LITHUANIAN DVEJINĖS „DUOS” SUTARTINĖS AMONG OTHER ARCHAIC WAYS OF SINGING BY TWO

The purpose of this scientific article is to introduce the Lithuanian dvejinės sutartinės performing features among other archaic ways of singing by two. The main method of this study is melodic analysis; specifically, analysis of the polyphonic performing process of actual Lithuanian folk songs. The scientific novelty of the submitted particular research article lies in the fact that for the first time sutartinės are analysed as the folk tradition phenomena in the context of all other two-voices singing heritage. Conclusions. A more attentive and broader look at the duos of Lithuanian sutartinės refutes the opinion about the newness of these chants with no refrains, when they are compared with the archaic keturinės (foursomes) and trejinės (threesomes) sutartinės with refrains. Besides, despite their different performance styles, all sutartinės belong to the archaic binary musical system.

The key words: sutartinės, dvejinės, trejinės, keturinės, cross rhythm, skudučiai, daudytės, lumzdeliai, ragai, trumpets, traditional folk music, mocking songs.
Statement of the problem. What characteristics of Lithuanian dvejinės ‘duos’ sutartinės might be defined among other archaic ways of singing by two? The relevance of this study is the insights into the phenomenon under consideration, which help to more clearly and accurately identify its characteristics and typology of individual cases.

Literature review. The article follows the investigations on actual theme made by author of presented here article [15–17], as well as classical works on Ethnology and Psychology of music by Erich von Hornbostel [3], articulation of folklore as a sign of ethnic culture by Izalyi Zemtsowsky [29], unique aspects of Inuit vocal games by Jean-Jacques Nattiez [11] and Triinu Ojamaa [14], and other contemporary and historical studies. 

The purpose of the article is present the idea that despite their different performance styles, all sutartinės belong to the archaic binary musical system.

The object of study there are the melodic structures of Lithuanian dvejinės „duos” sutartinės. The subject – particular examples of the singing.

Presenting main material. A thought given for some time to perform a comprehensive analysis on an exclusive type of Lithuanian sutartinės – the dvejines aka dviejős ‘twosomes’ or ‘duos’, respectively. These ‘duos’ hymns differ sharply from the other polyphonic hymns, first, by not having their own refrains – an exclusive feature signifying sutartinės.\(^{48}\) Ethnomusicologists almost never paid any attention to these hymns with no refrains, except this author. Her article displayed at least some effort to

\(^{48}\) As known, the interjections and onomatopoeic words used in sutartinės caused a number of researchers (Zenonas Slaviūnas, Daiva Šeškauskaitė et al) to consider an especially archaic origin of these hymns.
highlight the originality of these dvejinės [15]. Apparently, researchers who had searched for archaic signs of originality in the sutartinės thought these songs were irrelevant and overly “new”. In addition, some write-ups of the melodies of these dvejinės were actually reminiscent of rather complicated and, it might be said, parts composed by professionals. Furthermore, the dvejinės or, at least, a major portion of them not only “lacked” refrains but also choreographies, which constitute a vital component of a syncretic entity. Thus, it appeared the dvejinės were not only different but, possibly, they had evolved at a later time than the other kinds of sutartinės did. This claim, in Vyčinienė’s opinion, still requires substantiation before ceasing to doubt it.

The lengthy experience of Vyčinienė in performing sutartinės permits asserting that dvejinės require two singers with exceptional abilities for hearing each other along with a subtle sensitivity of one for the other. Musically it is possible to discuss probably the highest level of professionalism regarding the performance of these songs. An attempt can be made to search for the wellspring of this fascinating manifestation – the singing by two. The basis for such a search should go beyond the sutartinės but also extend to examples of duets from other nations. Besides, Vyčinienė was not paying any major attention to musical styles or types of expression, i.e., polyphony, heterophony, diaphony, antiphony and such, when selecting varied samplings. Her interest was the actual principle involved in singing duets, the means of organizing two voices. Homophonic singing of duets was left at the wayside, since this reflects a tradition coming later in time.

Thus, the axis of the object under research by this author is considered the number of hymn-singers – two. This constitutes the minimal number of performers necessary for collective music-making (frequently polyphonic). Quite many examples of singing by two can be found in the world.

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49 This is not a discussion on the type of dvejinės that this author distinguished from the rest – dvejinės keturiomis ‘twosomes by four’ by which two pairs dance opposite each other; see Type 28 in the author's classification [16; 17].

50 When searching for the wellsprings of singing by two, it is well to remember later traditions as well. In Lithuania alone, various manifestations of duet singing show the longevity, continuity, and vitality of this tradition. It’s likely many a member of folklore expeditions throughout the ethnographic regions of Lithuania heard and transcribed beautifully sung duets, e.g., sisters Šlektė – K. Zalagaitienė and A. Paršaitienė from Čyčkai Village, Vilkaviškis Region, as well as Kuncytė – S. Barauskienė and P. Kurulišienė from Nibrągalis Village, Panevėžys Region et al); married couples (e.g., Ričkus – from Upyna town, Šilalė Region as well as Klepšys – from Velykiai Village, Panevėžys Region et al); neighbors singing together since youth (e.g., O. Stasiūnienė and P. Janutėnienė – from Gintautainkai Village, Ignalina Region) and such.
singing actually demands perfect listening skills from the performers, so the
two voices match some sort of principle to become a single entity. One such
element involves two-voice singing in East Flores Indonesia.
Ethnomusicologist Dana Rappoport explains that this requires a close
relationship, which, over time, also becomes an emotional one. One does
not sing with just anyone: it is important to find the voice that will best suit
one’s own. The scholar observes, “The choice of a partner depends on
affinities and, especially, on the color produced by the blending of the two
voices” [19, 220]. This is similar to selections made by sutartinės singers.
Further the ethnomusicologist tells how the union of two voices in a duo
calls for a lot of times spent singing together. “Only a high level of mastery
will ensure that the intervals between the two voices will be rendered with
precision. The best duos have been singing together for many years. As a
result, each singer sings with only one or two partners during his or her
lifetime” (ibid.).

Singing by two is considered quite popular and a universal
phenomenon in the traditions of varied nations. Mythological and historical
sources of certain European national traditions indicate its archaic nature
and universality. It is also a viable expression in the varied nations today,
especially in non-European musical cultures. It is notable that the origin of
singing by two is mythical in a number of musical traditions, thereby, not
only indicating the ancient origin of this phenomenon but also its importance
in today’s society. A look around some foreign places is in order.

Rappoport pays heed to mythical two-voice singing in West
Lamaholot in her discussion about it in the islands of East Indonesia (Flores
and Solor). The two-part singing that joins a first to a second voice, as per
the researcher, is rooted in the myth of conjoined brothers. It tells how a
mother gave birth to a boy with two heads whose two voices merged into
one sound [18, 133].

“In a village called Lamanabi, in older times, a mother named Wulo’
gave birth to a boy with two heads. The older was called Kau and the
younger, Ré. They were singing and dancing: the younger was singing noko
(second voice) and the older bawa (first voice). When they were singing
hode’ ana, one was singing the first voice and the other the second voice,
and that was extremely nice. They did not live very long, died and were
buried. A few days later, two bamboos came out from the ground, from the
place of their burial; here is the origin of *sason rurén* [the double flute], that makes a melodious sound”\(^{51}\).

This myth lays the foundation pertinent to the origin of two-voice singing as well as of double-flute playing related to such singing. The double flute links directly to two-part singing by the myth, the names of the parts and the music itself\(^{52}\). This flute is the remnant of the voices of the dead brothers. Additionally, the story of this myth is considered international\(^ {53}\).

Literary theorist on poetry Alexander Veselovsky said duets were meant to sing epic songs\(^ {54}\). To substantiate this thought, the scholar turned attention to the etymology of the term *kuçîlava* (in Sanskrit, *kuçîlava* means rhapsody or actor and also references the twin brothers *Kuça and Lava*, sons of Sita and Rama, who became disciples of Valmiki before returning to their father’s home). Valmiki, an ascetic in the tradition of India, is considered the “first poet”. He authored the legendary epic poem, *Ramayana*, and founded the epic poetry of *shloka*\(^ {55}\). There are more examples of mythical “presentations” passed down by singing in twos. For instance, giants *Menia and Fenia* (the mythical are the personages of the Old Norse song, “*Grottasongr* ‘The Mill's Songs’ or ‘Song of Grótti’” from *Poetic Edda*.

They take turns singing while grinding with millstones at the magical gold-grinding mill \([27, 165]\). Then, a legend during the times of Emperor Hadrian tells about the *Contest of Homer and Hesiod*. Veselovsky says it reminds of

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\(^{51}\) From three oral versions collected in three villages of Tanjung Bunga, 2007–2009.

\(^{52}\) The tube with more holes is called *hodé*; the other tube, for the second voice, is referred to as *nuku*. These are precisely the names of the two voices in the two-part singing tradition \([18, 134]\).

\(^{53}\) The international catalogue of fairy tales by Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson contains a separate type named “Singing Bones” (AT 780). The international version of this story line is also known in Europe as well as in South and East Asia. Its sphere of dissemination spreads all the way to North and East Africa (ATU 780). Two kinds of “Singing Bones” stories appear in the world. One kind is a story about a plant growing out of the body, which gets crafted into a musical instrument. The other is about a little flute made from a human bone (for Lithuanian versions, see: \([24; 25]\)."

\(^{54}\) Ernst Emsheimer makes a similar claim that the example of two performers in the “classic”, Finnish epic titled *Kalevala* is reminiscent of the Tibetan tradition. A second singer, as per the scholar, is required by a Tibetan bard, because this singer must seemingly bring the other into a trance, which is necessary (TRFECh, 220–221).

\(^{55}\) The story goes that, upon completing *Ramayana*, Valmiki searched for something to disseminate throughout the world. Two youths dressed like hermits approached. They were *Kuça and Lava*, who embraced his knees. Thus Valmiki gave them his poem so both would sing it.
riddle and wisdom matches, which “live on until now”, e.g., in Cyprus and Germany [27, 204].

Whenever there is talk about ancient Finnish runes, states Aukusti Robert Niemi, our consciousness at once “arouses two bearded heroes sitting across from each other to appear; they hold hands by grasping with hooked fingers and sway back and forth with their full bodies to a bar and, fully inspired, they sing the lines being born to them” [13, 479]. Veselovsky describes the singing by duets in even greater detail and imaginatively:

“There are two singers: the leading voice and the accompanist who whirls and chases the thread of the song that the leader has sung <…> Both singers sit next to or in front of each other, their knees touching, and holding hands while swaying somewhat as they sing. The leader sings the first line and somewhat more than half of the second one; then the accompanist joins in by repeating (now alone) the first line. Samoyed shamans do something similar: one beats a drum and sings a few improvised lines until the second one catches on, then they sing together; afterward, part two again repeats what the lead has already sung. The singing of Finnish runes involves trying out whose memory is stronger; the singer whose inner strength has waned releases the friend’s hand. As told in Kalevala, “No one could hold hands, i.e., compete with Väinämöinen” [27, 94–95].

Moreover, the archaic albeit still surviving tradition of singing duets can remind of similar contests between performers such as, e.g., the “vocal games” or “throat-games” of the Canadian Inuit that they call katajjait or katajjaq. “These vocal games are somewhat competitive, played most of the time by women who face each other at close quarters; at times, they hold each other’s shoulders. The game stops when one of the women runs out of breath or laughs” [11, 457]. Katajjaq is a singular vocal technique characterised by the alternation of audible inhalation and exhalation, by nasal and guttural vocal emissions, and of bursts of sounds without a fixed pitch. The idea is to fatigue the adversary, and rhythmically destabilize her. The texts are made of nonsense syllables (VW: 131; CD I 12). Rekutkar, from rekut ‘throat’ + kar ‘do’, ‘create’, is a related genre. It belongs to the Kraft Ainu people, immigrants from Sakhalin to Hokkaido, however, the Hokkaido Ainu people do not have this genre in Japan. Two singers in front of each other as close as possible. One leads the melody, whereas the other,

56 Just as a reminder, Veselovsky lived and worked during the 19th century (1838–1936); his first issue of Historical Poetics only appeared in 1940.
57 The second singer who “catches” the main singing by the senior is called säistäja ‘braiding’, ‘chasing’ the song [27, 254].
the “throaty articulation”, as if accompanying with a percussion instrument, by using the air flowing from the partner’s mouth [29, 164]. The performers place their hands in front of their mouths moving in close to the other partner’s hands. Apparently, this is done for acoustic reasons, wanting the voices of the two partners to blend into one resonance.

Similar phenomena have been disseminating in other nations as well, e.g., Turkmenians have playing songs; one is called эgin-liale, from эgin – ‘shoulders’ and liale – ‘type of song for gals. Another is known as chymmyyl, which two women perform by stepping little by little towards each other while peculiarly twitching their shoulders. Chymmyyl can also be sung sitting in front of each other (TMTH). The principle for singing by two women in Kaluli, the Southern Highlands Province of Papua New Guinea, e.g., the heyalо song, is by echo or by overlapping: two voices do not “follow” each other but “lift up over” (dulugu molab), in a sort of echoing (VW: 159; CD III 3). In Irian Jaya (Eipo) of Indonesia, Western New Guinea, two 11-year-old girls were recorded singing (dit): the girls freely string together some song sequences, without trying to coordinate their voices (VW: 172; CD III 30). And “thus[they] sketch, as an amusement, what one might call a polymusical form, which progressively stabilizes itself around a series of brief ostinati” (Ibid.: 125).

Interestingly a link can also be found with rathapâtha, the Rigveda recitation tradition. Two students at Trichur School recite rathapâtha while stooping one in front of the other, head in hand, in an especially concentrated pose. This proves a difficult, tiring exercise for two: the first performer must follow (speak) the style of the recitation – the samhitâ pâtha ‘contents’ thereof while upholding the sandhi rules for phonetic abbreviations. Meanwhile the second performer follows the recitation pada pâtha ‘word for word’. Further, as the text is being recited, one singer keeps on adding new words, regressively repeating the words just mentioned beforehand by the model: a-b, a-b-c-b, a-b-c-d-c-b… Both voices follow a parallel path, with the first singer using the tones Cis-E-Fis and the second, the Fis-Cis-E. The text constitutes the start of a long hymn addressed to Visvedevas Gods (SI: 47, 48).

It might seem questionable: what commonalities could there be among samples of sung duets, taken in a rather haphazard manner, from different time periods and different countries? Is it possible to compare them next to

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58 This refers to the Nambûdiri Brahmins tradition of South India. Two schools are here, Trichur and Tirumala, which uphold certain Vedic principles for recitations (SI: 46–47).
each other and, even more so, with the so named dvejinės ‘duos’ sung in Lithuania? Answers to these questions require a look at certain areas of the texts. Only then can certain, common instances in performance (or certain regularities) become clear:

1) Singing by two requires especially close feelings between the partners for each other, i.e., a sort of “singing in common”. It could be said this is a principle of performance applicable to all nations.

2) Singing is usually facing each other. Besides, an intimate contact between singers is essential, including eye and mouth contacts, at times, holding hands, bracing against each other’s shoulders and such. Here, it is well to remember singing “mouth to mouth”, which characterizes performing sutartinės, especially dvejinės. Maciej Stryjkowski paid heed to this as long ago as during the 16th century [23]. Later Zenonas Slaviūnas noticed this as a group of sutartinės singers was performing, as he recorded them for a phonograph [16, 32]. Vyčiūnienė also realized the necessity of constant eye contact for performing dvejinės as she was singing. Similar examples of archaic polyphony were noticed watching two Serbian singers performing. A number of ethnomusicologists like Dragoslav Dević, Nikolay Kaufman, Anna Czekanowska, Alice Elscheková, Izaly Zemtsovy et al, have written about such a performance feature.

3) Singing by two is often perceived as a competition by the performers themselves. Who will sing the text the longest? Who will repeat the rhythmic formular without erring? Who will hold her breath the longest? It is like an endurance test akin to a “musical initiation”? Singing sutartinės in duos could also be considered an odd kind of contest between two singers. Still, just as with many other nations, the common goal is still more important – to perform one or another hymn properly (correctly), to “clang together” the seconds between voices and such. Besides, many different nations believe that two opposing forces generate harmony. Recall the aforementioned singing by Ainu women: performers place their hands in front of their mouths and touch their partner’s hands, so the voices of the two partners flow together more readily into one sound. Caribou Inuit women seek such an effect by putting their heads into a bowl. Thus, it can be considered that, in some cases, competing by duets constitutes a very archaic tradition, perhaps, for one, aiming at a verbal match between two prophetesses, a cosmological ritual. Still, it is also a musical match, since the oldest texts, as known, would be recited/chanted in sounds at a certain pitch. Conversely, it has something in common with later periods, which had seemingly adopted traits for entertainment purposes. It was important
in the old days to accurately perform one’s own role, e.g., one singer follows (composes) the text, whereas the other echoes the leader’s (usually an honored elder’s) melodic, rhythmic and verbal motifs. Yet, they do not compete with each other. An accompanist sings, e.g., rune songs by “turning and chasing the string of the song the first one had sung”. The Latvian teicēja ‘lead singer’ “recites, says words” or leads, whereas the locītāja ‘accompanist’ “bends, turns” a melody. Two young, Banda Ngao, girl speakers from the Bambari Region of the Central African Republic, during an initiation, sing in a very high tessitura responsively: the words are sung by the lead voice, while the responses are made of non-semantic syllables (VW: 142; CD II 2). In Ethiopia two women of the Adari Tribe from Harar sing polyphonically. The first one is an experienced, local singer with seniority who masterfully varies the melody. The second one, who is less skilled, merely “upholds” the first. The second part is no more than a “complement” to the first part, melody [6, 244–246].

4) To achieve an overall (unified) resonating effect when singing by two, singers attempt to coordinate their voices in many ways. Some relate to upholding a certain work rhythm. One would be, e.g., the hoeing song performed by two Gere women in Zioubli, sub-prefecture of Toulépleu, Côte d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast). “Two soloists sing in parallel fourths some long musical phrases over some brief ostinati from a small chorus of four women. The latter sing while working: bending forwards, they work with short-handled hoes, and the regular movement gives the basic rhythm. The two soloists only work episodically, often standing up straight, the better to sing. Some interjections and cries coming from the women’s chorus stimulates the labor” (VW: 164; CD III 14).

The aforesaid Inuit Eskimos and Ainu women from Sakhalin employ a complicated vocal technique based on sound changes by a rapid inhalation and exhalation, i.e., a “panting style”. The second voice repeats the motifs of the first voice’s part but canonically crossdephased [12, 400]. The motif being repeated is usually identical to the motif of the first voice. Nonetheless, at times, it can differ entirely (in this case, the importance lies in the phase of oppositional breathing). Nattiez emphasizes the necessity of knowledge and experience (virtuosity and aesthetics are not foreign to these vocal games either).
What is important is that this principle is related to the performances of archaic, instrumental, polyphonic music of varied nations worldwide. Usually it is generally linked to sensorimotor thinking relevant to instrumental music, such as the traditions of blowing overtone flutes in South Russia or kugikly ‘multi-pipe whistles’ in Kursk [30, 67; 26, 80] et al. More musical examples from varied nations may also be recalled. Certainly, the coordination of their different parts does not always directly relate to breathing phases. However, it becomes obvious, that the principle of one performer entering into the part of the other, while following in the stead of the leader, remains the same.

Here, in the Lithuanian polyphonic musical tradition, it is specifically the blowing of one part on the skudučiai ‘panpipes’ (or ragai ‘horns’, wooden trumpets) that happens to reflect the rhythmic coordination of “breathing” by one blower, which expresses a certain rhythm. In this case, the part with the strong bar of the composition can be considered an inhalation, whereas the weakest, an exhalation. Skudučiai players would say, “You, blow on the first skudučiai whistle: ti-ti-tiū-tiūt. I’ll take the second: tiū-ti-tiūt. Meanwhile, he’ll breathe with the third skudučiai whistle: a-pu a-pu aa-pū” and so on. This is how the whistles got their names: the first is tititiūtititiut, the second – tiūtititiūt and the third – kvepas. (LLIM: 12-13)\(^{59}\). When describing the kvepas part (usually skudučiai whistle III or, at times, IV depending on the composition’s number of parts),

\(^{59}\) Kvepas, in Lithuanian, is akin to kvapas ‘breath’; the root word of kvėpavimas ‘breathing’, atskišvėpimas ‘catching one’s breath’ or ‘taking a pause’; as well as iškvepiamas ‘exhalation’ and įkvepiamas ‘inhalation’.
the claim is that it kvepuoja ‘breathes’, atsiliepia ‘responds’ and the like. As per Paliulis, the syllables of the kvepas part are: a-pu, a-pu, aa-pū. These correspond with signs for notes as follows: a – eighth pause, pu – eighth note, aa – fourth pause and pū – fourth note (LLIM: 13). Noteworthy is that the kvepas part is akin to the phase of “opposite breathing” (LLIM 70).

Such a manifestation could be named, in a broader sense, as rhythmic canon (even the teaching tradition for playing the aforementioned overtone flute, as per Ivanov, corresponds to the logic of canon: “Those being led” echo the “leader” by following from behind [30, 52].

Rhythmic canon aka “canon in time” does not lack examples in Lithuania either – the canon principle is frequent in the polyphonic music performed on sets of skudučiai and ragai (LLIM 78, 82, 83, 86 et al). It is possible to consider certain sutartinės played on the skudučiai by two (with each musician blowing on two skudučiai each, or 2+3,) as rhythmic canon. Here, the imitation of the first part’s rhythmic motif could also be considered rhythmic canon. Nevertheless, this could also be explained as regularities of

60 People of Papilys named No. III of their skudučiai set (i.e., the kvepas, kvapa or kvapola); in Salamiestis – it’s kvapas (džūchas, dūchas, ĭchas); in Pandėlys – kvapola.
61 When they’d play sutartinės or songs on the skudučiai, they didn’t use such rhythmic syllables, as per Paliulis. Words to those sutartinės or songs would be used instead.
62 This principle, as said, is widespread in Africa. For one, a special method for teaching to play a xylophone had disseminated over Uganda: Musician I mentally breaks down onomatopoeic sounds into syllables, e.g., “pit-pat-pit-pat”; then Musician II – “er-er-er-er”, so the sound from both parts comes out as “pitter-patter-pitter-patter” [7, 28].
complementary rhythmics, e.g., *Du kupečiu šieno* ‘Two haystacks’ (LLIM 10, 11) et al:

Part I

\[ ♩ ♩ | ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ | ♩ ♩ \]

\[ Šie- na du ku-pe-čiu, šie- na du ku-pe-čiu. (Hay stack- ed in two piles) \]

Part II

\[ ♩ ♩ | ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ | ♩ ♩ \]

\[ Du ku-pe-čiu šie- na, du ku-pe-čiu šie- na. (Two piles for stack-ing hay). \]

It’s believed both *skudučiai* blowers would not begin at once (as noted by most examples in books by Paliulis [LLIM]). Instead, they would follow one after another, i.e., the second musician first hears the RFs played by the lead and only then joins in. Furthermore, the beginning of the second blower’s part often seems like a repetition of the RF ending the part of the lead musician, e.g., “\[ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ du kupečiu / du kupečiu ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪\]”:

Part I

\[ ♩ ♩ | ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ | ♩ ♩ \]

\[ Šie- na du ku-pe-čiu. Du ku-pe-čiu šie- na. \]

‘Hay pi-led up in two stacks. Two stacks of hay pi-led.’

Thereby Part II becomes something akin to a mirror-like reflection of Part I’s rhythm. An identical principle characterizes compositions of certain *sutartinės* sung as *trejinės*:

*Tūtoj, kų čia važa, // Kų čia važa, tūtoj*  
(Tootoi, who ‘ya ridin’ here) (SIS 1290),

*Lylloj, sese linų, // Sese linų, lylloj*  
(Lylloj sister, the flax) (SIS 210) et al.

Such a repetition of the rhythm ending the first part by the second performer is somewhat reminiscent of a singing tradition involving runes (as said, the leader of the runes sings the first line and part of the second; then the second one joins in alongside until, finally, now alone, the second one repeats the first line).

The hocket principle\(^{63}\) is also discovered in certain, short polyphonic compositions blown by two on 2–3 whistles of the *skudučiai*. (It

\(^{63}\) Hocket is especially characteristic of African vocal and instrumental music traditions. (Truthfully, this technique is mostly applied in polyphonic compositions performed by groups
predominates in the more major works composed for aerophone sets of skudučiai and ragai.) The voices of the two Eipos girls from West New Guinea, described above, are coordinated similarly. One voice interrupts the part of the other (hocket principle) and continues without stopping.

Sutartinės dvejinės are again viewed upon briefly reviewing the principles on two-voiced (of two different parts) tuning practices with each other (i.e., organization of a coherent whole) that are characteristic of different nations. It will become apparent that here, there is no technique with cross phases characterizing the aforementioned vocal games, not the hocket principle and not the precise, rhythmic canon ("canon in time"). Nonetheless, the organization of dvejinės ‘twosomes’ involves strict vocal rhythms, somewhat similar to examples from other nations discussed here. The basis for coordinating two voices with each other involves the lateness of one voice, when uttering those same syllables, i.e., the syncopation of rhythm and, taking a broader glance, a complementary rhythm. This is somewhat reminiscent of the mentioned “cross rhythm” principle, which, truthfully, is not followed consistently.

The “virtuosity” of good sutartinės singers is probably most distinct in dvejinės involving their abilities to “clang together” the sounds of different parts appropriately to achieve a continual, uninterrupted, nearly equal (by eighth notes) pulsations of rhythm. These are heard clearly when listening to the mentioned dvejinės and the rhythms of both parts merge into one. Besides, for the sutartinės song, Aš Verpčiu Plonų ‘I’d Spin So Thin’ (SIS 269), the second singer masterfully weaves in the short words, gi and ta, into her melody (with other sutartinės, such interjections could be the words lioj, lylio and the like). She does this in a way, so her syllables do not correspond with the same syllables in the first singer’s text. Interjecting an additional word, ta, into the text also becomes an odd sort of artistic touch – the resonance when singing such sutartinės while spinning flax is somewhat similar to the sounds a spinning wheel or weaving loom makes.64

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64 Similar interjections or inclusion of short words constitute a characteristic of e diaphonies found along Mediterranean Sea shores – in Bulgaria (oj; le; le; mori; more; e, lele), Albania (o; ja; he; moj; hajde), Romania (aide; lele; more; moj; lai), Macedonia (lele;aja) and other nations [10, 35; 10, 72; 10, 81; 10, 89].
Nevertheless, there are examples of singing duets in the world in which the rhythm seemingly does not play any major organizational role. The basis for coordinating two voices is considered the relationship between their pitch, i.e., vocal parts are tuned more vertically (in space), rather than horizontally (in time). A sample could be a funeral lament, aamamata, recorded from Malaita, Solomon Islands, which was performed by two female voices in counterpoint. The principal voice is pau ni ‘au ‘head of the music’ or pau ni nuuha ‘head of the song’ that sings the words. The second voice aarit ‘i sings with a closed or half-open mouth upon the vowel e (VW: 167, CD III 21). In Iceland, the tvísöngvar ‘duet’ in parallel fifths has been known since olden times. These lands distinguish famous families of “duos”, since people here honor experienced, skilled geübte zwiesänger ‘trained duo’ vocalists. The most challenging musical task in such a duet is by the accompanying voice. At the end of a strophe, the accompanist sings high by forcing a chest voice (not by using falsettos). Therefore, such spots in a song do not sound lovely but sound akin to yelling. Erich von Hornbostel calls this two-voice singing “organum in fifths with interwoven voices” [3, 297].

Obviously, the duet singing traditions of varied nations (actually some nations have a choir i.e., a group of singers, leading the two singers
performing)\textsuperscript{65} involve a coordination of their own principles about vertical voices. A juxtaposition of low and high registers is important in some places, e.g., in Malaita. Elsewhere it is the organum of polyphony or diaphony played at certain intervals, e.g., thirds or fourths in Kpouébo, Zioubli, Côte d'Ivoire; by various intervals in Vietnam and in fifths in Iceland. The basis for hymn-singing by two in Lithuania is solely known as in seconds (their accords form by two voices weaving together). Thus Lithuanian \textit{dvejinės}, when compared with examples of duets from other countries, are original in that both voices equally and "responsibly" adhere to the principle of their mutual organization – both horizontally (syllables sung by one voice intervene into the syllables performed by the other voice) and vertically (parts for two voices interweave by thirds [or two thirds by one voice], causing second accords to form constantly), e.g., \textit{O kas pražydo} ‘What’s that blossoming’ (SIS 371):

\begin{center}
\includegraphics[width=0.8\textwidth]{image.png}
\end{center}

\textsuperscript{65} Such a performance style characterizes, for one, certain Latvian drone songs, e.g., \textit{rotāšana}, sung from spring until the blossoming of summer. “The singers would choose two of the best singers from their group. They say the words to the song, some in a higher voice, others in a lower voice. One and the other modulate or drive the song in a clear voice. The rest would not say words but simply hum along together as if in bass. The assignment of the first, high-voiced lead singer was especially important. She had to have a sonorous, ringing voice and the ability to sing out the entire song in the correct melody.” [13, 271–272].
Upon swiftly analyzing the structures of two-voice singing examples among varied nations and uncovering certain similarities, one question comes up. Why did singing by two exist? What could that sort of singing mean? After all, singers acutely hearing each other has a maximum of which, incidentally, is usually inversely proportional to the number of performers. Therefore, two singers are optimal. There is the pursuit of “virtuosity” and, finally, an aesthetic assessment of duets by performers and listeners alike make up a phenomenon from a late period. Apparently, there were some incentives for singing in duets, at first. An effort ensued to establish assumptions for raising varied hypotheses.

It’s possible that singing, as well as playing music, by two may have been considered a sign of certain sacredness or divinity. The cult of twins, associated with fruitfulness and fertility that characterizes Indo-European nations, can be recalled. Myths about twins abound in numerous nations worldwide. However, a basis for raising an assumption could come from those, aforementioned, duet samples: Tanjung Bunga’s two-voice singing has its musical preference rooted in the myth of the Siamese brothers: two voices have to harmonize to become one sound. Then there are Kusha and Lava, the twin sons of Sita and Ram, as well as the singing by Fenja and Menja, two mythical giants. Furthermore, Homer and Heziod engage in a verbal contest, as well as Väinämöinen, and a mortal contest takes place singing runes.

Lithuanian sutartinės were played on two daudytės ‘long wooden trupet’. Only harmonic aka overtone series ground the melodies of sutartinės played by daudytės. Here, it is necessary to recall that the sutartinės melody sung by two is also grounded on solely natural sound sequences. Those same sutartinės would often be either sung or played on two daudytės by two players. Part of the sutartinės could have been performed by blowing two daudytės and by singing duos alternately (this author makes this assumption based on the works of Stryjkowski, Lepner, Simonas Daukantas and Simonas Stanevičius). Blowing trumpets by two is universally considered an especially old phenomenon and a sign of sacredness. In Romania, long wooden horns are blown during funerals.

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66 As per Alain Daniélou, oboes are only blown by pairs at Tibetan temple rites, whereas only one oboe is played for secular music [1, 84].
67 Playing wind instruments in pairs is a worldwide practice, believed to have influenced inventing the double clarinet, especially important in Arab countries. They are also known in the Balkans, India, Sardinia and South America (PMI: 38).
68 Vikings used to play two lurs each. The blowing of two wooden or metal trumpets was part of an important religious rite, known in South India (the kahalay or kombu, lur-like instruments
Are they a means of protection or a signal to the world of the dead? Otherwise, they could be a means for raising the dead. The *vaiete* ‘funeral lamentations’ “are proclaimed by large horns called *trimbita*, and must cease when the horns recommence” (VW 129, CD I 6). Indeed, such blowing on aerophones in the Himalayas, Alps, Carpathians and elsewhere relate to archaic customs.

No specific data is available on using Lithuanian *daudytės* in ancient rites, possibly, since these instruments were only mentioned the first time in the 16th century. So only written sources provide pictures of *daudytės* and describe their sound. Recall, how these instruments and their “noisy sounds” along with their “odd, untuned melody” came to the attention of Guagnini (2, 47). Even the common folk would describe these penetrating trumpet sounds as “the howling of wolves”, e.g., “*Du Gineišių lauki* ‘Two [guys] from Gineišiai in the field’/ *Du kaip vilkai kaukia* ‘Two like wolves howling’ (LLIM 198). Sachs also turned his attention to a mention Lepner made – “blowing on two trumpets whose sound is extremely strong” [8, 94]. Additionally, a trumpet distinct for its tremendous sound was described during the times of antiquity as “bellowing in the voice of a beast”

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69 In ancient Greece, instruments, known as *salpinx*, would be kept hidden but, “when needed, they’d be pulled forth and blown, thereby opening up the kingdom of the dead and summoning Dionysus, the quintessence of life.” Inviting God by blowing the *salpinx* horn, as per Karoly Kerényi, is an especially archaic phenomenon [5, 155]. There is possibly a parallel with a distant tradition, in the Yentchan, East Sepik Province, Papua New Guinea, for singing into bamboo pipes/tubes in order to produce voices of *Mai* spirits. Two men each sing into one tube of bamboo, which acts as a voice-alterer. This is an example of instruments being used as peculiar sorts of voice masks. “*Mai* spirits are represented by men in masks who hide the bamboo tubes under their costumes” (VW: 150; CD II 20).

70 As per Sachs, only the men would blow these horns, and the horns were kept hidden from the women [21, 44].

71 Actually, *trimitai* ‘trumpets’ were already mentioned at the end of the 14th century when describing Lithuanians attacking Marienverder Castle (1384): "On the fourth day, [idolaters] bring tar and firewood into the ditches; the next Sunday, while celebrating, the sounds of trumpets raise them to battle" [9, 191].

72 The organologist believes a feature of this typically Asian national music [author’s note: blowing on two trumpets] links to archaic Balt culture. This is serious evidence refuting the opinions of those who want to associate Bronze Age trumpets, the highly debatable *lurs* found in pairs on the Baltic coast, with two-voice music, presumably originating from prehistoric North Germanic music [20, 8].
Two-voice singing (competing), analyzed earlier, may also be interpreted as voicing two different worlds – people’s earthly world and ancestors’, otherworldly. Vocal expressions, as said, involve a battle between two opposing forces or the harmony so inspired along with a balance based on the faiths of varied nations. Again, recall the archaic duets of Ainu and Inuit people. Their games, *rekutkar* and *katajjait*, represent culturological outlooks constituting a multi-functional, host-structure games, i.e., sound and unpleasant sound like “noise”. Still, the *rekutkar* genre hypothetically derives from the Shaman period as per certain researchers. *Rekutkar* was performed during a hunting ritual, the Bear’s holiday. It would ring out in the part for expressing joy and fun, after performing a ritualistic bear killing. During the ritual, women would stand in a circle facing center and place their hands by their mouths resembling a megaphone. What could such *rekutkar* ‘throat-singing’ mean while celebrating (was the bear a holy animal to Ainu people)? The text of a *rimse* song helps to answer the question: “I’m asking you, bear, please make your “throat” voice”. This song would be performed just before killing the bear, while leading the bear around tied at the neck. This indicates the bear’s scream was identified, in the Ainu culture, with a human’s “throat” voice. At first glance, the text of the Inuit people’s *katajjait* – a recreational game – consists of meaningless syllables, archaic words, names of ancestors or people from olden times, animal names or toponyms. Animals would be imitated quite often, e.g., geese, seagulls, eiders, seals, partridges, dogs or even mosquitoes and such. Women from North Quebec and South Baffin Island would only imitate geese gaggling. Anthropologist Bernard Sakladin d’Anglure suggests considering *katajjait* as a composition from the Shaman period performed collectively during Inuit holidays: the spring equinox and the summer and winter solstices. Nattiez writes, “In
September 1979, I had occasion to record a woman from Piuvig-nituk, Alassie Alasuak, for an interview. She said, katajjait were performed during the absence of husbands who were off hunting [12, 416]. “Throat” games were played in early spring. Their function was to hurry on the return of migratory birds (geese). Katajjait has also been observed with a link to crop fertility rituals. Some respondents insisted that katajjait was performed, when the men left for a hunt. Vocal games hurried their return and helped attract animals during the time of the hunt. So, when men left to hunt, the women would “play” these games, not for their own pleasure or for fun but in an effort to influence the souls of birds, sea mammals, the wind, water and other forces and generate favorable conditions for the hunt or the fishing trip. Women’s “throat” games could be considered a type of survival music [12, 416].

At this point, it is cautiously possible to recall the sutartinės by which the hymn-singing of the performers themselves would compare to the voices of innumerable birds – swans, ducks, cranes et al. Meanwhile the archaic RFs of the skudučiai, which are based on onomatopoeic sounds, become a peculiar musical code of unytė ‘little duck’, intakas ‘wheatear’ (Oenanthe Oenanthe) and tututis ‘hoopoe’ (Upupa epops).

To further examine the origin of duet singing, a look is taken at the Siberian pic eynen ‘throat singing’ games. Analogical vocal genres can be found in other areas of Siberia as well – among Koryaks, Evenk and Tungus groups. Ethnomusicologists claim all three of these genres – katajjait, rekutkar and pic eynen – are closely related. In Siberia, differently from katajjait and rekutkar, the ritualistic context of such “throat” singing is most distinctly expressed. In the sense of musical performance, the pic eynen of the Chukchi differs somewhat from the katajjait of Eskimos. Two women (or, once in a while, several pairs) perform katajjait, whereas a large group of women performs pic eynen: some lead with resonance, while others improvise as per predominate voices. Thus, the pic eynen of the Chukchi are not considered vocal games but ritualistic song-dances: their means of expression is “throat-singing” [12, 409]. Nattiez believes that the vocal games from the past among Canada’s Inuit, who, incidentally, emigrated to the American continent from Asia, also had songs and dances. The religious

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74 Even now the Chukchi people perform their seasonal rituals. The throat vocal techniques used these days do not relate to the context of game-playing but as ritualistic dances-songs. Animals are imagined by dances and voices related to them, certain gestures and vocal imitations of animal voices, which include northern elks, seals, grey partridges and cranes. Such rites are necessary when asking the spirits for successful hunting and fishing.
context of Inuit vocal games is now extinct, and the specificity of the vocal technique for this genre has lessened (only remnants of religious significance can still be discussed). The current katajjait could be considered a peculiar combination of proto-components: it’s not a song and not a dance but a vocal game\textsuperscript{75}. Thus, a question arises naturally: perhaps, the means for performing such “throat” games by two (like a contest between two performers, an odd sort of entertainment) could be considered in a later ritualistic context that formed in stages as it was going into its demise? For now, it’s best not rush to an unequivocal answer.

Let us continue to deliberate the issue of duet singing by turning attention to a singing over tradition performed at weddings (that is a sort of ritualistic “word play”). South Estonians, e.g., would invite (hire) the best word masters to perform at weddings for whom singing at weddings at times became a side profession. This would grow into an odd kind of tournament for the best singer in the vicinity. A singer, M. Volf, often sang kaażituzed as follows: two elderly women would sit in one corner, and a pair of other women – in the corner opposite them. That way they could “babblemouth” as long as half a day \([32, 35-36]\). Other Finno-Ugric nations include Mordvinia. One of its ethnic groups is the Moksha who have the paraiaftomat, a special wedding “mocking songs”, performed by small groups from both the bride’s and the groom’s sides. Performers of such songs are considered paraiaftomat rangijcht ‘professional singers of this field’, those “who shout out mocking songs” \([17, 18]\). It’s noticeable that, in this case, the discussion is not about pairs of singers but about not very large groups, though, their size is not definitive on family representation of the bride and of the groom. This again raises the question, whether the Estonian women singing in pairs (“pair facing pair”), which were so picturesquely described above, are not coincidental. It’s possible the number of singers in Estonia that could be representing the two separate families was not “set in stone”, i.e., there didn’t necessarily have to be two hymn-singing specialists from each side\textsuperscript{76}. Quite possibly, it was the

\textsuperscript{75} Triinu Ojamaa, who analyzed vocal technique used by the North Siberian Nganasan called throat rasping, noted that “Imitative dances by other Siberian peoples are likewise a ritual, as are Inuit throat-games, where sound production techniques are similar” \([14, 69]\).

\textsuperscript{76} Estonian ethnomusicologist Ottilie Kõiva observes that differing wedding song performance styles flourish in different regions of Estonia. Her investigations show, both the bride and the groom sides, in East Saaremaa Island, would invite two elderly female singers each. In other areas, e.g., West Saaremaa Island, one barking song specialist, called naga, would be invited by each family \([31, 34]\).
opposite – over time the Mordvinian tradition of holding wedding “singabouts” changed. (Is it possible that, little by little, their numbers grew unnoticeably, from two to some several?) A similar phenomenon involving a fluctuating number of performers is noticeable in the archaic, polyphonic tradition of East Lithuania, e.g., here *keturinės* ‘foursome’ are sung in distinctive styles. However, earlier, apparently a single number of performers unified them – four, from whence the folk name of foursome hymns originated\textsuperscript{77}.

Nevertheless, the belief flourishes that mocking (or praising, as at times defined) songs performed at weddings by two just might not have been a mere random happening, since Lithuanian mocking *sutartinės* are usually performed by duos. Mocking *dvejinės* weave into a general, archaic antistrophic layer of rhythmically very well-organized twosomes (for example, *O Kokia Čia Marti? ‘And What Kind of Son’s Bride Here?’* (SIS 914).

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\textsuperscript{77} Some *keturinės* were no longer being sung by two pairs by the mid-20\textsuperscript{th} century but by two groups (from 2–4 and, at times, more in each one). A possible assumption is that, as the context of the rite falls into a demise (e.g., the case in East Lithuania – the ritualistic visiting of the rye fields), slowly, the number of involved hymn-singers apparently becomes unimportant.
Indeed, a canonization of certain text motifs and melodic types for mocking traditions of insults aimed at wedding participants that come from varied national backgrounds very possibly indicates a link of this genre with protective magic. Apparently, this ritualistic function of mocking by singing, which have engaged different national groups, could only be performed by a specialist in this field, not by just anyone. The performer must have had the ability to masterfully improvise, all within standards of a certain melody and text.

The commonalities in Baltic-Finn mocking songs’ traditions permit raising an assumption that “barking” songs by two are also not random. Estonian and Mordvian traditions may cause certain doubt, e.g., it could be thought that performances by a minimum of two would only happen, when a village did not have more experts at this musical genre. Nonetheless, Lithuania’s mocking sutartinės illustrate a solid tradition of “barking” duos. After all, the dvejinės style is most often performed as special sutartinės for mocking wedding guests. Such a specific performance style not only demands two performers but is also notable for certain exceptional features, e.g., a unique way of forming verses, lack of refrains and other traits.

There is still one riddle left that is hard to solve – why was the derisive “blabbing” at weddings enacted in duos; what could that have meant? Is it in any way related to the hostility of the two relatives or to the symbolism...
of duality? Does this somehow relate to hostility between two families? Does it have something to do with the symbology of fertility? Or does it relate with the beginnings of the duality between males and females? A glance again turns to the tradition of instrumental music, or, more accurately, to the beginning of using many instruments by pairs. As per Sachs, this had been the first step towards the “makings of melodies” with instruments. Generally, instruments are “paired”, where the darker resonance of one instrument contrasts with the gentler voice of the other. Thereby one identifies with “father” (“male”), and the other – with “mother” (“female”). Possibly different parts of these wedding “sing about” duos (embodying different sound sequences and different “pitches”) might have expressed two different beginnings – the masculine and the feminine. Yet, the musical harmony of these beginnings in one hymn just might assure harmony and fertility for this young, future pair. Is that a possibility? Nevertheless, it must be admitted that such an interpretation could seem overly simplistic, straightforward and lacking argumentation. Could it be that “blabbing” by duos is simply the most convenient means for improvising on the spot (“expending the least voices”)? This riddle will probably be left unsolved.

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78 Sachs claims such paired groups are characteristic of different instruments: churingas or bullroarers, slit drums, seashell horns, membrane drums and others. Further, the size of the instrument determines its concept of “masculinity” or “femininity” – “masculine” is larger, and “feminine” is smaller, or for its sound timbre – “masculine” is intensive, strong, whereas “feminine” is empty, hollow [21, 49].

79 A distant allusion is possible here to Chinese music, where its importance is with the concepts: 

- **dao** (the way to great unity),
- **yin–yang** (oppositions to beginnings of being) and
- **qi** (vital energy).

During the 3rd century BC, Lü Buwei explains the origin of music in his philosophical treatise, *Lüshi Chunqiu* ‘Spring and Fall of Mr. Liu’. The descriptions in his 12-volumes regard an untempered sound sequence. Six masculine sounds, belonging to the *yang* element, are instrumental – *f, g, a, h, cis* and *dis*; six feminine sounds, belonging to the *yin* element, are vocal – *fis, e, d, c, ais* and *gis*. The entirety of these sounds symbolizes the harmony between heaven and earth. Each could perform as a tonic during certain times of the year [MuzE, 153–154]. Legend has it that the Emperor of China, Huangdi, ordered his Music Minister Lin Lunj to craft a liuj ‘bamboo flute’. He proceeded producing this flute when, suddenly, two heavenly birds flew in – a mated phoenix pair (or *fenghuang*, where *feng* is deemed as male, while *huang*, a rather feminized beauty, delicate and peaceful). Each sing six notes – six *yang* and six *yin*, associated among them as a certain interrelationship by a certain pitch. Lin Lunj tuned the sound sequences accordingly and produced 12 bamboo flutes, which became the foundation of the Chinese system of music [28, 67].

80 Besides, *dviejos* ‘duos’ also include singing spinning *sutartinės*. (Actually, the number of some of their syllables per line is significantly more stable than they are in the *lojojimai* ‘barking’ songs). The performance style and functional relationship of these barking songs, apparently, can be grounded on the work environment, e.g., several women (mother and daughter, sisters and the like) would spin in their house on long nights.
Conclusions. One way or another, a more attentive and broader look at the duos of Lithuanian sutartinės refutes the opinion about the newness of these hymns with no refrains, when they are compared with the archaic foursomes and threesomes with refrains. Besides, despite their different performance styles, all sutartinės belong to the archaic binary musical system. Only the binary of threesomes and foursomes simultaneously strengthens the resonance of two different texts (meaningful and onomatopoeic sounds). Meanwhile, when it comes to dvejinės, the polarity of the two performers make the different functional areas meaningful (“two sexes of resonance”, as per Janeliauskas). The freely composed poetic lines of the sutartinės duos (decided by the close relationship to the spoken language) unquestionably show the ancient origin of these hymns. Apparently, the duos performance style is considered no less old. The aforementioned discussion on the examples of singing duets also so indicates.

Today it’s hardly likely to respond plainly to the question: can singing by two be considered a primary form of music-making? Most likely it’s a “somewhat improved”, “more professional” singing style, which has crystallized, over time, into collective (group) singing. It can be believed that singing by two in the archaic musical system, perhaps, most obviously expressing the symbolism of the binary idea. However, such questions can remain open. All that is clear is that singing and playing by duets is considered an archaic (and, often enough, a sacred) expression. Its connection with rites as well as with old polyphonic forms illustrates this. It is further shown by composition techniques like diaphony, organum, hocket, breathing in opposite phases, cross rhythms, overlapping and such. These remain vital in today’s archaic tribal musical traditions.

Again, it needs to be emphasized that, when applying examples of duet singing from varied nations, there was no intention of discovering cases completely analogous with Lithuanian dvejinės. Moreover, no objective was

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81 Binary (in Latin, binarius ‘double’), as per composer Janeliauskas, is a commonality for composing purposes determined by the relationship of a typical composer with the sound that characterizes archaic music [4, 6].

82 Janeliauskas has a similar opinion. His study of the binary has it consisting of composition principle commonalities. He writes, “An antiphonal exchange of sonorous phrases among tribal groups may have involved primordial and most elementary binary beginnings. Most important here are the actual binary–antiphonal functions. Over the long run, thick sonorous sounds gradually became clearer and simpler as primordial syncretism dissipated and, especially, as performer groups grew smaller” [4, 9]. Yet, a reverse trend is noticed in today’s still thriving (or revived) polyphonic traditions – the former tradition of 2–4 people singing is changing to large group performances.
ever defined to seek any sorts of ethnic links, cultural wellsprings or the like. Thus, the choice was, it could be said, quite random when selecting samples of singing by two that would reflect various principles for coordinating two voices. Undeniably, those encompassed for this work are far from all possible manifestations of duet singing. Furthermore, no special restrictions were applied for the examination of either an individual, two-voice singing tradition or that by different nations. A more in-depth analysis of each of them would perhaps reveal far more originality than universality. Vyčiniene's interest regarded the most universal organizational principles involved in two human voices, i.e., two polar, binary members as well as their relationship in the context of performance. Thereby the examples of music from other nations became merely peculiar sorts of indicators for possible interpretations of Lithuanian dvejinės. Such a broad context of duet singing, it is believed, reveals certain universal as well as original features of sutartinės duos.

**Acronyms:**


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ВЕСІЛЬНІ ПІСНІ ПІВНІЧНОГО СХОДУ УКРАЇНИ У НОТНИХ І ТЕКСТОВИХ ПУБЛІКАЦІЯХ

Стаття має джерелознавчий характер: подано історичну ретроспективу публікації весільних пісень, які походять із північно-східних теренів України (поселень у межах сучасної Сумської області з прилеглими територіями). Обраний регіон цікавий тим, що є стильовим пограниччям кількох історико-етнографічних масивів: Сіверського Полісся, окраїнних районів Наддніпрянщини, Слобідщини – їхні ареали сходяться у зоні нижнього Посейм’я. Авторка, займаючись дослідженням місцевих фольклорних традицій понад 30 років, установила, що місцеві весільні пісні (зафіксовані у