

# MISLITI, GOVORITI IN PETI FOLKLORO

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Ta zvezek *Traditiones* je namenjen premisleku o jeziku v folklori, o tem kako, na kakšne načine mislimo folkloro ali premišljamo o njej z vidika zaznavanja njenih jezikovnih značilnosti, ki so v vsakem jezikovnem kodu različne. Avtorice in avtorji se ukvarjajo s tem, kako se jezikovni kodi prepletajo, kako nanje vplivajo različni dejavniki – zunanjii notranji. Prispevki tako izhajajo prav iz osnovnih vprašanj, ali sta folklor in narečje intrinzično povezana in kaj pomeni jezik folklora ali celo večjezikovni sistem v folklornih tekstih in kontekstih. Nekateri članki so nastali v raziskovalnem projektu *Misliti folkloro: Folkloristične, etnološke in računske perspektive in pristopi k narečju*, drugi pa obravnavajo različne pristope k obravnavi narečja, jezika, folklora ter pesemskega, pripovednega in gledališkega izročila posamičnih narodov.

Omenjeni raziskovalni projekt obravnavava pojmovanje narečja z vidika folklorističnih in etnoloških, semantičnih in tehnoloških raziskav. Folkloristične in etnološke raziskave obravnavajo narečje kot tekstološki problem, ki je povezan s teksturo (melodijo) besedila, na katero vplivajo interpretacija nosilca ter lokalni in širši socialni in kulturni kontekst. Hkrati tematizirajo izbiro jezikovne zvrsti glede na družbene okoliščine in položaje, v katere vstopa nosilec folklora. Skupinska zavest o lokalnem izvira iz identifikacije z lokalnim prek narečja (pogovor, spomini, razmišljanja), medtem ko je skupinska zavest o nacionalnem povezana z nacionalno identifikacijo prek nadnarečja (petje pesmi). Raziskave se ukvarjajo tudi s semantičnim problemom, povezanim s prestopanjem med jezikovnimi kodi. Ker je posamičen kod izpostavljen specifični semantiki, prehajanje med kodi neizogibno vzpostavlja semantični problem. Pri tehnoloških raziskavah gre za razvoj novih metod za analizo zvočnih posnetkov in pridobivanje informacij iz glasbe, da bi avtomatizirali iskanje besed s terenskih posnetkov v različnih narečnih oblikah in hkrati kvantificirali fonetične razlike med njihovo izgоварjavo.<sup>1</sup>

Pomen jezika in njegovo semantiko raziskuje Gregor Strle (2021) v članku »Realist and Cognitive Perspectives on Meaning and Semantics« (Realistični in kognitivni pogledi

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<sup>1</sup> Več gl. <https://www.zrc-sazu.si/sl/programi-in-projekti/misliti-folkloro-folkloristicne-etnoloske-in-racunske-perspektive-in-pristopi-k>.

na pomen in semantiko). S kognitivne in filozofske perspektive premišlja o semantiki in dojemanju jezika ter poskuša postaviti ustrezni metodološki in teoretski okvir za poznejše raziskave jezika v folklori, kulturi, literaturi ter ta spoznanja aplicirati na kulturne, jezikoslovne in druge humanistične raziskave, ki se ukvarjajo s pomenom in dojemanjem jezika. Opira se tudi na spoznanja antropološke lingvistike (Boas, 1932; Foley, 1997) in ugotavlja, da je z realističnega vidika jezik osmišljen zgolj s svojo zmožnostjo, da pravilno ustreza entitetam in kategorijam v svetu, in meni, da je pomen vpet v uporabo jezika v komunikaciji, ki pa je prav z jezikovnimi kodimi vpeta v družbeni kontekst. Raziskuje tudi razmerja med pomenom jezika in njegovim lingvističnim kodom ali strukturo in na koncu sklene, da se jeziki med seboj razlikujejo na nepredvidljive načine (verjetno ne samo po strukturi, pač pa tudi pomenu), ko upošteva različne rabe jezika v različnih kontekstih, kar pomeni, da ima pri tem največjo vlogo uporabnik jezika.

Potovanje ene same pesmi v različne jezike ali jezikovne različice in s tem povezane semantične spremembe razkriva Valentina Bold (2021) v članku »It's Braw to Ride Round and Follow the Camp': The Linguistic Journey of a Scots Song, with an Irish Soldier, through Space and Time« (»Pogumno je jahati naokoli in slediti taboru«: Jezikovno potovanje škotske ljudske pesmi z irskim vojakom skozi prostor in čas). Pesem »The Bonny Lass o Fyvie« obravnava s primeri s Škotske, iz Anglije in Severne Amerike. Ko se premika med različnimi jeziki ali različicami enega jezika – iz škotskega v angleško, ulstrsko-škotsko in ameriško angleščino – se spremenjata kontekst in napisled tudi besedilo pesmi. Prvotna vsebina pesmi so bile pravice žensk do uveljavljanja neodvisnosti od moških in o ranljivosti zaljubljenih moških, konča pa se kot tematizacija ranljivosti žensk. Takrat je pesem tako jezikovno kot vsebinsko že zelo oddaljena od kulture, iz katere izvira. Glavni jezik te razprave je škotski, eden od treh maternih jezikov, ki se govorijo na Škotskem in je v Evropski uniji priznan jezik manjštine. Druga dva sta škotska galščina in angleščina, poleg dodatnih jezikov, ki so jih v ta niz pesmi prinesli novi Škoti in izseljenci, npr. v ZDA. Škoti imajo bogato jezikovno in literarno zapuščino ter podobno jezikovno različico ali narečje na Severnem Irskem, imenovano ulstrska škotščina (prim. Gregg, 1985; Falconer, 2006). Raziskovanje, kako se ta pesem spreminja s prenosom, ima lahko širši pomen pri razumevanju, kako jezikovne spremembe vplivajo na osnovne pomene pesmi, skratka na spremenjanje njene semantike. Avtorica v sklepu ugotavlja, da lahko jezikovne spremembe med življenjsko dobo pesmi povzročijo spremembe v razumevanju vsebine pesmi, tako za izvajalce kakor za poslušalce.

Marjetka Golež Kaučič (2021) v članku »Jezik govora, jezik pesmi: Med narečjem, nadnarečjem in standardom« obravnava uporabo različnih jezikovnih kodov – narečja in nadnarečja – v folklori, in to na primerih petja pesmi in govora o njih. Analizirani so zapisi iz terenskih zvezkov in izbranih terenskih posnetkov (na primeru petja treh variant balade »Samomor nune« iz treh geografsko različnih pokrajin ter ene molitve; tudi govora o pesmih in spominih) s pozornostjo na posamično narečje, njegovo idiomatsko strukturo in morebitne vplive na vsebino pesmi, ob upoštevanju vsakokratnega konteksta. Ob tem

poskuša zaznati različne vplive spraševalke ali spraševalca na informatorko oz. informatorja glede na njihov jezikovni položaj kakor tudi nasproten proces in vsakokratne jezikovne in družbene konvergence in divergence (Auer, Hinskens, Kerswill, 2005). Ugotavlja, da gre v folklornem dogodku (pri terenskem snemanju) za izbor različnih komunikacijskih praks različnih udeležencev in da je ljudska pesem, ki je sinkretična celota melodije in besedila ter ritma in ritmične sheme, besedilno bolj naslonjena na knjižni kod, medtem ko je pogovor o kontekstu pesmi, šegah, funkciji, oblikovanju, življenjskih zgodbah in spominih idr. mnogo bolj opri na narečni ali pogovorni jezikovni kod. Tako so razpoznavni vzroki in načini kodnega preklapljanja.

S tematiko narečja in nadnarečja v ljudskih pesmi nadaljuje Tjaša Jakop (2021) v članku »Prekmurske ljudske pesmi v glasoslovni razpravi Avgusta Pavla (1909)«, ko osvetljuje narečno podobo izbranih prekmurskih ljudskih pesmi, ki so bile objavljene v madžarščini in jih je avtorica prevedla v slovenščino. Ker so pesmi le zapisane in ne poznamo njihove zvočne podobe, avtorica raziskuje besedila in jih z dialektološkimi pristopi analizira ter primerja s tistimi, za katera meni, da so zapisana v nadnarečni podobi (npr. besedilo snubitvene pesmi »Marko skače«). Že Zmaga Kumer je ugotovila, da so »[b]esedila ljudskih pesmi [...] obarvana z narečnimi izrazi, vendar v celoti razumljiva po vsem Slovenskem. Povsem v narečju so le tista, ki so jih sestavljalci hote oblikovali v domačem govoru in se prav zato tiste pesmi niso razširile iz območja nastanka« (Kumer, 1996: 97). Avtorica osvetljuje prekmursko narečje in predstavlja njegove značilnosti v obravnavanih pesmis ter meni, da so besedila, zapisana pred letom 1909, dragocen in verodostojen relikt časa pred pospešenim zapisovanjem prekmurskega pesemskega izročila (po 1. svetovni vojni) ter dober vir za nadaljnje analize in primerjave s poznejšimi zapisi. Ugotavlja, da se narečnosti najbolj približajo zapisi ljudskih pesmi v fonetični pisavi.

O jeziku škotskih popotnikov, t. i. skriveni govorici (*Cant*), ki bogati škotski jezik in ljudsko pesemsko izročilo, razpravlja Thomas McKean (2021) v članku »Multi-Layered Communication and Function in Scottish Traveller Cant« (Večplastna komunikacija in funkcija v škotskem žargonu popotnikov). Žargon škotskih popotnikov, ki je v rabi pri komunikaciji v majhnih skupinah in družinah, je v zadnjem stoletju spremenil tako kontekst kakor funkcijo. Je mešani jezik, predvsem škotski in romski z vplivi škotske galščine, in kot kriptolekt je bil večini nerazumljiv; uporabljali so ga le v kulturi popotnikov, v današnjem času pa je poudarjen tudi širše zaradi uspešnosti objav o popotnikih (*Travelers*). Skozi ves razvoj je njihov žargon še vedno način, s katerim nadzorujejo pripoved o tem, kdo so in kdo želijo biti. V njem je nastala vrsta ljudskih pesmi. Verjetno je najbolj poznana pesem »Big Jimmy Drummond« (Roud 2506), ki z grobimi izrazi govori o resničnosti popotnika na Škotskem. Avtor ugotavlja, da se je funkcija žargona v zadnjem stoletju korenito spremenila: še danes ohranja funkcionalnost, saj se popotniki še ukvarjajo z ljudmi iz drugih kulturnih okolij, bodisi pri poslovanju ali na splošno v javnosti, kadar je zaželena zaupnost. Mnogim služi kot identitetni znak, s katerim ustvarjajo prostor, ki je samo njihov, del njihove kulture in identitete.

O posebni mešanici jezikov na manjšem območju na jugovzhodu Slovenije, na Kočevskem, razpravlja Anja Moric (1921) v članku »A German ‘Linguistic Island’ or a Linguistically Mixed Region?: Multilingual Practices in Kočevska Area« (Nemški »jezikovni otok« ali mešano jezikovno območje?: Večjezikovne prakse na Kočevskem). Sprašuje se o zelo utrjeni predstavi o osamljenem jezikovnem otoku, kjer naj bi govorili le kočevarsko narečje, čeprav so tam poleg tega govorili tudi nemški, slovenski in celo hrvaški in romski jezik. S primeri rabe različnih jezikov pred 2. svetovno vojno avtorica pokaže drugačno – večjezikovno oz. večkulturno – podobo te pokrajine. Podatke črpa iz zgodovinskih in arhivskih virov, pa tudi iz raziskave, ki jo je opravila med Kočevarji v Sloveniji, Avstriji, Nemčiji, ZDA in Kanadi. Govor posameznikov, s katerimi se je pogovarjala, pritrjuje njeni tezi o večjezičnosti območja. Razprava se dotakne tudi večjezičnosti v ljudskih pesmih, od katerih avtorica poudarja t. i. makaronsko pesem o treh dekletih, in ugotavlja, da o dejanski večkulturnosti oziroma večjezičnosti predvojne Kočevske pričajo tudi kočevarske ljudske pesmi. Le ena izmed njih, »Drei Mädchen« (Tri dekleta), je ohranjena v dvojezični obliki, kjer se ena vrstica poje v nemščini, druga pa v slovenščini. Ob tem omenja, da je obsežno primerjalno študijo o kočevarski in slovenski ljudski pesmi napisala Zmaga Kumer za četrti zvezek zbirke *Gottsheer Volkslieder*. Izdaja knjige, ki bi vsebovala komentarje o kočevarskih ljudskih pesmih in ugotovitvah o medsebojnem vplivu kočevarskega in slovenskega izročila (Kumer, 1987: 249), je bila načrtovana v 80. letih prejšnjega stoletja, a žal ni bila uresničena; njen rokopis se je medtem izgubil v Deutsches Volksliedarchiv in Freiburgu. Avtorica predлага, da se termin »nemški jezikovni otok« opusti, vsaj v znanstveni terminologiji.

Delia Dattilo in Cinzia Citraro (2021) v članku »Recovering Vanished Sound Landscapes: Sounds, Identities and Multilinguality« (Obnova izginulih zvočnih krajin: Zvoki, identitete in večjezičnost) obravnavata literarna dela iz različnih časov in različnih žanrov, vsa pa se dotikajo kategorije »južna Italija«. Potopisi s polotoka, ki so jih napisali angleško govoreči popotniki ali italijanski geografi (vsi so bili usmerjeni proti jugu), vsebujejo številne opise zvočnih krajin ter več poročil in spominov o zvočnih prostorih in okoliščinah. Poleg tega druga literarna dela iz zgodnjega 20. stoletja obravnavajo ireverzibilnost družbenih sprememb in opredeljujejo določene posebne kontekste (in ustrezne preobrazbe) s spominjanjem na zvočno povezane izraze. Obe perspektivi pomagata razumeti in še razširiti meje prepletentih zvočnih pokrajin ali zvočne panorame, ki je vse prej kakor »regionalna«. Med besedili lokalne literature avtorici v središče postavljata komedijo *Frischijamu* Domenica Mosca kot primer, kako so bili predstavljeni zvočni pojavi v družbenem prostoru *ruge* (gr. *Poúpa* ‘cesta, ulica’) kot okolja, v katerem skupno poslušanje in pripovedovanje zgodb (*frischijare*) povezujeta zvočni ambient skupnosti. Besedilo je še posebej pomembno za rekonstrukcijo zvočne krajine (prim. Kelman, 2010: 214) in za njene jezikovne specifičnosti, predvsem zaradi narečnih primerov. S tem se ohranjajo tudi narečne značilnosti kalabrijske folklore in posebnih zvočnih prostorov ter se tako vračajo v kulturni obtok.

Razumevanje pomena posamičnega jezika, večjezičnost, prestopanje iz enega jezikovnega koda v drugega, lokalne posebnosti, narečje in nadnarečje, folklor, ljudske

pesmi in kulturni ter literarni prostori se v teh člankih povezujejo, a razlikujejo med seboj. Najpomembnejše spoznanje vseh razprav pa je, da je treba ohranjati in raziskovati tudi tiste kulturne prvine, ki se zdijo obrobne, a so prav zaradi tega toliko dragocenejše. Tako se misel povezuje s petjem in govorom, ustno s pisnim, identiteta z večkulturnostjo, vse pa izvira iz ustvarjalnosti posameznika in skupnosti.

## THINKING, SPEAKING, AND SINGING FOLKLORE

This issue of *Traditiones* is dedicated to a contemplation of language in folklore; the ways we think folklore or perceive it from the aspect of linguistic properties, which differ between one language code and another. The authors deal with the intertwining of languages and the way they are affected by various factors – external and internal. Contributions emerge from the fundamental questions whether folklore and dialect are intrinsically connected, and what is the meaning of the language of folklore, or even multi-lingual systems in folklore texts and contexts. Some articles originated in the frame of the research project *Thinking Folklore: Approaching Dialect from Folkloristic, Ethnological and Computational Perspectives*, while others look at the various approaches to the treatment of dialect, language and folklore, as well as the lyrical, narrative and dramatic traditions of individual nations.

The above research project examines conceptualizations of dialect from the perspective of folkloristic, ethnological, semantic, and technological research. Folkloristic and ethnological research addresses dialect as a textological issue, related to the texture (melody) of narrative and affected by the interpretation of the carriers, and the local and broader social and cultural contexts. At the same time, it thematizes the selection of the language type based on social circumstances and positions in which the folklore carriers participate. Group consciousness of the local arises from identification with the local through dialect (conversation, memories, contemplation), while group consciousness of the national relates to national identification through supra-dialect (singing songs). Research also deals with the semantic problem related to switching between language codes. Since a specific code is subject to specific semantics, switching between codes inevitably causes semantic issues. In regard to technological domains, we focus on the development of new methods for analyzing sound recordings and obtaining data from music, so as to automate word searching in field recordings in different dialect forms and simultaneously quantify phonetic differences in their pronunciation.<sup>2</sup>

The meaning and semantics of language is elaborated by Gregor Strle (2021) in his article “Realist and Cognitive Perspectives on Meaning and Semantics”. From the cognitive and philosophical aspects, he rethinks the major paradigms on semantics and the perception

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<sup>2</sup> For more on this topic, see <https://www.zrc-sazu.si/sl/programi-in-projekti/misliti-folkloro-folkloristicne-etnoloske-in-racunske-perspektive-in-pristopi-k>.

of language, attempting to guide an appropriate methodological and theoretical frame for later research of language in folklore, culture, and literature; applying this knowledge to cultural, linguistic and other humanities research dealing with the meaning and perception of language. The author summarises findings of anthropological linguistics (Boas, 1932; Foley, 1997) and establishes that from the realist perspective, language carries meaning exclusively through its capacity to properly reflect entities and categories in the external world, while meaning is also embedded in the use of language in communication, set in the intersubjective social context precisely through language codes. Examined are also relations between the meaning of language and its linguistic or syntactic structure, with the final assertion that languages differ between one another in uncharacteristic ways (not only in structure but likely also in meaning), taking into account different uses of language in different contexts, where speakers carry the greatest role in expressing semantic nuances.

The journey of one folk song across various languages or dialects and the emerging semantic alterations are illuminated by Valentina Bold (2021) in her article “It’s Braw to Ride Round and Follow the Camp’: The Linguistic Journey of a Scots Song, with an Irish Soldier, through Space and Time”. The song *The Bonny Lass o Fyvie* is treated with examples from Scotland, England and North America. Moving between languages or variations of a language –from Scots to British English, Ulster Scots, and American English– the context and lyrics of the song are transformed. Its initial thematic content were rights of women in establishing independence from men, and the vulnerable nature of men in love; while a final one emerges as the thematizing of female vulnerability. At that point, the song is both linguistically as well as contextually quite far removed from the culture where it had originated. The main language of this treatment is Scots, one of three mother tongues spoken in Scotland, recognized in the European Union as a minority language. The other two are Scottish Gaelic and English, next to other languages introduced to this series of folk songs by new Scottish citizens and expatriates, e.g. in the USA. The Scottish people have a rich language and literary tradition, and a similar language variant or dialect in Northern Ireland with Ulster Scots (cf. Gregg, 1985; Falconer, 2006). Research on how a folk song changes with transposition between languages can further understanding on how linguistic changes affect the fundamental meanings of lyricism; or in short bring about semantic shifts. The authoress establishes that linguistic changes during the life course of a folk song impact the understanding of the song content, for the performers as well as the listeners.

Marjetka Golež Kaučič (2021) in her article “Language of Speech, Language of Song: Between Dialect, Supra-Dialect and Standard Language” examines the use of various language codes –dialect and supra-dialect– in folklore, on the basis of folk songs or narratives about them. Analyzed are records of field notes and selected field recordings (on the case of three variants of the ballad *The Nun’s Suicide* from three geographically diverse landscapes and one prayer; as well as narratives on song and memories) with attention on the individual dialects, their idiomatic structure and potential influence on the content of the song, taking into account the respective contexts. In this, she aims to also ascertain the

impacts of the interviewer on the informant based on their language position, as well as vice-versa, and the linguistic and social convergences and divergences in each separate case (Auer, Hinskens, Kerswill, 2005). She establishes that the folklore event (field recording) consists of a selection of various communication practices of various participants, and that the folk song, as a syncretic whole of the melody, the lyrics, the rhythm and the rhythm scheme, leans in the lyrical sense more heavily on the literary code; while narratives on the context of the songs, customs, function, form, life stories, memories etc. lean far more heavily on the dialect or vernacular language codes. In this way, the causes and ways of shifting between codes are established.

The theme of dialect and supra-dialect in folk songs is further illuminated by Tjaša Jakop (2021) in her article “Slovenian Folk Songs in the Prekmurje Dialect” based on the phonetics dissertation of Avgust Pavel (1909), exposing the dialect form of selected Prekmurje folk songs published in Hungarian and translated to Slovene by the authoress. Since the songs are preserved in text but not in music, she researches only the lyrics, analysing these using dialectological approaches and comparing them to those she believes were recorded in supra-dialect form (e.g. the courtship song “Marko skače”). Zmaga Kumer already established that the “lyrics of folk songs [...] are coloured with dialect terms and yet widely understandable across Slovenia. Fully in dialect appear only those that were purposefully encoded in local speech by the collectors or authors, which is also the reason they generally did not spread beyond the region of their origin” (Kumer, 1996: 97). The authoress presents the Prekmurje dialect and its characteristics in the treated songs, positing that lyrics recorded prior to the year 1909 stand as a valuable and genuine relic of the times before the accelerated transcription of the Prekmurje folk song tradition (after the First World War), and a fitting source for subsequent analyses and comparisons with later records. She establishes that current dialect is most closely approached by records of folk songs in phonetic writing.

The cryptic language of the Scottish travellers, so-called Cant, enriching the Scottish language and folk song tradition is discussed by Thomas McKean (2021) in his article “Multi-Layered Communication and Function in Scottish Traveller Cant”. The jargon of the Scottish travellers used in communication among small groups and families has changed in the past century, in context as well as function. It is a mixed language, mainly Scots and Romani with influences of Scottish Gaelic, and as a cryptolect it was unintelligible to most; being used only in the culture of the travellers while in contemporary day reaching prominence in wider circles due to the popularity of publications on the travellers. Throughout its development, the Cant jargon remains a way for the community to control the narrative on who they are, and who they wish to be. A number of folk songs emerged in the language, among them probably most widely known the *Big Jimmy Drummond* (Roud 2506), whose coarse expression portrays the realities of traveller life in Scotland. The author establishes that the function of the jargon has changed considerably in the past century, yet its core purpose remains the same as travellers continue to utilize it in social interaction

with people from other cultural environments, often when doing business, or in general in public settings when they wish to remain confidential. To many it serves as a marker of identity, creating a space that is only theirs, part of their specific culture and identity.

The distinct mixture of languages present in Kočevska, a smaller area in southeast Slovenia, is treated by Anja Moric (2021) in her article “A German ‘Linguistic Island’ or a Linguistically Mixed Region?: Multilingual Practices in the Kočevska Area”. She reflects on the entrenched representation of an ‘isolated language island’ where only the Gottscheerish dialect was supposedly spoken, though there is also a demonstrable presence of German, Slovene, even Croatian and Romani languages to be observed in this space. With examples of the use of various languages before the Second World War, the authoress presents a different –multilingual and multicultural– image of the Kočevska landscape. Data is drawn from historical and archival sources, and from a research conducted among the Gottscheer people in Slovenia, Austria, Germany, the USA and Canada. The speech of individuals interviewed in the field supports the presented thesis on the multilingual nature of the area. Discussion also looks at the multilingual expression of folk songs, in particular the bilingual song of the *Three Girls*, and concludes that the actual multicultural or multilingual state of the pre-war Kočevska is also reflected in the local folk songs. The *Drei Mädchen* is a solitary example preserved in bilingual form where one line is sung in German and the other in Slovene. Outlined is the extensive comparative study on the Kočevska and Slovenian folk songs conducted by Zmaga Kumer in the fourth edition of the collection *Gottsheer Volkslieder*. The publication of a book containing comments on the Kočevska folk songs and findings on the interplay between the Kočevska and Slovenian traditions (Kumer, 1987: 249), was planned in the 80s of the previous century but failed to materialize; its manuscript having been lost in the Deutsches Volksliedarchiv in Freiburg. The authoress finally proposes that the term “German linguistic island” be discontinued in this context, in scientific terminology at least.

Delia Dattilo and Cinzia Citraro (2021) in their article “Recovering Vanished Sound Landscapes: Sounds, Identities and Multilinguality” address literary works from different time periods and genres, all relating to the category of “Southern Italy”. Travelogues from the peninsula, authored by English-speaking travellers or Italian geographers (oriented southward), contain numerous descriptions of soundscapes and reports and memories on the circumstances and landscapes of sound. In addition, other literary works from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century portray the irreversibility of social changes and specify particular special contexts (and corresponding transformations) through memory of expressions related via the medium of sound. Both perspectives assist in the understanding and expansion of the boundaries of intertwined sound landscapes or sound panorama, which is anything but merely “regional”. Among texts of the local literature, the authoresses set in focus the comedy *Frischijamu* by Domenico Mosca as an example of the presentation of sound occurrences in the social space of the *ruga* (Gr. *Poúya* ‘street, alley’), an environment where the communal listening and narration of stories (*frischijare*) infuses the sound ambience of the

community. The text is especially important for the reconstruction of the sound landscape (cf. Kelman, 2010: 214) and its linguistic specificities, especially due to its many examples of dialect. With this, the dialect characteristics of the Calabrian folklore and distinct sound landscapes are perpetuated and returned into cultural circulation.

Meaning in languages, the phenomenon of multilinguality, switching between one language code and another, local particularities, dialect and supra-dialect, folklore, folk song and cultural and literary spaces are in these contributions connected, yet distinct subjects. Their shared proposition is that those cultural elements that may appear marginal are, precisely on this account, valuable and deserve to be preserved and researched. In these vibrant domains, thinking intertwines with singing and speech, the oral with the written, identity with multicultural life, all emerging from the creativity of the individual and the community.

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