сто осамнаест хиљада дигитализованих текстуалних, сликовних и мултимедијалних докумената насталих у току научно-истраживачких активности сарадника Института, а мањи део откупом од других институција. Део фотографија у архиву начинили су професионални фотографи, будући да је Институт све до средине 90-их година двадесетог века запошљавао фотографа који је био део истраживачког тима етнолога. Део фотографија које су етнолози донели са терена потиче од информатора – то могу бити оригиналне фотографије или њихове репродукције. На основу приватних фотографија које су информатори давали етнолозима, професионални фотограф би сачинио репродукције, а затим су оригинали враћани власницима (осим ако договор двеју страна није био другачији). Како објашњава ауторка, документација дигиталног архива

Института је до сада углавном била коришћена као материјал за истраживање традиционалних културних феномена или као извор фотографија за илустрацију и допуну етнолошких публикација. У овој књизи су фотографије из дигиталног архива први пут добиле кључну улогу у приказивању дела обичајне праксе становника различитих региона Словачке у двадесетом веку.

Ауторка свој рад на књизи одређује као архивски, дајући при томе детаљна објашњења о месту и улози документационе фотографије у савременој етнологији. Приликом рада на избору фотографија за књигу намера није била креирање улепшане романтичне слике живота у прошлости. Како ауторка указује, вредност изабраних фотографија је пре свега у информацијама које оне пружају, при чему јесу били узимани у обзир њихов технички квалитет и композиција да би оне уопште могле да буду понуђене читаоцима. Ауторка наглашава да се овде не ради о документарној фотографији у смислу жанровске класификације професионалне фотографије, те да би било прикладније означити их као документационе фотографије, с обзиром на то да је њихов примарни циљ био етнографско документовање истраживаних феномена. Етнографска фотографија је облик професионалне фотографије, не у смислу уметничког израза, већ као део професионалног етнолошког рада. У архивским збиркама фотографије су архивиране без модификација и графичких реконструкција или дорада, укључујући и оне које су слабијег квалитета или оштећене, али многе од њих имају или могу имати јединствену документациону вредност. Фотографије публиковане у овој књизи, како објашњава ауторка, нису настајале за потребе јавног приказивања; њихов квалитет не би требало тражити у фотографском изразу, већ у садржају који пружају.

Циљ књиге је да представи део садржаја дигиталног архива Института и да у исто време, посредством фотографија и текста, пружи нова сазнања о традиционалној свадби у Словачкој у њеним регионалним и временским разноликостима. У архиву је велики број фотографија везаних за комплекс свадбених обичаја. Само део фотографија објављених у књизи бележи аутентичне ситуације. Већи је број фотографија на којима људи позирају за потребе истраживања и документовања. Неке од њих су репродукције аутентичних фотографија у власништву информатора, које је начинио професионални фотограф. Поједини снимци потичу од сценског приказивања фолклора, док други представљају реконструкцију обредних ситуација. Многе фотографије прати богат теренски материјал и, на основу њега, публиковане студије, што им даје додатну вредност.

Књига се састоји из два основна дела која се баве свадбеним обичајима – текстуални део (стр. 13–42) и сликовни део (стр. 43–117). Осим

Увода (стр. 6–8) и Закључка (стр. 118), у књизи је и методолошки важно поглавље посвећено месту документационе фотографије у савременој етнологији (стр. 9–12).

Зузана Бењушкова даје осврт на историју склапања брака, разматрајући правне црквене и државне норме, као и њихове промене током времена. Ауторка затим даје осврт на најзначајније студије посвећене свадби у Словачкој, указујући при томе да је свадба веома комплексан ритуал који није било могуће сагледати у целини, већ само путем изабраних аспеката. Свадба је ритуал који у временском смислу може да траје веома дуго. Састоји се од низа предсвадбених, свадбених и постсвадбених сегмената. Ауторка под традиционалном свадбом подразумева свадбу у Словачкој у првој половини двадесетог века, онако како је њен модел реконструисан на основу доступних извора, као и неке његове елементе које су етнолози забележили на терену у другој половини двадесетог века. Од средине двадесетог века свадба се у временском и садржајном смислу редукује, с обзиром на друштвене промене – миграције из села у град, запосленост становништва и ограничен број слободних дана и сл. Промене настале у друштву након 1989. године одражавају се и на свадбу – утицај глобалних трендова постаје евидентан, али у таквим условима и потреба да се традиционални елементи сачувају и употребе, макар само у визуелном смислу. Ауторка пише и о обележавању годишњица свадби (посебно јубиларних као што је 'сребрна' – 25 година брака, 'златна' – 50 година брака и 'дијамантска' – 60 година брака), што је у Словачкој постало заступљеније у другој половини двадесетог века. У књизи је пажња посвећена и посмртном венчању, када се погреб младе особе организује тако да има атрибуте свадбе.

У другом, превасходно сликовном делу књиге, Бењушкова најпре даје одређење свадбене фотографије – она представља посебан жанр уметничке фотографије; не може се означити као примарно документацијска, али ни као репортажна. Њена сврха је репрезентативна успомена на дан свадбе за младенце, али и за њихове породице. Она се пажљиво чува и преноси потомцима.

У сликовном делу књиге следе објашњења и фотографије чији је фокус на одећи младенаца и сватова. Потом су приказани часници и сватови, па следи део са фокусом на свадбену поворку. Затим су дата објашњења и фотографије свадбених симбола (свадбено дрвце, свадбена застава), па самог венчања. Део је посвећен невестинском оглављу. Следи део о текстилним предметима који у појединим моментима свадбе играју важну улогу, као што су различите врсте пешкира. Следе објашњења и фотографије припреме јела, пецива и торти као и свадбене гозбе. Један део овог поглавља посвећен је музици и плесу на свадби.

Посебан део овог поглавља пружа увид у изабране обредне ситуације. На крају је део са информацијама о миразу, даровима и даривању.

Књига Зузане Бењушкове *Už sa chystá svadba istá. Svadobné obyčaje slovom a obrazom* представља изванредан извор података о свадби у Словачкој у двадесетом веку, као и о ширем друштвеном контексту који се на њу рефлектовао. Књига је актуелна и инспиративна, показује колико плодоносан може бити рад са дигитализованим архивским материјалом. Путем свадбе ауторка је испричала занимљиву и поучну причу о дигиталном архиву; путем фотографија из дигиталног архива – причу о свадби.

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Приказ

Горанцима с љубављу

Jadranka Đorđević Crnobrnja, *Nismo prekidali sa Gorom. Etnicitet, zajednica i transmigracije Goranaca u Beogradu*, Beograd: Etnografski institut SANU, 2020, 276 стр.

Чини се да су култура и језик Горанаца/Горана постали, посебно током друге деценије 21. века егзотична и веома привлачна тема у балканологији и славистици: у науци у Србији добро је позната капитална дијалектолошка монографија Радивоја Младеновића (2001) и низ његових студија о говору словенских муслиманских насеља на Косову и Метохији. Ту су, као солидна научна основа за даља истраживања два зборника радова у издању Географског института САНУ (*Шарпланинске жупе Гора, Опоље, Средска. Антропогеографско-етнолошке, демографске, социолошке и културолошке карактеристике*, из 1995. и *Горанци, Муслимани и Турци у шарпланинским жупама Србије* из 2000). Осим лингвиста, теренски рад у Гори обављају и етномузиколози – Сања Ранковић и Веселка Тончева, антрополози – Ивајло Марков и Александар Павловић.

Знатно већу пажњу истраживачи су у току прве две деценије 21. века посветили Горанцима у Албанији: лингвисти Клаус Штајнке (Klaus Steinke) и Џељаљ Ули (Xelal Ylli) објавили су 2010. године трећи том из серије монографија о словенским мањинама у Албанији посвећен Горанима (*Die slavischen Minderheiten in Albanien*, 3. *Teil*); а Клаус Штајнке је 2016. године објавио и посебну студију посвећену питањима идентитета Горанаца у Албанији и на Косову и Метохији у репрезентативном издању посвећеном теми словенских језика, идентитета и граница (*The Palgrave Handbook of Slavic Languages, Identities and Borders*, T. Kamusella, M. Nomachi, C. Gibson, eds).

Резултати истраживања горанских насеља у региону Голо Брдо у Албанији публиковани су 2013. на руском језику у колективној моногра-

фији тима истраживача из Санкт Петербурга (*Голо Брдо (Gollobordë), Албания, Из материалов балканской экспедиции РАН и СПбГУ 2008–2010 гг*.). Уредници монографије, Андреј Н. Соболев и Александар А. Новик, објавили су комплетну документацију трогодишњег тимског теренског рада у овој регији која обухвата лингвистички опис (посебно лексику, ономастику и фразеологију, затим сточарску терминологију, родбинску терминологију и породичну етикецију; као и фитонимију) и традицијску културу (материјалну и духовну културу – терминолошки систем; у оквиру обреда и прелаза: рођење детета, посмртни циклус, женску субкултуру; питања идентитета, фолклорне и дијалекатске текстове). Посебно поглавље посвећено је Албанцима у Голом Брду, а на крају монографије наведен је начин архивирања и музеализације прикупљене грађе у Архиву Музеја антропологије и етнологије РАН (Кунсткамера) у Санкт Петербургу. Са своје стране, Институт за славистику РАН из Москве објавио је 2014. зборник радова о Словенима муслиманима на Балкану (*Славяне-мусульмане на Балканах: язык, культура, идентичность*), са етномузиколошком и лингвистичком документацијом Горана из Голог Брда у Албанији Веселке Тончеве и Лучије Антонове-Василеве.

О теми Словена муслимана објављен је 2012. године и у Јапану један зборник радова (*Slavia Islamica: Language, Religion and Identity*), уредници овог зборника су Роберт Д. Гринберг (Robert D. Greenberg) и Мотоки Номаћи (Motoki Nomachi). Иначе, јапански лингвиста Мотоки Номаћи обављао је теренска истраживања у Гори и објавио њихове резултате у форми лингвистичких студија – 2018 (The Gorani People in Search of Identity: The Current Sociolinguistic Situation Among Gorani Community of the Former Yugoslavia, у зборнику *Славянская микрофилология*, Sapporo: Hokkaido University) и 2020 (The Postposed Definite Markers in the Gorani Dialect of Kosovo: Evidence from Ramadan Redžepilari's Literary Works, у македонском лингвистичком часопису *Славистични студии 19*).

Фолклористима ће свакако бити од већег интересовања радови Назифа Докле (1945–2014) који је, осим горанско-албанског речника, објавио и неколико збирки горанских народних песама и прича; затим збирке горанске фолклорне грађе Рамадана Реџепларија (1944–2016) који је у рукопису оставио и горанско-српско-хрватско-босански речник. На крају, треба поменути и дела Садика Идризија, пре свега његов *Језик и стил народне поезије Горе* (2012), затим његову нову монографију села *Крушево (Гора)* (2020) која је, као и други радови овог аутора, у целини доступна на интернету. У овом кратком прегледу требало би још поменути да о Горанцима постоје и бројна приватна издања разних аутора до којих је прилично тешко доћи.

Повод за овај кратак лингвистичко-фолклористички библиографски увод на тему (нај)новијих студија посвећених Горанцима дала је једна нова монографија објављена у издању Етнографског института САНУ у Београду. У њој се, наравно, налази и релевантна антрополошка и етнолошка литература на ову тему.

Антрополог Јадранка Ђорђевић Црнобрња истражује миграције и трансформације идентитета Горанаца већ дужи низ година: њена монографија *Нисмо прекидали са Гором* резултат је веома сложеног и захтевног теренског рада у специфичним урбаним условима, пре свега града Београда и у нешто мањој мери града Тутина. У методолошком смислу, свим истраживачима у хуманистичким наукама који примењују квалитативну анализу своје грађе – прикупљене у урбаним условима – ова књига ће бити незаобилазно штиво. Наиме, књига је од почетка до краја ауторефернцијална, о тој тако корисној ауторефернцијалности сведочи и наслов њеног првог поглавља („Где, када и како сам истраживала“). У њој се, из странице у страницу, откривају тешкоће и ограничења антрополошког рада на пресеку мањинског (и религијског) идентитета, студија рода и студија миграција.

На терминолошком нивоу ауторка се одлучује за фреквентнији и иначе уобичајени егзоним *Горанци*, мада је свесна постојања ендонима *Горани* у самој горанској заједници. Монографија прати миграције Горанаца током друге половине 20. века: у питању су економске миграције и миграције као последица ратних сукоба 1999. године, а затим се бави њиховом интеграцијом као постмиграционим процесом. Читалац, упућен у свакодневни живот града Београда, сусреће се са бројним детаљима које само површно познаје из личног искуства: специјализација Горанаца за посластичарски занат, њихово досељавање у Борчу, наслеђивање породичних занатских радњи, између осталог.

Теренска истраживања која су послужила као једно од полазишта овој монографији трајала су седам година (2012–2019), као основа за анализу и интерпретацију коришћени су искази саговорника, добијени у форми полуструктурираног интервјуа, а саговорници су били претежно мушкарци. За теме разговора одабране су оне ’лакше’: нису вођени разговори на теме из области религије и религијских пракси. Као основни симболи горанске етничке заједнице у интервјуима су се издвојили сам појам Горе, горански говор (*нашински*), *Ђурен*, женски свечани костим, мушки свечани костим и горанска свадба.

Ипак (како каже и сама ауторка на стр. 26), саговорници су повремено изражавали сумњу да је истраживање политички мотивисано и да је његов циљ да се потврди српско порекло Горанаца. У Србији не постоји институционални ниво повезивања Горанаца; истина, од 2009.

године у Београду ради *Горанска иницијатива грађана*. Ауторка, међутим, упркос свом настојању, није успела да успостави контакт са овом (политичком) организацијом.

Централно поглавље монографије посвећено је теми горанске брачне хомогамије (која укључује сеоску хомогамију), избору брачног партнера, затим савременим начинима упознавања и склапања бракова као и хетерогамним браковима. Из угла културе сећања анализирана су сећања на горанску свадбу (о којој би требало размислити као могућем елементу за заштиту у оквиру нематеријалног културног наслеђа Србије), видео-записи свадбе, а као општа места сећања: невестински костим, *шарање* лица невесте, разни сегменти свадбе, младожењин костим и промене у начину организовања свадбе. Посебно поглавље посвећено је *терлику* (некада обавезни део ношње удатих жена: црни огртач, дужине до колена, кројен у струку) и променама у начину његове израде. Терлик данас Горанке носе углавном само у свечаним приликама – о чему се говори у поглављу посвећеном променама у одевању жена. Постоје и микроразлике међу горанским насељима у одевању жена, тако у селима Млике и Враниште – у традиционалној одећи доминира жута боја. Ове микроразлике су и данас добро познате Горанцима у Београду, у шта се уверио и аутор овог приказа када је свом пријатељу Горанцу показао неколико комада женске горанске ношње купљене на једној београдској пијаци.

Социолингвистима ће посебно бити значајно поглавље посвећено језику (189–214), у коме ауторка анализира ставове о горанском/*нашинском*, *нашенском* говору. Свој методолошки приступ овој теми ауторка одређује као етнолошки и антрополошки, али се у великој мери ослања на антрополошко-лингвистичке и социолингвистичке теоријске поставке Марије Мандић (иначе примењене на говоре Срба у Мађарској). Анализирани су обим и интензитет употребе горанског говора у Београду, језичка мимикрија, али и горански говор као симбол идентитета. Домену социолингвистичке ономастике припадао би садржај поглавља посвећен горанским антропонимима у коме ауторка уочава интернационализацију личних имена (док презиме остаје непромењено), као део етничке мимикрије.

Однос Горанаца према исламској вероисповести није била тема ове монографије, ипак она се често може прочитати између редова или у узгредним напоменама испод основног текста. Тако, ауторка региструје опрезност Горанаца приликом испољавања религијског идентитета. Помиње да у Борчи постоје три основне школе са верском наставом за припаднике исламске конфесије (узгред треба указати на чињеницу да у Борчи постоји и велика заједница Рома муслимана досељених из око-

лине Прешева и Бујановца), али да већина деце Горанаца у другим деловима Београда не похађа верску наставу. Аутор овог приказа може да потврди да се строги рамазански пост држи чак и у трећој генерацији Горанаца у Београду. И још: да је наслов монографије *Нисмо прекидали са Гором* више него одлично одабран: једна горанска породица у својој радњи у Београду има видео-везу са камером која непрекидно снима двориште њихове куће у Гори.

Монографија Јадранке Ђорђевић Црнобрња садржи и бројна занимљива запажања расута по напоменама, а илустративни одломци из интервјуа са саговорницима омогућавају и додатна промишљања, односно вишеструка читања. Читалац понекад пожели да ови одломци буду екстензивнији и са више контекста или да се у прилогу нађу шири изводи из теренских разговора. Била би од користи и карта Горе (која би осим Косова и Метохије укључивала у горанска насеља у Албанији и Северној Македонији). Посебну вредност књизи дају уметничке илустрације Јулије Хочко.

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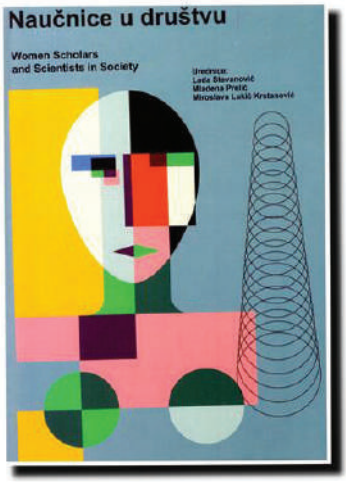
Приказ

Научнице у друштву и о друштву

Naučnice u društvu: radovi sa konferencije održane od 11. do 13. februara 2020. u Srpskoj akademiji nauka i umetnosti u Beogradu. Urednice Lada Stevanović, Mladena Prelić, Miroslava Lukić Krstanović. Beograd: Etnografski institut SANU, 2020, 456 стр.



Зборник *Научнице у друштву* настао је након истоимене конференције одржане од 11. до 13. фебруара 2020. године у Српској академији наука и уметности, у организацији Етнографског института САНУ. Конференција *Научнице у друштву* организована је у склопу пројекта под називом *Положај научница у друштву и на тржишту рада у Србији / The Status of Women Scholars and Scientists in the Labour Market and Society in Serbia*, који је покренут у оквиру Унесковог Програма партиципације 2018–2019. Пројекат су осмислиле и покренуле сараднице Етнографског института САНУ Лада Стевановић, Младена Прелић и Мирослава Лукић Крстановић, уз подршку Српске академије наука и уметности и Комисије Републике Србије за сарадњу са Унеском. Научна конференција била је једна од активности коју су организовале сараднице Етнографског института. За датум отварања симболично је изабран 11. фебруар, датум који је Генерална скупштина Уједињених нација 2015. године прогласила Даном жена и девојака у науци. Конференцију су пропратили и документарни филм *Научнице у друштву – значајне а невидљиве* и изложба постављена у Српској академији наука и уметности. Изложба, како би била доступна и након конференције, постављена је на сајт Етнографског института САНУ у виду виртуелне презентације[1]. Потом је уследио и обимни зборник радова објављен 2020. године под истим називом: *Научнице у друштву*. У оквиру истог пројекта реализо-

[1] Доступно на: https://etno-institut.co.rs/lat/vest/virtuelna-prezentacija-naslova-publikacija-sa-konferencije-nau%C4%8Dnice-u-dru%C5%A1tvu

ване су још две активности: научни семинар, који је претходио конференцији, намењен полазницима и полазницама докторских студија, организован 29. новембра 2019. године, а чије полазнице су потом водиле записник током конференције, док је наредне године у другој свесци *Гласника Етнографског института САНУ* објављен и тематски *Наука и род: синхроне и дијахроне перспективе*.

Наведене активности су, према речима самих организаторки конференције и уредница зборника, имале за циљ да допринесу видљивости научница у друштву, на синхронијском и дијахронијском плану, у ужем, локалном простору и ширем, регионалном, затим да укажу на дубоку увреженост дискриминаторских патријархалних образаца у академској заједници и нестабилност освојених права и положаја научница, али и да ревитализују заборављене научнице и претходнице указујући тако на континуитет женског научног рада и успеха у академској заједници, што би могло подстаћи данашње научнице да истрају у даљем, али нажалост и поновном освајању академских положаја.

Конференција *Научнице у друштву* била је подељена у пет тематских целина, што је структура коју је потом пратио и истоимени зборник радова: 1. Научнице у/о друштву, 2. Научне дисциплине и родна равноправност, 3. Регионалне и глобалне паралеле, 4. Феминистичко знање и образовање кроз историју, 5. Бити научница: интерпретације. Тематске целине обрађују области од најширег ка најужем плану, осветљујући на тај начин статус научница у друштву као најкрупнијем плану, преко положаја које заузимају у сопственим дисциплинама и на регионалном и глобалном плану, да би последње две целине биле посвећене непосредном контакту, односно родно освешћеном образовању научница, те на крају пиониркама у науци које су дале свој допринос а потом биле препуштене забораву и њиховом враћању у колективну свест. Зборником су обухваћени радови који тематизују проблематику у природним и друштвеним наукама, у локалном и глобалном пољу, проблеме са којима су се суочавале научнице у прошлости, али и актуелне потешкоће. На овај начин конципиран зборник представља свеобухватне услове у којима су радиле и настављају да се ангажују жене у науци.

Прва тематска целина *Научнице у/о друштву* обухвата осам радова са акцентом на положај научница на Београдском универзитету, механизмима њиховог потискивања из друштва, а самим тим и из науке, заснованим на патријархалним стереотипним представама о родним улогама и, коначно, политикама родне равноправности и њиховим (не)успешним применама. Већ самим називом првог рада *Борба за освојено: истраживачице у природним наукама*, упозорава се на непостојаност и несигурност како положаја жена у науци, тако и могућности да оне обављају руководеће функције у високообразовним институ-

цијама. Ауторка овог рада, Драгана Поповић, даје сведену али темељну историју жена које су у областима природних наука постигле значајне успехе, формирајући на тај начин кардинални низ математичарки, физичарки, хемичарки и биологичарки. На тему међусобне повезаности научница пише и Јелена Петровић у раду *Феминистичка теорија и пракса: дисконтинуирано превазилажење граница*, у коме приказује националистичке и ретрадиционалистичке обрасце који су с једне стране утицали на прекиде активности југословенског феминизма, док су истовремено уједињавали феминисткиње са постјугословенског простора које су брисале географске и етничке границе у борби против њих. Значај умрежавања у научној заједници као начин стицања симболичког капитала, стицања видљивости научница и једног од начина пружања отпора родној неравноправности истиче и Татјана Росић Илић у раду *Моћ, умрежавање и праксе отпора родном режиму у пољу научноистраживачког рада*. Равноправни положај и једнаке шансе за успех у академској сфери обрађују Маријана Пајванчић, Исидора Јарић и сарадница Даша Духачек и Милица Миражић. Друштвеним структурама и родним политикама у академској заједници бави се и Исидора Јарић у раду *Да ли род умањује каријерне потенцијале жена у академској професији? Студија случаја поља високог образовања у Србији*. Ауторка се фокусира на заступљеност жена у научној заједници и њиховом положају који карактеришу противречне позиције: високообразована жена насупрот подређеног рода у доминантно мушком академском окружењу. Родној подели улога у још ужем окружењу – унутар породице, рад су посветиле и Јелена Ћериман и Ирена Фикет.

Тематски одељак који следи, *Научне дисциплине и родна равноправност*, обухвата широк спектар посебних дисциплина у којима се ангажују научнице. Тако, ову област сачињавају радови који се баве проблематиком положаја научница у књижевности (Владислава Гордић Петковић), астрофизици и (феминистичкој) јуриспруденцији (радови Олге Атанацковић, Сенке Гавранов, Александре Изгарјан, Слободанке Марков, Зорице Мршевић), те антропологији и етнографији (Лада Стевановић, Магдалена Штандара, Александра Павићевић). Из обрађених статуса научница и женског питања у природним и друштвеним наукама може се доћи до закључка да су усвојени и нормализовани модели патријархата присутни у свим областима без обзира на њихово усмерење. Први и последњи рад ове целине посвећени су теми образовања женских едукативних програма. У раду који отвара одељак, *Ажинова школа поезије: конструкција историје и будућност друге линије*, Дубравка Ђурић говори о феминистичкој експерименталној школи поезије насталој из потребе да се одупре ретрадиционализацији друштва и обнови националних митова 90-их година 20. века, са циљем да се оформи

концептуални оквир у коме би до тада малобројне ауторке поезије могле да се афирмишу. Пројекат је резултирао антологијом *Дискурзивна тела поезије: поезија и поетике нове генерације песикиња.* Одељак завршава рад Свенке Савић *Центар за родне студије Универзитета у Новом Саду*, у којем ауторка систематски излаже исцрпне податке о оснивању, улози, начину конципирања наставе и резултата али и пропуста интердисциплинарног мастер и докторског програма Центра за родне студије.

Средишња област *Регионалне и глобалне паралеле* доноси алармантну проблематику родне неравноправности у региону и у светском оквиру. Ана Лулева у раду *Does Gender Matter? Current Academic and Public Discourses in Bulgaria* тематизује праксе којима десно усмерена националистичка коалиција стигматизује родне и женске студије, користећи се притом ретрадиционалистичким методама у дискурсу медија. Владана Вукојевић у раду *Gender Equality at Research and Higher Education Institutions in Sweden and Strategies for Achieving Equal Opportunities* излаже *о* неравноправном положају жена на тржишту рада у Шведској, једној од земаља која предњачи елиминацији родно засноване неједнакости.

У тематској целини *Феминистичко знање и образовање кроз историју* ауторке су у својим радовима обрадиле комплексну проблематику положаја женског питања у образовању, историји и формирању родно освешћених програма и истраживању женског стваралаштва у периодици. Око теме женске и феминистичке периодике окупиле су се сараднице Института за књижевност и уметност у Београду Станислава Бараћ, Јелена Милинковић и Жарка Свирчев. Станислава Бараћ у раду *Феминистичке студије периодике у Институту за књижевност и уметност* даје најшири концепт у којем се одвијају истраживања женске и феминистичке периодике, разматрајући и процес институционалног формирања истраживачког центра, у чему је кључну улогу одиграла Слободанка Пековић, што и сама ауторка истиче. Радови Јелене Милинковић и Жарке Свирчев фокусирани су на часопис *Женски покрет (1920–1938)*, први и најдуговечнији југословенски женски часопис. Јелена Милинковић у раду *Савремено проучавање феминистичких часописа: Женски покрет (1920–1938)* представља пројекат радне групе *Женски покрет 2020* поводом стогодишњице оснивања часописа, док је у раду Жарке Свирчев *Центар за женске студије између два светска рата* указано на иницијативу и деловање часописа Женски покрет у концепту Центра за утемељивање родно освешћеног дискурса и дисеминацију феминистичког знања. О женском образовању у социјалистичком периоду и улози учитељица и променама које је донео нови политички програм пишу Јелена Батинић, Сања Петровић Тодосијевић и Адриана Захаријевић, док се Ана Коларић и Катарина Лончаревић фокусирају на савремене програме феминистичког знања и ородњеног образовања у

учионици и директном контакту са студентима и студенткињама, те на значај научних часописа као центара у којима се утемељује теоријско-научни дискурс и образовне праксе.

Последњи одељак: *Бити научница: интерпретације* посвећен је рехабилитацији заборављених и занемарених научница, пионирки које су пробиле пут ка заузимању високих положаја жена научница у академској сфери и поновном указивању на њихове успехе али и честе трагичне судбине. Попут претходних области, и последња целина има интердисциплинарни карактер. Ауторке су представиле научнице из друштвених и природних дисциплина, као и активисткиње из окружења. О пиониркама и предавачицама на Филозофском факултету Ксенији Атанасијевић, Аници Савић Ребац и Нинослави Радошевић, као и њиховом раду који губи видљивост у односу на радове истог или чак нижег квалитета њихових мушких колега, пишу Светлана Слапшак, Ивана Башић и Лариса Орлов Вилимоновић. О првим лекаркама, хемичаркама и математичаркама пишу Ивана Пантелић и Драгомир Бонџић, Маргарета Башарагин и Драга Гајић, Гордана Стојаковић и Сања Којић Младенов. Посебни значај садрже радови о Маргити Херцл и Ани Цимер који превазилазе географске и националне границе, као што и саме научнице карактерише мултикултуралност. Изласку из оквира локалног доприноси и рад Ервине Дабижиновић на тему *Милева Филиповић – зачетница родног дискурса у Црној Гори*.

Зборник завршава и заокружује Мирослава Лукић Крстановић у завршном осврту. Детаљним излагањем пројекта Етнографског института САНУ *Положај научница у друштву и на тржишту рада у Србији / The Status of Women Scholars and Scientists in the Labour Market and Society in Serbia*, ауторка представља процес формирања пројекта, активности организоване у његовом оквиру (семинар, научна конференција, зборник), да би на крају изнела проблеме и питања који су проистекли из промишљања над комплексним темама о положају, заступљености, могућностима, умрежености, неравноправности и препрекама научница на локалном, и још важније, глобалном нивоу. На самом крају понуђени су предлози и иницијативе које су покренуле саме учеснице конференције на завршној расправи, што даје увид у актуелне проблеме и њихова решења.

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Приказ

Koreodrama iz rodne perspektive

Vera Obradović Ljubinković, *Koreodrama u Srbiji u 20. i 21. veku: rodna perspektiva*. Novi Sad: Pokrajinski zavod za ravnopravnost polova, 2016.

Prema rečima autorke Vere Obradović Ljubinković, cilj knjige *Koreodrama u Srbiji u 20. i 21. veku: rodna perspektiva* jeste da se podaci o razvoju koreodrame u Srbiji tokom 20. veka prikupe, sistematizuju i interpretiraju, te da se ukaže na njen vidljivi prodor u pozorišnoj umetnosti 21. veka. Autorka ističe da je pojam koreodrame višeznačan, te da ne iznenađuje to što su u njegovom definisanju ponekad prisutne određene nejasnoće. Otud autorka posebnu pažnju posvećuje ovom pojmu, pojašnjava ga i definiše, navodeći više mogućih objašnjenja. Jedno od njih glasi: „Koreodramska igra jeste univerzalni, društveno-pozorišni, odnosno estetski, antropološki, sociološki, pa i psihološki fenomen. Izražava se manje verbalnim, a više neverbalnim jezikom, ekspresijom lica i tela istovremeno tj. govorom, pevanjem, ali prvenstveno pokretom, igrom, pantomimom i mimom. Koreodrama je, kao jednu od bitnih novina igre, uvela korišćenje običnih, svakodnevnih pokreta, dajući im estetski kvalitet“ (str. 9). Kako autorka navodi, moderna igra se razvijala kao suprotnost klasičnoj, baletskoj igri, što je ponekad dovodilo do snažnog međusobnog konflikta, međutim s vremenom je došlo do njihovog „kreativnog spoja“, kojem i danas svedočimo.

Drugi cilj ove knjige je da ukaže na važnost rodne perspektive u sagledavanju položaja i zasluga žena u afirmaciji ove pozorišno-plesne forme. Autorka je to učinila na primerima njoj nedvojbeno veoma inspirativne četiri žene koje su, kao koreografkinje, izvođačice, autorke knjiga i tekstova i pedagoškinje, delovale u 20. i 21. veku: Mage Magazinović, Smiljane Mandukić, Nade Kokotović i Sonje Vukićević. Kako bi obuhvatila celokupan razvojni put koreodrame u Srbiji, a ujedno i karijere ovih plesačica, autorka najpre predstavlja dve umetnice koje smatra predstavnicama nastanka moderne igre i koreodrame na ovom prostoru – Magu Magazinović i Smiljanu Mandukić.

Ističe da su ove dve umetnice formulisale osnovne principe koreodrame iako su, kako navodi, taj termin retko koristile. Druge dve koreografkinje, Nada Kokotović i Sonja Vukićević, stvarale su u periodu kada je koreodrama već bila afirmisani pozorišni oblik, mada, kako autorka u više navrata ističe, i dalje nedovoljno prihvaćen u domaćoj pozorišnoj tradiciji.

Umetnička delovanja ove četiri umetnice su u ovoj knjizi objedinjena u opširnim etnografsko-analitičkim narativima, kako bi se što jasnije i preciznije predstavili stvaranje, razvoj i afirmacija koreodrame. Vera Obradović Ljubinković kao posebno značajnu činjenicu ističe to da su pomenute četiri umetnice delovale u različitim periodima kulturnog i političkog života u Srbiji, što je nedvojbeno uticalo na njihov rad i prihvaćenost u društvu. Ono što je takođe u velikoj meri uticalo na njihovo umetničko delovanje, a što autorka nadahnuto ističe, jeste i činjenica da su njihov pristup plesu, pokretima izvođača, slobodniji pogled na ljudsko telo i insistiranje na ravnopravnosti polova i emancipaciji žena u plesu, bili novina u svakom vremenskom periodu njihovog stvaranja, te su otud one bile izložene brojnim izazovima. Od posebnog značaja za razvoj njihove umetnosti, kako autorka ističe, jeste i privatni život ovih nesvakidašnjih žena, kojima je bila vidno inspirisana. Stoga ne iznenađuje činjenica da je znatan deo knjige posvećen njihovim biografijama i analizi korespondencije između njihovih privatnih života i njihove umetnosti. Zato je autorka koristila obimnu literaturu, posebno naznačivši, radi bolje preglednosti, koji izvori se odnose na koju umetnicu. Priloženi su i brojni citati iz njihovih autorskih tekstova, rukopisa, te citati iz mnogih izdanja tekstova i intervjua drugih autora koji čitaocu približavaju ličnosti ovih žena. Pored toga, fotografije i plakati ilustrativno reprezentuju rad ovih umetnica. Priloženi spisak učenika Smiljane Mandukić u periodu nakon Drugog svetskog rata ukazuje na njen aktivan pedagoški rad kojim je na mlađe generacije prenosila svoje ideje i stavove o koreodrami, istovremeno boreći se na taj način za njenu afirmaciju.

Odeljci o Magi Magazinović, Smiljani Mandukić, Nadi Kokotović i Sonji Vukićević su izloženi prema hronološkom redosledu godina njihovih rođenja. Maga Magazinović je navedena kao začetnica koreodrame, odnosno koreodramskog izraza u plesu na području Srbije odnosno Jugoslavije. Pri opisivanju njenog umetničkog izraza istaknuta je upotreba motiva iz tradicionalnih plesova, te povezivanje žene 20. veka s junakinjama epskih pesama. Vera Obradović Ljubinković ovakav pristup i realizaciju koreodramskih ideja ove izvanredne žene objašnjava time da je Maga Magazinović posezala za kinetičko-plesnim motivima iz tradicionalnih seoskih plesova zbog patriotizma i naglašenog nacionalnog etosa koji je obeležio delovanje mnogih srpskih intelektualaca u toku prvih decenija 20. veka.

Druga značajna ličnost za razvoj koreodrame bila je savremenica Mage Magazinović, Smiljana Mandukić. Prema rečima autorke, Mandukić se najpre bavila klasičnim baletom. Pohađala je časove kod čuvene primabalerine Cecilije Čeri (Cecilia Cerri) u Beču ali to je trajalo svega tri godine, te se kasnije odlučila za moderan pristup plesu, bez ograničenja i pravila koje je klasičan balet nametao. Vera Obradović Ljubinković navodi da je Smiljana Mandukić pronalazila inspiraciju u umetnosti Isidore Dankan. Takođe ističe značaj njenog rada u Gradskoj baletskoj školi u Beogradu, za čiju se afirmaciju borila u javnosti nakon Drugog svetskog rata, te ukazuje na njen rad u okviru baletske sekcije KUD-a „Abrašević".

Autorka navodi da su se pristupi koreodrami Mage Magazinović i Smiljane Mandukić znatno razlikovali od pristupa Nade Kokotović. Do realizovanja začetaka koreodramskog oblika plesa, koji autorka definiše kao uglavnom „epsko-patriotski", prve dve umetnice dolazile su „instinktivno", dok je Nada Kokotović koreodramsko pozorište, kao osobeni žanr, stvarala „svesno i ciljano, kao svoje izrazito umetničko opredeljenje". doprinos Nade Kokotović koreodrami ogleda se, između ostalog, i u tome što je osnovala festival „Emergency exit", čiji su ciljevi bili promocija koreodrame, rezimiranje onoga što se do tada na tom polju postiglo, te upoznavanje i razmena iskustava onih koji se bave koreodramskim plesom i koji su mišljenja da je ovakva vrsta plesa „budućnost svetskog pozorišta".

Najmlađa od četiri umetnice zaslužne za razvoj koreodrame kod nas je Sonja Vukićević. U knjizi se navodi da se njen autorski razvoj na polju koreodrame odvija uporedo s ratnom krizom devedesetih godina 20. veka. S posebnim uvažavanjem autorka ističe upravo autorske koreodrame Sonje Vukićević, kojima umetnica pokreće svoj antiratni, humani angažman. Osvrćući se na rad Sonje Vukićević, Vera Obradović Ljubinković navodi da je ova umetnica, kao što je to činila i Nada Kokotović, „koreodrami dala legitimitet, postavila je u okviru repertoarske politike pozorišnih institucija, kao i festivalskih događaja" (str. 94). Autorka knjige ističe i to da je Sonja Vukićević, kao i Maga Magazinović, verovala da svojim umetničkim delovanjem i stvaranjem može da doprinese emancipaciji i razvoju društva, posebno ukazujući na njene „istorične antiratne *političke koreodrame*" (str. 97).

U želji da što detaljnije i preciznije predstavi razvoj koreodrame, Vera Obradović Ljubinković je u knjizi načinila komparativnu analizu ove četiri koreografkinje, posmatrajući ih i analizirajući višestrano. Prvi aspekt je analiza njihovog odnosa prema braku i porodici. Autorka navodi da je ovaj segment veoma značajan jer privatni život umetnica utiče na njihovo stvaralaštvo i rad. Vidno nadahnuta, autorka uviđa da „one propagiraju slobodu i emancipovan odnos prema životu, braku i životnom partneru, tako što žive slobodu za koju se zalažu" (str. 97).

Drugi aspekt je njihov odnos prema telu. Autorka zaključuje da sve četiri koreografkinje performativnošću tela u koreografskim delima ruše tradicionalne okvire i propagiraju emancipovan i feministički pristup koreodrami, gde umetnice performativno telo shvataju kao isključivo slobodno telo, autentično, ono koje se ne ukalupljuje i ne povinuje stereotipnim očekivanjima konzervativnog patrijarhalnog društva. Autorka navodi podatak da ove umetnice u autorskim tekstovima svoje stvaralaštvo definišu kao „slobodan ples". U okviru ovog poglavlja ona ukazuje i na to da performativno telo dobija slobodu i doslovno, u osmišljavanju i izboru kostima, i to prema njenom mišljenju predstavlja odraz „nove ženske moći". Maga Magazinović i Smiljana Mandukić oslobađaju žensko telo od suvišnih i teških kostima, dok Nada Kokotović osamdesetih godina 20. veka počinje da praktikuje ples u svilenim kostimima. Odnos Sonje Vukićević prema performativnom telu autorka opisuje kao sredstvo kojim ona iskazuje kritičku misao, politički odnos prema društvu, svoj pogled na svet i njegovo tumačenje. Pokreti koje Vukićević stvara nisu ograničeni, ni opterećeni društvenim kontekstom. Autorka ističe i feminističku borbu koreografkinja kako bi se u društvu, ali i u plesu iskorenila diskriminacija žena, te se svojom umetnošću bore za jednakost polova. Ove ideje Sonja Vukićević i Maga Magazinović izražavaju dodeljivanjem muških uloga ženama, ističući da žene mogu jednako dobro da odigraju ulogu kao i muškarci. Vera Obradović Radosavljević zaključuje da sve četiri koreografkinje utemeljuju potpuno nov i drugačiji način prikazivanja žena i ženskog tela.

U knjizi je predstavljen i odnos četiri koreografkinje prema koreodrami, koji autorka detaljnije objašnjava i definiše. Navodi da se začetnica koreodrame kod nas, Maga Magazinović, i njena savremenica Smiljana Mandukić, pretežno opredeljuju za patriotske teme bliske kolektivnom duhu, i njihovo delovanje definiše kao „epsko-patriotske" koreodrame, dok stvaralaštvo mlađih koreografkinja, Nade Kokotović i Sonje Vukićević, određuje kao političke koreodrame, jer im je fokus usmeren na teme poput istine, pravde, ljudskih vrednosti i slično, te ističe da njihovo stvaralaštvo karakterišu „kosmopolitizam i jugoslovenstvo". Sve četiri autorke teže da svojim delima prikažu, analiziraju i reše društvene teme i probleme.

Analizirajući način rada i stvaranja koreografija ove četiri autorke, Vera Obradović Ljubinković zaključuje da su one u stvaralačkim idejama i njihovoj realizaciji veoma slične jer, kako navodi, sve četiri polaze od improvizacije i ne koriste se klišeom i „bezbednim" načinom dopiranja do publike. Autorka je takođe uvidela da su koreodrame ove četiri umetnice ogledala njihovih iskustava kako sa igrom, tako i sa životom, te da se mogu smatrati njihovim „ličnim kartama". U ovom pozitivnom kontekstu autorka posebno ističe Sonju Vukićević, navodeći da je ona od sve četiri umetnice najličnija u deljenju intimnosti sopstvenog ženskog bića u svojim delima.

Prosvetiteljske ideje, putevi samoobrazovanja i doživotnog obrazovanja četiri koreografkinje takođe su bili predmet interesovanja Vere Obradović Ljubinković. Ona primećuje da sve četiri umetnice karakteriše samoobrazovanje u pogledu zahteva koreodrame, odnosno one samostalno traže i pronalaze rešenja za određene koreodramske probleme i izraze, te iznalaze načine kako da svoje zamisli i znanja prenesu na izvođače. Autorka ističe da se pojam prosvetiteljske ideje ne odnosi na formalni oblik obrazovanja jer do njega, uprkos brojnim naporima koreografkinja, nije došlo, već na njihov pedagoški rad u okviru kojeg su svoja znanja o ovoj specifičnoj koreografskoj formi prenosile na mlađe generacije. Obradović Ljubinković zaključuje da su sve četiri autorke samouke, te ističe da su samostalno krčile put koreodrame u vremenima kada nisu nailazile na razumevanje i prihvatanje društva. Pored toga, autorka zaključuje da se ove četiri umetnice mogu smatrati i sledbenicama modernog plesa u Srbiji zahvaljujući svojim epsko-patriotskim i političkim koreodramama, kojima su uticale na promenu odnosa prema plesu, ali i prema drami. Težile su da svojim delima prenesu svoje revolucionarne poruke i stavove, i da izazovu pozitivne promene u društvu.

Nakon analize rada i dela pomenutih umetnica, Vera Obradović Ljubinković se ponovo okreće analizi odnosa između klasičnog baleta i modernog plesa, a u tu svrhu se poslužila Ničeovom teorijom o dva estetska principa – apolonskom i dionizijskom, koje dovodi u vezu s dva različita pristupa plesu. Ističe da se koreodrama može smatrati „mestom kreativnog susreta ta dva principa“ (str. 128) i zaključuje da se modernim pristupom ples „vraća dioniskom izvorištu i afirmaciji sveukupnog života“ (str. 128). Imajući u vidu navedene principe, Vera Obradović Ljubinković sastavlja novu definiciju koreodrame: „Koreodrama je semiotička scenska praksa, permanentno prisutna kroz dugotrajnu istoriju igre, služi se glumom, plesom, pantomimom i muzikom, a paradigmatski se uspostavlja u razvoju nemačkog plesnog pozorišta 20. veka pomirujući apolonski i dioniski princip u sebi“ (str. 129).

Vidno inspirisana životnim i profesionalnim putevima četiri umetnice, autorka u isključivo pozitivnom i u određenoj meri subjektivnom maniru komentariše i analizira njihova koreodramska ostvarenja. Detaljniji kritički pristup analizi je isključen, što onemogućava potpunije razumevanje i analizu njihovih dela.

Na kraju knjige autorka ponovo ističe doprinos Mage Magazinović, Smiljane Mandukić, Nade Kokotović i Sonje Vukićević na planu razvoja i afirmacije koreodrame kao posebnog pozorišnog pravca. Ističe i činjenicu da je koreodrama, gde je ljudsko telo istovremeno i plesačko i glumačko, „najubedljiviji oblik sinteze u pozorišnoj umetnosti“ (str. 133). Prema rečima autorke, koreodrama je „izmenila odnos prema drami i plesu, ali i prema ženskom telu, te je zasigurno stekla legitimitet u visokom obrazovanju na akademi-

jama umetnosti u zemlji“ (str. 133). Autorka izražava želju da njena knjiga posluži kao svojevrstan doprinos osvešćivanju i priznavanju važnosti koreodrame u umetnosti u Srbiji.

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